



VU University *Amsterdam*

*Flipping a coin with more than two sides:*

# Hybrid modes of integration

*Social interaction as indicator for integration;  
a statistical analysis on the Dutch case*



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## **Hybrid modes and integration**

*Social interaction as indicator for integration;  
a statistical analysis on the Dutch case*

*This thesis is submitted as the final fulfilment for the degree Master of Science in Sociology  
at the Faculty of Social Sciences at VU University Amsterdam.*

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Toch weet ik, getijden wisselen,  
Straks loop ik door terugkerend water, de zon in mijn gezicht

Voor Marga Caspers,

*NT2 docent die zich onvoorwaardelijk inzet voor migranten in Nederland  
en mij als moeder de waarde heeft geleerd van doorzettingsvermogen*

## **Abstract**

Public debates in the Netherlands regarding integration have been predominantly focused on two modes of integration; in which migrants either assimilate into the society or prefer to interact with co – ethnics and live segregated lives. The abandonment of the initial culture is in this context perceived as essential in order to be structurally integrated. The argument being advanced in this research paper is that, alongside this dichotomous perspective, a hybrid mode of integration is visible. This refers to migrants who bond with co-ethnics as well as with the native population in the country of residence. The second part of the argument discusses the benefits of the hybrid mode of integration, as it is positively correlated to the employment position. A quantitative analysis was conducted with the Survey Integration Minorities and the Survey Integration New Groups of The Netherlands Institute for Social Science; which included data of respondents originally from Afghanistan, Antilles, Iraq, Iran, Morocco, Somalia, Surinam and Turkey. The modes of integration of migrants in the Netherlands are operationalised with the use of the acculturation model of professor John W. Berry, which considers the mechanism of retention of initial cultures and bonding with the new culture as a separate process. The descriptive empirics indicates that more than 40% of the respondents have developed a hybrid mode of integration; implying that they have social contact with Dutch natives and co-ethnics at least once a week. Furthermore, the binary logistic analysis indicates that having social interaction with co-ethnics does not negatively affect the employment status, provided that it is combined with social interaction with Dutch natives. This research paper therefore concludes with a strong recommendation to include the hybrid mode of integration in the overall political debate as well as in social research discourse.

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‘As a result of immigration, many societies become culturally plural. That is, people of many cultural backgrounds come to live together in a diverse society’ – John W. Berry (1997, p 8)

## **Preface**

Whether votes are needed for the City Council or national parliament, in every election the topic ‘integration of migrants’ holds a high position on the political agenda and public debates; which is of course in itself not a problem. The topic is on many peoples’ minds, thus should be extensively discussed. It would furthermore be naïve to deny that there are no issues whatsoever arising from integration of migrants. Cultural distance and disadvantages on the labour market are examples of issues that need to be addressed. The problem arises from the often-negative tone of voice, and black and white classification in which integration has either succeeded or failed. Moreover, *successful integration* is as fluid as water as it holds different interpretation in different countries and the definition has changed over the years. Whereas labour participation constitutes for good integration in times of good economic performance, cultural adoption is additionally emphasised in periods of economic depression.

The researcher argues that there is no need to fuss about the maintenance of an initial culture; provided it does not stand in the way of full participation in society. For instance, it is doubtful that Dutch emigrants release their Dutch culture or, speak the local language in public spaces with each other immediately upon arrival. The researcher emphasises that it is possible to feel connected to more than one culture, develop a hybrid mode of integration, and function effectively in the Dutch society.

This research paper therefore is an attempt to introduce the argument of hybrid modes of integration in public debates. I was able to research this topic with the use of data from The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, of which I am most grateful, especially to Willem Huijnk and his help over the past few months. I would also like to thank my supervisor of the VU University, Boris Slijper, for helping me getting back on track when lost in translation. Lastly, to those who read my work over and over again, many thanks to Myrna van Pinxteren and Praxides Chisakuta. It has given me the ability to give the integration debate the spin it deserves.

Ameline Boima Ansu

Rotterdam, 27<sup>th</sup> of June 2014

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

When Ahmed Aboutaleb was appointed as Mayor of Rotterdam in 2008, a member of the city council sent him an envelope; which symbolised that he should now denounce his Moroccan passport (Wanders, 6th January 2009). Aboutaleb was born in Morocco and migrated to the Netherlands at a young age; he therefore has a dual nationality. Despite Aboutaleb having completed his studies in the Netherlands, and has been a Dutch politician for a number of years, the councillor nevertheless argued that Dutch citizens deserved a representative who was fully committed to the Netherlands and, according to him, the Moroccan passport was an obstacle to integrate fully into the Dutch society. The statement of the Member of the City Council was publicly rejected and above all not official government position. However, the above example gives a glimpse of the complexity of perspectives and interpretations of ‘successful integration’ in the public domain of the Netherlands.

#### **1.1 Presenting the issues**

The major challenge of the integration debate rests on the conceptualisation of the term itself (Landecker, 1951; Penninx, 2005, p 141). In Social Research, Integration is usually divided into structural and socio – cultural characteristics (Weijters & Scheepers, 2003). The former refers to institutional participation, such as education and employment, and the latter refers to cultural elements, most notably language skills, self-identification and social interaction. The Dutch government’s opening statement on migration appears to lean towards socio-cultural elements, as it states that new entrants ‘must learn the language and familiarise themselves with the Dutch society’ (2014). However, in addition, integration into the Dutch society also places an emphasis on structural integration (Koopmans, 2002). Hence, it does not particularly focus on the abandonment or retention of initial cultural aspects thus the implication of what constitutes integration is not systematically defined.

Simultaneously, a second challenge of the integration debate within the public domain is that not enough attention is paid to various forms of integration. Dominant sentiment towards integration emphasises on assimilation of migrants into society (Gordon, 1961; Kivisto, 2010; Zhou, 1997). Correspondingly, the maintenance of the traditional culture is



defined as choosing to live segregated lives and is considered to be an obstruction for integration. The assumption is that it prohibits integration [learning the language, initialise cultural characteristics and active institutional participation]. This perception is strengthened by the fact that segregation and labour participation are negatively correlated (Snel et al., 2006). In this paper, the researcher will try and argue that integration is more complex than the popular dichotomous perspective.

Globalisation, increased mobility and communication options have made it possible for migrants to pursue transnational interactions (Bradatan et al., 2010; Bryceson & Vuorela, 2002; Castles, 2000). Hence, immigrants can choose to remain tied with kin in the country of origin (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997). Alongside transnational interactions, migrants can bond with co-ethnics in the country of destination, especially visible in neighbourhoods with a high minority population (Castles, 2002; Gijsberts et al., 2010). Concentration of minorities increases the likelihood of interaction with co-ethnics, nevertheless, at the same time; migrants can also have extensive social interaction with the native population. Second, third and later generations, especially, who grow up with norms and values of more than one culture, are likely to connect to multiple cultures (Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Greenman & Xie, 2008; Zhou, 1997). This research paper will attempt to display the empirical picture of various forms of integration in the Netherlands.

LaFromboise et al. (1993) emphasize that the institutionalisation of multiple cultures is difficult for the individual. However, diversity in cultures ensures heterogeneous civilization, which is most desirable for societies. The conceptual framework on acculturation of psychologist John W. Berry (1997) particularly focuses on the complexity of different forms of integration. In this framework, acculturation is perceived as a two-dimensional process in which bonding and identification with the dominant culture in the country of residence is treated as a separate process to retention of cultural characteristics from the country of origin. This perspective is partly adopted and results in a four-type model in which a positive score on the first account characterises the traditional assimilation process; a positive score on the latter is regarded as segregation. Positive scores appearing on both accounts for a hybrid connection; which is the focus of this research paper, and finally, negative scores on both accounts, results in marginalisation.

Alongside the descriptive empirical data, this research paper will question the extent to which individual modes, and the hybrid mode specifically, affect participation in the Dutch society. Participation is within this research paper operationalised by the employment position. Employment corresponds with capabilities such as language proficiency and level of

education. Furthermore, politicians are overall interested in labour market participation of migrants, as this structural indicator indirectly reveals information about the self-sustainability (Ager & Strang, 2008). Ultimately, in some way, this research paper examines whether the council member had a valid argument when he challenged Ahmed Aboutaleb. That is to say that it tests whether the argument that the maintenance of the initial culture inhibits further integration when migrants also interact with their native population. All these facts together has provided the backdrop to the following research question:

*What are the effects of modes of socio – cultural integration on the employment position in the Netherlands?*

Even though the Netherlands has a rich history of migration, this research paper focuses on the influence of migrants after the Second World War. Since the 1950s, various migrant groups, predominantly from former Dutch colonies, labour migrants and former refugees have settled permanently in the Netherlands. In order to answer the research question fully, two related questions are examined. The first empirical part of this research paper focuses on the descriptive modes of socio-cultural integration. In the second part plausible effects of these modes are empirically tested on structural integration; which is translated into the employment status and the occupational level. The related questions include:

- *Which modes of socio-cultural integration are visible disaggregated by ethnic group, generation and migration background?*
- *What are the effects of socio-cultural modes of integration on the employment status and the occupational level?*

## **1.2 Societal and academic relevance**

The events, collisions and success stories on integration of migrants in new societies have been happening for centuries. Despite that, the topic holds a high position on the Dutch political agenda as well as in research. In addition, migration studies have become a policy-driven research field (Castles, 2010, p 1571 - 1574). In his essay on integration, sociologist Willem Schinkel (2008) argues that the Dutch have created an imaginary society in which expectations are so high that migrants cannot live up to it. The aim of this research paper is not to focus on perceptions of the Dutch society as such; it is an attempt to empirically portray the complexity of modes of integration in the Dutch society. From the societal perspective,

the topic regards immigration as being embedded in the fabric of society. Hence, it therefore reflects and affects daily aspects of the entire society and any advancement of our understanding of the topic is welcomed. Globalisation, further European integration and growing populist and nationalist trends are all most likely to affect immigration developments in the future, it is therefore academically relevant to analyse the mechanisms of different modes of integration. All of these changes need to be based on a theoretical understanding of the phenomena; especially, since there are many different popular assumptions on the subject and the discussion has been, and continues to be, a heated topic on the political agenda.

