Perseverance of the Integration Paradox

The effect of structural integration on
(negative) experiences of immigrants in the Netherlands

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Abstract

This study explores the effect of structural integration – determined by educational attainment – on (negative) experiences (such as discrimination, sense of belonging, feelings about hospitality and angriness due to the disadvantaged position of migrants) in the Netherlands, to shed light on the possible existence of an 'integration paradox' in the Netherlands. Using the framework of classical integration as well as the framework of relative deprivation, possible outcome expectations are predicted. Using the NIS2NL dataset, linear and logistic regressions are performed to test the effect of education on (negative) experiences. Next, mediation analyses are conducted to explain these findings. Structural integration is found to have a negative effect on sense of belonging and a positive effect on angriness due to the disadvantaged position, which suggest that there is evidence to confirm an integration paradox. The study however also finds that structural integration has a positive effect on feelings about hospitality, which suggests that there would not be an integration paradox at play. The study concludes that there is an integration paradox at play in the Netherlands, but that it is quite nuanced and only visible when studying certain immigrant experiences.

Keywords

Structural integration, integration paradox, education, group discrimination, personal labour market discrimination, sense of belonging, feelings about hospitality, angriness due to the disadvantaged position of migrants, homesickness, time spent with Dutch people

Chapter 1: Introduction

In 2015, the Dutch IND reported 24 thousand people to apply for asylum in the Netherlands in 2014, which was a 66% increase since 2013 and the highest amount since 2002. This increased immigration flow, similar to the one following the war in former Yugoslavia in the nineties, has seen terms like 'participation' and 'integration' become main topics in the political and public debate. Common belief is that integration is key to ensure that the process of immigration yields positive effects for both immigrants as well as the receiving country.

Up until recently, scholars agreed that immigrant integration would have a number of positive effects; it would ensure migrant labour market participation, immigrants would gain access to all areas of community life, segregation between ethnic groups would dissolve, migrant mortality risk would be reduced and mental health would improve, among others (Schneider & Crul, 2010; Alba & Nee, 1997; Seeman, 1996).

Recent studies have shown that integration does not always automatically yield positive effects, however. Within the highest segments of structural integration (i.e. educational level, labour market position) a counterintuitive, negative effect seems to occur. This effect is referred to as the 'integration paradox' (Buijs et al., 2006; Verkuyten, 2016). According to integration paradox-theorists, due to the 'negative political climate' and incongruences between their expectations and reality, immigrants with the highest education start to experience negative effects like a decreased sense of belonging or increased perceived discrimination. The emergence of these negative effects has some serious implications, both for the immigrants themselves as well as for the host society. Mental wellbeing decreases, feelings of insecurity take over and immigrants start to turn away from society and retract from the labour market (Buijs et al., 2006; Nievers & Andriessen, 2010). What's more, higher-educated immigrants

consider emigrating back to their country of birth (Motivaction, 2009; Klaver et al., 2010) or to another country (Muller, 2011). So, a serious case of 'brain-drain' might be at stake (van Doorn et al., 2013)

Earlier studies on the integration paradox in the Netherlands have focused on the four main migrant groups in the Netherlands: Poles, Indians, Germans and Romanians (Statista, 2019). Additionally, most studies on the integration paradox focused on indicators of perceived group discrimination (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2004; Gijsberts, 2005; Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2007). Considering earlier work, this study aims to take another look at immigrant integration in the Netherlands to see whether there is an integration paradox at play and if so, which mechanisms could explain this. This study will provide new knowledge by not looking at just the four main migrant groups, and by taking other experiences such as personal discrimination, sense of belonging and feelings about hospitality into consideration.

This study will try to answer the following research question:

What is the effect of structural integration of immigrants on their (negative) experiences (discrimination, sense of belonging, feelings about hospitality and angriness due to the disadvantaged position of migrants) in the Netherlands?

In addition, to analyse the mechanisms that might explain the findings, the following sub-question will try to be answered:

Is the perceived effect of structural integration of immigrants on their (negative) experiences mediated by any other factors, and if so, how do these factors mediate the effect?

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

2.1 Immigrant Integration

First of all, a clear definition of the term 'immigrant integration' should be established.

To define immigrant integration, this study follows the work of Alba and Nee, who describe immigrant integration as "the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance of and ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it" (Alba & Nee, 1997). So, an immigrant should be viewed as more integrated once the differences between them and the host society become less clear.

The term 'integration' is often divided into two dimensions: structural integration and cultural integration. Structural integration can be defined as growth achieved within the domains of education, labour market position, income, and so on. Integrating within the cultural dimension includes identification with the host country and its cultural ideas and traditions, learning the language and becoming friends with members of the host society, among others (Vollebergh et al., 2003).

2.2 Structural integration

As described above, scholars argue that the integration paradox occurs mostly among immigrants that have achieved a high degree of 'structural integration'. To achieve structural integration is to improve one's economic or educational position (Verkuyten, 2016; Alba & Nee, 2003; Esser, 2001; Gordon, 1964). Since this is presumed to be the main area where the integration paradox would be at play, this study will focus on structural integration.

2.3 Integration versus Assimilation

As Schneider and Crul (2010) describe in their article on assimilation and integration theory, the concepts of assimilation and integration have been subject to significant scholarly debate. In American literature, the term *assimilation* is dominant, while the term *integration* is more present in European literature. To determine which concept is most fitting for this study, the differences between the two have to be distinguished.

In essence, the term assimilation implies 'to become similar', referring to the extent to which the immigrant becomes similar to 'the mainstream'. Important to note here is that the mainstream is dynamic; both sides can adjust to each other. Adopting 'American' values, while retaining one's own culture should be possible.

The European idea of integration is mostly aimed at maintaining social cohesion, something that could be achieved through (a minimum degree of) cultural homogeneity, especially when it comes to language (Schneider and Crul, 2010).

Considering the meaning of both concepts, there seems to be much overlap. Regarding the measuring of integration or assimilation, however, there are some differences. While assimilation takes a broader approach, measuring 'successful assimilation' by looking at the degree of incorporation into patterns of economic and social 'success', integration includes structural aspects of incorporation into society as its measure. To measure integration, one should look at the structural representation of immigrants and their offspring in education, within the labour market, and so on (Schneider and Crul, 2010).

Considering this slight difference in 'measurability' combined with the fact that this study will be conducted within the Dutch (European) context, the term *integration* will be used.

2.4 Approaching the effects of integration

The topic of immigrant integration does not come without its fair share of debate within the scholarly field. In academic literature, two leading perspectives can be distinguished; those in support of classic immigration theory, and those in favour of a more nuanced approach to immigrant integration.

