

I SPEAK, THUS I BELONG?

THE ROLE OF SECOND LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY
IN IMMIGRANTS' INTEGRATION IN THE HOST SOCIETY.



C.Y. VAN NIEJENHUIS

I speak, thus I belong?

The role of second language proficiency in immigrants' integration in the host society.

Coby van Niejenhuis

© Coby van Niejenhuis

ISBN (print):

978-94-034-9990-1

ISBN (digital):

978-94-034-0990-0

Printing:

Printing, Ridderkerk, the Netherlands

Cover image and design:

Willem Kolvoort



**rijksuniversiteit
 groningen**

I speak, thus I belong?

The role of second language proficiency in immigrants' integration in the
 host society.

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van de graad van doctor aan de
 Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
 op gezag van de
 rector magnificus prof. dr. E. Sterken
 en volgens besluit van het College voor Promoties.

De openbare verdediging zal plaatsvinden op

maandag 9 oktober 2017 om 14.30 uur

door

Cornelia Ybeltje van Nijenhuis

geboren op 11 september 1981
 te Loppersum

Promotores

Prof. S. Otten

Prof. A. Flache

Prof. M.P.C. van der Werf

Beoordelingscommissie

Prof. M. van Zomeren

Prof. K.I. Van Oudenhoven-van der Zee

Prof. F.A. van Tubergen

Table of contents

Chapter 1

Introduction.....	7
1.1 Introduction.....	8
1.2 Cultural integration.....	9
1.3 Factors influencing immigrants' second language proficiency.....	9
1.4 The link between second language proficiency and cultural integration	10
1.5 Overview of the dissertation.....	12
1.6 Data	13
1.7 Outline of the book.....	14

Chapter 2

Predictors of immigrants' second language proficiency. A Dutch study of immigrants with a low level of societal participation and second language proficiency.	17
2.1 Introduction	18
2.2 Method.....	24
2.3 Results	28
2.4 Conclusion and discussion	36

Chapter 3

Second language learning and integration. The moderating effect of multicultural personality traits.	43
3.1 Introduction	44
3.2 Method.....	49
3.3 Results	51
3.4 Conclusion and discussion	56

Chapter 4

Second language proficiency and interethnic friendships as key factors in the cultural integration of preadolescent ethnic minority children?	63
4.1 Introduction	64
4.2 Method.....	70
4.3 Results	74
4.4 Conclusion and discussion	78

Chapter 5

Second language lessons taught by volunteers to immigrants residing in the Netherlands: Well intended, but also beneficial?	85
5.1 Introduction	86
5.2 Method.....	90
5.3 Results.....	92
5.4 Conclusion and discussion	97

Chapter 6

General conclusions and discussion.....	105
6.1 General conclusions and discussion	106
6.2 Summary per chapter	106
6.3 General discussion.....	109
6.4 Practical implications	113
6.5 Directions for future research.....	115
6.6 Final conclusion.....	117
Nederlandse samenvatting.....	119
References	125
Dankwoord	139
Curriculum Vitae.....	143

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Worldwide many countries are faced with a large influx of immigrants. In recent years, the number of immigrants coming to Western countries increased to the unprecedented amount of 5 million people (OECD, 2016a). This immense migration asks for effective policy directed at integrating immigrants in the host society. In this context, throughout decades, many researchers have suggested that being proficient in the language of the host country is a key factor or even a prerequisite for immigrants' integration in the host society (Barker, 2015; Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1980; Gordon, 1964; Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003; Schumann, 1978). To date, many politicians and policymakers embrace this claim; integration programs generally have a strong emphasis on fostering second language acquisition. However, as it turns out, in research on whether and how second language acquisition is related to integration, a number of important questions are still not answered. The current dissertation aims to contribute to filling this gap by examining how and to what extent second language learning is related to cultural integration and which factors facilitate or hinder such relation. More specifically, the following key questions were investigated: Firstly, which factors facilitate or hinder immigrants' second language proficiency? Secondly, to what extent does second language learning actually go together with an increasing cultural integration? And finally, are there other factors that have been identified in the literature on integration that are relevant in this relation between second language learning and cultural integration such as multicultural personality or interethnic friendships? By examining these questions among various groups of immigrants we aim to provide insight into the extent to which findings from both earlier research and the current dissertation can be generalized to immigrants in general.¹

In the remainder of this introduction we first introduce the main concept which is central in this dissertation, namely the concept of cultural integration. Subsequently, we briefly elaborate on the specific research questions and give a schematic overview of the chapters in which these questions are addressed. Finally, a description is given of the datasets of various immigrant groups which were used to answer the addressed research questions.

¹ I use the term 'we' because much of the research that is reported in this dissertation has benefitted from close collaboration with my supervisors.

1.2 Cultural integration

In the current research, we used the term cultural integration to refer to the extent to which immigrants (a) have positive attitudes towards the host society and (b) have a sense of belonging towards that society, and thus, identify themselves with the host society. Doing so, we focus on the aspects of integration that policymakers and thus policies around language courses aim to foster. This focus is in line with the general thought that even though language use is an individual phenomenon, it binds, through communication, those using it to a social and ethnic community (Clement, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). Moreover, our conceptualization closely resembles the view on integration that is taken in much sociological research on the topic (de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Hagendoorn et al., 2003).

However, as was noted already decennia ago (e.g. Searle & Ward, 1990), and is still the case today, research on the integration of immigrants in their host society lacks a consensus on definitions of key constructs and the theoretical framework which is used. For example, often research on integration does not only take into account the extent to which immigrants are oriented towards the host society, but also the extent of orientation towards their home society. In such research integration is seen as one of the four distinctive ‘strategies’ of acculturation (Berry, 1997). Other strategies are separation, marginalization and assimilation. The integration strategy combines high motivation to maintain the original cultural background with a high motivation to get to know and take part in the host culture.

In this dissertation, orientation towards the home society is left aside. This is in line with earlier research indicating that orientation towards the home- and the host society are independent, and thus do not go at the expense of each other (see Nguyen & Benet-Martinez, 2013; Ryder, Alden, & Paulhus, 2000). Therefore, orientation towards the home society is not seen as an obstacle to cultural integration in the host society. On the contrary, high orientation towards both the home and host society has been found to be associated with the most beneficial psychological outcomes (Ince et al., 2014).

1.3 Factors influencing immigrants’ second language proficiency

Many researchers have suggested that second language acquisition fosters (cultural) integration (Barker, 2015; Clement et al., 1980; Hagendoorn et al., 2003; Schumann, 1978). But what factors actually influence whether and how well immigrants acquire the second language? Previous research has consistently shown that immigrants who migrated at an earlier age, who have been in the host society for a larger number of years, and who have a

higher educational level have a higher level of second language proficiency (see for an overview Chiswick & Miller, 2007). However, it can be questioned whether these findings are also applicable to a group of immigrants that is generally underrepresented in research: immigrants who hardly participate in the host society, and who have a relatively low level of second language proficiency (Groves & Couper, 1998; Stoop, 2005: 274). Moreover, it can be questioned whether, in addition to the predictors reported in previous research, there are also other (new) predictors of second language proficiency which might be of relevance. Given the aforementioned specific group of immigrants in which we are interested, also similarity in alphabet between mother tongue and second language, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, and speaking the second language at home might be relevant predictors.

Finally, it can be questioned whether findings on the determinants of second language proficiency differ according to the way in which language proficiency is measured, that is to say by objective language proficiency tests versus subjective self-assessment reports (Beenstock, Chiswick, & Repetto, 2001; Carliner, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Chiswick & Miller, 2002; van Tubergen, 2010).

1.4 The link between second language proficiency and cultural integration

Earlier research seems to support the notion that second language proficiency is a key factor in integration (Jiang, Green, Henley, & Masten, 2009; Kang, 2006), as theorists and policies on second language acquisition suggest. However, the positive cross sectional correlations between second language proficiency and attitudes towards- or identification with the host society which are found in these studies do not necessarily imply that an increase in second language proficiency goes together with an increase in cultural integration. Thus, it remains unclear whether second language learning is actually associated with an increase in cultural integration. In the, to our knowledge, only longitudinal study that actually tested this supposed relation it was found that an increase in second language proficiency is associated with a stronger identification with the host society in that same period of time (Hochman & Davidov, 2014). Elaborating on that study, the second question addressed in this dissertation is, to what extent does second language learning actually go together with an increasing cultural integration?

However, we assume that a positive link between second language learning and cultural integration may also depend on a couple of other factors. More specifically, based on

the literature on diversity, immigration, and interethnic contact, we will investigate the role of (a) immigrants multicultural personality, and (b) their interethnic friendship relations.

1.4.1 The moderating role of multicultural personality traits

Elaborating on earlier research revealing the importance of personality in integration (e.g. Leong, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002), in the current dissertation it was tested whether the degree to which an increase in second language proficiency is associated with an increase in cultural integration differs for immigrants with different personality traits. In doing so, we focused on trainable multicultural personality traits (see van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013) which if indeed relevant, could be targeted in future second language lessons. Specifically, we focused on the trait ‘social initiative’, which is defined as actively approaching social situations and demonstrating initiative in these interactions, and the trait ‘openness’ which is defined as being non-judgmental towards members of the host society and being able to empathize with them (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001).

We expected that immigrants with a higher degree of ‘social initiative’ would be more prone to actually use the acquired language skills to engage in contact with member of the host society and, as a consequence, would experience more positive change in attitudes towards the host culture and identification with that society. Moreover, we hypothesized that a higher degree of ‘openness’ is related to a more positive change in terms of attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society. After all, an immigrant who is judgmental towards members of the host society and not able to empathize with them will likely not experience positive changes in attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society while acquiring the second language.

1.4.2 The mediating role of interethnic friendships

Another factor which was expected to be influential in the supposed relation between second language learning and increasing cultural integration is interethnic contact in the form of friendships. Interethnic contact is a factor in integration that has arguably received even more attention from researchers than second language proficiency. Findings of many studies support the view that contact of (descendants of) immigrants with natives is associated with more favorable attitudes of immigrants towards members of the host society (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011), and stronger identification with the host society (e.g. Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2011; Sabatier, 2008). Furthermore,

these findings indicate that friendship is an especially powerful form of contact. Elaborating on earlier research on second language use and friendship formation (Titzmann, Silbereisen, Mesch, 2012), one of our main expectations was that the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration would be mediated by interethnic friendships. Thus, becoming more proficient in the host culture’s language should lead to more friendships with natives, which would likely be associated with more positive attitudes towards- and stronger identification with the host society.

1.5 Overview of the dissertation

In the former section we briefly introduced the specific research questions which are addressed in this dissertation. The first research question, about the relation between immigrants’ background characteristics and second language proficiency, is studied in Chapter 2. The chapters 3, 4, and 5 all three focused on the relationship between second language proficiency and cultural integration. However, in each chapter this relation is addressed from a different angle and for a different group of immigrants. In chapter 3 we examined the moderating role of multicultural personality traits among a group of temporary immigrants. In chapter 4 we examined the mediating role of friendships with natives among preadolescent immigrant children. Chapter 5, finally, studies the relation between second language learning and cultural integration in a sample of socially isolated immigrants who took part in an intervention that provided immigrants with second language lessons given by volunteers. Figure 1.1 gives a schematic representation of the expected relations between the different concepts and the empirical chapters in which these relations were addressed.

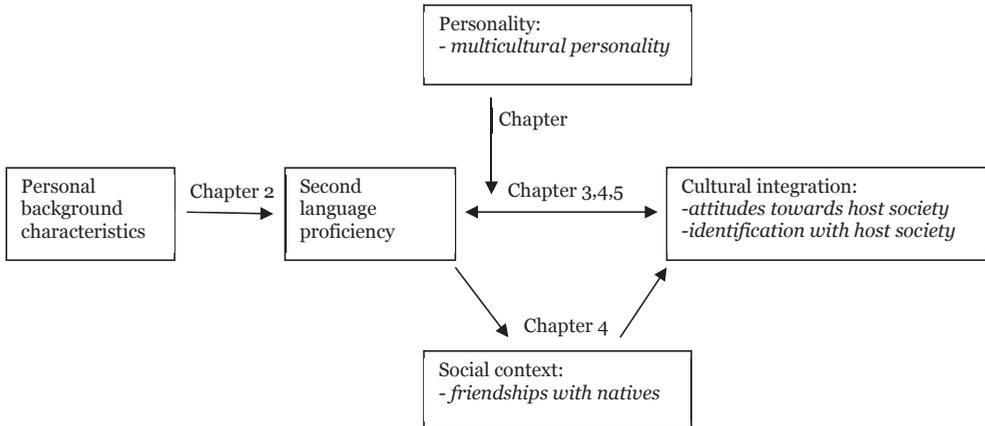


Figure 1.1 Schematic representation of overall dissertation including chapter numbers

1.6 Data

The empirical chapters in this dissertation are based on three different data sources. The data used in chapter 2 and 5 stem from a larger research project on the effectiveness of a Dutch intervention called ‘Language encounters’ (‘Taalontmoetingen’: van Niejenhuis, Naayer, & Verkade, 2012). This national intervention was carried out by 22 non-governmental organizations and financed by a Dutch foundation called ‘Oranje Fonds.’ The target group of this intervention consisted of socially isolated immigrants residing in the Netherlands, who did not speak or hardly spoke the Dutch language. The aim of the intervention was to stimulate the social participation and integration of these immigrants through informal Dutch-language lessons given by a volunteer who functioned as a mentor.

Exceptional is that this dataset contains both subjective and objective measures of second language proficiency: self-assessed Dutch proficiency and passive- as well as active lexicon test scores (Verhoeven & Vermeer, 2001). Also, given that the questionnaire which was used for chapter 5 was translated in Turkish, Arabic, Berber, Somali, English, and Polish and the fact that illiterate respondents received help in the completion of the questionnaire, relatively many respondents participated in this research. Part of them even completed the questionnaire twice (time lag 6 months) which enabled a study on the development of the second language proficiency, attitudes towards the Dutch society, identification with the Dutch culture, and ease of participation in the host society.

To our knowledge, earlier datasets did not enable a study on the role of multicultural personality traits in the (supposed) relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration. The data used for chapter 3 of this dissertation, were thus specifically collected for this purpose. Respondents were participants of Dutch language course and newly arrived international psychology students. Data was gathered at two time points (time lag three months) by means of a paper and pencil questionnaire. The measures used were self-assessed Dutch language proficiency, attitudes towards the Dutch host culture and identification with the Dutch host society. Also an abbreviated version of the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire was administered at the second time point (MPQ: Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000; Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2001).

Chapter 4 examined whether the second language proficiency of the children of immigrants was related to their cultural integration and the role of interethnic friendships in this. Unlike earlier research, we were able to disentangle the simultaneous influences of these two key factors in cultural integration. This topic was addressed with a longitudinal dataset that maps the change in second language proficiency and interethnic friendships in a sample of pre-adolescents. The data used originate from the primary school module of The Arnhem

School Study (TASS), a longitudinal paper and pencil study comprising three data waves among children living in the city of Arnhem in the Netherlands (Stark, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013; Stark & Flache, 2012). TASS was originally set up to get insight into the ethnic integration of preadolescents living in this town. Data from two time points were utilized, being the end of the seventh grade and eighth grade (subsequently 5th and 6th grade in the American system). Main variables were proportion of Dutch friends, attitudes towards members of the Dutch society and identification with the Dutch society. Grade on the school subject Dutch, as given by the teacher, was used as indicator of second language proficiency.