### **1.3 Plan of this study**

The next chapter sets out the theoretical framework after which the data is discussed. The Survey Integration Minorities (SIM) 2011 and the Survey Integration New Groups (SING) 2009 of The Netherlands Institute for Social Research were conducted and includes data from migrants from Afghanistan, Antilles, Iraq, Iran, Morocco, Somalia, Surinam and Turkey (N=6772). The analysis and results are displayed in two chapters and the final chapter lists the conclusions and states further discussions.

## Chapter 2

### **Theoretical framework**

Various academicians have carried out studies to analyse different aspects of integration;, such as social and labour market participation (Broek et al., 2010; Roth & Kim, 2013; Tubergen et al., 2004). In addition studies of attitudes towards migrants of host states and their consequences have also been carried out (Vervoort et al., 2011; Vliegthart, 2007). Recent studies have emphasized on the differences between first, second and later generations and how their behaviour differs (Broek et al., 2010; Huijnk et al., 2010). The purpose of this chapter is firstly to identify integration characteristics, secondly, discuss the importance of employment, and thirdly, portray various modes of integration. A brief overview of the Dutch case is discussed and the hypotheses are listed in the final section.

#### **2.1 Integration theories**

In general terms, integration indicates participation of immigrants within a society. However, one can get lost in translation with the interpretation of this concept. Ager and Strang (2008) established an overview of the most often conducted indicators by politicians and academics that refer to integration. The framework defines ten indicators categorised within four domains. ‘Markers and means’ (employment, housing, education and health) refers to institutional participation, which is dominant in policy development; ‘Social connections’ (social bridges, bonds and links) concentrate on interactions with the native population and co-ethnics. ‘Facilitators’ (language, cultural knowledge, safety and stability) which indicates identity. Finally, ‘Foundation’ includes rights and citizenship (2008, p 170). The overview suggests that both structural and socio-cultural integration are relevant and intertwined within the overall subject of integration.

##### *Structural integration*

Structural integration refers to the level of institutional or formal participation of migrants within society (Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). The rationale behind this concept indicates that one has to understand the basics and obtain a certain level of, for instance, education in order to participate in the institutional system. Literature on structural integration is extensive, as the characteristics are predominantly conducted within social research (Dagevos, 2001; Lange et

al., 2014; Penninx, 2005). One explanation is that politicians place a great emphasis on institutional participation (DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997; Huijnk et al., 2013). Furthermore, structural characteristics enable cross-sectional comparisons, such as employment, economic stratification, education and political participation.

### *Socio- cultural integration*

Socio – cultural integration is concerned with informal forms of integration, most notably operationalised by the characteristics of language, self-identification and social interaction (DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997; Huijnk & Dagevos, 2012). The ability to speak the local language makes it easier for migrants to make contact with the native population and it increases the likelihood of social interaction (Dagevos, 2001; Demant, 2005; Fitzgerald, 2012). Consequently, it empowers migrants to apply for a broader range of occupations. Self-identification refers to how migrants see themselves situated within society; for instance, it is found that migrants who identify themselves with the country of residence are more likely to actively participate in that society (Casey & Dustmann, 2010; Marks et al., 2007; Roberts et al., 1999). Zimmermann et al. (2007) argue that the process of self-identification with the country of residence is not linear and should not be treated as such. However, since migrants can choose their self-identity, the notion is rather fluid. Plaza (2006) demonstrates how 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Caribbean's in Canada identify themselves as Caribbean in some situations and as Canadians in others; depending on the situation they are in.

Cross-cultural social interactions contribute to intergroup relations (Keung Wong et al., 2007, p 658). This operates in a two-way process. On the one hand, interaction with the native population enables immigrants to familiarise with cultural aspects and 'make their way' into the new society. On the other hand, attitudes and prejudices of natives towards migrants tends to decrease when cross-cultural interactions increases (Pettigrew, 1998). In order to have social interaction with Dutch natives one has to be interested in social contact with the native population and also have the opportunity to do so. In contrast, this argument can also be upheld for social interaction with co-ethnics.

## **2.2 Mechanisms of integration**

The correlation between structural and socio- cultural integration has briefly been introduced; this section will elaborate on relevant characteristics. The first element that is stressed in this research paper is the employment participation. As described by Ager and Strang (2008), employment is particularly suitable in integration studies. It has been identified 'as a factor

influencing many relevant issues, such as: promoting economic independence, planning for the future, meeting members of the host society, providing opportunity to develop language skills, restoring self-esteem and encouraging self-reliance' (2008, p 170). Additionally, the occupational status reflects the level of success on the labour market, as it characterises certain minimal accomplishments, such as an educational level or years of experience.

In regards to employment and socio – cultural characteristics, Dagevos (2001), amongst others, studied this mechanism and found that low socio – cultural integration is negatively correlated to labour market participation (2001, p 141 - 142). In this analysis, socio – cultural integration is operated in social distance characteristics including modern perspectives and Dutch language. Thus, migrants who did not master de Dutch language and have a larger cultural distance are more likely to be unemployed. Martinovic (2011) documented how intercultural interaction contributes to structural integration; one of the findings is that individuals prefer to be surrounded by equals. This may be understood in various forms, such as similar ethnicities or common language. Martinovic emphasises the similarity of the level of the education and describes that as a result, higher educated migrants prefer to interact with other higher educated individuals (2011, p 187). In general terms, Dutch natives are higher educated, therefore, higher educated migrants are more likely to interact with the native population and assimilate into the dominant society.

### *Social interaction*

In reference to the stated issues above, the second element that is stressed in this research paper regards social interaction. To a certain extent, interaction is a transcending indicator for integration (Martinovic, 2011). Several assumptions can be derived when forms of social interaction are known. Interaction with the native population for instance implies that the local language is mastered; furthermore, interaction requires basic knowledge of cultural aspects. It can therefore be assumed that migrants who interact with the native population are familiar, or at least comfortable, with the basic understandings of the dominant culture. In contrast, interaction amongst co – ethnics can be preferred for example to find way in the country of destiny. In some cases, the personal network within ethnic communities contribute to the chances of finding employment (Friberg, 2011) or housing (Bell, 2012). In addition, extensive contact with co-ethnics simplifies the retention of the initial culture (Drozdewski, 2007). Hence, it can stimulate migration, at least temporary, for instance when vouching out for visa requirements.

Social interaction can be visible in plural forms, such as contact amongst family

members, colleagues at work or between neighbours in a residential area. Unlike social interaction with friends and acquaintances, the previous mentioned examples are not voluntarily chosen. Voluntarily chosen forms of interaction reveal the most information about personal preferences of migrants within society.

### **2.3 Contemporary migration and integration**

Globalisation has affected migration in many different ways (Castles, 2000). Interactions between as well as within societies have changed as a result of movement of individuals. In this respect, globalisation is a sign that we should endeavour to live in a society that constitutes of multiple cultures rather than one dominant culture. Differences between societies are, for instance, captured within transnationalism, which in short refers to individuals who are financially active in more than one society (Kivisto & Faist, 2010). Schiller et al. (1995) describe the phenomenon of financial connections in two societies as ‘trans migrants’. Hence, they are ‘immigrants whose daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders and whose public identities are configured in relationships to more than one nation state’ (1995, p 48). A well-preserved manner to do so is, for example, the establishment of local shops selling food products from the country of origin. Though a minority of migrants globally can be defined as trans migrants, as a side note, it can have a substantive impact on the country of origin. For example, Kivisto and Faist (2010, p 157) mention that the 10 per cent of national income of India depends on foreign investment of emigrants.

The interest of this research paper is however on social bonding of ethnicities in the country of destiny. On this notion, theories on multiculturalism and assimilation should be addressed. Multiculturalists, such as Arasaratnam (2013), Leong and Liu (2013) as well as Vijver et al. (2008), argue that the construction of host societies has changed into poly-ethnic communities. According to Vijver et al. (2008, p 93), this can be attributed to the ‘acceptance of, and support for, the culturally heterogeneous composition of the population of a society’. This notion refers to intercultural contact between the native population and minorities as well as interaction between minorities. The latter should however be made with cautions, as Nguyen (2004) for instance mentions that motivations of migrants to live amongst co-ethnics is in some cases as a result of negative sentiments towards other minorities living in the country of residence. Thus, to prevent too much forced interaction with other groups they choose to live closely to other co- ethnics.

In contrast, assimilation theories assume that migrants will overtime fully acculturate into the dominant society (Gordon, 1961). Up until the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, migration studies in social science conducted classical assimilation theories to describe the integration of immigrants and their offspring in receiving societies (Dagevos, 2001; DeWind & Kasinitz, 1997; Plaza, 2006). The studies were concerned predominantly on the migration of Europeans towards the United States of which most assimilated in American society overtime (Hatton & Williamson, 1998). Greenman and Xie (2008) describe that the acceptance of predominantly white and Christian Europeans by the American society in the nineteenth century was easier than for non-white migrants and black Americans today. In addition to that, Europeans then were likely to cross the Great Atlantic Ocean only once, which ultimately led to less contact with kin who remained in the country of origin.