2.4.1 Mechanisms of classic immigration theory

According to classic immigration theory, integration is necessary to ensure a number of positive effects for immigrants and the receiving country alike. Integration would provide the immigrants with opportunities on the labour market, inclusion through social contacts, increased wellbeing and decreased feelings of discrimination (Gordon, 1964; Alba & Nee, 1997; Seeman, 1996; Esser, 2001; Alba & Nee, 2003). For the receiving society, an integrated immigrant is able to contribute to the economy by participating in the labour market (Schneider & Crul, 2010).

2.4.1.1 The first step to integration

In his work, Gordon (1964) explains: "once structural assimilation has occurred … all of the other types of assimilation will naturally follow". Structural integration would enable a decline of prejudice and discrimination, more widespread intermarriage and the dissolve of borders that separate minority identity from the majority identity. Esser (2003) adds to this, describing that the achievement of aspects of structural integration (being employed or educated) should enable social integration in society (more intercultural and interethnic contacts within social networks).

2.4.1.2 Straight-Line and Bumpy-Line Assimilation

In their work on the subject matter, Gans (1973) and Sandberg (1973) use Gordon's framework on integration to formulate the notion of 'straight-line assimilation'. They argue that integration is intergenerational and develops over time. Each new generation of immigrants should be more integrated than the previous one. Here, the intergenerational dissolve of migrant identity is symbolised by a straight line.

The notion of integration as a straight line has been criticised by other scholars, since ethnic identity could experience periods of renaissance or recreation for example when members of a migrant group start to actively take pride in their cultural heritage) (Glazer & Moynihan, 19763; Yancey, Ericksen & Juliani, 1976; Greeley, 1977; Conzen et al., 1992). Taking these critics into consideration, Gans (1992) came up with the re-envisioned 'Bumpy-Line theory of ethnicity'. Here, the now bumpy line implies that even though the core dynamic of generational transition as a mechanism behind ethnic change is still present, the way integration develops is not straight-forward and could be subject to tangents or 'setbacks'.

2.5 The Integration Paradox

Those in favour of a more nuanced approach to immigration argue that (structural) integration does not necessarily provide positive outcomes for all migrant groups. In an age of increased anti-immigrant sentiment, immigrants who are most integrated might feel the opposite. Being aware of inequalities in society, they might feel more discriminated than those who are less integrated (Buijs et al., 2006; Nievers & Andriessen, 2010). Additionally, scholars have found that immigrants with higher educational attainment felt less accepted by the host society than those with a lower education (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2007; Ten Teije et al., 2012; Van Doorn et al., 2012). Finally, feelings of being respected by the host society is found to be negatively

affected by structural integration (De Vroome et al., 2014). The existence of such counterintuitive effects is called an 'integration paradox' (Buijs et al., 2006).

2.6 Negative experiences

An integration paradox could have a number of negative effects on migrants, including experiencing high levels of group discrimination (Gijsberts and Dagevos, 2004; Gijsberts, 2005; Gijsberts and Vervoort, 2007, 2009), personal discrimination (van Doorn et al., 2013), feelings of not being accepted (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2007; Ten Teije et al., 2012; Van Doorn, et al., 2012) or respected by the host society (De Vroome et al., 2014) and so on. Since all of these experiences contribute to immigrant's health and wellbeing, as well as possible retraction from the host society, this study will categorize them under one denominator: '(negative) experiences in the receiving country'.

2.7 Mechanisms of the Integration paradox

2.7.1 Relative deprivation

One of the mechanisms behind the integration paradox could be found in Relative Deprivation Theory (RDT). Relative deprivation is to feel that oneself or one's group is at an unfair disadvantage in comparison to others or other groups (Pettigrew et al., 2008; Smith et al., 2012). According to Smith et al. (2012), relative deprivation is experienced following three key aspects. First of all, an individual must compare itself or the group that it identifies with, with another individual or group. Secondly, the conclusion of this comparison should be that the individual or group has a relative disadvantage compared to its respective other. Finally, this disadvantage should be perceived as being unfair.

2.7.2 Opportunities to compare

In their research on relative deprivation, Taylor and Moghaddam (1994) argue that those who are 'more advantaged' within disadvantaged groups are most likely to engage in intergroup comparison. This would imply that immigrants with a higher education (as part of their structural integration) would be more likely to compare themselves with others than their lower educated counterparts. Additionally, research has shown that higher educated immigrants have more opportunities for contact with the majority society and have more contact with the host society, which in turn increases their possibilities for intergroup comparison (Kalmijn & van Tubergen, 2006; Martinovic, 2013).

Regarding the distribution of labour across members of the host society and immigrants with a similar educational level, members of migrant groups have much higher levels of unemployment than members of the host society (Alba & Nee, 2003; Hall & Farkas, 2008; Kogan, 2006). Considering this, higher educated immigrants could feel deprived, when comparing themselves with members of society that have a similar level of education.

2.7.3 Cognitive sophistication

According to scholars like Wodtke (2012) and Kane and Kyyrö (2001), to have a higher education implies having higher 'cognitive sophistication'. Cognitive sophistication could be described as the level of cognitive awareness of certain processes that an individual has. To translate this to the situation of immigrants and relative deprivation: those with a higher education have higher cognitive sophistication, and are thus more aware of processes of discrimination and unequal opportunities in society. Consequently, this awareness could result in an increase in the perceived relative deprivation among higher educated immigrants (Kane & Kyyrö, 2001; Wodtke, 2012).

2.7.4 Rising Expectations

The theory of rising expectations suggests that those who have higher educational or labour market-oriented ambitions also develop higher expectations. Because they have higher expectations, they tend to feel more strongly disappointed about (perceived) unequal opportunities and treatment, since the rewards don't match their expectations (Entzinger, 2008).

2.8 The Current Study

This research will try to contribute to the scholarly debate on immigrant integration and the integration paradox by looking at the structural integration of immigrants and their experiences in Dutch society. In doing so, the study aims to provide new insights into the mechanisms behind structural integration, whether an integration paradox is at play in the Dutch context and what the existence of such a phenomenon would imply for both the host society, as well as the migrants themselves.