1.7 Outline of the book

Table 1.1 (see next page) summarizes the general research questions and the datasets used in the empirical chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this dissertation. In the final chapter of this dissertation, chapter 6, the main findings of the empirical chapters are discussed, including its implications for practice, policy, and future research.

Table 1.1 Overview of general research questions and data used per chapters

Chapter	Research question	Data
2	<p>What are predictors of whether and how well immigrants acquire the second language and are there additional predictors which are of relevance to the specific group of immigrants who are underrepresented in earlier research?</p> <p>Are findings on predictors of second language proficiency similar when objective measures of second language proficiency (passive- and active lexicon test scores) are used instead of the commonly used subjective measures (self-assessment)?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants Language encounters • Socially isolated immigrants • $N= 624$ & 98 • Cross sectional
3	<p>Does improvement in second language proficiency go together with a higher extent of cultural integration?</p> <p>What is the role of multicultural personality traits in the postulated relation between second language learning and cultural integration?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International psychology students and Dutch language course members • Sojourners • $N= 163$ • Longitudinal study: 2 time points, time lag 3 months
4	<p>Does improvement in second language proficiency go together with a higher extent of cultural integration?</p> <p>What is the role of interethnic friendships in the postulated relation between second language learning and cultural integration?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Arnhem School Study • Pre-adolescents • $N=173$ • Longitudinal study: 2 time points, time lag 9 months
5	<p>Does improvement in second language proficiency go together with a higher extent of cultural integration in the context of an intervention that provided immigrants with second language lessons given by volunteers?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants Language encounters • Socially isolated immigrants • $N= 85$ • Longitudinal study: 2 time points, time lag 6 months

Note: The question on whether improvement of second language proficiency goes together with a higher extent of cultural integration was addressed in three different chapters, each concerned with a different group of immigrants. In doing so, we also address the following overarching question: To what extent can findings on the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration from both earlier research and the current dissertation be generalized to immigrants in general?

Chapter 2

Predictors of immigrants' second language proficiency. A Dutch study of immigrants with a low level of societal participation and second language proficiency.

Abstract

This article examines the predictors of second language proficiency for a group that until now has hardly been investigated: immigrants who rarely participate in the host society and who have a low level of second language proficiency (sample characteristics are for example: no paid job, low educational and literacy level, high mean age and number of years since migration). In contrast with earlier research, not only self-assessments were used as indicator for second language proficiency, but also language test scores. Results from a sample of 624 immigrants partly replicate findings from earlier studies: self-assessed second language proficiency is higher among immigrants who have followed a language course, do voluntary work, have a high educational level, high mother-tongue proficiency, a low migration age, and a large number of years since migration. No links, however, were found between having psychological problems, gender, and migration motive and self-assessed second language proficiency. Furthermore, some new predictors of self-assessed second language proficiency were identified, namely similarity in alphabet between mother tongue and second language, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, and speaking the second language at home. For a subsample ($N=98$) second language proficiency was also assessed via (objective) lexicon tests. When using scores on this test as dependent variables, only years since migration turned out to be a significant predictor. Though certainly tentative, this finding indicates that different predictors of second language proficiency may apply depending on how it has been measured.

This study is based upon:

Van Niejenhuis, C., van der Werf, M. P. C. & Otten, S. (2015). Predictors of immigrants' second language proficiency. A Dutch study of immigrants with a low level of societal participation and second language proficiency. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 2015, 236, p. 75-100.

2.1 Introduction

For decades, a major challenge for Western countries has been the societal adjustment of the millions of immigrants who enter every year. Despite recent decline, almost 4 million people migrated permanently to the West in 2011 (OECD, 2013). A key factor in the successful adjustment of these immigrants is their competency in the host country's language. Research has shown, for example, that immigrants have a higher probability of finding employment (Aldashev, Gernandt, & Thomsen, 2009) and higher earnings when they are more proficient in the second language (Chiswick & Miller, 1995). Furthermore, there is evidence that the second language proficiency of first-generation immigrants even has an impact on the future opportunities of the next generation, while a high level of second language proficiency among parents has been found to be associated with more favourable educational placement of their children in secondary school (Alba, Handl, & Muller, 1994; Stanat, 2006).

Given the beneficial outcomes of the second language proficiency of immigrants, a relevant question is: What are the predictors of second language proficiency? Research addressing this question has consistently shown that immigrants who migrated at a lower age, who have been in the host society for a larger number of years, and who have a higher educational level have a higher level of second language proficiency (see for an overview Chiswick & Miller, 2007). However, despite the valuable insights from these studies, we argue that there are two limitations to the available evidence. First, one may question whether the samples used to test the determinants of second language proficiency were fully representative of all immigrant groups. Immigrants with low levels of societal participation are underrepresented, given that they are less likely to take part in research (Groves & Couper, 1998; Stoop, 2005: 274). Moreover, immigrants with a low level of second language proficiency are often not included in this work. Much research was conducted in the language of the host country or in an additional lingua franca (CBS- Statistics Netherlands, 2005: 50), in which languages many immigrants are not sufficiently proficient to participate in research. A second limitation concerns the measurement of the second language proficiency, which typically consists of self-assessments of the respondents (Beenstock, Chiswick, & Repetto, 2001; Carliner, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 1995, 2002; Van Tubergen, 2010), and occasionally of assessments done by interviewers (see, for example Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005; Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011). There is some evidence, however, that standardized language tests, which are more objective than self-assessment measures, may be more valid with respect to actual language proficiency (Finnie & Meng, 2005).¹

In the current study, we addressed the first two shortcomings by examining the determinants of second language proficiency among a group of immigrants underrepresented in earlier research: immigrants who hardly participate in the host society, and who have a low level of second language proficiency. The third shortcoming was also addressed: In addition to measuring second language proficiency using self-assessment reports, we also used more objective measures (in a subsample): namely, a passive and an active lexicon test.

Building on previous work by economists and sociologists (Chiswick & Miller, 2001; Esser, 2006; Stevens, 1999; Van Tubergen, 2010), and taking into account specific characteristics of the immigrants participating in the current study, our first goal was to investigate whether we could replicate the findings from earlier studies using both subjective and objective measures of second language proficiency. Moreover, we explored other possible predictors of second language proficiency that were not included in earlier research but that we argue to be of relevance. This concerns four predictors: similarity between the alphabet of the mother tongue and that of the second language, speaking a lingua franca (English in the case of the Netherlands), the extent to which immigrants interact on a daily basis with members of the host society, and speaking the second language at home.

2.1.1 Predictors of second language proficiency

Regarding the predictors of second language proficiency, research has focused mainly on three concepts: Exposure, Efficiency, and Economic incentives (the three “Es”: Chiswick & Miller, 1995). Exposure refers to the extent to which immigrants have been exposed to the second language. Research on this concept has most prominently tested the relation between the number of years since migration and second language proficiency. The findings have revealed that a larger number of years since migration, and thus greater exposure to the second language, was associated with a higher level of second language proficiency (Carliner, 2000; Espenshade & Fu, 1997; Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Sole, 1990; Stevens, 1999; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005).

In addition to the length of the exposure, research has focused on the intensity of the exposure, referring to the kind of activities one actually undertakes in which the language is used. The results showed that having followed a language course (Beenstock et al., 2001; Gonzalez, 2000) and being a member of a voluntary organization (Van Tubergen, 2010) were positively related to second language proficiency. Having a co-ethnic spouse was related to a lower level of second language proficiency (see, for example Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011); presumably because immigrants with a partner of another ethnicity are more likely to be exposed to the second language at home. Findings on having children who speak the

second language are mixed (see, for example Chiswick & Miller, 1995). The positive relations may (again) be explained by more second language exposure at home. Negative relations between having children who speak the second language and second language proficiency, on the other hand, may be caused by a diminishing need for parents to learn the second language when their children can serve as translator.

The second concept, efficiency, refers to one's ability to convert exposure to the second language into actual language learning. Education helps to realize such a conversion process, presumably because higher educated people are more experienced in acquiring new skills (Carliner, 2000; Dustmann, 1994; Espenshade & Fu, 1997; Massey & Espinosa, 1997; Sole, 1990; Stevens, 1999; Van Tubergen, 2010; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005). Moreover, in the Common Underlying Proficiency theory on the transferability of skills across languages (Cummins, 2000), it is argued that the first language proficiency is a good basis for learning additional languages. It offers a set of skills (like being able to read and write) and implicit metalinguistic knowledge that can be drawn upon when learning a second language. It can thus be assumed that being proficient in the mother tongue facilitates learning an additional language (Dustmann, 1994; Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011). Furthermore, age at migration and health have been shown to be important efficiency-related predictors; younger immigrants (see, for example Chiswick & Miller, 2008b) and immigrants without psychological problems appeared to be more capable of acquiring second language skills (Chiswick & Miller, 2001; Van Tubergen, 2010). Gender is also often considered as an efficiency-related predictor in the literature. Men have generally been found to be more proficient in the second language than women (see, for example Van Tubergen, 2010; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005).² This finding is usually explained by suggesting that men are more oriented towards labour market participation, for which second language proficiency is usually required. This explanation, however, is not related to the efficiency concept, but, as outlined below, to the third concept mentioned by Chiswick and Miller (1995): economic incentives.

Economic incentives refer to the extent to which it is beneficial for immigrants to learn the language because of economic opportunities and thus potential financial gains. Similar to gender, migration motive may also affect both efficiency and economic opportunities. Research has revealed that immigrants who migrated with the objective of labour market participation (i.e., because of economic opportunities) score best regarding second language skills, followed by family immigrants, who are often attracted by family ties in combination with economic opportunities, and finally by refugees, who migrate for the sake of safety rather than for economic opportunities (see Chiswick & Miller, 2007).

Further variables subsumed under economic incentives that affect second language proficiency are the prospect of finding a job, or simply the hope that being proficient in the language will make it easier to find a desirable product for a good price (Chiswick & Miller 2008b). In addition, planned duration of stay in the host country has been found to be an influential predictor related to the economic incentives concept: The longer a person expects to stay, the higher the benefit ratio for investing in second language learning (Chiswick & Miller, 2007, 2008a).

Summarizing the literature discussed above, we can conclude that the number of years since migration, having followed a language course, voluntary work, education level, mother-tongue proficiency, being male, being an economic immigrant, and planned duration of stay in the host country are positive predictors of second language proficiency. Psychological problems, having a co-ethnic partner, and age at arrival in the host country are typically negatively related to second language proficiency. Having children who speak the second language is not consistently related to second language proficiency: both positive and negative relations are reported in the literature.

2.1.2 The current study

The present research sets out to test the relevant predictors of second language proficiency with a group that in many respects differs from typical respondents in previous research: socially isolated immigrants residing in the Netherlands who did not speak or hardly spoke the Dutch language. These immigrants participated in a social intervention, aimed at stimulating immigrants' social participation and integration through informal Dutch-language lessons given by a volunteer who functioned as a mentor. On average, the participating immigrants were relatively old (only 25% were younger than 35 years of age; mean age = 45), had a low educational level, a low literacy level with respect to the mother tongue, and no paid job. More than half of them originated from Morocco, Turkey, and Iraq; the majority came to the Netherlands between 1965 and 2000 and migrated because of marriage or unification with family. All immigrants stayed (or at least intended to stay) in the Netherlands permanently (see Table 2.2 for more details).

Although previous findings on the predictors of second language proficiency are quite consistent, and although we expected to replicate these previous findings on many of the investigated variables, we expected different findings for some predictors, given particular characteristics of our research group. More specifically, we expected that the number of years since migration would not at all or only weakly be related to second language proficiency. As mentioned above, the immigrants in the current study were socially isolated immigrants with

a low level of proficiency in the Dutch language. Even though many of these immigrants had been living in the Netherlands for several years, they had hardly been exposed to the Dutch language due to their secluded way of living. Therefore, the length of the exposure was not expected to be a powerful predictor of second language proficiency as it does not say anything about what immigrants did during their years in the host country and thus not about how intensively immigrants were actually exposed to the second language.

Moreover, we expected that the relation mostly found between gender and second language proficiency would not be replicated in the current study. Men in the current study were not expected to have a higher level of second language proficiency, because they were generally not (yet) oriented towards the labor market.

Focusing on the relation between migration motive and second language proficiency, most earlier research has shown that economic immigrants score relatively high. The few economic immigrants in the current study (about 6%), however, most probably came to the Netherlands to occupy low-skilled manual jobs, for which being proficient in the second language was not a requirement (see also Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005; Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011). Therefore, we expected that the participants with the greatest language skills would not be the economic immigrants, but the immigrants who typically score second best in terms of language proficiency: family immigrants.

As well as exploring whether earlier findings could be replicated among a substantially different sample, we explored whether additional predictors, not yet reported in the literature, were of relevance. The first additional predictor that we took into account was having an alphabet which is similar to the Dutch alphabet: Latin. Even though researchers investigating the relation between proficiency in the mother tongue and in the second language (also) examined writing skills in both languages (Dustmann, 1994; Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011), they did not examine the effect of having a similar or different alphabet. However, again based on the Common Underlying Proficiency theory (Cummins, 2000), it can be argued that learning a language with an alphabet that is similar to that of the mother tongue is easier because of the transferability of the already established skills. In the current study, it was all the more relevant to include this predictor, given that many of the participating immigrants spoke an Arabic language and were thus more familiar with the Arabic alphabet than the Latin alphabet.

The second additional predictor is speaking a relevant lingua franca. It is assumed that the second language proficiency is lower among immigrants who have the opportunity to avoid this language (Chiswick & Miller 2007; Chiswick, 1998). Hence, it can be argued that speaking a language that serves as a lingua franca in the host country (English) can cause

immigrants to avoid communicating in the second language (Dutch). The consequence of this is less intensive exposure to the second language and thus lower second language proficiency. Therefore, proficiency in a lingua franca that is spoken in the host country was expected to be an important predictor negatively related to second language proficiency.

Third, frequency of daily interactions with natives in the public domain was explored for its relation with second language proficiency. There are many opportunities in the public domain for exposure to the second language in addition to interactions while doing voluntary work or following a language course (e.g., shopping, walking through the neighborhood, or traveling by public transport). Presuming that more of these interactions on a daily basis indicate greater exposure, we expected this variable to be an important predictor of second language proficiency.

Finally, we explored speaking the second language at home as another predictor. In earlier research, having a co-ethnic partner or having children who speak the second language, or both, were often included as predictors. As described earlier, they were assumed to be indicators of whether or not an immigrant is exposed to the second language at home. We argue that this can be measured more precisely by asking an immigrant directly whether he or she speaks the second language at home. Given the typically low (societal) participation levels of the current immigrants in the host society, we expected that this second language exposure at home would be a very important predictor of their second language proficiency.

Table 2.1 (see next page) provides a summary of all variables that were investigated in the present study. Where applicable, it indicates whether a positive or negative relation with second language proficiency was expected. Our model does not include variables related to the above-mentioned economic incentives concept. These variables could not be tested in the current study, because all immigrants from the sample intended to stay permanently. We tested the model using a large sample of immigrants with self-assessed second language proficiency as dependent variable. In addition, we analyzed this model using, for a small subsample, more objective measures of second language proficiency as dependent variable: namely, the scores on active and passive lexicon tests.