The initiation of multiple cultures is not new within integration studies; moreover, psychological studies especially have paid attention to related forms of integration (Baumeister, 1986; Güngör, 2007; LaFromboise et al., 1993). According to Berry and Sam (1996), a natural consequence of migration is that acculturation into the society will eventually happen to all, yet, the speed and formation of cultural acculturation differs. Recent social studies also emphasise that integration is not a linear acculturation process per se and this notion is referred to as segmented assimilation (Alba & Nee, 1997; Plaza, 2006; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Zhou, 1997). The scope of this overarching theory is summarised by Kivisto (2010) and in short includes *upward assimilation*, *downward assimilation*, and additionally, *ethnic enclave formation*. The first mode refers to the traditional assimilation process in which the dominant culture is adopted; the second describes the phenomenon of segregation in which minorities dominantly interact with co-ethnics. Ethnic enclave formation refers to the process in which some cultural aspects are adopted and others retained, which in essence describes hybrid bonding. Segmented assimilation is in this research paper defined in accordance to the latter form of integration.

## **2.4 The Integration model**

Psychologist professor John W. Berry (1997) derives from the question of what happens to individuals ‘who have developed in one cultural context, when they attempt to live in a new cultural context’ (1997, p 6). This question has resulted into a conceptual model in which Berry has identified four plausible modes of integration. The model is most suitable, as the acceptance or rejection of the new culture, is considered to be a separate mechanism of the

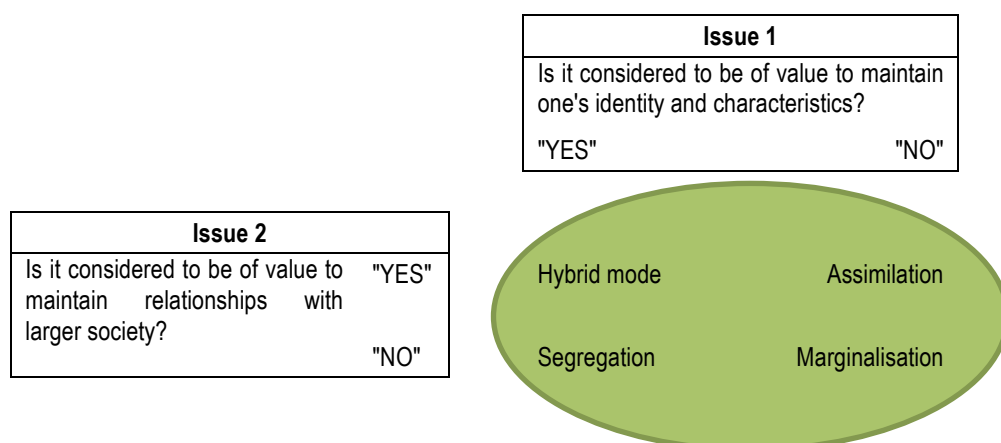


retention or release of the initial culture. Even though the psychologist designed the model to explain integration patterns for individuals, it nonetheless can be applied to societies. This is as a result of the fact that groups ‘can only be pursued when other members of one’s ethno cultural group share in the wish to maintain the group’s cultural heritage’ (1997, p 6). The model constitutes two mechanisms related to the dominant culture [the native population] and non-dominant culture [immigrants].

The willingness of migrants to acculturate is, according to Berry, strongly influenced by the reason to migrate (1997, p 7). Individuals who voluntarily enter the society are more likely to adopt new cultural characteristics. In contrast, immigrants who did not aspire to migrate [refugees] or live within a dominant culture [indigenous population], alongside temporary migrants are likely to be less willingly to adopt the dominant culture fully. The stated considerations together have resulted into the model with four outcomes:

- Integration [meaning *hybrid mode*] is found when an individual wishes to maintain the original culture and is interested to familiarise with the new culture;
- *Assimilation* strategy is defined when individuals do not wish to maintain their cultural identity and seek daily interaction with other cultures,
- Separation [*segregation*] is identified when individuals place a value on holding on to their original culture, and at the same time wish to avoid interaction with others, and finally,
- *Marginalisation* is defined as someone who does not show a specific interest towards either one of the cultures and has little interest in having relations with others (1997, p 8)

**Figure 1: The acculturation model as defined by John W. Berry**



### *Hybrid modes of integration*

According to Berry (1997), developments that contribute to the creation of a hybrid integration mode is when individuals are able to choose between cultures. Thus, immigrants surrounded by both cultures within their living space are more likely to adopt a hybrid mode (1997, p 10 - 11). It must be noted Berry has defined this form of integration simply as 'integrated' in the initial framework. As this terminology is rather confusing within this research paper it is therefore reframed. Berry states additionally that national integration policies and attitudes of the native population towards migrants affect the institutionalisation of hybrid connections.

Plaza (2006) underscores the notion of *cultural shopping*, implying the adoption of some and the retention of other aspects of a culture. In this study, forty higher educated respondents between 22 and 36 years of African Caribbean descent living in Canada were interviewed to offer an exploratory view of different modes of integration. The majority of respondents stated that they identified themselves with their 'parents national origins while maintaining some aspects of Canadian values and culture' (2006, p210). Hence, the literature reiterated that this mode has in fact an effect on participation in the country of residence.

Portes and Zhou (1993) studied intergenerational segmented assimilation differences of Asian migrants and black-Americans in the United states. They conclude that later generations are most likely to develop hybrid identities. Zhou (1997) illustrated that the offspring of the 1<sup>st</sup> generation were eager to embrace US culture and that success strongly depended on the societal and financial status of the parents. Economical and educational improvements have enabled second-generation migrants to hold a different position on the social ladder (1997, p 999 - 1000). As a result, they established other modes of integration.

### *Assimilation*

The notion of assimilation refers to the process in which migrants abandon their initial culture and acculturate into the host society (Gordon, 1961). This is most likely to occur amongst migrants who immigrated voluntarily and have the intention to settle permanently in the new society (Berry, 1997; Berry & Sam, 1996). As mentioned in the previous paragraph, classical assimilation theory was dominant within the social research domain and is still perceived as the most positive form of integration by dominant societies. The reason for this perspective is that migrants who are assimilated into the dominant society have adopted the culture fully and are therefore most likely to understand the formal and informal rules within that specific society. Baumeister (1986) describes how the process is stimulated by interaction with the

native population, and additionally, self-identification with the country of residence occurs mostly amongst assimilated migrants.

### *Segregation*

Segregation amongst migrants within a residential area is not always by choice, but in some cases a result of the socio-economic status (Chiyoko King-O'Riain, 2008). Similar to all other individuals within a society, migrants depend on available and affordable residential homes, which often results in clustering of co-ethnics within the same neighbourhoods, especially upon arrival. It therefore follows that; the higher the income, the more options they have to locate in a desired area (Bell, 2012). Phillips (2009) analysed segregated integration spread over fifteen European countries prior to the 2004 EU enlargement. The author concludes that 'interventions are often publicly justified in terms of high levels of social deprivation, poverty and exclusion, the presence of culturally exclusive populations that seem disinterested in integration, and the threat of civil disorder' (2009, p 221). Furthermore, the cultural distances affects the effort one has to make to initialise a new culture (Berry, 1997, p 23). In addition, strong personal networks with kin in the country of residence can also contribute to finding a comfortable way of life in the country of residence (Zhou, 2008). In this respect, large minority communities can decrease the necessity of migrants to interact with the native population (Drozdowski, 2007). Hence, it can be argued that the larger the minority group, the larger the composition of segregated migrants.

### *Marginalisation*

The final mode of integration described in the acculturation model is categorised as marginalisation. This notion constitutes of various components, as defined by Carlisle (2006, p 32), marginalisation can refer to involuntary exclusion of participation in the whole or part of society or it can refer to the state of relative deprivation characterised by indicators of a low socio – economic status. Berry (1997, p 10) defines this form as an overall undesired result of attempts of assimilation or forced exclusion. The focus of this research paper is not on the marginalisation modes of integration, therefore, the concept is rather loosely defined and refers to less interaction with other individuals.

## **2.5 Completion and the Dutch case**

Dutch post-WWII politicians were dominantly interested in labour participation and did not encourage other forms of integration, as explained in 'Immigration integration; the Dutch

case' by Vermeulen and Penninx (2000). In the book the authors elaborate that starting from the 1950s, uneducated men from Southern Europe [Spain, Italy and Portugal] and later on from Morocco and Turkey were stimulated to migrate into the Netherlands and work in Dutch factories. Since it was understood that they were temporarily situated in the Netherlands, they were not encouraged to learn Dutch or socially interact with the local natives and were subsequently segregated from the rest of the Dutch community.

In addition, residents from overseas Dutch colonies began to cross oceans and settle in the Netherlands (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). When Indonesia declared independence in 1947, residents were given the option to either choose the Indonesian or Dutch nationality; of which the latter migrated to the Netherlands. Furthermore, as a result of wars between minorities in the region, the Moluccans were forced to leave Indonesia and also settled in the Netherlands. In the same period, migrants from Suriname and the Antillean Islands crossed the North Atlantic Ocean. Immigrants from these regions did not initially have any higher education qualifications and migrated to the Netherlands to do so.