Considering earlier works and theory on the subject matter, two hypotheses have been derived to answer the research question *"What is the effect of structural integration of immigrants on their (negative) experiences in the Netherlands?"* as well as the sub-question *"Is the perceived effect of structural integration of immigrants on their (negative) experiences mediated by any other factors, and if so, how do these factors mediate the effect?"*

2.8.1 Hypotheses: classic immigration theory

According to classic immigration theory, integration should have an inherently positive effect on immigrants, since it would provide access to all areas of community life, eliminate segregation between migrant groups and members of the host society, reduce mortality risks and improve mental health and wellbeing (Alba & Nee, 1997; Seeman, 1996). Following Gans' theory of bumpy-line integration and Gordon's framework, integration would be an intergenerational process where it would positively influence itself; over time, immigrants would become more structurally integrated, making it easier to integrate in other areas (Alba & Nee, 2003; Esser, 2001; Gordon, 1964; Gans 1992).

Considering classic immigration theory and a situation wherein there is no integration paradox, the following hypothesis has been formulated:

Hypothesis 1: Structural integration has a positive effect on immigrant experiences in the receiving country.

The effect on experiences in the receiving country can be explained by migrants' wellbeing and integration in other areas (for example access to community life and the elimination of segregation). To elaborate on hypothesis one, two sub hypotheses have been derived using this framework:

Hypothesis 1.1: Structural integration has a positive effect on personal wellbeing, which in turn has a positive effect on immigrant experiences in the receiving country.

Hypothesis 1.2: Structural integration has a positive effect on other areas of integration, which in turn positively affects immigrant experiences in the receiving country.

2.6.2 Hypotheses: relative deprivation and the integration paradox

More recent scholars believe that the effect of integration on immigrants is less straight forward. Following their approach to integration, the following hypothesis has been derived:

Hypothesis 2: Structural integration has a negative effect on immigrant experiences in the receiving country.

To elaborate on the mechanisms behind this effect, the relative deprivation framework has been used to formulate the following sub hypothesis:

Hypothesis 2.1: Immigrants who are more structurally integrated, experience more relative deprivation since they have higher expectations, more opportunities to compare and/or higher cognitive sophistication, which in turn has a negative effect on their experiences in the receiving country, especially so for those within the highest educational segment(s).

Chapter 3: Methods

This paper will examine the relationship between immigrant integration and their attitudes towards the host society by doing a quantitative data analysis of the New Immigrant Survey Netherlands (NIS2NL) dataset. To get a broad, generalizable idea about the tested relationship, this research has opted for quantitative data, over qualitative. Adding to this, using quantitative data, a comparison between different groups can be made. The NIS2NL dataset contains data of immigrant youth in the Netherlands, ranging from 2013 to 2018.

NIS2NL is a longitudinal dataset, collected by Marcel Lubbers, Mérove Gijsberts, Fenella Fleischmann and Mieke Maliepaard. The dataset includes survey answers by four migrant groups: Turks, Poles, Bulgarians and Spaniards. The dataset incorporates questions on identity and exclusion (containing subjects like language, group identification, feelings of acceptance and perceived discrimination), as well as on structural integration (i.e. educational level and employment) which makes it a good fit to analyse immigrant integration and its implications.

The first wave of data was collected in 2013 and 2014 and the final wave of the data was collected in 2018. To collect the data, a survey was conducted in English, but also translated to the respective country of origin languages. The first wave of NIS2NL was directed at recent migrants from the afore-mentioned countries, using the municipal registry (Basisregistratie Personen, BRP) and inviting those who had moved to the Netherlands between June 2012 and January 2014. The respondents were contacted by regular mail to their addresses as recorded in the municipal registries. Upon receiving the questionnaire, respondents could provide their answers either on paper or online. Respondents received a gift voucher of €10,- for participating.

Each wave included questions about migration history, family situation, language, identity, culture and free time, identification, and perceived discrimination.

In total, 4808 respondents participated (whereof 921 Turks, 791 Bulgarians, 1768 Poles and 1329 Spaniards). The response rate of the first wave was 27.9%. Each following wave (2-4), the researchers approached the respondents who participated in the wave before and agreed to Participate once more, thus gradually increasing the response rate (wave 2: 58.7%; wave 3: 68.2%; wave 4: 79.2%) but also gradually decreasing the number of participants (wave 1: 4808; wave 2: 2257; wave 3: 1334; wave 4: 996).

3.1 Operationalisation

3.1.1 Sample

This study will look at the effect of education on immigrant experiences, using the NIS2NL dataset. After removing those who did not answer the questions on educational level, as well as those who were reported missing regarding other variables, the sample contained $N = 4627$ people.

3.1.2 Dependent variables

'Negative experiences in the receiving country' were determined by using the following five variables: 'perceived discrimination against one's own migrant group'; 'perceived individual labour market discrimination'; 'feelings of angriness due to the disadvantaged position of immigrants'; 'having a strong sense of belonging to the Netherlands' and 'feelings about how hospitable the Netherlands are as a country'.

To measure perceived discrimination against one's own migrant group, the following question was used: "*Some say that people from [country of origin] are being discriminated against in*

the Netherlands. How often do you think [country of origin] people are discriminated against in the Netherlands?" Respondents could choose an answer on a five-point scale: 1 'very often'; 2 'often'; 3 'sometimes'; 4 'almost never'; 5 'never'. Answering 'don't know' was also an option. The variable 'perceived group discrimination' was recoded as a continuous variable, with 1 (never) as the lowest value, and 5 (very often) as the highest. Those who answered 'don't know', as well as other missing values, were removed. All in all, the variable contained *N=4282* respondents.

To measure perceived individual labour market discrimination, the following question was used: *"Since you moved to the Netherlands, have you been turned down for a job interview?"* 'yes' or 'no'. Followed by: *"What do you think was the main reason for this?"* for those who answered 'yes' on the first question. Here, the respondents could pick a number of reasons: 'qualification (education, work experience'; 'sex'; 'age'; 'ethnicity'; 'sexual orientation'; 'health or disability'; 'nationality'; 'religion'; 'language or accent'; 'dress or appearance'. Since this question should measure perceived discrimination, those who chose ethnicity, nationality or language or accent as the reason for them to be turned down were regarded as experiencing individual labour market discrimination. Thus, a dichotomous variable was recoded where answers were divided into two categories; being turned down for a job because of reasons that could be associated with discrimination, and being turned down for other reasons. Those who were not turned down for a job or did not provide an answer were removed and reported as missing. All in all, the variable contained *N=628* respondents.

To measure feelings of angriness due to the disadvantaged position of immigrants, the following statement was used: *"I feel angry about the disadvantaged position of many immigrants in the Netherlands."* The respondents could answer how much they agreed with this statement on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 'strongly agree' to 5 'strongly disagree'. Additionally, the respondents could also answer 'don't know'. The variable

'angriness due to the disadvantaged position' was recoded as a continuous variable, with 1 (strongly disagree) as the lowest value, and 5 (strongly agree) as the highest. Those who answered 'don't know', as well as other missing values, were removed. All in all, the variable contained *N=917* respondents.