Table 2.1 Summary of variables and expected direction of relation with second language proficiency

Predictors	Relation
<i>Exposure:</i>	
Number of years since migration	?
Other language course	+
Voluntary work	+
Speaks second language at home	+
Daily interactions with natives in public domain	+
Speaking a lingua franca	-
<i>Efficiency:</i>	
Education	+
Mother-tongue proficiency	+
Similar alphabet	+
Age at time of migration	-
Psychological problems	-
Male	?
Migration motive: family	+

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Participants

The data used in the present study stem from a larger research project on the effectiveness of a Dutch intervention called ‘Language encounters’ (van Niejenhuis, Naayer, & Verkade, 2012). As mentioned above, the target group of this intervention comprised socially isolated immigrants residing in the Netherlands, who did not speak or hardly spoke the Dutch language. The aim of the intervention was to stimulate the social participation and integration of these immigrants through informal Dutch-language lessons given by a volunteer who functioned as a mentor.

With help from their mentors, all 1105 immigrants who entered the program filled in a simple intake questionnaire in Dutch. Through use of this questionnaire the background information and the self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency of the immigrants was registered. In very few cases, a translator who spoke the mother tongue of the immigrant had to assist. Unfortunately, owing to lack of time and different priorities, many mentors did not make the effort to motivate the immigrants to fill in all questions in the questionnaire. Therefore, many participants had to be omitted from our first analyses of the self-assessment measures of language proficiency because of missing information on the specific questions relevant to the current research. Table 2.2 shows the descriptives when all responses per

variable are taken into account (differing N because of the missing information) and when only the complete cases for the self-assessment analyses ($N=624$) are taken into account. We compared the mean scores of the 624 complete cases with the rest of the group that did have a score on that specific variable. Importantly, this comparison showed a very small difference between both groups in the average score on self-assessed second language proficiency ($t(932)=1.26, p=.21$), which implies that the remaining respondents were in this respect representative for the whole response group. With regard to the predictors, the subsample was also broadly representative. Only one difference was statistically significant; compared with the incomplete-response group, more of the remaining 624 immigrants migrated for family-related reasons ($X^2(1,943)=29.19, p<.001$).³

Due to scarcity in terms of time and money, the researchers selected a subsample of the 624 respondents for the passive and active lexicon tests.⁴ These tests were administered by the mentors, and used for the second analyses of this study. As the descriptives from Table 2.2 show, the 98 respondents who completed the tests are in most respects comparable with the rest of the sample. Only one significant difference was found, namely with respect to the similarity between the alphabets of the mother tongue and the second language: relatively more immigrants from the subsample had a mother tongue written in a non-Latin alphabet ($X^2(1, 624)=7.75, p<.01$).

2.2.2 Measures

Criterion variables. *Self-assessed second language proficiency.* In line with earlier research, the dependent variable used in the first analyses was self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency, based on two items: “How well can you read in your own language?” and “How well can you write in your own language”. The inter-item correlation was .79 ($p<.001$). Therefore the two items were combined into one scale.’

The four-point Likert scale ranged from “not/hardly”, “a little”, “considerably”, to “excellent”. In the literature, both four point scales (see, for example Van Tubergen 2010) and five point scales (see, for example Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011) are used to measure the self-assessed language proficiency. For these scales, as well as for the other scales used, we based our choice for the scale range on the discussion of the questionnaire with focus groups. These groups existed out of immigrants who belonged to our target group. Decisive was which range was most clear to the target group.

Passive lexicon test. In a subsample, we were also able to use the results of a passive Dutch lexicon test as measure of second language proficiency. To provide a more objective indicator of second language proficiency, this test was based on the only validated Dutch lexicon test

available when the research was conducted: the '*Taaltoets Alle Kinderen*' [Language test for all children] (TAK: Verhoeven & Vermeer, 2001). Though it is mostly used for children, this test seemed appropriate to measure the level of language proficiency for the adults in the present sample who learn the second language in an informal way instead of in a formal language course. The words from the test are used in the daily language of both children and adults. Advantage of this test is also that it is appropriate for people with a very low Dutch language proficiency and is easy to administer, even to illiterate people. The test consisted of 96 items of increasing difficulty and was administered by showing a page with four pictures, saying a certain word, and asking the immigrant to point to the corresponding picture on the page. The immigrant was asked, for example, to "point out the nose" while being shown four pictures depicting an eye, a nose, a mouth, and a knee. Likewise the original TAK lexicon test, this test was stopped after a certain amount of incorrect answers (seven). It was decided to (also) do so because the level of second language proficiency of many of the participants was very low. For the participants with a very low level, it would be frustrating to go through all 96 questions (with increasing difficulty). The test score was calculated by adding up all correct answers up to this moment (1 point for each). Given that most immigrants did not complete all items (as expected), an overall reliability could not be computed. Instead, computations were done on the individual items. Per item the number and subsequently the percentage of respondents who answered correctly was determined. Given the four answering categories per question, merely by chance at least 25% of the respondents who answered a question should have answered it correctly. Therefore all items which were answered correctly by less than 25% of the answering respondents were omitted from the test. Furthermore the correlations between the score on the specific items and the total test score were computed. Items with a correlation of zero or a negative correlation were considered as bad items and were therefore deleted. In total the computations on the individual items led to the omission of seven items from the test.

Active lexicon test. The second more objective indicator of second language proficiency was an active Dutch lexicon test, which was also based on the TAK (Verhoeven & Vermeer, 2001). Forty-one pictures were selected, of items that were assumed to be most relevant in daily life (26 concerning concrete subjects and 15 concerning actions). This test was administered by pointing out one item at a time and asking the immigrant a predefined question, like "What is this?" or "What is this woman doing?" For example, a bike was pointed out on a picture, while asking "What is this?" The immigrants were asked to give one answer. If more answers were given, only the first answer was rated. The rating of the answers was done by two persons, who gave either "2" (completely correct), "1" (partly correct), or "0" (incorrect) points (inter-

rater reliability: Cohen's k .79). Total test scores were computed by adding up the points of all individual items. The overall reliability of the test was high, with a Guttman's lambda-2 of .88.

Exposure predictors. *Number of years since migration* was calculated by subtracting the year of migration, as indicated by the immigrant, from the year the questionnaire was administered (either 2010 or 2011). Additionally the squared number of years since migration was included (see, for example Beenstock et al., 2001; Van Tubergen & Kalmijn, 2005). This was done to test a possible nonlinear relation between number of years since migration and second language proficiency, which implies that the increase in proficiency is strongest in the first years after arrival.

Following a language course at the moment, working as a volunteer, and speaking Dutch at home were all direct questions coded as "1" ("yes") and "0" ("no").

Daily interactions with natives in the public domain was measured using the question "How often does it happen that you talk to several Dutch people on one day?" This was answered on a four-point scale ranging from "never" to "frequently".

Speaking English was derived from an open question asking respondents to mention the languages they spoke. All respondents who mentioned English were coded as "1", others as "0".

Efficiency predictors. *Highest educational level* was measured on a five-point scale using the answer categories "none", "primary school", "secondary school", "middle or high vocational education", and "university".

Age at time of migration was calculated by subtracting the migration year from the birth year.

Mother-tongue proficiency was measured using a 2-item Likert scale based on the self-assessment questions "How well can you write in your own language?" and "How well can you read in your own language?" (inter-item correlation .80, $p < .001$). The four-point scale ranged from "not/hardly" to "excellent".

Similar alphabet was derived from the question about the immigrants' mother tongue. This open question was recoded into a dummy variable that was coded as "0" if the mother tongue was written in a non-Latin alphabet and as "1" if it was written in the Latin alphabet.

Psychological problems were measured by asking whether or not the respondent had had psychological problems in the past two years; this could be answered with "no", "yes, but not anymore", and "yes, I still have". This was recoded into "1" for immigrants who answered

“yes, I still have”, and “0” for all others.

Gender was measured by asking whether the immigrant was male or female. The variable was recoded into a dummy variable where males were coded as “1” and females as “0”.

Migration motive: unification with family was measured by asking the respondents to indicate the reason for migration. The possible answer categories were (“1”) “unification with spouse or marrying someone who lives in the Netherlands”, (“2”) “not feeling safe in my own country”, (“3”) “for reasons I don’t want to give”, and finally (“4”) the open category “other reasons, namely ...” where respondents could fill in specific reasons. The answers were recoded into a dummy variable. The first category and family-related answers on the open category were coded as “1”. The second category, concerning safety, and the remaining answers on the open category were coded as “0”. The category “for reasons I don’t want to give” was coded as missing. Table 2.2 presents the descriptive statistics for the independent and dependent variables.

2.3 Results

2.3.1 Statistical analyses

Before starting our analyses, we focused on the correlations between the three indicators of language proficiency. These show that the scores on the active and passive lexicon tests are moderately related ($r=.58, p<.01$) and that both tests are hardly related to the self-assessed second language proficiency ($r=.30, p<.01$) (for interpretation coefficients see Cohen, 1992). Multiple regression analysis was used to answer the research questions. In line with earlier research, in the first regression analyses we examined the predictors of self-assessed second language proficiency. To first test the predictive value of the exposure and efficiency variables independently, we included these predictors in two separate models. All predictors were then simultaneously included in a third model. Running this full model enabled us to examine the relation of each predictor with second language proficiency, while controlling for all other predictors. Based on this analytical approach, conclusions were drawn about the strongest predictors of the self-assessed second language proficiency of the respondents in the current study.

In addition to these analyses on the complete cases using the self-assessment scores as the dependent variable, we also analyzed the subsample of respondents for whom test scores were (also) available. In these analyses, both the self-assessment scores and the passive and active lexicon test scores were the dependent variables. The variables that had appeared to be significant in the earlier full model were included as predictors.

Table 2.2 Descriptive statistics of independent and dependent variables

	Full sample			Complete cases SA (N=624)			Subsample LT (N=98)			
	N	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD	Range	Mean	SD
<i>Exposure</i>										
Number of years since migration	896	0-51	14.14	10.44	0-51	14.57	10.50	0-45	14.86	11.24
Number of years since migration squared	896	0-2601	308.80	395.37	1-2601	322.27	399.11	0-2025	345.88	416.31
Other language course	945	0/1	0.65		0/1	0.67		0/1	0.73	
Voluntary work	943	0/1	0.14		0/1	0.14		0/1	0.09	
Speaks Dutch at home	882	0/1	0.32		0/1	0.32		0/1	0.29	
Daily interactions with natives in public domain	888	1-4	2.21	0.83	1-4	2.22	0.84	1-4	2.21	0.88
Speaking a lingua franca (English)	1050	0/1	0.22		0/1	0.22	0.41	0/1	0.16	
<i>Efficiency</i>										
Education	1021	1-5	2.40	1.38	1-5	2.50	1.37	1-5	2.27	1.29
Mother-tongue proficiency	916	1-4	2.91	1.22	1-4	2.88	1.22	1-4	2.79	1.23
Similar alphabet (Latin)	1075	0/1	0.34		0/1	0.38		0/1	0.50	
Age at time of migration	978	0-75	30.91	11.40	0-75	30.29	11.28	13-63	28.87	10.95
Psychological problems	881	0/1	0.29		0/1	0.29		0/1	0.30	
Male	1060	0/1	0.22		0/1	0.19		0/1	0.21	
Migration motive: family	943	0/1	0.58		0/1	0.64		0/1	0.70	
<i>Dependent variables</i>										
Self-assessment Dutch reading and writing	934	1-4	1.89	0.70	1-4	1.91	0.70	1-4	1.82	0.69
Score passive lexicon test	145	3-67	20.97	11.67				3-67	21.56	12.57
Score active lexicon test	141	15-80	58.35	12.50				15-80	58.39	12.85

* The complete cases SA (N=624) are respondents who completed all predictors plus self-assessed language proficiency.

** The subsample LT (N=98) are respondents who included all predictors plus self-assessed language proficiency and 2 lexicon tests.

2.3.2 Missing data

Despite the above-mentioned small differences in means of the full sample and the complete cases with respect to self-assessed second language proficiency ($N=624$) and the lexicon tests ($N=98$), it cannot be said with certainty that the analyses of the complete cases led to unbiased results. Therefore, we imputed missing data, which is currently considered as the best method to deal with incomplete data (Graham, 2009). We used multiple imputation based on Fully Conditional Specification (Van Buuren, 2007) with logistic and linear regression models as imputation models, depending on the type of scale used to measure each variable. All variables of this study were included in the imputation model to predict the missing values. The only variables that were not imputed were the active and passive lexicon test scores, because of the high percentage of missing values (87%). For the other variables, the percentage of missing range was between 3% and 20% (see Table 2.2). The imputation procedure resulted in a dataset with full information about all 1105 immigrants who entered the social intervention. A comparison of the results of the multiple regression analyses on the imputed and the original data (using listwise deletion) shows minor differences in terms of explained variance, standard deviations, and significance levels. All variables that were significant in the analyses using the original data were also significant in the analyses using the imputed data. The very few exceptions are variables that were on the edge of significance in the original data, and are no longer or just significant in the imputed data. Given the high similarity between the results of the regression analyses of the two datasets we report the analyses conducted using the original data below.

2.3.3 Analysis of self-perceived language proficiency in the complete cases

Table 2.3 presents the results of the multiple regression analyses with self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency as dependent variable. First, looking at the highly significant exposure predictors ($p < .001$ in Model 1), the results from both Model 1 and Model 3 show that having followed a Dutch-language course, doing voluntary work, speaking the Dutch language at home, and the frequency of speaking with natives on a daily basis are all positively related to Dutch-language proficiency. The results from Model 1 also indicate that speaking a lingua franca (English) is positively related to Dutch-language proficiency. However, we also found that speaking a lingua franca is strongly and positively related to educational level ($t(624) = -12.99, p < .001$). Not surprisingly then, when educational level is also included in the analyses, as in Model 3, speaking a lingua franca becomes non-significant, indicating that speaking a lingua franca is confounded with the efficiency variable educational level and is, therefore,

not necessarily a powerful predictor in itself. Finally, number of years since migration is significantly related to the Dutch-language proficiency, though to a lesser extent than the previously mentioned variables ($p < .05$). The negative coefficient of the squared number of years since migration implies that the increase in proficiency is strongest in the first years after arrival.

Second, looking at the highly significant efficiency predictors ($p < .001$ in Model 2), the results from both Model 2 and Model 3 show that educational level and mother-tongue proficiency are consistently positively related to self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency. The models also consistently show a negative relation between age at time of migration and Dutch-language proficiency. Furthermore, similarity in alphabet between the mother tongue and Dutch is significantly related to second language proficiency, though to a lesser extent than the previously mentioned variables ($p < .01$ in model 2). Unexpectedly, this relation is negative, which implies that immigrants with a mother tongue written in a non-Latin alphabet (like the Arabic one) score better than those from countries with a Latin alphabet. Finally, and unlike in previous research, having psychological problems, gender, and migration motive did not reliably predict second language proficiency in our sample.