The 1980s brought about a turn point in Dutch migration history. The declaration of independence of Suriname in 1975 led to a big wave of immigrants [labour, family unification] whose intent was to settle permanently in the Netherlands (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000). Minimal economic prospects yielded similar results for residents of the Antillean Islands, and furthermore, family reunification amongst the Moroccan and Turkish labour migrants resulted in a new situation. The change in migration patterns brought about a dilemma for the Dutch government. They were suddenly faced with families with little knowledge of the Dutch way of neither life nor the language. This sudden change in migration patterns brought about the introduction of socio – cultural integration on the political agenda. According to this policy, migrants were encouraged to learn the Dutch language and culture and assimilate into the society for the first time. From the early 1990s up until present date, refugees from Yugoslavia, Africa and the Middle East fled to The Netherlands. Additionally, the expansion of the European Union labour migration, which occurred from the early 2000s, onwards also brought about an increase of migrants to the Netherlands.

It is stated that reasons to migrate usually depends on individual circumstances. Castles (2000) analysis on global trends and issues on migration has enabled us to categorise motivations for migration. He stated that the first distinction should be made between voluntary and forced migration. Generally, forced migration is as a result of political unstable situations [war, prosecution of regime protest or minorities, conscription] or environmental disasters (2000, p 270 - 273). Non-political reasons for migration [work, education, family

reunification] can be temporary or permanent. The reasons for migration can influence the willingness to integrate; for example, the legal status of migrants can limit participation and in some cases prohibits employment. In addition, temporary migration can affect the willingness or necessity for someone to learn the local language.

Integration into the Dutch society develops differently for different ethnic groups due to different motivation backgrounds and cultural distances. It can for instance be expected that the cultural distance between colonial migrants [Surinamese and Antilleans] and Dutch natives is less in comparison to other ethnic groups. Although this assertion should be made with caution, as Vermeulen and Penninx (2000) described how the integration of Antillean migrants partly failed during the 1970s as a result of similar assumptions. The Dutch policymakers had hypothesised that migrants from Suriname and the Antillean had similar backgrounds, since both countries are geographically situated in the same region and were former colonies of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Nonetheless, their colonial history differs significantly. Dutch colonialists in Surinam had introduced Christianity and Dutch traditions at an early stage. Leaving the ethical dimension aside, it had a positive effect on the Surinamese entering the Dutch labour market. On the other hand, colonialists in the Antillean islands did not interact at the same scale with local communities and consequently had not passed on the Dutch norms and values. The outlook of immigrants from the Antillean islands therefore differed significantly from the Surinamese and yet, this was not recognised by Dutch policymakers. As a consequence, this anomaly resulted in clashes and disappointments between Dutch natives and the Antilleans.

## **2.6 Overview of hypotheses**

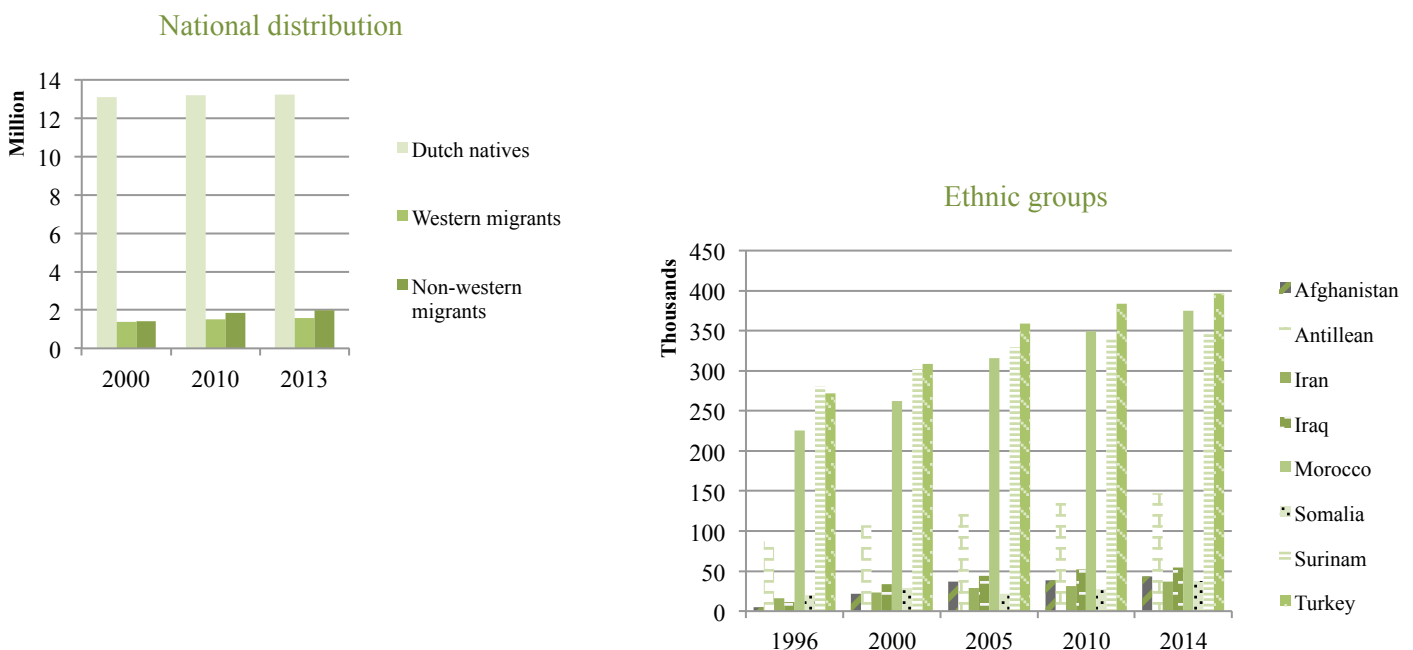
The aim of this research paper is to unravel the mechanisms defining the modes of integration within the Netherlands. The starting position of the public debate regarding integration is that migrants assimilate into the Dutch society or live segregated lives. In accordance with the conceptual framework established by John W. Berry, I expect to see that *H1: a substantial part of migrants have developed a hybrid mode of integration*. Moreover, *H2: the hybrid mode is dominant amongst 2<sup>nd</sup> generation*, and additionally, that *H3: the hybrid mode is dominant amongst non – political migrants*. In regards to the employment status, I expect to see that the *H4: hybrid mode has a positive effect on the employment status*, and that the *H5: hybrid mode has a positive effect on the occupational status*.

## Chapter 3

### Research, data and plan of design

Being a small country that needed to import most products from other countries, Holland has always been very internationally orientated. The strong influence of The Dutch East India Company together with the harbours serving as the gateway into Europe has enabled the municipal parts of the Dutch society to evolve slowly to a street image of mixed cultures. Currently, nearly two hundred ethnic groups can be found in the Netherlands. In January 2014, approximate 3.6 million non-EU migrants were registered in The Netherlands of which the majority were settled in the four largest urban cities of the country; Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Due to the availability of data, this study focuses on the four largest non- western migrant groups [Antilles, Morocco, Surinam and Turkey] who make up for almost two third of the non-western migrant population. Furthermore, the four largest refugee groups [Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq and Somalia] residing in the Netherlands are included in the analysis. The selection allows for comparisons on various accounts, including reasons for migrating and ethnic characteristics. The next paragraph will discuss the secondary data utilised in answering the research questions as well as the operationalisation and selection of variables. The methodology adopted in the analysis of data will also be discussed.

**Figure 2: Immigration in numbers in the Netherlands**



Source: Statistics Netherlands

### 3.1 Data

The Netherlands Institute for Social Research introduced the first large-scale survey on integration in the Netherlands in the mid-1990. This ‘Minority report 1997’ (Tesser & Veenman) focused on the level of education and labour participation of the Antillean, Moroccan, Surinam and Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. The initial survey has resulted in related annual reports, which is published every other year and covers a range of topics, such as personal opinions of migrants towards the Netherlands. In this research paper, data of the Survey Integration Minorities 2011 (SIM) and the Survey Integration New Groups 2009 (SING) are combined in order to study the eight groups that were mentioned earlier. The focus of this research paper is about differences of integration between migrant groups. As Dutch natives are not subject to the process of integration, their influence would bias the analysis and they are therefore excluded from this analysis. The sample consists of non-native Dutch<sup>1</sup> between 15 and 65 years, the latter consists of pensioners<sup>2</sup> who are no longer active on the labour market. Respondents who are within the legal labour force age, but likely to be inactive on the labour market due to circumstances, such as sickness, early retirement and students, are excluded from the analysis. In order to control for statistical differences, the sample weights the respondents by ethnic groups to limit numerical differences.

### 3.2. Operationalisation of variables

This research paper firstly analyses whether different modes of integration (x) are present in the Dutch society, and secondly, measures the effect of these forms on the employment status (Y1) and the occupational level (Y2). This section discusses the operationalisation of variables conducted.

#### *Dependent variable (Y1)*

Employment is an indicator of active participation within a society and it reveals information about the self-sustainability of respondents. The focus of this research paper is on active participation within the Dutch society. The question utilised for the operationalisation is: ‘*Do you have paid work [1hour per week or temporary employment included]?*’ The dichotomous variable is operationalised into employment status with outcomes (0) no and (1) yes.