To measure the extent to which respondents felt a strong sense of belonging to the Netherlands, the following statement was used: "*I have a strong sense of belonging to the Netherlands.*" Here too, respondents estimated how they felt on a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 'totally agree' to 5 'totally disagree'. Additionally, the respondents could answer 'don't know'. The variable 'sense of belonging' was recoded as a continuous variable, with 1 (totally disagree) as the lowest value, and 5 (totally agree) as the highest. Those who answered 'don't know', as well as other missing values, were removed. All in all, the variable contained *N=4533* respondents.

Finally, to measure how hospitable the respondents felt the Netherlands were, the following statement was used: "*In general, the Netherlands, is a hospitable/welcoming country for [country of origin].*" Again, a five-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 'strongly agree' to 5 'strongly disagree' was used. 'Don't know' was also an option. The variable 'feelings about hospitality' was recoded as a continuous variable, with 1 (strongly disagree) as the lowest value, and 5 (strongly agree) as the highest. Those who answered 'don't know', as well as other missing values, were removed. All in all, the variable contained *N=4627* respondents.

3.1.3 Independent variables

Considering earlier studies on the topic of the integration paradox, this study will use education as its measure for structural integration. The NIS2NL survey contains respondents from four different countries of origin (Turkey, Poland, Bulgaria and Spain). For each country, the question "*What is the highest level of education you achieved in [country of origin]?*" Was asked. However, since the countries all have different educational systems, the variables have been combined to create a general 'education' variable, following the ISCED standard, which contains the following educational levels: 'less than primary school completed'; 'primary school completed'; 'lower secondary education'; 'upper secondary education'; 'post-secondary or non-tertiary education'; 'short-cycle tertiary education'; 'bachelor's degree or equivalent'; 'master's degree or equivalent'. Since some of the educational groups were quite small in the NIS2NL dataset, the variable was recoded to combine 'less than primary school' with 'primary school', 'post-secondary or non-tertiary with short cycle', and 'master's or equivalent' with 'doctoral or equivalent'. After this, missing values were removed. This variable contained *N=4667* respondents.

3.1.4 Possible confounders

To ensure validity when analysing the effect of education on feelings towards the host society, this study has used three possible confounder variables that could provide an alternative explanation for different immigrant experiences: gender, age and country of origin. These variables have been used since they are known to be related to integration and discrimination (Salentin, 2007; Steinman, 2019). 'Gender' has been recoded as a dichotomous variable, 'age' has been recoded to be a continuous variable and for each country of origin, a dummy has been made so that they could all be added separately to the models. Afterwards, missing values were removed.

3.1.5 Mediating variables: scenario one

If the conducted analyses resulted in significant findings that support either one of the scenario's, a mediation analysis would be performed. For scenario one, where there is no integration paradox at play, a possible mediator could be 'wellbeing'. As argued in the theoretical framework, structural integration would have a positive effect on wellbeing and through increased wellbeing have a positive effect on feelings towards the host society. First, wellbeing was measured with the statement "*There are sufficient people around me on who I can rely in times of misery.*" The respondents could report to what extent they agree with this statement on a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 'totally agree' to 5 'totally disagree'. 'don't know' was also an option'. This 'social support' variable was recoded as a continuous variable with 1 (totally disagree) as the lowest option and 5 (totally agree) as the highest. Those who answered 'don't know', as well as any missing values were removed.

Second, wellbeing was measured with the question "*Do you often feel homesick?*" Respondents could answer this question on a three-point scale, including the answers 1 'yes, very often', 2 'yes sometimes', 3 'no, never'. 'Homesickness' was recoded as a continuous variable and any missing values were removed.

Another possible mediator could be 'integration in other area's'. The NIS2NL datasets provides some questions about social integration, in particular about interethnic contact. Here, the most fitting measure was the question "*How often do you spend time with Dutch people in your free time?*" Respondents could answer this question on a six-point scale, ranging from 1 'every day', 2 'several times a week', 3 'a few times a month', 4 'several times a year', 5 'less often' and 6 'never'. 'Time spent with Dutch people' was recoded as a continuous variable and any missing values were removed.

3.1.6 Mediating variables: scenario two

For scenario two, where there is an integration paradox at play, a mediation analysis would follow the relative deprivation framework. Relative deprivation would be determined by three variables: *opportunities to compare, cognitive sophistication and rising expectations*. The NIS2NL dataset does neither include questions on cognitive capabilities, nor on expectations. Hence, this study focused on opportunities to compare. Opportunities to compare were measured using the question *"How often do you spend time with Dutch people in your free time?"* Respondents could answer this question on a six-point scale, ranging from 1 'every day', 2 'several times a week', 3 'a few times a month', 4 'several times a year', 5 'less often' and 6 'never'. Here too, 'Time spent with Dutch people' was recoded as a continuous variable and any missing values were removed.

3.2 Statistical Analyses

To test the effect of education on different aspects of (negative) experiences in the receiving country, regression analyses will be performed. For perceived group discrimination, angriness due to the disadvantaged position, sense of belonging and feelings about hospitality – all continuous variables – a linear regression analysis will be conducted. Since personal labour market discrimination is a dichotomous variable, how it is affected by educational level will be tested using a logistic regression analysis. Afterwards, a mediation analysis will be performed to explain the findings. Using linear regression, the direct, indirect and mediation effects will be measured.

As mentioned before, this study will use the UNESCO International Standard Classification of Education, 'ISCED-97' to categorize different educational levels (UNESCO, 2003). This classification has been chosen since it would be the most encompassing and representing, including all educational segments. Additionally, the ISCED classification and its nine

educational levels provides this study with a categorical tool which enables the researcher to take a closer look at different segments and differences in their outcomes. As discussed earlier, the integration paradox is said to occur mostly in the highest segments of structural integration. Using the ISCED categories, the highest educational segment, 'master or equivalent', or 'doctoral or equivalent' will be used as a comparison group in the regression analysis. The dummy that will be created for it, will hence be left out.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Descriptive table