Table 2.3 Regression results of self-assessed second language proficiency ($N=624$)

	Model 1 Exposure		Model 2 Efficiency		Model 3 Overall	
	B	SE Beta	B	SE Beta	B	SE Beta
(Constant)	1.27	0.10	1.34	0.11	0.78	0.15
Number of years since migration	0.00	0.01	***		0.01	0.01
Number of years since migration squared	0.00	0.00	*		0.00	0.00
Other language course	0.28	0.05	***		0.23	0.05
Voluntary work	0.37	0.07	***		0.25	0.07
Speaks Dutch at home	0.26	0.06	.17	***	0.24	0.05
Daily interactions with natives in public domain	0.14	0.03	.17	***	0.09	0.03
Speaking a lingua franca (English)	0.30	0.06	.18	***	0.09	0.06
Education					0.08	0.02
Mother-tongue proficiency			0.10	0.02	.19	0.08
Similar alphabet (Latin)			0.23	0.03	.40	0.19
Age at time of migration			-0.15	0.05	-.11	0.08
Psychological problems			-0.01	0.00	-.14	0.01
Male			0.02	0.05	.01	0.01
Migration motive: family			-0.05	0.06	-.03	0.06
			0.00	0.06	.00	0.03
			$R^2=.26$			$R^2=.41$

* $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$ (one tailed)

2.3.4 Analysis of the subsample on self-perceived language proficiency and test scores

As reported above (see Section 2.3.1), the scores on the active and passive lexicon tests are moderately related to each other and hardly related to the self-assessed second language proficiency. Thus, these dependent variables actually seem to differ from each other. This makes it interesting to compare the similarity in the predictors of the three indicators of language proficiency. To allow comparison of the predictors of self-assessed second language proficiency with the proficiency as revealed by active and passive language test, we showed the results of the further analyses on in Table 2.4. This table consists of three models, each showing the results for one indicator of second language proficiency. In each model the significant predictors from the aforementioned complete sample analyses ($N=624$) are tested on the subsample for whom the passive and active lexicon tests are (also) available ($N=98$).

In Model 1, self-assessed second language proficiency is again used as dependent variable, in order to facilitate the comparability of the predictors of self-assessed language proficiency and the lexicon test scores in the subsample. In this way, deviating findings due to a bias in the subsample are ruled out. In terms of significance, doing voluntary work and speaking the Dutch language at home are most strongly and positively related to self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency ($p<.01$). Number of years since migration and mother-tongue proficiency are also positively related to self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency, though with a lower significance level ($p<.05$). Having followed a language course, daily interactions in the public domain, educational level, similarity in alphabet between the mother tongue and Dutch, and age at time of migration appeared not to be related to the self-assessed second language proficiency of this subsample.

In Models 2 and 3, the significant predictors from the analyses of the complete self-assessment cases are again tested, but now with the scores on the passive and active lexicon tests, respectively, as indicators of Dutch-language proficiency. Although the significance levels differ, the results indicate that similar predictors are relevant to both independent measures of the Dutch-language proficiency ($p<.01$ or $p<.05$). The predictor number of years since migration, for example, is related to both lexicon scores. For the passive lexicon score, however, this relation is generally positive, while for the active lexicon score, the magnitude of this positive relation becomes smaller as the number of years since migration increases (as indicated by the negatively squared coefficient). The predictors daily interactions with natives in the public domain and educational level are positively related to both Dutch lexicon scores, whereas age at time of migration is negatively related to these objective measures of Dutch-language proficiency. Having followed a language course, doing voluntary work, speaking

Dutch at home, mother-tongue proficiency, and similarity in alphabet between the mother tongue and Dutch are not related to these measures of Dutch-language proficiency.

2.4 Conclusion and discussion

Many studies have been done on the predictors of second language proficiency. In the current study we extended this earlier work by exploring the predictors of second language proficiency among a group of immigrants who until now have received little attention from researchers: immigrants who hardly participate in their host society (the Netherlands), and whose level of second language proficiency is low. Building on previous research and based on the specific characteristics of the immigrants in the current study, we investigated whether the findings on predictors of second language proficiency that were identified in earlier research could be replicated. Moreover, the relevance of additional predictors (which are not examined in the literature as such) of second language proficiency was explored: namely, similarity in alphabet between the mother tongue and the second language, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, speaking a lingua franca, and speaking the second language at home. Finally, in contrast with most earlier research, not only self-assessed second language proficiency was analyzed, but, for a subsample, also more objective measures of language proficiency.

As expected, many predictors identified in earlier research appeared also to be related to the self-assessed second language proficiency of the specific immigrant group investigated in the current study. Results from our analyses of the complete cases indicate that immigrants who have followed a language course, do voluntary work, have a high educational level, have a high level of mother-tongue proficiency, and have a low age at time of migration have a higher self-assessed level of second language proficiency.

A finding that we did not expect to replicate in the current study concerns the predictor number of years since migration, which was – as in previous research – found to be positively related to self-assessed second language proficiency. Hence it seems that, even for the immigrants in the current study who hardly participate in the host society and thus hardly communicate with members of that society, a longer period of stay still implies greater exposure to the second language. Possibly, a relevant factor herein is media exposure (e.g., watching television), which can also be seen as a way of being exposed to the second language without having actual contact with members of the host society.

Some predictors identified in earlier research were not significant in the present study. First, immigrants from the current study who indicated having psychological problems (30% of the respondents) appeared not to have a lower self-assessed level of second language proficiency than the immigrants without psychological problems. A possible reason is that immigrants in the current study did not fill in a depression scale, as in most earlier research,

but answered a quite general and direct question on whether they had psychological problems. This may have led to socially desirable answers. Furthermore, our findings on migration motive differed from earlier research findings in the sense that we found no relation with second language proficiency. Seemingly, migration motive does differentiate immigrants who hardly participate in the host society and have a relatively low level of second language proficiency. Another possible explanation for these findings is the small variance in migration motive among the respondents.

Finally, we did not replicate findings on gender in the current immigrant group. Men's second language proficiency was not higher than that of women. This, however, is in line with what we expected, because the male immigrants in the current study cannot be assumed to have a higher orientation towards labor market participation than the woman (which is often assumed in the literature). Both the men and women in the current study generally had a low level of societal participation and were not (yet) oriented towards the labor market.

With respect to the new predictors that we included in the present study, we found that immigrants who speak the second language at home have a relatively high self-assessed level of second language proficiency; this predictor is very close to the commonly used predictors having a co-ethnic partner and having children, but can, in our view, be considered to be more precise as it measures directly what is only assumed using the other two predictors. Furthermore, the predictor daily interactions with natives in the public domain appeared to be related to self-assessed second language proficiency. As expected, a high frequency of contacts with natives was associated with a high level of self-assessed second language proficiency.

Surprisingly, we found that similarity in alphabet between the mother tongue and the second language was negatively related to self-assessed second language proficiency. Hence, for this immigrant group the transferability of language related skills (such as alphabet) seems to hinder rather than facilitate second language learning. Possibly, third variables (like the alphabets of other languages respondents speak) account for the unexpected finding. Another explanation can be that immigrants with a dissimilar alphabet feel a stronger urge to learn the second language because the dissimilarity in alphabet emphasizes the differences between the languages. Also in contrast to what we expected, the additional predictor speaking a lingua franca was not related to the second language proficiency of the immigrants in the current study. Apparently, not speaking a lingua franca does not imply more exposure to the second language for this group.

Importantly, our findings reveal that the list of relevant predictors of second language proficiency differs in several respects if we consider objective (lexicon test scores) measures

of second language proficiency rather than subjective (self-assessment) measures. Only number of years since migration, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, education, and age at time of migration appeared to be valid predictors of the lexicon test scores. This drop in relevant predictors may partly be explained by the loss of statistical power. This reasoning is in line with the fact that the analyses of the subsample with the self-assessment measure as dependent variable also shows only four predictors of relevance: namely, number of years since migration, doing voluntary work, speaking the second language at home, and mother-tongue proficiency.

It is interesting that only one of the four predictors of objective and subjective second language proficiency is similar, being the number of years since migration. One explanation for the differing predictors could be the difference in the subject of the language indicators. In the current research, we compared the predictors of self-assessed levels of reading and writing (and thus literacy) with the predictors of the scores on tests concerning understanding and speaking (passive and active lexicon). Therefore, one could argue that it would be more accurate to compare self-assessed literacy with tests regarding literacy or to compare the self-assessed lexicon with tests regarding lexicon. However, this reason is not supported by earlier research indicating that self-assessed proficiency in reading and writing are closely related to self-assessed proficiency in speaking and understanding (inter-item correlation writing and speaking $r=.88$, Van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011), which renders our comparison very appropriate. Moreover, if the different subjects of the compared measures actually caused the differences, we would expect educational level to relate more strongly to the more cognitive demanding literacy skills than to lexicon test scores (Van Tubergen, 2010; Dustman, 1994). Furthermore, the 'contact variables' (doing voluntary work; speaking the second language at home) should be related to lexicon instead of literacy.

An alternative explanation for the differences in predictors of second language proficiency is the method of measurement of the criterion variable. Measuring language proficiency using self-assessments can be seen as subjective, compared with objective lexicon tests, since the self-assessed measure might be biased and thus inaccurate. This bias can, for example, be caused by cultural differences; which is in line with research that showed differences in self-assessment scores between immigrants from different cultures (Carliner, 2000). The self-assessment method can also be biased by personal or 'peer related' factors, as suggested by Finnie and Meng (2005) who point out that self-esteem might bias self-assessment scores as well as the language proficiency of the people with whom the immigrant compares oneself.

In sum, we conclude from our comparison of self-assessed and more objectively assessed second language proficiency that while one certainly can expect overlap, one should nonetheless be cautious when extrapolating from relevant predictors in the one domain to the other domain. However, to exactly understand the nature of these differences, more research is needed.

2.4.1. Limitations

It is important to note that this study is cross-sectional. Certain predictor variables in our analyses might be both cause and result of the level of language proficiency. This especially applies to the predictor variables daily interactions with natives in the public domain, but also to some predictors included in earlier research like doing voluntary work.⁵

Another limitation, as briefly mentioned above, is the small number of immigrants to whom the lexicon tests were administered. Consequently, the analyses testing whether findings from earlier research on self-assessed second language proficiency could be replicated for the current immigrant group were based on a much larger number of respondents ($N=624$) than the comparisons of the predictors of the subjective and objective measurements of second language proficiency ($N=98$) within this group. This caused a drop in statistical power in the latter analyses. However, having such a large amount of data collected among socially isolated immigrants with a low level of second language proficiency, and even having both self-assessment and lexicon scores of a subsample of this group, can also be considered a strength. These unique data enabled us to make a valuable contribution to the literature by not only offering insight into the predictors of second language proficiency of this specific group of immigrants, but also exploring whether the commonly used self-assessment measures are predicted by the same variables as other, more objective indicators of second language proficiency.

2.6.2. Implications for future research

The current findings have a number of important implications for further research. First, it seems worthwhile to do more research including immigrants with a low level of participation and a low level of second language proficiency. This can be done, for example, by recruiting and interviewing respondents face to face in their own language. Putting this into practice can prevent possible further biases in the literature on the predictors of second language proficiency owing to the underrepresentation of this specific type of immigrant.

Second, it would be valuable to include and further validate the new predictors

identified in this study in future research on second language proficiency, namely, similarity in alphabet between the mother tongue and the second language, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, speaking a lingua franca, and speaking the second language at home.

Third, we encourage further research to compare the predictors of self-assessed levels of second language proficiency with predictors of second language test scores. In doing this, cultural background and personal as well as social ('peer' related) characteristics of immigrants should be taken into account as possible explanations for differences in predictors. This research can provide more insight into the validity and accuracy of the widely used self-assessment measures as indicators of immigrants' second language proficiency.

All in all, we consider the current study a relevant contribution to fostering our understanding of the relevant predictors of second language proficiency. This was achieved by: 1) showing the applicability of earlier findings on the predictors of second language proficiency to immigrants with a low level of societal participation and a low level of second language proficiency; 2) identifying additional predictors of second language proficiency among this group; and 3) by (again among this group) showing different predictors to be relevant to the commonly used self-assessment method as an indicator of second language proficiency and objective language tests as indicators of second language proficiency.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the Dutch *Oranje Fonds* and the Institute for Integration and Social Efficacy (ISW) at the University of Groningen for funding and facilitating this research. The authors would also like to thank all local project leaders, volunteers and immigrants of *Taalontmoetingen* for their contributions to the research.

Notes

- ¹ Finnie and Meng (2005) investigated the determinants of second language proficiency and the relation between literacy and labour market outcomes. They compared self-assessed literacy with scores on a literacy test. The only typical determinants included, however, were age and (years) of education. Therefore, the general conclusion of the study that objective test scores are '*better conforming to theory and expectations based on other empirical findings*' are not necessarily applicable to our own study.
- ² The findings of one study showed women to be more proficient than men (Carliner, 2000). This study, however, concerned European and East Asian women, while the

respondents in the current study were mostly from other parts of the world (for example, Arabic countries).

- 3 The high N (between 924 and 1075) in combination with the high number of tests performed increase the chances of type I errors occurring. Therefore, we report only predictors with $p < .001$ here.
- 4 Also other instruments (not relevant to the current study) were assigned to this subsample. Given the low Dutch language proficiency of the respondents, these instruments had to be translated. Obviously, this could only be done into a limited number of languages. Therefore only the respondents speaking those languages were selected for the further research. The concerning languages are Turkish, Arabic, Berber, Somali, English and Polish.
- 5 As noted by Van Tubergen and Wierenga (2011), longitudinal research is very rare in this field. Exceptions are Chiswick, Lee and Miller (2004) and Hou and Beiser (2006). Being aware that our study was (also) cross-sectional, we do not speak of ‘determinants’ of second language proficiency, but of ‘predictors’. This term is generally used in the type of analysis we used and does not necessarily imply causality.

Chapter 3

Second language learning and integration. The moderating effect of multicultural personality traits.

Abstract

This study examines the role of trainable intercultural personality traits in the widely assumed link between immigrants' second language learning and their integration in the host country. The research was based on longitudinal data (time lag: 3 months) of international students who reside in the Netherlands and participants of a Dutch language course (total $N=163$). Findings reveal that an increase in second language proficiency is related to a positive change in two indicators of cultural integration: identification with the host society and attitudes towards the host culture. An increase in second language proficiency appears to be related to a positive change in terms of identification, regardless of immigrants' personality traits. With respect to attitudes towards the host culture, however, we find that increasing second language proficiency only goes together with a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture for immigrants with a high degree of social initiative. Another notable finding is that, in the time period that this study was conducted, immigrants with a high degree of openness became more positive in their attitudes towards the host culture, regardless of the progress they made in terms of second language proficiency. Results from this study suggest the importance of social perceptual personality traits in cultural integration. Therefore policy makers may be well-advised to not only pay attention to implementing language teaching programs, but to also consider a training of social perceptual personality traits when trying to set up efficient integration programs for immigrants.

This study is based upon:

Van Niejenhuis, C., Otten, S., & A. Flache (2017). Second language learning and integration. The moderating effect of multicultural personality traits. *Submitted for publication.*

3.1 Introduction

Millions of people migrate to other countries on a yearly basis (OECD, 2015). In some parts of the world the number of immigrants continues to grow. Due to the unprecedented influx of asylum seekers, in 2015 Europe faced a historically high number of immigrants. This immense migratory asks for effective policy which is directed at integrating immigrants in the host society. In this context, throughout decades, many researchers have suggested that being proficient in the language of the host country is a key factor – or even a prerequisite - for immigrants' integration in the host society (Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1980; Edwards, 1994; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Gordon, 1964; Lambert, 1974; Schumann, 1978). To date, many politicians and policymakers embrace this claim; integration programs generally have a strong emphasis on fostering second language acquisition. In some countries, a high language proficiency is even a requirement for a permanent residence permit (e.g., in the Netherlands; www.ind.nl) or citizenship (e.g. Canada; www.canada.ca/en).