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<sup>1</sup>Non-natives are conceptualised as individuals of whom at least one parent was born outside the Netherlands. Information retrieved from: <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/methoden/begrippen/default.htm?ConceptID=37>;

<sup>2</sup>The official pension age in 2009 and 2011 in the Netherlands was 65yrs. Information retrieved from: [http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0002221/geldigheidsdatum\\_02-06-2014#HoofdstukIII\\_1\\_Artikel7a](http://wetten.overheid.nl/BWBR0002221/geldigheidsdatum_02-06-2014#HoofdstukIII_1_Artikel7a)

### *Dependent variable (Y2)*

The occupational level indicates the level of employment and is constructed in a 5-scaled hierarchical model in accordance with the International Standard Classification of Occupations 1988 (Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1996). The variable includes individuals who that work >12 hours a week.

### *Independent variable*

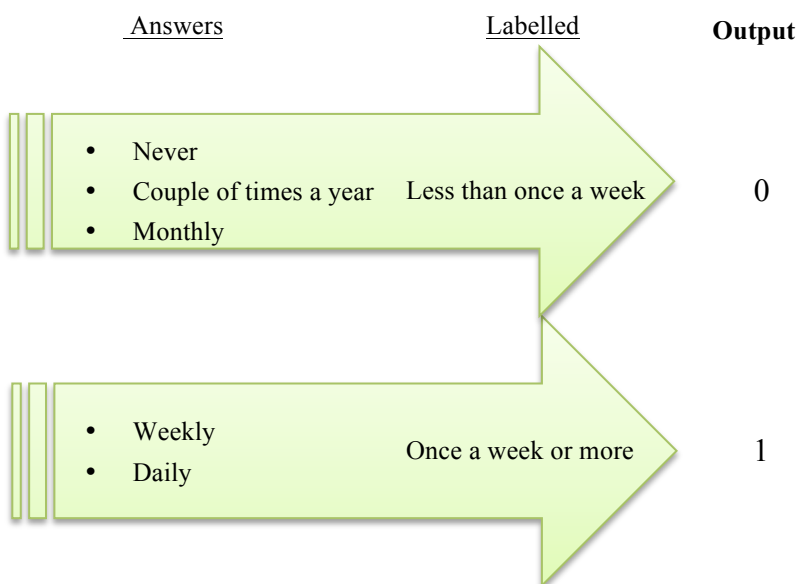
The classification of modes of integration (X) is generated by social interactions in a mechanism in accordance with the Integration model of John W. Berry. The first question: *'How often do you have contact with native Dutch friends or acquaintances?'* corresponds to the level of social interaction with the Dutch native population. The five-scale answer model is recoded into 'less than once a week' (0) and 'once a week or more' (1) [figure 3]. The second question asked to correspond with the level of social interaction with co-ethnics is: *'How often do you have contact with <COR> friends or acquaintances?'* The questions are constructed in a similar manner and therefore the operationalisation is similar. The output of both questions are combined in a crosstab and computed into individual modes of integration in accordance with the Integration model [table 1].

**Figure 3: Construction of the independent variable**

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**Item 1:** 'How often do you have contact with native Dutch friends or acquaintances?'

**Item 2:** 'How often do you have contact with <COR> friends or acquaintances?'





**Table 1: Categorisation of modes of integration**

	Social contact	
	<i>Co – ethnics</i>	<i>Dutch natives</i>
Marginalised	0	0
Segregated	1	0
Assimilated	0	1
Hybrid	1	1

*Control variables*

- *Age*: Respondents are between 15 and 65 years, all others are excluded;
- *Gender*: Male (0) and Female (1);
- *Generation*: Migrants born outside the Netherlands are classified as (0) 1<sup>st</sup> generation, the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (1) is born in the Netherlands;
- *Education*: Includes the highest degree of education and students who are currently enrolled. The answers are gradually constructed in accordance with the Dutch education system of no education (0), maximum of primary education (1), VBO (2), mavo (3), MBO (4), Havo /VWO (5), HBO (6) and WO (7);
- *Reason to migrate*: The non – political migrants (0) the reasons to migrate include: employment, students, family and others. The political (1) reasons include: ‘war’, ‘avoid conscription’, ‘religious persecution’ and ‘hunger’;
- *Language Dutch*: The ability to understand Dutch is measured with the questions: ‘Do you often, sometimes or never experience difficulties in conversations in Dutch?’ ‘Do you often, sometimes or never experience difficulties when reading Dutch newspapers, adverts or letters?’ and ‘Do you experience difficulties writing in Dutch?’ The Cronbach’s Alpha (.907) enables to compute the variable. The standardised outcomes are operationalised into a new variable in a hierarchical three-scaled model;
- *Language country of origin*: The questions conducted to measure the ability to understand the spoken language from the country of origin are: ‘Do you often, sometimes or never experience difficulties in conversations in the language spoken the country of origin?’ and ‘Do you often, sometimes or never experience difficulties spoken in the language spoken the country of origin?’ The Cronbach’s Alpha (0.83) of the two items enables to compute the variable. Writing capabilities are not included due to lack of data. The standardised outcomes of the two questions are operationalised into a new variable with a hierarchical three-scaled.

### 3.3 Descriptive distribution of variables

The most common mode of integration within this analysis constitutes of migrants with hybrid interactions (43.1%); which indicates that this group has social interaction at least once a week with Dutch natives and with co-ethnics. This outcome supports the first hypothesis, as hybrid modes of integration are visible in the Netherlands. The second largest group are the assimilated category (21.2%). Thus, within this sample, 64.3% of the respondents interact socially with native Dutch at least once a week. Remarkable, since almost 80% of the respondents were not born in the Netherlands. A minority of the respondents (17.3%) prefers social interaction with co-ethnics (segregation) and 18.4% interacts less than once a week with co – ethnics or native Dutch (marginalisation). A slight majority of respondents is male (0.48), half of the respondents have a partner (0.5) and the majority (60%) has children. The average age of 36 years indicates that respondents are well within the legal labour force age; which is confirmed as 65% currently conducts paid employment (>1hrs per week). The occupational level mean (2.63) indicates that, on average, migrants conduct between lower and middle class employment.

An interesting factor is the level of education, which states that the majority of the respondents (59%) has obtained a degree, or is currently enrolled, in higher education. In addition, on average (2.47), migrants are able to understand the Dutch language. The major reason to migrate is politically driven (40%), followed by family motivations (32.9%) and education (8.8%). The combination of both SIM and SING is likely to have effected this distribution, as mentioned earlier, the majority of migrants in the Netherlands constitutes of Antillean, Moroccan, Surinam and Turkish descents, who generally did not have political motivations to migrate.

The researcher stresses that due to the selection of data the stated statistics is not representative for the overall population. The age selection has for instance excluded a large proportion of second-generation migrants; especially the offspring of former refugees [Afghani, Iranians, Iraqi] are < 15yrs. since their parents entered the Netherlands at a later stage in comparison to former colonial migrants [Antilles Islands, Surinam]. The picture of labour force participation is furthermore biased, as all individuals above the age of 65 yrs., the sick and students are excluded prior to the analysis. Finally, two observations in regards to the marginalised respondents must be addressed. Firstly, the threshold of social interaction is set at ‘at least once a week’ in order to limit discussions on the interpretation of hybrid connections. The counter effect is that respondents who have less social interaction are in theory classified to live isolated lives. However, this is an overestimation, as it does not cater

for interaction with family, neighbours or colleagues. Secondly, the variable does not control for social interaction between migrants with different ethnic backgrounds. Hence, a Moroccan and Surinamese can be best friends and socially interact on a daily basis with each other and neither with co-ethnics nor native Dutch; yet, within this sample they are still classified marginalised migrants. The aim of this paper is to reveal the effect of hybrid connections, which legitimises the thresholds, however, the stated limitations must be taken into account.

**Table 2: Descriptive distribution of variables**

	N (p)	M (SD)	Range
<i>Ethnic groups (N=6772)</i>			
Afghanistan	677 (0.10)		
Antillean	1022 (0.15)		
Iran	716 (0.11)		
Iraq	655 (0.10)		
Morocco	1031 (0.15)		
Somalia	719 (0.11)		
Surinam	981 (0.16)		
Turkey	971 (0.14)		
Age		36.3 (11.35)	15 - 65
Gender (1=female)		0.48	
Generation (1= 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation)		0.18	
Dutch language (3=good)		2.47 (0.65)	1 - 3
Education [Highest degree or studying]			
Max. Primary education	1577 (0.24)		
Lower secondary education	1180 (0.18)		
Middle and higher secondary education	2275 (0.34)		
University or college	1666 (0.25)		
Migration motive			
Political	2189 (0.40)		
Non-political			
Work	293 (0.054)		
Studies	484 (0.088)		
Family	2229 (0.33)		
Other	276 (0.04)		
<b>Dependent variable</b>			
Employed (1= yes)		0.65	0 – 1
Occupational level	4259	2.62 (1.16)	1 – 5
<b>Independent variable</b>			
Marginalised	1192 (0.18)		
Segregated	1121 (0.17)		
Hybrid identities	2793 (0.43)		
Assimilated	1375 (0.21)		

## Chapter 4

### Modes of integration; the descriptive empirics

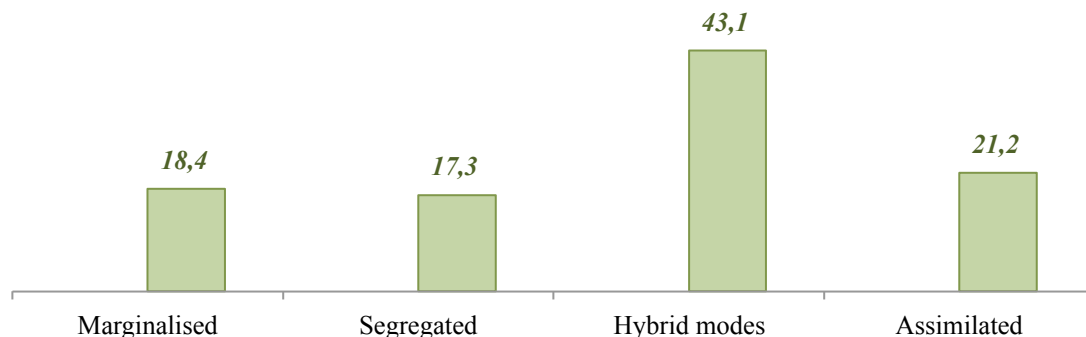
The previous chapters have given a theoretical perspective on the concept of integration. This section will focus on the empirical distribution of modes of integration visible in the Netherlands. The construction of individual sections is similar to the hypotheses as listed in the theoretical framework. The next section discusses the distribution of individual modes of integration; followed by the distribution disaggregated by ethnic background and intergenerational differences. The final section elaborates on reasons for migration.