Table 1. Characteristics of the study population

Variable	Total sample (*N=4808*)	Poles (*N=1768*)	Turks (*N=921*)	Bulgarians (*N=790*)	Spaniards (*N=1329*)
Male (%)	46.6 (2240)	37.2 (129)	54.0 (497)	40.6 (321)	47.2 (627)
Age in years, mean (SD)	30.60 (8.771)	31.35 (9.275)	30.93 (8.766)	30.18 (10.168)	29.64 (6.915)
Education %					
Less than primary/primary	4	1.7	13	2.2	1.9
Lower secondary	13.8	22.4	14.3	8.9	4.6
Upper secondary	28.1	25.4	29.8	57.8	12.9
Post-secondary, non-tertiary, short-cycle tertiary	9.3	24.5	.2	.3	.1
Bachelor	22.3	12.2	34.6	27.6	24.5
Master/doctoral	29.6	13.8	8.1	3.3	56.1
Group discrimination, mean (SD), range 1-5	2.96 (1.033)	3.25 (.948)	2.91 (.928)	3.40 (1.080)	2.33 (.862)
Labour Market discrimination % yes	8.0	12.6	4.2	14.8	7.6
Sense of belonging, mean (SD), range 1-5*	3.19 (1.043)	3.44 (.869)	3.27 (1.180)	3.18 (1.153)	2.81 (.980)
Hospitality, mean (SD), range 1-5*	2.38 (.963)	2.35 (.905)	2.46 (.988)	2.69 (1.115)	2.19 (.874)
Homesickness, mean (SD), range 1-5*	2.14 (.593)	1.85 (.618)	1.74 (.599)	1.90 (.582)	1.91 (.550)
Time spent with Dutch, mean (SD), range 0-5*	2.87 (1.689)	2.47 (1.740)	2.82 (1.785)	2.03 (1.697)	3.35 (1.388)

All ranges are ranked from lowest to highest

4.2 The effect of educational level on perceived group discrimination

Table 2.

Educational Level effect on perceived group discrimination *(N_{total} =4282)*

	B	SE
-	3.670***	.084
Highest level of education	-.016	.008
Sex	-.009	.029
Age	-.010***	.002
CO: Turkey	-.347***	.042
CO: Bulgaria	.142**	.043
CO: Spain	-.902***	.040
R^2	.169	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table two shows that there is no significant effect of educational level on perceived group discrimination. The effect of confounders 'Age' and 'Country of Origin' is significant, however. These variables could offer an alternate explanation for differences in perceived group discrimination.

4.3 The effect of educational level on personal labour market discrimination

There was no significant effect to be found between education and personal labour market discrimination χ^2 (df=16; N=628)=24.489; p=.079; Nagelkerke R^2=.052.

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4.4 The effect of educational level on angriness due to the disadvantaged position

Table 4.

Educational Level effect on angriness due to the disadvantaged position of migrants *(N$_{total}$=917)*

	B	SE
-	2.704***	.208
Less than primary, primary	-.415*	.209
Lower secondary	-.529**	.136
Upper secondary	-.234*	.109
Post-secondary, non-tertiary, short-cycle tertiary	-.285	.147
Bachelor or equivalent	-.197	.101
Master or Doctoral or equivalent (reference)	2.704***	.208
Sex	-.106	.071
Age	.010*	.004
CO: Turkey	.616***	.105
CO: Bulgaria	.537***	.113
CO: Spain	.038	.100
R^2	.084	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table four shows us that there are some educational levels that differ significantly from the masters/doctoral educational level when looking at their effect on angriness due to the disadvantaged position of one's migrant group.

First of all, those who have completed primary school or less than primary school score their angriness due to the disadvantaged position at .415 lower than those who have obtained a masters/doctoral degree (b-.415; t=-1.983; p<.05) Secondly, those who have completed a lower secondary education score their angriness due to the disadvantaged position at .529 lower than

those who have completed a masters/doctoral programme (b=-.529; t=-3.882; p<.001). Third, those who have completed an upper secondary education score their angriness due to the disadvantaged position at .234 lower than those who have completed a masters or doctoral programme (b=-.234; t=-2.147; p<.05).

The findings in table four show a positive relationship between educational level and feelings of angriness towards the host society due to the disadvantaged position of one's migrant group. This fits with the second scenario, as mentioned before, where an integration paradox is at play.

4.5 The effect of educational level on belonging to the Netherlands

Table 5.

Educational Level effect on sense of belonging to the Netherlands $(N_{total}=4533)$

	B	SE
-	2.624***	.090
Less than primary, primary	.285**	.089
Lower secondary	.468***	.057
Upper secondary	.244***	.048
Post-secondary, non-tertiary, short-cycle tertiary	.290***	.066
Bachelor or equivalent	.113*	.047
Master or Doctoral or equivalent (reference)	2.624***	.090
Sex	-.019	.030
Age	.019***	.002
CO: Turkey	-.111*	.047
CO: Bulgaria	-.193***	.048
CO: Spain	-.428***	.044
R^2	.084	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table five shows that all educational levels differ significant from the doctoral educational level. Those with a primary education or less estimate their sense of belonging .285 stronger than those with a masters/doctoral degree (b=.285; t=3.211; p<.01), for those with a lower secondary education this estimate was .468 higher (b=.468; t=8.209; p<.001), .244 higher for upper secondary (b=.244; t=5.065; p<.001), .290 higher for post-secondary, non-tertiary or short-cycle tertiary education (b=.290; t=4.389; p<.001). Finally, those with a bachelor's degree estimated their sense of belonging to be .113 higher than those with a doctoral degree (b=.113; t=2.392; p<.05).

The fact that all these groups are shown to have a significant stronger sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those with a masters or doctoral degree is in line with the second scenario, as described before. Educational level has a paradoxical negative effect on a sense of belonging for those in the highest segment of education.

4.6 The effect of educational level on how hospitable the Netherlands are perceived to be

Table 6.

Educational Level effect on how hospitable the Netherlands are perceived to be $(N_{total} =4627)$

	B	SE
-	2.817***	.085
Less than primary, primary	-.043	.083
Lower secondary	-.191***	.054
Upper secondary	-.063	.046
Post-secondary, non-tertiary, short-cycle tertiary	-.064	.063
Bachelor or equivalent	.002	.045
Master or Doctoral or equivalent (reference)	2.817***	.085
Sex	-.022	.029
Age	-.011***	.002
CO: Turkey	.079	.044
CO: Bulgaria	.298***	.046
CO: Spain	-.233***	.042
R^2	.043	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001*

Table six shows that only the lower secondary educational level differs significantly from master or doctoral level. Those with a lower secondary education estimate their feelings about hospitality in the Netherlands to be .191 lower than those with a masters or doctoral degree (b=-.191; t=-3.565; p<.001). This is in line with the first scenario, where there is no integration paradox and integration would have a positive effect on immigrant experiences.