But to what extent are the assumptions, on which such policy is based, actually correct? Firstly, one important assumption in the debate is that an increase in second language proficiency is associated with an increasing orientation towards the host society or, in other words, with immigrants' cultural integration. Earlier research indeed found an association between second language proficiency and indicators of cultural integration (e.g. Chen, Benet-Martinez, & Bond, 2008; Kang, 2006). Despite the fact that these studies only focused on one point in time, they thus offer some support for the notion that enhancing immigrants' second language proficiency by means of language courses can be an efficient way of fostering immigrants' integration into the host society.

An additional assumption that can be questioned is that this policy that aims to increase cultural integration by means of second language courses works for all immigrants. Is this actually the case? Is policy that focuses predominantly on improving language proficiency really the most important tool for integration? Or does policy that focuses predominantly on improving language proficiency only benefit a few? Despite of the fact that it seems plausible to doubt that “one size fits all”-, to our knowledge, this assumption has not yet been empirically tested in the context of second language training policies. Based on earlier research revealing the importance of personality in integration (e.g. Leong, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002), it can be assumed that the degree to which second language proficiency is associated with cultural integration will differ between immigrants with different personality traits. A plausible reason for such an assumption is that some personality traits may facilitate the actual use of the second

language and (thus) the extent to which immigrants are receptive for integration. In this context, especially trainable personality traits are of interest, because these, if they indeed appear to be relevant, could be targeted in integration programs (see also van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013).

The current study was aimed at testing the underlying assumptions of integration programs that have a strong emphasis on learning the second language. It did this by using longitudinal data (with a time lag of three months) from temporary immigrants (sojourners), whose second language proficiency could be expected to have changed over time. Specifically the present research concerned Dutch language course participants and international psychology students who just arrived in the Netherlands ($N=167$). Firstly, we studied whether, as correlational research suggests, in our sample an *increase* in Dutch language proficiency is indeed associated with an *increase* in cultural integration. In line with previous work (e.g. Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003), we used attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society as indicators of cultural integration. Secondly, we investigated whether the positive relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration was stronger for immigrants who score high on certain trainable personality traits. In conclusion, we discussed the practical relevance of our results for integration policy.

3.1.1 Language and integration

Gordon (1964) was one of the first scientists who identified second language proficiency as a key factor in immigrants' integration in the host-society. According to his 'classical assimilation theory', second language proficiency is a form of integration which stimulates all other forms of integration, including identification with the host society which he considered to be the final stage of integration. In a similar vein, the assumption of much contemporary integration policy is that learning a second language will facilitate further orientation towards the host society. It is thought that even though language use is an individual phenomenon, it binds, through communication (e.g. talking with members of the host society or host country media use), those using it to a social and ethnic community (Clement, Noels, & Deneault, 2001). Although not all researchers agree about the exact causality between the factors involved, many indeed found support for a relation between second language proficiency and indicators of cultural integration. A high second language proficiency has for example been found to be associated with a strong overall orientation towards the host society (Jiang, Green, Henley, & Masten, 2009; Kang, 2006), more favorable attitudes towards (members of) the host society (Rubinfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006) and stronger

identification with the host society (Chen et al., 2008; de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Rubinfeld et al., 2006). Putting these correlational findings in a longitudinal perspective, it can be expected that an increase in second language proficiency is associated with a higher extent of cultural integration. Specifically, in the present study, the first hypothesis that will be tested are:

H1: An increase in second language proficiency is associated with a positive change in (a) *attitudes* towards the host culture, and (b) *identification* with the host society.

3.1.2 Multicultural personality

Personality appears to be an influential factor in the adjustment of immigrants in their host countries (Bakker, Van Oudenhoven, & Van Der Zee, 2004; Galchenko & van, 2007). Based on earlier research, Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2000; 2001) propose the concept of a multicultural personality, that is, a personality that predisposes a person to successfully deal with the challenges that intercultural interaction and integration entail. They distinguish between five personality traits that characterize a multicultural personality. The first trait, *emotional stability*, is the ability to remain calm under new and stressful situations. *Flexibility* refers to interpreting new situations as a positive challenge and adapting to these situations accordingly. *Cultural empathy* implies empathizing with the feelings, thoughts and behaviors of members of other cultures. *Open-mindedness* reflects an open and nonjudgmental attitude towards members of different cultural groups. *Social initiative*, finally, is defined as actively approaching social situations and demonstrating initiative in these interactions (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001).

To assess the degree to which individuals possess a multicultural personality, the Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (MPQ; Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001) was developed, which reliably assesses the proposed five multicultural personality traits. Research using this instrument has shown it to be predictive of the ‘intercultural success’ of different groups like international students, expatriates and immigrants. High scores on dimensions of the MPQ are for example associated with a higher extent of sociocultural integration, psychological adjustment and better mental health (Ali, Van der Zee, & Sanders, 2003; Leong, 2007; Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013).

Based on the results of several empirical studies which made use of the MPQ (e.g. Hofhuis, van der Zee, & Otten, 2012; van der Zee, van Oudenhoven, & de Grijjs, 2004; Van der Zee & Van der Gang, 2007), the authors of the MPQ recently argued that the five defined traits can be divided in stress-buffering and social-perceptual traits (van der Zee & van

Oudenhoven, 2013). Individuals scoring high on stress-buffering traits (emotional stability, flexibility) can be expected to perceive an intercultural situation as less threatening. Individuals scoring high on the social-perceptual traits (cultural empathy, open-mindedness, social initiative), perceive intercultural situations as challenging, explore the social and cognitive opportunities, and respond with more positive affect. Importantly, while the stress buffering traits are considered to be quite stable, the social-perceptual traits are more flexible and assumed to be trainable (Herfst, van Oudenhoven, & Timmerman, 2008).

In line with the assumption that the social-perceptual traits are trainable, Van der Zee and Van Oudenhoven (2013) suggest that it would be worthwhile to train these traits at the start of or during second language courses. After all, as described above, two different lines of research show the relevance of (a) second language proficiency and (b) personality traits for various forms of integration. However, to the best of our knowledge, no integrative research has been done so far to study second language proficiency, personality and integration altogether. This is remarkable, because it is very likely that the relation between progress in second language proficiency and progress in terms of integration is stronger for immigrants who score higher on social-perceptual personality traits. Stated otherwise, the social-perceptual personality traits are very plausible moderators in the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration (i.e. attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society).

Specifically, the personality trait *social initiative* is a plausible moderator in the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration. This can be assumed because research suggests that being proficient in the second language facilitates contact with natives which, in turn, may lead to more positive attitudes towards the host culture (de Vroome, Coenders, van Tubergen, & Verkuyten, 2011). Contact with members of the host society is also known to be related to stronger identification with the host society (de Vroome et al., 2014; Nesdale, 2002). Thus, the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration can, at least partially, be explained by contact with members of the host society. However, although being proficient in the second language might certainly *facilitate* contact, it does not necessarily *initiate* contact. That is, immigrants might know the language but may nonetheless still keep to themselves. Therefore, the extent to which an increase in second language proficiency is related to an increase in cultural integration might depend on an immigrants' social initiative; the trait that is most clearly linked to relation building (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001). Accordingly, we hypothesize that immigrants who are learning the second language and who have a high degree of social initiative, are more prone to actually use the acquired language skills to engage in contact with member of the

host society and, as a consequence, should experience more positive change in attitudes towards the host culture and identification with that society.

Furthermore, the personality trait *openness* is a plausible moderator in the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration. Openness is a higher order factor based on the traits cultural empathy and open-mindedness, which are generally highly correlated (van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013). Openness refers to being non-judgmental towards members of the host society and being able to empathize with them (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2000; 2001). Likely this trait is also essential for a positive change in terms of attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society. An immigrant who is judgmental towards members of the host society and not able to empathize with them will likely not experience any positive changes in attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society despite acquiring the second language. Therefore, we expect that the extent to which an increase in second language proficiency is related to an increase in immigrants cultural integration' depends on immigrants' degree of openness.

To sum up, in line with the nature of the social perceptual traits and earlier research revealing clear links between these trainable traits and various forms of integration (e.g. Ali et al., 2003; Leong, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009), we expect the traits social initiative and openness to be related to indicators of cultural integration (i.e. positive attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society). Specifically, our expectations are:

- H2: The higher the degree of *social initiative* the more positive the change in (a) *attitudes* towards the host culture, and (b) *identification* with the host society.
- H3: The higher the degree of *openness* the more positive the change in (a) *attitudes* towards the host culture, and (b) *identification* with the host society.

More importantly, we expect these social-perceptual personality traits to moderate the relation between second language proficiency and immigrants' cultural integration:

- H4: The higher the degree of *social initiative*, the stronger the association between an increase in second language proficiency and a positive change in (a) *attitudes* towards the host culture, and (b) *identification* with the host society.
- H5: The higher the degree of *openness*, the stronger the association between an increase in second language proficiency and a positive change in (a) *attitudes* towards the host culture and (b) *identification* with the host society

3.2 Method

3.2.1 Participants

The data used for this study was collected in the Netherlands. Respondents were Dutch language course participants and newly arrived international psychology students. While the first group explicitly chose for learning the Dutch language, the second one started a study taught in English. Yet, though for their study knowing the Dutch language was not mandatory, it can well be assumed that during the first months in the Netherlands, second language proficiency would be a relevant variable for predicting change in integration within the Dutch society. Furthermore, not only from the participants of the language course, but also from the international psychology students, progress in second language proficiency can be expected because they just arrived in the Netherlands and progress in second language proficiency typically occurs shortly after arrival.

Data was gathered at two time points. Between September and the beginning of October 2011, respondents filled in our first questionnaire. The second questionnaire was filled in about three months afterwards. The Dutch language course participants were asked by their teachers to voluntarily participate in this paper and pencil survey. Participation by the international psychology students was also voluntary, with the difference that they earned student credits when they participated and that their questionnaires were conducted online. For both groups completion of the questionnaire took about 15 minutes. A total of 353 respondents participated in the first data collection. 52 % of them ($N = 183$) also participated in the second data collection. The respondents who intended to stay in the Netherlands permanently were removed from the dataset because for them the process of integration might develop differently compared to the (remaining) temporary immigrants. Merging the remaining data resulted in a total of 111 international psychology students and 56 language course participants who participated in both data collections. Due to missing data of four respondents, the data of 163 respondents was used for the final analyses.

Out of all participants, 72% were female, and 64% were born in Germany (other participants came from 31 different countries, with a maximum of 5 respondents per country). All respondents finished secondary school. At least 25% of them also finished a higher educational level. The mean age was 23. The vast majority (97%) of the participants came to the Netherlands for work or study, the remaining 3% (temporarily) migrated to the Netherlands because the partner went there or was already there. The mean years of residence in the Netherlands was only 0.42 years, revealing that, as intended, the sample comprised of people who were still newcomers to the Netherlands.

3.2.2 Measures

Unless stated otherwise, all measures were the same at both time points (t1 and t2) for the language course participants and the international psychology students.

Second language proficiency was measured with the commonly used 4 item self-assessment (e.g. Chiswick and Miller 1995, 2002; Van Tubergen 2010). Specifically, respondents were asked “How well can you understand Dutch?”, “How well can you speak Dutch?”, How well can you read Dutch?” and finally “How well do you write Dutch?” (t1 $\alpha=.86$, t2 $\alpha=.88$). The seven-point Likert scale ranged from “not at all” to “very well”.

Attitudes towards the Dutch culture were measured by asking respondents to what extent they liked (a) Dutch food, (b) Dutch clothing, (c) Dutch humor, (d) Dutch music, (e) traditional Dutch celebrations, (e) the way Dutch people treat each other (t1 $\alpha=.66$, t2 $\alpha=.72$). The five-point Likert scale ranged from “not at all to “very much”; higher scores on this scale indicate more positive attitudes.

Identification was measured by asking respondents to what extent they agreed to the following four statements: “I feel a strong attachment towards the Netherlands”, “I’m happy to be living in the Netherlands”, “I’m proud to be living in the Netherlands”, “I feel similar to people from the Netherlands” (t1: $\alpha=.74$, t2: $\alpha=.78$). The five-point Likert scale ranged from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. Higher scores on this scale indicate stronger identification.

Social initiative. An abbreviated form of the original Multicultural Personality Questionnaire (Van der Zee, Van Oudenhoven, 2000, 2001) was administered at the first time point to measure multicultural personality traits. Again respondents were asked to indicate on a five-point scale (ranging from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”) to what extent they agreed with postulated statements. Social initiative was measured with five statements, for example: “I take initiatives”, and “I keep to the background”; ($\alpha=.64$).

Openness is a higher order factor of the personality traits cultural empathy and open-mindedness ($\alpha=.80$). In total 12 items were used to measure these two traits. Example items of *cultural empathy* items were “I understand other people’s feelings” and “I have insight into human nature”. Example items of open-mindedness are: “I am interested in other cultures” and “I am intrigued by differences”. Pearson’s correlation between the factors social initiative and openness was .39 ($p<.01$).

3.2.3 Statistical analyses

Multiple regression analysis was used to answer the research questions. In the first analyses (see Table 3.3), the hypotheses with respect to attitudes towards the Netherlands were tested. In the second analyses the hypotheses with respect to identification with the Netherlands were tested (see Table 3.4).

As is common, in our preliminary analyses we controlled for gender, educational level and age. In addition, we controlled for the English language proficiency and Germany as country of origin (yes or no). The English language proficiency was included because this language is spoken by many Dutch people and can therefore also be influential for immigrants' cultural integration in the Netherlands. Germany as a country of origin was included as control variable because many respondents in this study originated from Germany. The German language and culture is relatively close to the Dutch language and culture compared to other countries of origin which are in the dataset. Thus the Dutch language proficiency, the cultural integration, and the relation between these two main variables might develop differently for German immigrants.

Both in the preliminary correlations and in the regression models the control variables were not significant (except for gender in two models). In the regression models, the main results did not change and the adjusted R^2 either remained the same or decreased when the control variables were included. Given these results and the fact that there are no further theoretical reasons for including these control variables in our analyses, the control variables were omitted from the final analyses.

3.3 Results

3.3.1 Descriptives

Descriptive statistics of the original data are shown in Table 3.1. At time point 2 the mean second language proficiency was significantly higher than at time point 1. This indicates that overall, as expected, the respondents made progress in terms of second language proficiency ($t(162)=9.65$ $p<.001$). Also, in between data collections, a slight increase can be seen in the mean identification with the Netherlands and a slight decrease in attitudes towards the Netherlands. Both changes, however, are not significant (identification, $t(162)=1.24$ $p=.11$; attitudes, $t(162)=-.58$ $p=.28$).

The correlations given in Table 3.2 show a strong and significant relation between attitudes towards the Netherlands and identification with the Netherlands. This corresponds

with the fact that these variables are both considered as indicators of the cultural integration. At the same time, the correlation coefficients are not extremely high, which implies that the two indicators are distinctive.

At time 2, second language proficiency appears to be significantly, but weakly, correlated to identification with the Netherlands. No significant correlation is found between second language proficiency and attitudes towards the Netherlands at any time point.

With respect to multicultural personality traits, social initiative appears to be positively and moderately correlated with identification with the Netherlands. Openness correlates positively and moderately with attitudes towards the Netherlands. Openness is also weakly, but negatively, related to second language proficiency at time point 1, which is in the opposite direction as one would intuitively expect.