#### **H1: A substantial part of migrants have developed a hybrid mode of integration**

In continuation of the previous chapter, the researcher will demonstrate that hybrid mode is the most common form of integration in the Netherlands. In order to test this empirically, a crosstab analysis has been conducted [table 3] of which the outcome shows significant results (Pearson Chi-Square: 587,307), indicating that the ethnicity has an influence on the mode of integration. The figure below also displays that based on the conceptual model within this research paper, four modes of integration are clearly visible in the Netherlands. These findings therefore confirm the first hypothesis, as a substantial number of migrants have developed a hybrid mode of integration.

**Figure 4: Distribution of modes of integration in percentages**

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The majority of hybrid modes of integration are amongst Moroccan (52.7%) and Turkish (54.8%) respondents. This finding implies that they interact on a weekly basis with the native population and additionally interact weekly with co – ethnic friends. This outcome reinforces the argument of this research paper, as the hybrid modes of integration seems to be at the expense of assimilation of Moroccans (11.7%) and Turks (8.1%). Respondents falling under the banner of hybrid mode would in the classical integration debate be defined as either being segregated or assimilated of which this analysis clearly demonstrates that this outlook does not reflect reality.

The composition of assimilated Afghani (28.2%), Iranians (30,0%) and Iraqi (28.2%) is remarkable, considering the cultural distance is high and the length of stay within the Netherlands is generally shorter as compared to colonial migrants, of whom one fifth of Surinamese (22.2%) and one third of Antilleans (32,0%) have developed assimilated mode of integration. Furthermore, the marginalised mode of integration is also highest amongst Afghani (26.9%), Iranians (36.7%) and Iraqi (26.6%). These results, together with the low percentage of segregation amongst these three ethnic groups, seem to be in line with theories on political migration. This in the sense that as a result of non-voluntarily migration, the absolute number of that particular ethnic minority is fewer, and as a result, segregation is less likely to occur. Instead, individuals are more likely to either fully blend in the dominant society or live in isolation.

**Table 3: Integration modes disaggregated by ethnic groups in percentage (N=6482)**

	Afghan	Antillean	Iranian	Iraqi	Moroccan	Somalis	Surinam	Turkish	Total
Marginalised	26,9	16,5	26,7	26,6	15,6	13,3	20,3	8,9	18,4
Segregated	14,4	12,8	12,3	14,4	20	21,2	11,8	28,2	17,3
Hybrid modes	30,8	38,6	31	30,8	52,7	45,9	45,6	54,8	43,1
Assimilated	28,2	32	30	28,2	11,7	19,6	22,2	8,1	21,2

*Pearson Chi-Square: 587,307a*

a. 0 cells (.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 99.94

## **H2: Hybrid mode is dominant amongst 2nd generation migrants**

This section concentrates on generational differences in modes of integration which is empirically tested with a crosstab analysis in two phases [table 4 and 5]. The output in table 4 resembles a significant difference between modes of integration between the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> generation (Pearson Chi-Square: 100,712), and additionally, an independent t-test for the equality of means between the variables: hybrid mode and generation was conducted and

show a significant result ( $p < 0.001$ ). Thus, the second hypothesis can be confirmed as the hybrid mode of integration is significantly larger amongst migrants born in the Netherlands. The turnout of segregated second-generation migrants is remarkably low (11,1%), especially since the proportion of 2<sup>nd</sup> generation marginalised migrants is higher (12,2%). The latter is most likely a result of the conceptualisation of marginalisation as previously mentioned.

A closer look at generational differences disaggregated by ethnic backgrounds as displayed in table 5, show that for the first generation, within each individual ethnic group, more than fifty per cent of the respondents socially interact with the native Dutch population. Furthermore, the low number of marginalised (10,0%) and assimilated (6,8%) Turks indicate that social interaction with co – ethnics is important amongst this group. The turnout converted means that 83,6% of 1<sup>st</sup> generation Turks socially interact with co- ethnics at least once a week. Similar patterns, though less, are visible amongst Moroccans (70,9%) and the Somalis population (67,0%).

Due to data availability, generational differences amongst the second generation migrants can only be analysed for SIM respondents. As previously stated, 2<sup>nd</sup> generation SING respondents are likely to be younger than 15 yrs. and are therefore not included in the analysis. In regards to the SIM respondents, the proportion of second generation assimilated Antilleans (56,7%) is remarkable high. Hence, within this sample, 83,1% interacts with Dutch natives at least once a week. This outcome seems to be in line with the assumption that former colonial migrants are more likely to assimilate into the dominant society. However, this image is partly contradicted by the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation Suriname respondents of whom 28,4% are assimilated and 45,3% have a hybrid mode of integration. This difference is most likely explained by the fact that the colonial argument only holds for first generation migrants and not for their offspring.

**Table 4: Integration modes disaggregated by generation in percentages**

	<u>Generation</u>	
	<i>1st</i>	<i>2nd</i>
Marginalised	19,8	12,2
Segregated	18,7	11,1
Hybrid modes	41,6	49,7
Assimilated	19,9	27,0

*Pearson Chi-Square: 100,712a*

a. 0 cells (0.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 206.18

**Table 5: Integration modes by disaggregated by generation and ethnic group**

	<u>Afghan</u>	<u>Antillean</u>	<u>Iranians</u>	<u>Iraqi</u>	<u>Moroccan</u>	<u>Somalis</u>	<u>Surinam</u>	<u>Turkish</u>
<i>1<sup>st</sup> generation</i>								
Marginalised	26,9	17,1	26,8	26,8	17,9	13,4	21,7	10,0
Segregated	15,6	16,3	12,8	14,6	21,6	21,3	13,4	32,6
Hybrid modes	33,4	42,8	31,2	30,7	49,3	45,7	45,6	50,6
Assimilated	24	23,9	29,2	27,9	11,3	19,6	19,2	6,8
<i>Total %</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>628</i>	<i>767</i>	<i>619</i>	<i>570</i>	<i>737</i>	<i>628</i>	<i>651</i>	<i>688</i>
<i>Pearson Chi-Square: 420,745a</i>								

c. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 106,71.

	<u>Antillean</u>	<u>Moroccan</u>	<u>Surinam</u>	<u>Turkish</u>
<i>2<sup>nd</sup> generation</i>				
Marginalised	14,6	9,9	17,5	5,7
Segregated	2,4	16	8,8	17,8
Hybrid modes	26,4	61,2	45,3	65,5
Assimilated	56,7	12,9	28,4	11
<i>Total %</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Total (N)</i>	<i>254</i>	<i>294</i>	<i>331</i>	<i>281</i>
<i>Pearson Chi-Square: 240,304a</i>				

c. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 28,9.

### **H3: Hybrid mode is dominant amongst non- political migrants**

The third and final analysis in this chapter concerns with differences of modes of integration between political and non-political migrants. The crosstab analysis as displayed in table 6 indicates that the differences between reasons for migration and the mode of integration are significant (Pearson Chi-Square: 102,199), which is confirmed by the independent t-test for the equality of means between the variables: hybrid mode and migration motivation ( $p < 0.001$ ). The proportion of respondents with a hybrid mode is therefore significantly larger for non-political migrants (46,4%) than for political migrants (35,4%), which confirms the third hypothesis.

In addition, the proportion of marginalised (24,0%) and assimilated (24,3%) political migrants in this sample is in accordance with earlier stated theories that marginalisation is more likely to occur amongst migrants who migrated for political reasons, as fragmentation of ties with co- ethnics contributes to smaller ethnic minorities within a host society. This interpretation should be made with cautions, as ultimately, the proportion of the hybrid mode of integration is most common amongst political and non-political migrants.

**Table 6: Integration modes disaggregated by determinants of migration in percentages**

	<u>Political</u>	<u>Non-political</u>
Marginalised	24,0	15,9
Segregated	16,3	17,7
Hybrid modes	35,4	46,4
Assimilated	24,3	19,9

*Total (N): 6481*  
*Pearson Chi-Square: 102,199a*

c. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is 339,02.

## Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to display the descriptive empirics of modes of integration visible in the Netherlands. The most important finding is that the most common mode of integration visible within this sample constitutes for respondents with a hybrid bonding. This indicates that these respondents socially interact with Dutch natives and with co-ethnics at least once a week. This outcome therefore confirms the *hypothesis 1*. Moroccan and Turkish respondents especially seem to emphasise social interaction with co –ethnics; this is concluded from the fact that the proportion of assimilated respondents within this sample is relatively low. The mechanism could be correlated to religion as this aspect can increase the likelihood of interaction with acquaintances. Another explanation can be related to the migration reason by for instance marriage migrants who generally migrate in adulthood and have no specific bonding with the dominant society. Nevertheless, further research is necessary to back up these explanations.