4.7 Mediation Analysis: scenario one

4.7.1 Education, wellbeing and feelings about hospitality

To test whether the perceived effect of education on perceived group discrimination could be explained by the respondents' wellbeing, two possible mediators have been analysed: how often somebody is homesick and whether they have social support in times of misery. Since there was no significant relation between education and social support, this variable has been left out of the analysis.
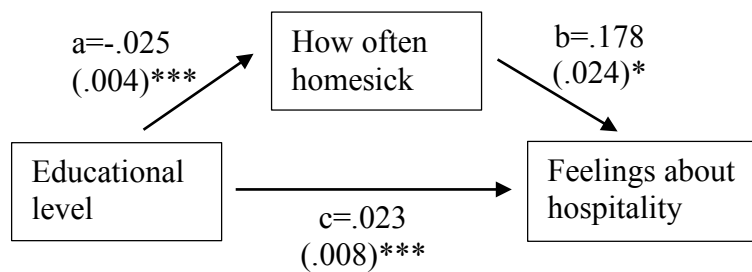
First, the direct effect of educational level on feelings about hospitality is established: educational level has a significant, positive effect on feelings about hospitality (b=.023; t=7.521; p<.001).

Second, the effect of education on possible mediator 'how often homesick' was tested. Education has a significant negative effect on homesickness (b=-.025; t=-5.871; p<.001).

Finally, the direct effects of educational level combined with homesickness on feelings about hospitality were tested.

Table 7.

Educational Level and how often homesick effect on feelings about hospitality *(N$_{total}$ =4627)*

	B	SE
Highest level of education	.028***	.008
How often homesick	.177***	.024
R^2	.054	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table seven shows that the effect education *increases*, while remaining significant when combined with variable on homesickness. This means that there is not a mediation effect at play, but rather a suppression effect. Only once the homesickness variable is added to the model, the 'real' effect of education on feelings about hospitality becomes clear.

4.7.2 Education, integration in other areas and feelings about hospitality

To test whether the perceived effect of education on feelings about hospitality could be explained by integration in other areas, a mediation analysis has been conducted testing the effects in the following path model:
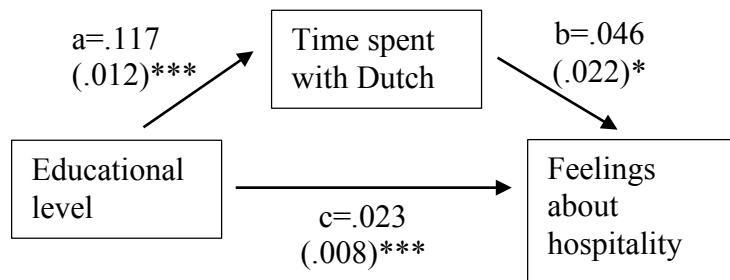
In the previous paragraph, the effect of education on feelings about hospitality was already established (b=.023; t=7.521; p<.001).

After this, the effect of education on possible mediator 'time spent with Dutch people' was tested. Educational level has a significant positive effect on time spent with Dutch people, which implies that the higher education a migrant has, the more time they will spend with Dutch people (b=.117; t=9,713; p<.001).

Finally, the direct effects of educational level combined with time spent with Dutch people were tested.

Table 8.

Educational Level and how much time with Dutch effect on feelings about hospitality *(N$_{total}$ =4627)*

|	**B**	**SE**
Highest level of education	.026**	.008
Time with Dutch	-.059***	.024
R^2	.054	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001*

Similar to the previous mediation analysis, there is a suppression effect at play, rather than a mediation effect; once the time with Dutch variable is added to the model, the 'real' effect of education on feelings about hospitality becomes clear.

4.7.3 Education, opportunities to compare and angriness due to the disadvantaged position

To test whether the perceived effect of education on angriness due to the disadvantage position could be explained by the opportunities to compare, a mediation analysis has been conducted, testing the effect of each arrow in the following path model.
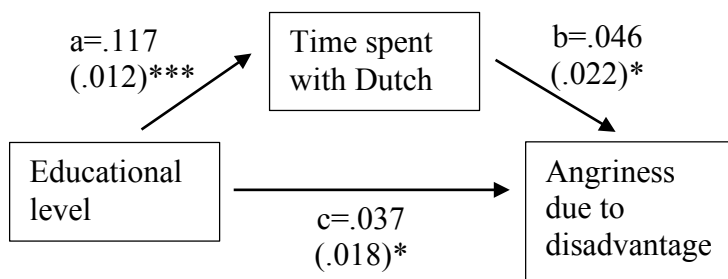
First, the direct effect of educational level on angriness due to the disadvantaged position of one's migrant group is established: educational level has a significant, positive effect on angriness due to the disadvantaged position of one's migrant group (b=.037; t=2.095; p=<.05)

Second, the effect of education on possible mediator 'time spent with Dutch people' was tested, like for scenario one (b=.117; t=9,713; p<.001).

Third, the direct effects of educational level as well as time spent with Dutch people on angriness due to the disadvantaged position of one's migrant group have been tested in one model, to see whether the effect is mediated.

Table 9.
Educational Level effect and time spent with Dutch people effect on angriness due to disadvantaged position *(N$_{total}$ =917)*

|	**B**	**SE**
Highest level of education	.030	.019
Time spent with Dutch	.026	.022
R²	.022	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table eight shows that the effects of educational level (b=.030; t=1.619; p=.103) and time spent with Dutch people (b=.026; t=1.176; p=.240) no longer have a significant effect on angriness due to disadvantaged position. The fact that both effects are no longer significant could imply that these variables overlap when predicting angriness due to the disadvantaged position to such an extent that they mediate each other. It is hard to pinpoint exactly how much, but it could be assumed that there is some amount of mediation at play here.

4.8 Mediation Analysis: scenario two

4.8.2 Education, opportunities to compare and sense of belonging to the Netherlands

To test whether the perceived effect of education on how difficult it is to be considered Dutch by the Dutch could be explained by the opportunities to compare, a mediation analysis has been conducted, testing the effect of each arrow in the figure below.
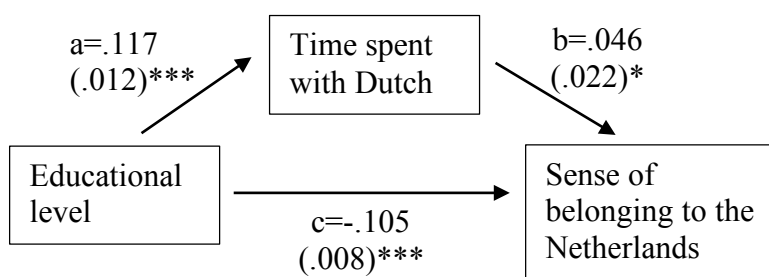
a=.117
(.012)***

Time spent with Dutch

b=.046
(.022)*

Educational level

c=-.105
(.008)***

Sense of belonging to the Netherlands

First, the direct effect of educational level on how strong the respondent's sense of belonging to the Netherlands is, was tested. Educational level has a significant negative effect on sense of belonging to the Netherlands (b=-.105; t=-13.861; p<.001)

Second, the effect of education on possible mediator 'time spent with Dutch people' was tested. Educational level has a significant positive effect on time spent with Dutch people, which implies that the higher education a migrant has, the higher more time they will spend with Dutch people (b=.117; t=9,713; p<.001).