Table 3.1 Descriptive statistics of independent and dependent variables ($N=163$)

	Min	Max	Mean	SD
Attitudes t1	1.33	4.5	3.10	.60
Attitudes t2	1.17	4.83	3.08	.65
Identification t1	1.5	4.75	3.31	.61
Identification t2	1.5	4.75	3.36	.65
Dutch t1	1	6.5	2.79	1.11
Dutch t2	1	6.25	3.42	1.09
Social initiative	1.8	4.8	3.22	.54
Openness	2.75	5	3.85	.42

Table 3.2 Correlations for dependent and independent variables ($N=163$)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Attitudes t1							
2. Attitudes t2	.71 **						
3. Identification t1	.54 **	.50 **					
4. Identification t2	.49 **	.59 **	.73 **				
5. Dutch t1	-.05	.00	-.02	.02			
6. Dutch t2	-.05	.05	.13 *	.20 **	.72 **		
7. Social initiative	.10	.06	.32 **	.24 **	-.03	.04	
8. Openness	.18 *	.24 **	.16 *	.13	-.15 *	-.12	.11

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ (one tailed).

3.3.2 Main results

Table 2.3 shows the multiple regression results with attitudes towards the Netherlands at time 2 as dependent variable. Attitudes at time 1 is consistently included as predictor, causing all other predictors to be concerned with the (possible) change in attitudes in-between the two data collections.

The first model shows that a change in the Dutch language proficiency (Dutch t2-t1) is not significantly related to a change in terms of attitudes towards the Netherlands. Hypothesis 1a can therefore be rejected.

Results of the next model which is concerned with the influence of the two social-perceptual personality traits, show that whereas social initiative is not significantly related to change in attitudes towards the Netherlands, openness is. The higher the degree of openness, the more positive the change in attitudes towards the host culture. In line with this it can be concluded that hypothesis 2a is not supported by the data while hypothesis 3a is.

The third model shows a significant relation between the dependent variable and the interaction of change in second language proficiency and social initiative. Simple slopes analysis was done to be able to interpret this interaction effect (see Figure 3.1). For ease of interpretation change in attitudes (time 2 minus time 1) was used as dependent variable. This shows that whereas for immigrants with a high degree of social initiative high progress in terms of second language proficiency is accompanied by a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture, for immigrants with a low degree of social initiative, this is not the case. This is in line with hypothesis 4a. Even more, the former results indicate that the relation between increase in second language proficiency and a more positive attitude towards the host country is not just stronger for immigrants high in social initiative; being high in social initiative even appears to be crucial for the relation to exist. After all, no main effect between progress in second language and change in attitudes was found.

In contrast with the results on social initiative, the interaction effect of change in second language proficiency and openness is not significant. Therefore hypothesis 5a is rejected.

Table 2.4 shows the multiple regression results with identification towards the Netherlands at time 2 as dependent variable. Identification at time 1 is consistently included as predictor, causing all other predictors to be concerned with the (possible) change in identification in-between the two data collections.

The first model shows that the change in Dutch language proficiency is significantly related to a change in terms of identification with the Netherlands. Hypotheses 1b which states that an immigrants' increase in second language proficiency is associated with an

increasing identification with the host society is thus supported by the data.

The next model shows that the degrees of social initiative and openness are not related to the extent of change in identification with the Netherlands. This applies both to the possible main and to the assumed interaction effects in combination with an increase in second language proficiency. All remaining hypotheses are therefore rejected.

Table 3.3 Regression results with attitudes at time point 2 as dependent variable ($N=163$)

	Model H1a		Model H2a/3a		Model H4a/5a	
	B	SE Beta	B	SE Beta	B	SE Beta
(Constant)	.68	.19 ***	.75	.19 ***	.73	.19 ***
Attitudes t1	.77	.06 ***	.75	.06 ***	.75	.06 ***
Dutch t2-t1	.06	.04 .07			.05	.04 .07
Social initiative			-.02	.07 -.02	-.05	.07 -.04
Dutch t2-t1 * Social initiative			.19	.09 .12 *	.17	.08 .11 *
Openness					.19	.09 .12 *
Dutch t2-t1 * Openness					-.04	.10 -.02
Adjusted R ²	.50 ***		.51 ***		.52 ***	

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (one tailed).

Table 3.4 Regression results with identification at time point 2 as dependent variable ($N=163$)

	Model H1b		Model H2b/3b		Model H4b/5b	
	B	SE Beta	B	SE Beta	B	SE Beta
(Constant)	.86	.20 ***	.81	.21 ***	.89	.21 ***
Identification t1	.76	.06 ***	.77	.06 ***	.74	.06 ***
Dutch t2-t1	.08	.04 .10 *			.08	.04 .10 *
Social initiative			.02	.07 .01	.01	.07 .01
Dutch t2-t1 * Social initiative					.12	.08 .08
Openness			.01	.09 .01	.01	.09 .00
Dutch t2-t1 * Openness					.09	.10 .05
Adjusted R ²	.54 ***		.52 ***		.53 ***	

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (one tailed).

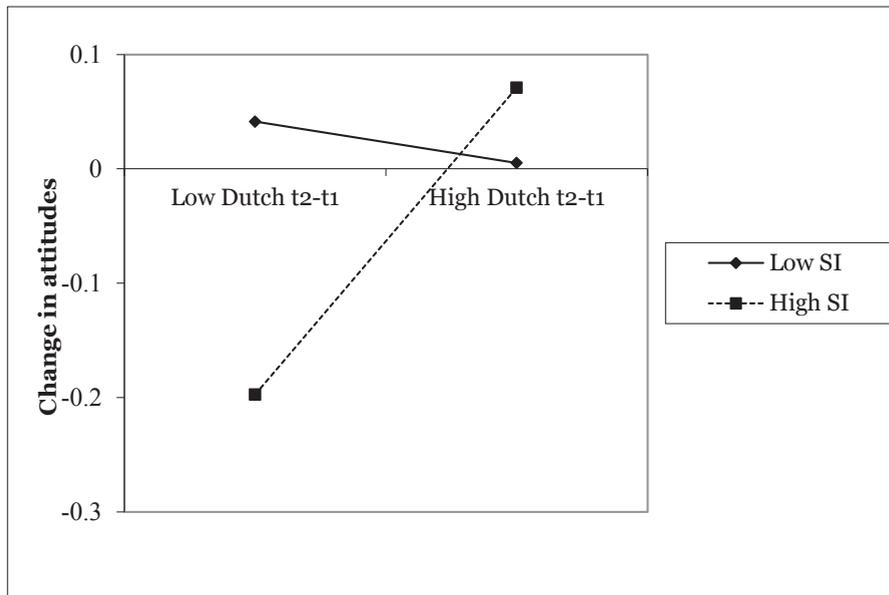


Figure 3.1 Simple slopes analysis of change in attitudes taking into account progress in Dutch and degree of social initiative

3.4 Conclusion and discussion

The immense migration that many countries are facing asks for effective policy directed at integrating immigrants in the host society. Nowadays, in many Western countries immigration policy and subsequent integration programs have a strong emphasis on fostering second language acquisition. In the current study we examined the underlying assumptions of such integration programs. Firstly, we examined whether an increase in second language proficiency is indeed associated with an increasing positive orientation towards the host society or, in other words, with immigrants' cultural integration, as findings from cross sectional research suggest.

Secondly, we examined whether policy that aims to increase cultural integration by means of second language courses indeed works well for all immigrants. Based on earlier research revealing the importance of personality in integration (e.g. Leong, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002) we argued that the degree to which an increase in second language proficiency is associated with an increase in cultural integration may differ between immigrants with different (trainable) personality traits.

To test our hypotheses, we used longitudinal data (two time points) from temporary immigrants who just arrived in the Netherlands and/or followed a Dutch language course at the time of the data collection. The analyses provided evidence for both the role of second language proficiency and personality traits in the cultural integration of immigrants. At the same time, findings differed for the two indicators of cultural integration; attitudes towards the Netherlands and identification with the Netherlands.

Whereas progress in second language proficiency (Dutch) appeared not to be directly related to a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture, it was associated with a positive change in identification with the host society. These results are partially in line with hypothesis 1. Immigrants who learn a second language do not necessarily become more positive in their attitudes towards the host culture, but do experience a positive change in identification with that society. Thus, although our descriptives showed no significant change on the mean level of either indicator of cultural integration, implying that some participants have improved while others have declined, a visible link was found between progress in second language proficiency and a positive change in identification.

An explanation for these differing findings for the two cultural integration indicators is that immigrants who learn the second language might increasingly feel like they belong to the host society and are happy to be part of it (identification), while they are not actually willing to adopt aspects of the Dutch culture into their own daily lives (attitudes). A positive attitude seems to be more specific and to go much further than identification which is a more general feeling of belonging. However, despite the diverging content of these two measures, based on earlier literature and on the reliable high correlations of the present study, both are legitimately perceived as indicators of cultural integration.

Another possible explanation for the different results regarding our two indicators of cultural integration relates to our hypotheses regarding the possible role of individual difference variables. Specifically, social perceptual personality traits (social initiative and openness traits; van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013) may differentially affect the two aspects of cultural integration.

In our examination of the direct relation between these social-perceptual traits and cultural integration (hypotheses 2 and 3) we found that the social perceptual trait *openness*, but not *social initiative*, was significantly related to a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture. This indicates that immigrants who are less judgmental towards members of the host society and better able to empathize with them are also more willing to adopt aspects of the host society's culture in their daily life. With respect to our second indicator of cultural integration, identification with the host society, neither the degree of openness nor social

initiative were relevant predictors of positive change. This overall low impact of the social-perceptual personality traits is not in line with earlier research on the predictive value of multicultural personality traits (including social-perceptual traits) for a wide range of indicators of integration (e. g. Hofhuis et al., 2012; van der Zee et al., 2004; Van der Zee & Van der Gang, 2007). Especially the absence of a relation with identification with the host society is surprising, since social-perceptual traits are assumed to enable individuals to see connections between different identities and, thus, to facilitate the formation of a complex identity (identification with both the home and host society: van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013). However, previous research did not simultaneously investigate the impact of multicultural personality traits and progress in second language proficiency on cultural integration. Also, it did not consider a possible interaction effect of multicultural personality traits and language proficiency, which could explain the lack of main effects between these traits and cultural integration. In fact, we found at least partial support for such interaction effects.

Testing our hypothesis regarding a possible moderating impact of immigrants' degree of social initiative (hypothesis 4), we indeed found that progress in second language proficiency in combination with a high degree of *social initiative* was related to more positive change in *attitudes* towards the host culture. Thus, only for immigrants high in social initiative a positive change in second language proficiency is accompanied by a positive change in attitudes, that is, a higher willingness to appreciate and adopt aspects of the Dutch culture in the daily life. A possible explanation for this finding is provided by Intergroup Contact Theory, which assumes that positive contact between members of different groups leads to improved attitudes towards each other's group (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Plausibly, immigrants who learn the second language, but are weak on social initiative will not actually use this language to initiate any cross-group interaction, such as asking questions, starting a conversation or responding to invitations to common activities with members of the host society. Accordingly, these immigrants will not substantially increase their contact with (members of) the host society, not get to know their customs and traditions and thus also not improve their attitude towards that society as a whole. Likewise, immigrants who are not very proficient in speaking the second language, but who do have a high degree of social initiative, will have a hard time to get in contact with the host society, and thus are also not prone to change their attitudes towards that society. However, immigrants who *both* make progress in their second language proficiency and have a high degree of social initiative have a high chance to get in contact with (members of) the host society and, thus, to develop more positive attitudes towards the host culture and adopt

aspects of that society. For the second indicator of cultural integration, identification with the host society, the positive link between second language proficiency was not moderated by social initiative, but was equally strong irrespective of this personality trait. This may imply that for the mere feeling to belong to the host society and to be happy about that, the actual contact is less important than for actually having a positive attitude towards specific aspects of that culture and the willingness to adopt them.

The analyses with respect to the possible impact of *openness* (hypothesis 5), yielded no significant interaction effects: neither for attitudes towards nor for the identification with the host society the positive association between an increase in second language proficiency and cultural integration was moderated by immigrants' degree of openness.

3.4.1 Limitations and future research

The current study took earlier cross sectional research on second language proficiency and cultural integration one step further by examining this topic longitudinally. However, due to the limited number of respondents, no test of causality was done, that is, we cannot straightforwardly argue that progress in second language proficiency actually leads to a higher extent of cultural integration. The only study we found on this topic that actually did test causality, indeed offered support for the notion that second language proficiency leads to more identification with the host country rather than the other way around (Hochman & Davidov, 2014). However, in contrast with our study, in which a reliable change in second language proficiency was found, that study found only very little change in respondents' language proficiency over time. Therefore, in order to be able to perform tests of causality, future research on this topic would benefit from performing longitudinal research with a substantial representation of immigrants, of whom (like in the current study) a change in language proficiency can be expected.

The present study was conducted with temporary immigrants, also called sojourners (e.g., Wilson et al., 2014). As noted in the literature, sojourners might differ from permanent immigrants. Sojourners are often considered as 'internationally mobile third culture individuals', who on one hand easily learn about new cultures, but on the other hand might not actually internalize these cultures (Barker, 2015 based on Dewaele & Van Oudenhoven, 2009; Greenholtz & Kim, 2009; Lyttle, Barker, & Cornwell, 2011; Moore & Barker, 2012). Although our findings do not actually lead us to think this is the case in the current study, to test generalizability of our findings, future research on this topic among permanent immigrants is certainly worthwhile.

Given that for neither the international students nor the participants of the language courses multicultural personality traits were discussed or actively trained, we felt safe to assume that these traits have remained stable during the period in which our study was conducted, and that it would therefore be sufficient to measure them at one time point only. However, in order to definitely rule out that during the time frame of the study respondents may have fluctuated in their scores on the relevant personality traits, it seems recommendable for future research to measure these traits at all time points.

Another point that might need consideration in future research is that change in second language proficiency can take place from different starting points, and may, therefore, bear different meanings. Thus, on the 5-point scale of second language proficiency as used in the present study 2 points progress in between measurements can for some respondents be caused by a shift from 1 ('not at all') to 3 ('little'), while for others it can be caused by a shift from 3 ('little') to 5 ('well'). It cannot be ruled out that these divergent forms of progress, both resulting in the same difference score, may relate differently to the (change in terms of) cultural integration. Therefore, future research should either only include respondents who, at the first point of measurement, are highly similar in second language proficiency, or should have such large samples that it is possible to include initial language proficiency as a predictor variable.

Finally, as is common, in the current study respondents' self-assessments were used to measure second language proficiency. However, a recent study shows that this subjective way of measuring second language proficiency can differ substantially from more objective measures of second language proficiency (like test scores) (Van Niejenhuis, Van der Werf, & Otten, 2015). Therefore, in future research it may be worthwhile to also use more objective measures of second language proficiency.

3.4.2 Policy implications

The current study distinguishes itself from earlier work by examining second language proficiency, integration and personality traits simultaneously. Another asset is its longitudinal character. Both aspects have led to important insights. As expected from correlational research, the present study indicated that, within a relatively short time frame, an increase in second language proficiency is related to a positive change in terms of identification with the host society and attitudes towards the host culture. This is in line with typical immigration policies and subsequent integration programs with a strong focus on learning the second language. However, our findings also suggest that such focus on second

language acquisition is not a “one size fits all”-approach. This conclusion is based on the finding that an increasing second language proficiency only goes together with a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture if immigrants also have a high degree of social initiative. Another notable finding is that, in the time period that this study was conducted, immigrants with a high degree of openness became more positive in their attitudes towards the host culture, regardless of the progress they made in terms of second language proficiency. Thus, next to second language learning, results from this study suggest the importance of social perceptual personality traits in cultural integration. Given that these traits are considered as trainable, our study suggests that policy makers should consider including attention for and a training of social perceptual personality traits in combination with a formal language teaching program in integration programs (see van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013).