The analysis confirms the *hypothesis 2* on generational differences; which states that the hybrid mode of integration is likely to be dominant amongst the 2<sup>nd</sup> generation. The outcome is together with the proportion assimilated migrants in line with intergenerational theories; which state that due to participation in the dominant society from an early age on, this generation is more likely to interact with the native population.

The final section of this chapter reviewed the division of modes of integration amongst political and non- political migrants. The results confirm *hypothesis 3*, which states that hybrid modes are predominant amongst non-political migrants. In addition, the proportion of marginalised and assimilated migrants confirms earlier theories regarding political migrants [including: Afghani, Iranians and Iraqi], who, due to fragmentation, have less options to choose their form of integration. As a result, more extreme modes of integration [marginalisation and assimilation] are prevalent amongst political migrants. On



the basis of this analysis it is not possible to explain the large proportion of hybrid modes of political migrants. The outcomes of the analysis in this chapter indicate that various modes of integration are visible within the Netherlands, and moreover, that hybrid modes particularly are of great proportion. However, the presence of various forms of integration does not provide any information about participation within the Dutch society. The next chapter will therefore test the effect of various modes of integration on structural integration.

## Chapter 5

### **Modes of integration and labour market participation**

This chapter analyses the impact of modes of integration and the employment position in the Netherlands. The analysis was conducted in two steps. Firstly, the binary logistic analysis empirically tests the odds ratio of individual integration modes and employment status. In the second part a regression analysis studies the effect of the various integration modes on the occupational level of which the results are being discussed in the two sections as stated below.

#### **H4: Hybrid mode has a positive effect on the employment status**

The relation between modes of integration and the employment states are analysed with the use of a binary logistic analysis in three steps. The hybrid mode of integration is conducted as a reference group [table 7], which indicates that model A, B and C show the logit of odds of employment of each mode of integration in comparison to the hybrid mode. In the first step [model A] the impact of various modes on the employment status are tested solely in order to verify the assumption that the two variables are related. The impact of the modes is significant, though marginal, as indicated by the output in model A. The integration modes explain little over 3% of the odds ratio of employment [Nagelkerke: 0.03]. In comparison to the hybrid mode of integration, the logit of odds of employments are negatively influenced by the marginalised [-0.47] and segregated [-0.74] mode of integration.

Remarkable, the B-coefficient of segregated and marginalised modes indicate that marginalised migrants have a better chance to be employed than segregated migrants. This would suggest that dominant interaction with co – ethnics has an extreme negative effect on the employment status. The correlation between the hybrid mode and assimilation is however not significant, which indicates that interaction with co-ethnics does not affect employment negatively; provided that social interaction with the native population also occurs. Nonetheless, control variables must be included in the analysis in order to draw conclusions.

The second model B includes the control variables age, gender and education; the Nagelkerke output [0.19] indicates that almost 20 % of the odds of employment are explained with these variables. The odds of employment are in this model not influenced by age; however, education [0,32] and gender [0,82] especially contribute to the chances of employment. This indicates that men have a better chance to be employed than women and

that the higher the level of education, the higher the likability of employment. Nevertheless, the correlation of modes of integration and the odds ratio of employment remains significant.

The effect of the ability to speak Dutch is introduced in the final step [model C]. This control variable is included separately for the researcher assumes that this variable will have a large impact on the odds ratio of employment. The outcome confirms the assumption, as the B-coefficient of language [0.97] indicates that the odds ratio of employment is dominantly explained with this variable; model C explains 26.1% of the odds of the employment status [Nagelkerke: 0.26]. The impact of the modes of integration has decreased in the third step, yet, it remains significant and the patterns are similar. Thus, the odds ratio of employment remains positive in comparison to segregated and marginalised modes of integration, and additionally, no significant difference is found between the hybrid and assimilated modes. The hybrid mode of integration is therefore positively related to the employment states, which confirms the *hypothesis 4*. Furthermore, the absence of a significant relation between the odds ratio of hybrid bonding and assimilation on employment refute the argument that retention of the initial culture has a negative influence on employment.

**Table 7: Modes of integration and labour market participation (N= 6504)**

	Model A		Model B		Model C	
	B-coefficient	(s.e.)	B-coefficient	(s.e.)	B-coefficient	(s.e.)
Constant	0,89		0,36		- 2,07	
Marginalised	- 0,47**	(0,07)	- 0,41**	(0,08)	- 0,30**	(0,08)
Segregated	- 0,74**	(0,07)	- 0,55**	(0,08)	- 0,34**	(0,08)
Assimilated	0,10	(0,07)	- 0,01	(0,08)	- 0,04	(0,08)
Gender			- 0,82**	(0,06)	- 0,82**	(0,06)
Age			- 0,004	(0,003)	0,01	(0,003)
Education			0,32**	(0,01)	0,22**	(0,02)
Dutch language					0,97**	(0,05)
Nagelkerke pseudo R2	0,03		0,19		0,26	

Table 9: indicates the effect of integration types on paid labour in which hybrid identities are the reference group. NOTE: missing values are not included in the analysis \*\* p< 0.05

### **H5: hybrid mode has a positive effect on the occupational status**

The previous section has estimated to what extent modes of integration affect the odds ratio of employment. In this section, the strength of effects of the occupational level by the modes of integration are analysed with the use of a regression analysis. This analysis is similar to the previous section conducted in three steps [table 8, 9 and 10]. The first output in table 8 supports the argument that modes of integration have an impact on the occupational level, as the output of the first regression analysis shows a significant effect. This outcome indicates that hybrid bonding has a positive effect on the occupational level in comparison to segregated migrants. However, according to the output, marginalisation and assimilation are more positively related to the level of employment than hybrid bonding. Nevertheless, this model is not reliable, as the low adjusted R- square indicates [0,01].

The second step includes the control variables gender, age and education, which increases the adjusted R-square [0,31] and is therefore more reliable. However, the modes of integration have become insignificant. In this model, education [Beta: 0,52] and age [0,24] are more relevant indicators to explain the level of occupation. This outcome is not surprising for education increases the level of expertise and therefore also the likelihood of a higher occupational level. Furthermore, the level of occupation is also likely to increase with experience, and hence, in years.

The final step analyses the additional impact of the ability to speak Dutch and the level of occupation [table 12]. This model overall explains 34,0% of the occupational level [adjusted R-square: 0,34]. In addition to the second step, the ability to speak Dutch has a strong effect on the level of occupation [B: 0,46], however, in the overall model, education [Beta:0,47] and age [Beta: 0,25] are more deceive in the level of occupation than mastering the Dutch language [Beta: 0,20]. The final *hypothesis 5* must be rejected, as no significant effect between the mode of integration and the level of occupation is found. A final note on the impact of gender, the level of occupation has a marginal positive effect for women [Beta: 0.03]. In contrast to the like hood of being employed as discussed in the previous chapter, the level of occupation is positively influenced by this gender.

**Table 8: Regression of modes of integration and the occupational level**

	<b>B</b>	<b>s.e.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Beta</b>
Marginalised	0,13**	0,05	2,6	0,04
Segregated	- 0,12**	0,06	- 2,13	- 0,04
Assimilated	0,24**	0,05	5,34	0,09
Constant	2,57			
<i>(Adjusted R-square: 0,01)</i>				

a. Dependent variable: occupational level

Notes: 1. The figures are unstandardised regression coefficients and represent direct effects. b: standardised regression coefficient. The sample size was 4147. Significance levels: \*\* p<0.05.

**Table 9: Regression on integration and occupation level including: gender, age and education**

	<b>B</b>	<b>s.e.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Beta</b>
Marginalised	- 0,05	0,04	- 1,10	- 0,02
Segregated	- 0,09	0,05	- 1,91	- 0,03
Assimilated	0,04	0,04	1,11	0,02
Gender	0,11**	0,03	3,51	0,05
Age	0,02**	0,00	16,78	0,24
Education	0,31**	0,01	39,3	0,52
Constant	0,53			
<i>(Adjusted R-square:0,31)</i>				

a. Dependent variable: occupational status

Notes : 1. The figures are unstandardised regression coefficients and represent direct effects. Significance level: \*\* p<0.051.

**Table 10: Regression on integration and occupation level including: gender, age, education and language**

	<b>B</b>	<b>s.e.</b>	<b>t</b>	<b>Beta</b>
Marginalised	- 0,02	0,04	- 0,48	- 0,01
Segregated	- 0,004	0,05	- 0,08	- 0,001
Assimilated	0,03	0,04	0,78	0,01
Gender	0,07**	0,03	2,37	0,03
Age	0,03**	0,001	19,17	0,25
Education	0,29**	0,01	35,09	0,47
Dutch language	0,46**	0,03	14,66	0,20
Constant	- 0,66			
<i>(Adjusted R-square: 0,34)</i>				

a. Dependent variable: occupational status

Notes: 1. The figures are unstandardized regression coefficients and represent direct effects. b: standardised regression coefficient. The sample size was 4147. Significance level: \*\* p<0.05.