Third, the direct effects on sense of belonging have been tested.

Table 10.

Educational Level and time spent with Dutch effect on sense of belonging to the Netherlands *(N$_{total}$ =4667)*

	B	**SE**
Highest level of education	-.072***	.008
Time spent with Dutch	.081***	.009
R^2	.049	

*p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Table nine shows significant negative effect of education on sense of belonging; the higher somebody's education is, the lower sense of belonging to the Netherlands is (b=-.072; t=-9.192; p<.001). How much time a respondent spends with Dutch people has a positive effect on their sense of belonging (b=.081; t=8.854; p<.001).

The fact that after the time with Dutch people-variable has been added, the effect of educational level remains significant, implies that there is no complete mediation effect. Since the beta decreased from -.105 to -.072 however, there is a partial mediation effect at play. The effect of education on sense of belonging is partially explained by how much time somebody spends with Dutch people.

Chapter 5: Discussion

5.1 General findings

As described earlier, this study focused on two scenarios: one where there is an integration paradox at play, and one where there is not. Concerning the hypotheses formulated for these scenario's, evidence has been found in support of hypothesis one, hypothesis two, and sub-hypothesis two point one. Structural integration has a positive effect on hospitality, which fits the first scenario. This effect can however not be explained by any mediating variables. In contrast, structural integration has a significant negative effect on two other 'experiences' for immigrants in the Netherlands. Immigrants with a masters or doctoral degree experience *more* angriness due to the disadvantaged position of migrants in the Netherlands than those with a lower educational level. Additionally, those with a masters or doctoral degree have a *lower* sense of belonging to the Netherlands than those with a lower educational level. Both effects were found to be partially mediated by how much time migrants spent with Dutch people. Important to note here, is that this study did not find any significant effects on discrimination; neither group based or on the individual level.

These findings suggest an integration paradox is at play in some areas, and the mediation analysis fits the relative deprivation framework as presented in chapter two. Since immigrants within the highest educational segments spend more time with Dutch people, they have more opportunities to compare and thus more opportunities to feel deprived. The other two aspects of relative deprivation, 'rising expectations' and 'cognitive sophistication' could however not be linked to education and (negative) experiences in the receiving country. Since this study did not find any significant effects on personal and group discrimination, it is not possible to confirm or to deny the claims on this subject by Buijs et al. (2006), or Nievers and Andriessen (2010). The findings do however add to the knowledge on other aspects of negative experiences in the receiving country. Scholars describe decreased feelings of being accepted among higher

educated immigrants, as well as decreased feelings of being respected by the host society among these immigrant (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2007; Ten Teije et al., 2012; Van Doorn et al., 2012; de Vroome et al., 2014). Feelings about acceptance and respect might not exactly be the same as angriness about disadvantages or decreased sense of belonging, but there is certainly overlap.

5.2 Strengths and limitations

First of all, this study was not able to test all aspects of relative deprivation, which could be considered a limitation within the domain of internal validity. Strength within this domain would however be the fact that this study has looked at nine different educational levels, which enabled it to make an in-depth comparison, using the highest segment as a comparison group.

Secondly, since this study contained data about four different migrant groups, the findings are quite generalisable. The conclusions on the effects of education on immigrant experiences could be used to hypothesise about other migrant groups in the Netherlands. Next to this, the fact that this study addressed a number of different experiences, guided by the relative deprivation framework, means that these methods and findings could also apply to another sample where other aspects of relative deprivation are addressed.

Finally, the variables and conclusions of this study are quite relevant for the study population. The process of immigration is personal and whether an immigrant is happy depends on the experiences they have in the host country. In a country where integration is considered to be a very important aspect of immigration, it is important to look into the implications of said integration.

5.3 Implications

The findings of this study add two aspects to the relative deprivation theory; because of relative deprivation, immigrants might experience angriness due to their position in society and their sense of belonging to the host country might decrease.

Throughout this paper, the integration paradox has been described as subject to two groups; those who believe integration would yield positive effects and those who believe that there is an integration paradox at play. Interestingly though, this study has shown that a 'partial' integration paradox is also a possibility. Integration has a negative effect on a number of experiences, but there are some where the effects are positive, too.

For policy makers, the possible existence of an integration paradox should be quite worrying. Since the political and public debate both consider integration to be of utmost importance, it should be essential that the process of integration does not yield any unwanted results. To prevent any (further) brain-drain, policy makers should focus on *preventing* an integration paradox taking place. The Dutch public administration emphasises the onset of integration (see 'Inburgering') and focuses on participation as a prerequisite for life in the Netherlands, while it might be smart to consider those who are already integrated and participate in Dutch society, for example by monitoring the mental health of immigrants in the Netherlands or by establishing programmes to high educated immigrants. Additionally, the establishment of laws like ethnic employee-quota could also help limit possibilities to feel deprived.

This study also has some implications for further research. The integration paradox is complex and it is hard to determine which aspects of experiences in the receiving country can be considered part of it. Further research could try to shed more light on the divide between personal and group-related experiences. This study has found a considerable amount of paradoxical effects, but only on the individual level; how these experiences relate to feelings

about the group remains unclear. Furthermore, this research could not find a significant relationship between educational level and discrimination. Future research that does find such a relationship could look at the differences between personal and group-based discrimination.

This study contained four migrant groups, but did not test any differences between them. Future research could take a more in-depth look at differences between migrant groups.

5.4 Final remarks

In conclusion, integration is a complex process with varying outcomes. Even though it might seem as a good way to look at immigration in general, it cannot be used as a 'cookie-cutter' to approach all aspects of immigration. While its results can be positive for both the host society as well as the immigrant, this is not always the case and experiences of individual immigrants should be taken into consideration. Only then, will it be possible to achieve the participation that is so desired.