Chapter 4

Second language proficiency and interethnic friendships as key factors in the cultural integration of preadolescent ethnic minority children?

Abstract

The current research examined two key factors in immigrants' integration in the host society: *second language proficiency* and *interethnic friendships*. Previously, these factors have not been investigated concurrently among children. This paper presents a longitudinal study (time lag: 9 months), conducted among preadolescent minority children (age 10-13) living in the Netherlands ($N=173$). The results of the longitudinal analyses indicated that second language proficiency nor interethnic friendships were related to both indicators of cultural integration, which were *attitudes* towards members of the host society and *identification* with the host society. Cross-sectionally, second language proficiency was positively associated with identification with the host society and interethnic friendships was positively associated with attitudes. Second language proficiency did not predict minority children's majority group friendships at a later point in time, nor vice versa. Finally, no mediation effects were found; interethnic friendships did not mediate the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration, and second language proficiency did not mediate the relation between interethnic friendships and cultural integration. These results suggest that factors which are generally considered important in cultural integration can only partially be applied to integration of minority children.

This study is based upon:

Van Niejenhuis, C., Flache, A., Otten, S., Stark, T., & Van der Werf, M.P.C. (2017). Second language proficiency and interethnic friendships as key factors in the cultural integration of preadolescent ethnic minority children? *Submitted for publication*.

4.1 Introduction

In recent decades, the consequences of migration for Western societies have become a subject of intensive public and scientific debate. Millions of people migrate to other countries on a yearly basis for reasons like asylum, work, or family (OECD, 2016a). Immigrants and their children struggle to secure for themselves future opportunities in these countries. Being culturally integrated is seen by many as an important condition for immigrants' success in a host country. Which factors exactly foster or hinder this cultural integration is a question that is still subject to scientific debate. According to many researchers and policy makers, proficiency in the language of the host country plays a key role. It is, however, unclear how the role of language proficiency interacts with another important factor identified in the literature: interethnic friendships between minority and majority members of the host society. Interethnic friendships may both foster language proficiency of immigrants or be facilitated by it, but there is little knowledge about the concurrent effects of these factors. In the current research we examined how these two key factors from the literature on intercultural integration are related to each other and develop simultaneously. In line with earlier research (e.g. Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003), we used attitudes towards members of the host society and identification with the host society as indicators of cultural integration.

Besides providing a deeper understanding of the role of both second language proficiency and interethnic friendships, we moved beyond previous work in a second respect. Most work focusing on the role of host country language proficiency has addressed the adult immigrant population. Yet, increasing proportions of the ethnic minority populations in Western countries are second- or even third-generation children of immigrant parents. Typically, differences in second language proficiency between them and majority children are relatively small compared with adults. This raises the question whether and to what extent previous findings on the effects of language proficiency on cultural integration generalize to ethnic minority children. We addressed this question by focusing on children between the ages of 10 and 13 years.

Researchers who focused on *host country language proficiency* suggest that this is a key factor and even a prerequisite for integration (Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1980; Giles & Byrne, 1982; Gordon, 1964; Lambert, 1974; Schumann, 1978). There is a substantial amount of empirical evidence showing that high second language proficiency may be related to a stronger orientation towards the host culture in terms of *identification*, and *attitudes* (e.g. Jiang, Green, Henley, & Masten, 2009; Kang, 2006; Noels, Pon, & Clement, 1996).

However, this research mostly examined adults; but unlike immigrant adults, minority children grow up not only in between the heritage culture of their parent(s) and the host society culture, but also in between the two corresponding languages. Becoming proficient in the second language requires less of a consciously made investment and less active decision-making for them than is the case for adult first-generation immigrants. Accordingly, the link between second language proficiency and cultural integration is less self-evident for minority children.

Interethnic contact is a factor in integration that has arguably received even more attention from researchers than second language proficiency. Findings of many studies support the view that contact of (descendants of) immigrants with natives is associated with more favorable *attitudes* of immigrants towards members of the host society (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011), and stronger *identification* with the host society (e.g. Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2011; Sabatier, 2008). Furthermore, these findings indicate that friendship is an especially powerful form of contact.

Taken together, we addressed four questions in the current study. First, is second language proficiency related to the cultural integration of the children of immigrants? Second, is interethnic contact in the form of friendships with native (majority) children related to cultural integration and what is the relative influence of these friendships compared to second language proficiency? Third, does second language proficiency predict interethnic friendships over time or vice versa? And in line with this, do (a) interethnic friendships mediate the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration or does (b) second language proficiency mediate the relation between interethnic friendships and cultural integration? The latter questions are particularly of interest in relation to minority children in (pre)adolescence, since this is the life stage in which peers, and friendships in particular, are known to be an important source of influence with regard to emotions, social development, opinions, and behavior (Brechtwald & Prinstein, 2011; Corsaro & Eder, 1990).

The current study was aimed at explaining the cultural integration of preadolescent minority children characterized by variation in both second language proficiency and interethnic friendships with the majority group. In line with earlier research (e.g. Hagendoorn et al., 2003), we used *identification* with the host society and *attitudes* towards members of the host society as indicators of cultural integration. Several direct and indirect relations between second language proficiency, majority group friendships, and cultural integration were proposed. These relations were tested using longitudinal data of 173 preadolescent minority children living in the Netherlands. Second language proficiency and

interethnic friendships may not only be both related to cultural integration, but they may also be related to each other. The interdependence and the longitudinal structure of our data led us to analyze the data using Structural Equation Modelling. This method allowed us to test all relations concurrently, including their relative explanatory value for cultural integration.

4.1.1 Second language proficiency and cultural integration

The children of immigrants form a large share of the immigrant population in many societies nowadays. In 2013, 19% of the citizens of the Netherlands who had at least one foreign-born parent were between 0 and 15 years of age (see CBS - Statistics Netherlands, 2016c). These children grow up in between two cultures, and can be oriented towards their (parents') heritage culture, the host culture, or a combination of both (see Berry, 1997). Even though they are raised in the host society, a strong cultural integration is not self-evident.

Moreover, it is not self-evident that research findings which are in line with the idea that second language proficiency facilitates cultural integration (e.g. Jiang et al., 2009; Kang, 2006; Noels et al., 1996), are applicable to minority children.

It still is an open question whether the findings on the relation between second language proficiency and indicators of cultural integration are also applicable to minority children in the Netherlands. A difference in second language learning between adult immigrants and their children is that, for adults, learning the second language is more of a personal choice, while for children who are raised in the host country (and go to school there), learning this language is inevitable. This suggests that their cultural integration in the host country may be less linked to second language acquisition than this is the case for adults. This is particularly true for the Netherlands, the country of our study. While the second language proficiency of minority children in the Netherlands is relatively low compared with majority children (see CBS - Statistics Netherlands, 2014), differences between minority children and majority children are smaller than between first-generation adult immigrants and native adults for two reasons. First, due to Dutch government policy schools prioritize the improvement of minority children's host country language proficiency (VROM, 2007) and (thus) second, minority children grow up in the Netherlands and speak Dutch every day.

School and government policies fostering host country language acquisition of minority children raise the question whether second language proficiency is linked as much to cultural integration as research among adult immigrants showed it to be. There are several reasons to expect that also for minority children there is a link. Children still have a choice in the extent to which they invest in learning the second language, just as they have a choice in

the extent to which they culturally integrate. Moreover, while the differences in the second language proficiency of minority children might be relatively small, this does not necessarily imply that second language proficiency is an unimportant factor in their cultural integration. Expectations of the host society regarding the second language proficiency of minority children are also higher, which can make the small differences in language proficiency relatively important for the degree to which minority children feel that they belong in and are accepted by the host society. Thus, even small differences in second language proficiency might affect cultural integration. To assess this possibility, in this study, we tested the hypothesis that the relationship between second language acquisition and cultural integration also applies to minority children:

H. I In preadolescent minority children, second language proficiency is positively related to cultural integration (cross-sectional and longitudinal).

4.1.2 Majority group friendships and cultural integration

Ever since Williams (1947) and Allport (1954) proposed their contact hypothesis, a lot of research has been conducted to test the relation between intergroup contact and intergroup *attitudes*. A large body of research supports the idea that interpersonal contact between members of different ethnicities is related to more favorable attitudes towards each other's groups (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, it was found that this is especially the case when this contact takes the form of friendship (e.g. Davies, Tropp, Aron, Pettigrew, & Wright, 2011; Levin, van Laar, & Sidanius, 2003; Pettigrew et al., 2011).

Interethnic contact can be expected to be related not only to attitudes, but also to *identification*. Based on the social categorization approach to intergroup behavior (Brewer, 1979; Brown & Turner, 1981; Tajfel & Turner, 1979), Gaertner and Dovidio's (2000) Common Ingroup Identity Model asserts that "*intergroup bias and conflict can be reduced by factors that transform members' cognitive representation of the memberships from two groups to one group*" (Gaertner, Dovidio, Anastasio, Bachman, & Rust, 1993). Thus, positive intergroup relations are fostered if members of different groups perceive themselves and others as 'we' rather than as 'us' versus 'them'. Intergroup contact is an effective way of creating this perception of a common in-group identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, Saguy, & Halabi, 2008; Gaertner, Dovidio, & Bachman, 1996). This suggests that interethnic contact with the native majority can enhance immigrants' perceptions of belonging to a common group and can thus strengthen identification with the host society. Again, this is specifically expected to be the case when this interethnic contact takes the form of friendship.

Positive effects of interethnic contact with members of the host society on cultural integration can especially be expected for children. Childhood is considered a formative period for interethnic relations (Schofield, 1995). This is because children have relatively many interethnic encounters in school compared with other settings. Moreover, there are indications that interethnic friendships during childhood are associated with positive outcomes in both the short and the long run (e.g. Ellison & Powers, 1994; Jackman & Crane, 1986; Patchen, 1982). Especially during (pre)adolescence, peers, and friends in particular, are an important source of influence (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). Not surprisingly, therefore, there are indications that during adolescence minority children's friendships with majority children are related to more positive attitudes towards members of the host society and stronger identification with that society (Munniksma, 2013).

In sum, friendships are an especially beneficial form of intergroup contact, and peers and friends appear to be a very important source of influence during (pre)adolescence, also with respect to cultural integration. This leads us to the following expectation:

H. II In preadolescent minority children, majority group friendships are positively related to cultural integration (cross-sectional and longitudinal).

4.1.3 Second language proficiency and majority group friendships

Second language proficiency and interethnic friendships can both be expected to affect cultural integration, but they may also be related to each other. For example, Titzmann and colleagues (2012) linked the notion of 'homophily' in friendship formation to host country language use. Homophily implies that contact, and a friendship relation in particular, is more likely to occur between similar people than between dissimilar people (McPherson, Smith-Lovin, & Cook, 2001). Similar to the findings of research on similarity in opinions among adolescents (Stark & Flache, 2012), Titzmann et al. showed similarity in host country language use to surpass 'ethnic homophily' and thus facilitate friendship formation between people of different ethnicities. Their research among Russian Jewish and ethnic German Diaspora immigrant adolescents living in Germany showed higher levels of German language use to be related to a higher percentage of interethnic friendships. This finding was in line with the reasoning that using the same language can be considered essential for communication and thus for establishing contact and friendships. Hence, it can be reasoned that the second language *proficiency* of minority children (which implies an even higher extent of similarity) is also positively related to their interethnic friendships. We therefore tested the following expectation in our study:

H. III In preadolescent minority children, high second language proficiency fosters majority group friendships.

However, second language proficiency is not only important in the *selection* of majority group friends; it can also be a consequence of having majority group friends and thus be subject to *influence* from friends. The latter is especially likely during (pre)adolescence given the strong influence of peers during this life stage (Brechtwald & Prinstein, 2011; Corsaro & Eder, 1990). The language proficiency of majority group friends most probably influences the second language proficiency of minority group children, because having majority friends increases both *exposure* to the second language (typically at a relatively high level of proficiency) and the *use* of the second language by the immigrant child. This suggests that majority group friendships enhance second language proficiency, an expectation that we tested in our study:

H.IV In preadolescent minority children, majority group friendships foster higher second language proficiency.

4.1.4 Friendships and second language proficiency as mediators

The proposed interplay of second language proficiency and interethnic friendships suggests that there are also indirect ways in which these concepts can be related to cultural integration. First, it was hypothesized that high second language proficiency fosters majority group friendships (Hypothesis III), and that majority group friendships are in turn positively related to cultural integration (Hypothesis II). Hence, a possible direct effect of second language proficiency on cultural integration should be at least partly attributable to interethnic friendships. We assessed this by testing a mediation effect:

H.V In preadolescent minority children, the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration is mediated by majority group friendships

Second, it was hypothesized that majority group friendships foster higher second language proficiency (Hypothesis IV), and that this is in turn positively related to cultural integration (Hypothesis I). Hence, the effects of interethnic friendships on cultural integration may similarly be attributable to an association with second language acquisition. We tested the following:

H. VI In preadolescent minority children, the relation between majority group friendships and cultural integration is mediated by second language proficiency.

Figure 4.1 presents a schematic representation of the main hypotheses that were tested for both dimensions of cultural integration, i.e., identification with Dutch society and attitudes towards members of Dutch society. All hypotheses were tested concurrently. Doing so, we can also examine the relative influence of Dutch language proficiency compared with having Dutch friends on cultural integration (by checking the Beta coefficients if they appear to be significant). Using data collected at two time points, both the cross-sectional and longitudinal relations of Dutch language proficiency and Dutch friends with each other and with cultural integration were tested. Testing these relations over time also enabled us to examine the causal direction of the proposed relationships.

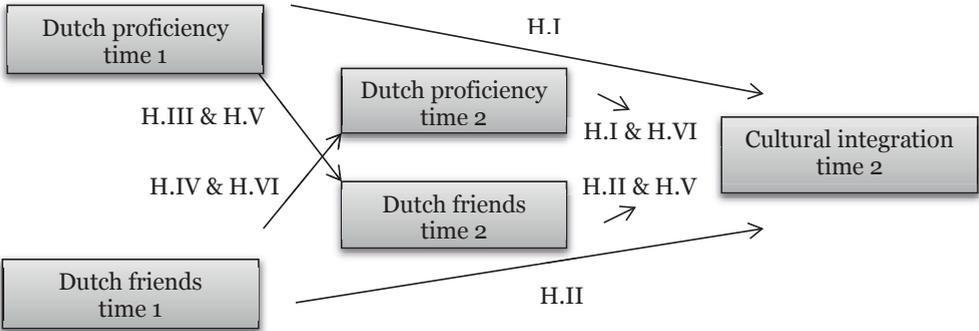


Figure 4.1 Overall research model

Notes:

^a The concepts in this figure are representing more specific variables which are used in the Structural equation Model, see Table 4.3.

^b The SEM we eventually tested contains a number of additional effects including stability paths between Dutch language proficiency at time 1 and 2, see Table 4.3.