## Conclusion

This chapter has estimated the effect of modes of integration on the employment status and the level of occupation of migrants in the Netherlands. A binary logistic regression analysis was conducted to test whether modes of integration affect the likelihood of employment. The interest of this question is on active participation of migrants in the Dutch society, therefore, the conceptualisation of employment includes paid labour more than 1 hour per week. The analysis firstly indicated that modes of integration affect the logit of odds of employment. It furthermore confirms *hypothesis 4*, as the hybrid mode had a positive effect in comparison to marginalised and segregated modes of integration. There is no visible difference between the hybrid mode and assimilation, which indicates that having social interaction with co – ethnics does not affect the employment status provided that it is combined with social interaction with Dutch natives.

In regards to the level of occupation, no effect is found between the modes of integration, therefore *hypothesis 5* is rejected. Education and age are the variables that especially have an effect on the occupational level. This is explained by the fact that education increases expertise and years of experience increase the likelihood of a higher occupational level. It is most likely that out of all the respondents, most have mastered the Dutch language, and therefore the effect of this variable is of less importance in this model.

An interesting notion in comparison to the odds of employment and the level of occupation regards the gender differences. The gender female negatively influences the odds of employment, whereas the level of occupation seems to – slightly - increase for women. This is explained that overall, women are less likely to participate on the labour market, however, those who are employed are most likely higher educated than men and this factor then contributes to the occupational level. One of the additional conclusions based on this analysis is that in order to enter the labour market, it is important to master the Dutch language and interact with the native population. However, once employed, education and experience contribute positively to the level of occupation rather than the mode of integration.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusions and discussion

#### **Conclusions**

Dominant sentiment towards the integration of migrants in the Netherlands emphasises on assimilation into the Dutch society. The rationale is that if the dominant culture is adopted migrants are able to fully participate in formal and informal institutions of the society. In contrast, the maintenance of the initial culture is defined as choosing to live segregated lives and is considered to be an obstruction for integration. The argument is that the continuation of bonding with the initial culture sustains cultural distance and prohibits further integration. Migration studies have backed up these perspectives, as it is empirically proven that assimilation has a positive effect on structural integration, such as education and employment, and segregation affects these characteristics negatively. This research paper is an attempt to introduce two additional arguments against this dichotomous perspective. The first argument is that more forms of integration are empirically visible in the Dutch society, most notably a hybrid mode which refers to a combination of both cultures, and secondly, that the retention of the initial culture does not negatively affect the overall process of integration per se.

The dichotomous perspective on integration is partly the result of studies on European immigrants who crossed the Great Atlantic Ocean in the previous century and settled permanently in the United States. Overtime, the majority of these individuals assimilated into the American society. This process was stimulated by the fact that the cultural distance between the dominantly white and Christian migrants and the American society was relatively small, which made it possible to adopt new cultural aspects easily and be accepted by natives. Furthermore, migrants had less modes of integration to choose from due to limited communication and transport possibilities, thus they were more or less forced to focus on the society in which they settled.

In contrast, contemporary migrants originate from diverse cultural backgrounds, which creates larger cultural distances between migrants and the native population. Furthermore, the current contemporary forms of communication and transport enables migrants to remain close with kin in their countries of origin. The settlement of ethnic minorities generated a platform for transnationalism and multiculturalism. The argument of

this research paper is that given the fact that characteristics of migration have changed over time, so should the integration process. Moreover, this research paper argues that the retention of the initial culture does not necessarily prohibit further integration into the Dutch society, provided that migrants have developed a hybrid mode of integration, meaning that they have adopted the Dutch culture alongside their initial culture. The effects of modes of integration are empirically tested on labour market participation.

The Survey Integration Minorities and the Survey Integration New Groups of the Netherlands Social Institute for Social Research has provided the data, which consists of data of first and second generation Afghani, Antilleans, Iranians, Iraqi, Moroccans, Somalis, Surinamese and Turkish migrants. The sample (N=6772) includes all respondents who are within the legal labour force age [15 – 65yrs.] and excludes students, the sick and early pensioners, for they are not likely to be employed. The acculturation model of professor John W. Berry is conducted as the framework to analyse the process of the adoption of the new culture and the maintenance of the initial culture separately. In the four-type model, a positive score on the first account characterises the traditional assimilation process; a positive score on the latter is regarded as segregation. Positive scores appearing on both accounts for a hybrid connection, and finally, negative scores on both accounts, results in marginalisation. The modes of integration are operationalised according to social interaction; respondents were asked how often they interacted socially with Dutch natives and co-ethnics.

Individuals that have social contact at least once a week with Dutch and co-ethnics are characterised as migrants with a hybrid mode of integration (43.1%). Weekly social interaction with Dutch natives exclusively represents assimilation (21.2%) or segregation (17.3%) in the case of interaction with co-ethnics only. Respondents who have less social interaction are categorised as marginalised (18.4%). The distribution as displayed confirms the importance of the argument that the dichotomous perspective on integration should be revised.

The first part of the analysis of this research paper is a crosstab analysis which shows that there are significant differences in modes of integration and ethnic groups. Over 50% of Moroccans and Turkish respondents have a hybrid mode, which seems to be at the cost of assimilation. In the dichotomous perspective, hybrid mode respondents could be defined as segregated due to their intensive contact with co-ethnics. The hybrid mode is furthermore dominant amongst second-generation migrants, which is in line with theories that assume that individuals born within the new culture are more likely to interact with the native population in comparison to migrants who were not born in the country of residence.



Lastly, the hybrid form is predominant amongst non-political migrants. These findings are in line with the theory, which states that non-political migrants generally have more options to choose their country of residence and settle near co-ethnics. As a result, these ethnic minorities are often larger and therefore, individuals have a choice to interact with co-ethnics or with the dominant population. In contrast, political migrants did not migrate voluntarily and have less choice to choose their place of residence and are, at least upon arrival, scattered over a wider region. The composition of these ethnic minorities are therefore generally smaller, thus, the option to dominantly interact with co-ethnics is more difficult. Hence, political migrants are more likely to assimilate into the dominant society or be marginalised from society.

In the second part of the analysis the correlation of employment status and modes of integration are empirically tested in a logistic binary analysis. The output shows a significant effect of the modes of integration and the odds ratio of being employed. Furthermore, the hybrid mode affects the chance of paid employment positively in comparison to segregation [-0.341] and marginalisation [-0.302]. There is no significant difference between assimilation and the hybrid mode, meaning that the change of employment is equal between migrants that assimilated into the Dutch society and migrants with a have hybrid bonding. The outcome is important, as it contributes to the second argument of this research paper that hybrid modes are desirable. Hence, the outcome confirms that the maintenance of contact with the initial culture does not obstruct structural integration in the form of labour market participation, provided bonding with the Dutch culture is present. No evidence is found to confirm that the hybrid mode of integration is better than assimilation.

In regards to the research question: *What are the effects of modes of socio – cultural integration on the employment position in the Netherlands?* This research paper concludes that modes of integration affect the employment position in the Netherlands. Although there is no evidence found for the argument that hybrid bonding is in fact the most desired mode of integration, nevertheless, as no significant difference is found between assimilation, it does support the argument that retention of the initial culture does not necessarily obstruct structural integration. In a way, the outcome of this analysis refutes the argument of the council member and his objection towards Mayor Aboutaleb. Although the findings should be interpreted with cautions, as this thesis only reflected upon the effects of integration modes and the employment position.

## **Discussion**

This research paper can be considered to be a rather exploratory introduction on modes of integration. To analyse plausible mechanisms between the assimilation and hybrid mode of integration, the recommendation of this research is that future studies should emphasise other characteristics. The overall well being of migrants in the Netherlands is a variable, which would be interesting to operationalise in order to analyse plausible differences between these two modes of integration. The researcher hypothesises that the well being of migrants is generally higher perceived amongst migrants with a hybrid bonding than for migrants who are assimilated into society. The rationale is that migrants with a hybrid mode are likely to be less confronted with conflicts of cultures, as they are part of both cultures, and thus, are able to adapt more easily.

Another aspect that would be interesting to introduce is the interaction amongst minorities. As previously mentioned, current research does not include this aspect in social research, which is unfortunate. So called 'black primary and secondary schools' in the Netherlands, for example, do not solely consist of one ethnic minority group. It is rather a reflection of the composition of residential areas, which are a mixture of different ethnicities. Hence, this means that these students are, at least to a certain extent, familiar with other cultures as a result of mixed classrooms. Furthermore, the topic of integration also stresses the issue of perceptions and expectation of and towards mixed race individuals. Hence, this is a notion that could be examined more into depth.

## **Limitations and Recommendations**

This research paper has focused on the correlation between hybrid modes of integration and structural integration indicators concerning employment. This subject was chosen based on the fact that this structural indicator is often conducted in social research and therefore abundant data is available. There are some limitations that must be taken into consideration. Firstly, in regards to the independent variable of modes of integration, this indicator was operationalised via social contacts; which is a strong indicator as it reveals a lot of information about individual preferences and notions. Nonetheless, in future research the classification could be conducted in a combination of more than two characteristics, such as the intensity with co-ethnics in the country of origin or self-identification. The first indicator especially reveals information about the active intensity to which migrants maintain their initial culture.

Furthermore, the threshold of social contact at least once a week is set in order to limit

discussions about the hybrid mode of integration. Nonetheless, the counter effect is that a rather large proportion of respondents are classified as marginalised, which in theory indicates that these respondents live isolated lives. However, within this framework marginalisation simply refers to less social interaction. Lastly, the data does not allow controlling for interaction between different ethnicities; therefore, this aspect is not included in the conceptual model.

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