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Appendix: instruments and data collection syntax

The original syntax was very long and included a lot of codes that are not relevant anymore. An effort has been made to remove those irrelevant codes, but some other codes might have gone missing in the process. If a code of particular interest cannot be found, please ask for the full syntax

```
recode ISCEDCO_G (0=1) (1 thru 9=0) (else=sysmis) into lessthanprimary.
value labels lessthanprimary 0 'other' 1 'lessthanprimary'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (1=1) (0=0) (2 thru 8=0) (else=sysmis) into primary.
value labels primary 0 'other' 1 'primary'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (2=1) (0 thru 1=0) (3 thru 8=0) (else=sysmis) into low_sec.
value labels low_sec 0 'other' 1 'lower secondary'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (3=1) (0 thru 2=0) (4 thru 8=0) (else=sysmis) into up_sec.
value labels up_sec 0 'other' 1 'upper secondary'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (4=1) (0 thru 3=0) (5 thru 8=0) (else=sysmis) into post_sec.
value labels post_sec 0 'other' 1 'post-secondary, non-tertiary education'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (5=1) (0 thru 4=0) (6 thru 8=0) (else=sysmis) into shortcycle_tert.
value labels shortcycle_tert 0 'other' 1 'short cycle tertiary education'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (6=1) (0 thru 5=0) (7 thru 8=0) (else=sysmis) into bachelor.
value labels bachelor 0 'other' 1 'bachelor or equivalent'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (7=1) (0 thru 6=0) (8=0) (else=sysmis) into master.
value labels master 0 'other' 1 'master or equivalent'.
recode ISCEDCO_G (7=1) (0 thru 6=0) (8=0) (else=sysmis) into doctoral.
value labels doctoral 0 'other' 1 'doctoral or equivalent'.

missing values ISCEDCO_G (9).

recode PPRC_NIS2NL (6=0) (5=1) (4=2) (3=3) (2=4) (1=5) (else=sysmis) into timewdutch.
freq timewdutch.

freq HOMESICK.

recode homesick (1=3) (2=2) (3=1) (else=sysmis) into homesickrev.
value labels homesickrev 1 'no never', 2 'yes sometimes', 3 'yes very often'.
freq homesickrev.
recode SOCSUP2_NIS2NL_4 (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1) (else=sysmis) into socsup.

REGRESSION
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 /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
 /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
 /NOORIGIN
 /DEPENDENT timewdutch
 /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G.

REGRESSION
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 /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
 /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
 /NOORIGIN
 /DEPENDENT ANGRYDIS_4
 /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G timewdutch.

REGRESSION
```

```
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 /NOORIGIN
 /DEPENDENT ANGRYDIS_4
 /METHOD=ENTER timewdutch ISCEDCO_G.

REGRESSION
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 /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
 /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
 /NOORIGIN
 /DEPENDENT belong
 /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G.

recode BELRES (1=5) (2=4) (3=3) (4=2) (5=1) (else=sysmis) into belong.
value labels belong 1 'totally disagree', 2 'disagree', 3 'neither agree nor disagree', 4 'agree', 5 'totally
agree'.
freq belong.

LOGISTIC REGRESSION VARIABLES disclab_r
 /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G
 /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G age_cats
 /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G age_cats SEX CO
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 /CONTRAST (age_cats)=Indicator
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 /PRINT=CI(95)
 /CRITERIA=PIN(0.05) POUT(0.10) ITERATE(20) CUT(0.5).

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DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=AGE
 /STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV MIN MAX.

temporary.
Select if CO=1.
DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=AGE
 /STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV MIN MAX.

temporary.
Select if CO=2.
DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=AGE
 /STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV MIN MAX.

temporary.
Select if CO=4.
DESCRIPTIVES VARIABLES=AGE
 /STATISTICS=MEAN STDDEV MIN MAX.

temporary.
Select if CO=1.
freq ISCEDCO_G.

temporary.
```

```
Select if CO=3.
freq ISCEDCO_G.

temporary.
Select if CO=4.
freq ISCEDCO_G.

descriptives groupdiscfreq.

temporary.
Select if CO=4.
DESCRIPTIVES groupdiscfreq.

freq disclab_r.

temporary.
Select if CO=4.
freq disclab_r.

freq co.

temporary.
Select if CO=4.
DESCRIPTIVES belong.

descriptives HOSP_RC.

temporary.
Select if CO=3.
DESCRIPTIVES HOSP_RC.
descriptives homesickrev.

freq homesick.

missing values homesick (9).

temporary.
Select if CO=4.
DESCRIPTIVES homesick.

freq co.

recode co (1=1) (2=0) (3=0) (4=0) (else=sysmis) into poland1.
freq poland1.

compute poland2=co=1.
freq poland2.

recode co (1=0) (2=1) (3=0) (4=0) (else=sysmis) into bulgaria1.
freq bulgaria1.

recode co (1=0) (2=0) (3=1) (4=0) (else=sysmis) into turkey1.
freq turkey1.

recode co (1=0) (2=0) (3=0) (4=1) (else=sysmis) into spain1.
```

```
freq spain1.

freq co.
temporary.
Select if CO=4.
DESCRIPTIVES timewdutch.

DATASET ACTIVATE DataSet1.
COMPUTE less_prim=lessthanprimary + primary.
EXECUTE.
freq less_prim.

COMPUTE postsec_nontert_short=post_sec + shortcycle_tert.
EXECUTE.
freq postsec_nontert_short.


COMPUTE masdoc=master + doctoral.
EXECUTE.
freq masdoc.
freq groupdiscfreq.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT groupdiscfreq
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE poland
bulgaria turkey spain.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT groupdiscfreq
  /METHOD=ENTER poland1 bulgaria1 turkey1.
REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT groupdiscfreq
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE poland1
bulgaria1 turkey1 spain1.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT belong
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE
```

```
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE poland1
bulgaria1 turkey1 spain1.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT HOSP_RC
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE
  /METHOD=ENTER less_prim low_sec up_sec postsec_nontert_short bachelor SEX AGE poland1
bulgaria1 turkey1 spain1.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT ANGRYDIS_4
  /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G timewdutch SEX AGE poland1 bulgaria1 turkey1.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT groupdiscfreq
  /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G SEX AGE
  /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G SEX AGE poland1 bulgaria1 turkey1 spain1.

REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT HOSP_RC
  /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G SEX AGE
  /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G SEX AGE homesickrev poland1 bulgaria1 turkey1 spain1.


REGRESSION
  /MISSING LISTWISE
  /STATISTICS COEFF OUTS R ANOVA
  /CRITERIA=PIN(.05) POUT(.10)
  /NOORIGIN
  /DEPENDENT HOSP_RC
  /METHOD=ENTER ISCEDCO_G timewdutch SEX AGE  poland1 bulgaria1 turkey1 spain1.
```