4.2 Method

4.2.1 Participants

The data originate from the primary school module of The Arnhem School Study, a longitudinal study comprising three data waves among children living in the city of Arnhem in the Netherlands (Stark, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013; Stark & Flache, 2012). Data from two time points were used. The first data wave took place in July 2007 and focused on children at the end of the seventh grade (5th grade in the American system); the second wave was collected in April 2008 and focused on children at the end of the eighth grade (6th grade in

the American system). Given that we were interested in classroom characteristics, like friendships in class, all children who shared a classroom were included in the data collection. As a consequence, in the case of combination classes (with, for example, children from the fifth and sixth grades) children from other grades were also included.

The response rate of 94% per time point resulted in a total of 533 children who participated in all data collections. Children whose parents were both born in the Netherlands and children with only non-Dutch classmates were excluded from the analyses. This resulted in a sample of 173 children from 25 schools and 38 classrooms for the analyses. These children were between 10 and 13 years of age at the first time point and of 36 different ethnicities, the biggest groups being, respectively, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean.¹

4.2.2 Procedure

Before the start of data collection, parents received a letter in which they were offered the opportunity to refuse participation. They were informed about the research and the confidential treatment of the information to be gathered. The participating children filled in a paper and pencil questionnaire at school under the supervision of a researcher or research assistant. Completion took about 30 minutes. The ethics committee of the department of sociology at the University of Groningen approved the procedure of the data collection.

4.2.3 Measures

We used attitudes towards members of the host society and identification with the host society as indicators of cultural integration.

Attitudes were measured at the second time point using three items: “In your opinion, how many Dutch people are (a) honest, (b) friendly, and (c) smart?” (see Feddes, Noack, & Rutland, 2009; Vervoort, Scholte, & Scheepers, 2011). The questions were answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from “(almost) nobody” to “(almost) everybody” ($\alpha=.80$). The two negative traits aggressive and disobedient were also assessed in the questionnaire, but excluded from the current study. This was done because the Cronbach’s alpha dropped to an unacceptably low level when these items (recoded) were included. This is not surprising, because in line with the ‘positive-negative asymmetry in social discrimination’ (Mummendey & Otten, 1998), developmental research has shown that children over seven years of age are more likely to differentiate between groups in terms of positive rather than negative trait attributes (Bennett, Lyons, Sani, & Barrett, 1998; Bennett et al., 2004; Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001; Rutland et al., 2007). This phenomenon has

been attributed to older children's awareness of norms regarding the unacceptability of discrimination involving negative traits (Rutland et al., 2007).

Identification was measured at the second time point by asking the respondent "Do you feel more Dutch or more a member of the culture of your parents (e.g., Turkish, Moroccan)?" Answering categories were "more Dutch", "more other group", and "both". The category "more other group" was coded as 0, while "more Dutch" and "both" were coded as 1. The latter two categories were merged because we were interested in the extent to which the children identified with the host society. Both categories imply that the respondent does identify (to some extent) with the host society, while the remaining category implies that one does not. Moreover, earlier findings indicate that being oriented towards the host society *only* does not necessarily imply a higher orientation towards that society compared with being oriented towards *both* the heritage and the host society (i.e. having a dual identity Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2007; Gaertner, Rust, Dovidio, Bachman, & Anastasio, 1994; Verkuyten, 2005).

Dutch language proficiency was measured twice, with one schoolyear in between. This concept was operationalized using the grade a child obtained for the school subject 'Dutch' in the given year. An alternative to these raw grades would be the use of the standardized Z scores of these grades based on the class mean. This would be preferable if raw grades were distorted by teacher-related tendencies, for example when some teachers score their children consistently relatively high while others score them relatively low. We tested for this possibility and found no evidence of such teacher-related tendencies. Despite the fact that the children were in a different class at the second moment of measurement and thus the grades at the two time points were generally given by two different teachers, the correlation between the raw scores was quite high ($r=.62$ $p<.01$). This correlation was even higher than the correlation between the Z scores at the two time points ($r=.48$ $p<.01$). Thus the raw grading seemed to be quite consistent and reliable. Therefore, use of the raw grades was preferred.

Proportion of Dutch friends in class was also measured at two time points. This variable was based on the sociometric question "Which of your classmates are your best friends?" The names of all classmates were printed on the questionnaire and could be marked as best friend. Knowing the countries of birth of the children's parents (which was also asked in the questionnaire), we calculated the proportion of the total number of friends in the class who were Dutch (both parents born in the Netherlands). Using friends in the class as an indicator of majority group friendships was preferred above using friends outside the class; because we knew the ethnic composition of the class, the former variable enabled us to control for the opportunity to become friends with the ethnic majority (see next two variables in this

section). Furthermore, the proportions of friends in and outside the class appeared to correspond to each other (at time point 2: $r=.56$ $p<.01$).

Proportion of Dutch children in class. This variable was again calculated based on the countries of birth of the children's parents. It was included as a control variable (see 'statistical analyses' for further information).

Speaking Dutch with parents was measured at the first time point. Respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with the proposition "I speak Dutch with my parents". The questions were answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "absolutely not true" to "absolutely true". Like the above-mentioned variable, this concerns a control variable.

4.2.4 Missing data

For 80 of the 173 respondents information was missing on one or sometimes more variables. In total, the missing data percentage was 8 % (see Table 4.1 for more details). Analyses of only the cases with complete data may lead to biased results because the missing data may occur not at random. To address this problem, we imputed missing data; this is currently considered the best analytical strategy in such a situation (Graham, 2009). Multiple imputation was carried out in Mplus using Bayesian analysis (Rubin, 1987; Schafer, 1997), with the unrestricted H1 model and sequential regression (L. K. Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012; Van Buuren, 2007). All variables of this study were included in the imputation model to predict the missing values. In addition, several background variables were included for the prediction. These were variables indicating whether the child was of Western or non-Western origin; had one or two non-Dutch parent(s); was a boy or girl. Age and math grade were also included for the prediction of the missing values. The imputation procedure resulted in a dataset containing full information about all 173 respondents.

4.2.5 Statistical analyses

Structural equation modeling in Mplus was used to integratively test all our hypotheses with respect to both indicators of cultural integration: attitudes and identification (L. K. Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2012). Integrative testing of both dependent variables was preferred because the same group of respondents was used to test the hypotheses regarding both dependent variables; therefore, separate testing would have enlarged the chance of type I errors (faulty rejection null hypotheses). The mediation paths were directly included in the overall path model, because both in the absence and in the presence of direct relations, mediating relations can be present (MacKinnon, Fairchild, & Fritz, 2007).

WLSMV (weighted least squares with mean and variance adjustment) served as the estimator in the analyses. Identification was specified as categorical, which causes the program to use logistic regression instead of linear regression to test the direct relations with this specific variable. Furthermore, the ‘complex’ option was used to control for the nestedness of the respondents in school classes (B. O. Muthén & Satorra, 1995). The latter was preferred above multilevel modeling because the current study contained no hypotheses at classroom level. Moreover, the only class-level variables included in the analyses were control variables, which in fact served to take the classroom-level characteristics into account which we considered most important. The first control variable concerned the proportion of Dutch children in the class, which can assumed to be (positively) related to all main variables of this study. By taking this variable into account, we controlled for the effect of contact by mere exposure to Dutch children on both language proficiency and integration, in order to disentangle this in our test from the additional effects of actual friendship with Dutch classmates. The second control variable concerned the extent to which children speak Dutch with their parents. Most probably, some parents speak Dutch to their children (e.g. parents who are Dutch, Surinamese or Antillean). The Dutch language proficiency of these children is thus partly attributed to the cultural background of the parents. By including the extent to which children speak Dutch with their parents, we control for the possibility that the expected effects between second language proficiency and interethnic friendships and/or cultural integration are due to such parental factors.

4.3 Results

4.3.1 Descriptive results

Descriptive statistics of the original data are shown in Table 4.1, which also includes the means of the imputed data. As can be seen from the table, the difference in the means of Dutch proficiency at time 1 and time 2 is relatively small, indicating that this variable is relatively stable over time. To be able to interpret the findings with respect to second language proficiency correctly, additional analyses were done on the full dataset with both native majority children and minority children, to explore the presumed difference in Dutch language proficiency between the two groups. As expected, at time 1 the minority children ($M=6.57$, $SD=1.26$) had significantly lower Dutch proficiency compared with majority children ($M=6.93$, $SD=1.25$, $t(668)=3.76$ $p<.001$).

There is considerable variation in Dutch language proficiency among minority children. We explored plausible reasons for this variation. 30% of the children who according

to the official classification (see CBS - Statistics Netherlands, 2016a) are minority children because they have at least one foreign-born parent, (also) had one Dutch parent. Furthermore, 18% of the minority children had a Surinamese or Antillean parent. In line with this, 46% of the participants (fully) agreed with the statement on speaking Dutch at home, while 25% (fully) disagreed with this statement. Thus, it is with good reason that in the main analyses we controlled for the extent to which children speak Dutch with their parents.

Similar to the findings for Dutch language proficiency, the means of the proportion of Dutch friends in the class at time 1 and time 2 were alike (see Table 4.1), indicating that this variable is relatively stable over time. These findings are supported by the bivariate correlations shown in Table 4.2, which signify that the correlations between the same variables measured at two time points are strong and highly significant. The moderate but significant correlation between attitudes and identification suggests that the variables are related but not exactly the same, as can be expected given that they are two different indicators of cultural integration.

Table 4.1 Descriptive statistics for main and control variables

	Original data			Imputed data (N=173)	
	N	Range	Mean	SD	Mean
Attitudes t2	163	1-5	3.47	.85	3.46
Identification t2	152	0/1	.63	.48	.64
Dutch proficiency t1	143	4-10	6.50	1.16	6.46
Dutch proficiency t2	136	4-9	6.43	1.25	6.47
Proportion Dutch friends in class t1	173	0-1	.42	.33	.42
Proportion Dutch friends in class t2	156	0-1	.40	.32	.40
Proportion Dutch children in class	173	.15-.97	.46	.23	.46
Speaking Dutch with parents	155	1-5	3.42	1.42	3.38

Note: The means of the imputed data are pooled from 10 imputed datasets.

Table 4.2 Correlations for main and control variables (N=173)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Attitudes t2							
2. Identification t2	.38***						
3. Dutch proficiency t1	.01	.10					
4. Dutch proficiency t2	.04	.19**	.63***				
5. Proportion Dutch friends in class t1	.17*	.27***	.17*	.16*			
6. Proportion Dutch friends in class t2	.28***	.34***	.13*	.09	.64***		
7. Proportion Dutch children in class	.24***	.32***	.17*	.14*	.66***	.76***	
8 Speaking Dutch with parents	.05	.24***	.05	.13*	.39***	.37***	.30***

* $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$ (one tailed). Note: Pooled results of 10 imputed datasets.

4.3.2 Main analyses

Table 4.3 presents the results of the structural equation model used to simultaneously test the hypotheses. The model fit indicators show that the model fits the data well ($X^2(1)=.84$, CFI=.999, RMSEA=.018 see Hu & Bentler, 1999).

Results regarding the direct paths to attitudes toward the Dutch show that high Dutch language proficiency does not foster favorable attitudes over time. Also, high Dutch language proficiency is not related to more favorable attitudes when we focus on only one time point. Similarly, having a high proportion of Dutch friends in class does not foster positive attitudes over time. However, having a high proportion of Dutch friends in the class does appear to be significantly related to more favorable attitudes when the focus is on one point in time. The control variables proportion of Dutch children in class and the extent to which children speak Dutch with parents are not related to attitudes.

Results regarding the direct paths to identification with Dutch society show that over time the Dutch language proficiency is not related to identification. Cross-sectionally, however, higher Dutch language proficiency is related to stronger identification. The proportion of Dutch friends in class is not related to identification; not over time and not at one time point. With respect to the control variables, both the proportion of Dutch children in class and the extent to which children speak Dutch with their parents are not significantly related identification with Dutch society.

Focusing on both mediating variables, the stability paths of Dutch language proficiency and proportion of Dutch friends in the class are significant, indicating that the scores on both variables at time point 2 are positively related with the respective scores at time point 1. While the correlations in Table 4.2 indicated a significant but weak relation between proportion of Dutch friends and Dutch language proficiency at one time point, results of the structural equation model indicate that having a high proportion of Dutch friends in the class at the first time point is not significantly related to higher language proficiency at the second time point. This implies that Dutch language proficiency does not mediate the relation between having Dutch friends and the indicators of cultural integration. Results also show that high second language proficiency at the first time point is not related to having a higher proportion of Dutch friends at the second time point, which implies that Dutch friends do not mediate the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration. With respect to the control variables, both a higher proportion of Dutch children in class and a higher extent of speaking Dutch with parents are related to a higher proportion of Dutch friends.

Table 4.3 Structural equation Model predicting Attitudes and Identification ($N=173$)

	Beta	B	SE
<i>Attitudes t2</i>			
Dutch proficiency t1	.02	.02	.07
Dutch proficiency t2	-.08	-.06	.08
Proportion Dutch friends t1	-.02	-.04	.29
Proportion Dutch friends t2	.27	.70*	.32
Proportion Dutch children in class	.08	.27	.40
Speaking Dutch with parents	-.06	-.04	.06
<i>Identification t2^b</i>			
Dutch proficiency t1	-.10	-.10	.12
Dutch proficiency t2	.25	.22*	.11
Proportion Dutch friends t1	.02	.08	.49
Proportion Dutch friends t2	.22	.76	.74
Proportion Dutch children in class	.17	.84	.99
Speaking Dutch with parents	.14	.11	.09
<i>Dutch proficiency t2</i>			
Dutch proficiency t1	.63	.70***	.09
Proportion Dutch friends t1	.01	.03	.39
Proportion Dutch children in class	.00	.00	.79
Speaking Dutch with parents	.10	.09	.09
<i>Dutch friends t2</i>			
Proportion Dutch friends t1	.20	.20**	.07
Dutch proficiency t1	-.03	-.01	.01
Proportion Dutch children in class	.60	.83***	.11
Speaking Dutch with parents	.12	.03*	.01
<i>Attitudes t2 with identification t2</i>	.42	.34***	.08
<i>Intercepts</i>			
Attitudes	4.05	3.45***	.42
Dutch proficiency t2	1.31	1.66*	.75
Proportion Dutch friends t2	-.34	-.11	.10

Fit statistics: $X^2(1)=.84$, CFI =.999, RMSEA=.018. * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$ (one tailed).

Notes:

^a The italic variable is the dependent variable to which the subsequent variables are directed.

^b The results for the categorical variable identification are logit coefficients(log-odds).

^c Controlled for clustering in 29 school classes. ^d Pooled results of 10 imputed datasets.

4.4 Conclusion and discussion

In the current research we examined two factors that, in earlier research, have been found to play a key role in cultural integration. These factors can be assumed to be related to each other but until now have not been investigated concurrently: second language proficiency and interethnic friendships. Unlike earlier studies, we focus on ethnic minority children instead of adult immigrants. Ethnic minority children grow up not only between the heritage culture

of their parent(s) and the host society culture, but also with the two corresponding languages. For these children, being proficient in the second language and being acculturated is (also) not self-evident. Given their different circumstances, however, it can be questioned whether the findings in adult immigrants are also applicable to their children.

We examined two indicators of cultural integration: *identification* with the host society and *attitudes* towards members of the host society. Based on the literature, we tested several direct and indirect relations between second language proficiency, majority group friendships, and cultural integration. All relations were examined concurrently and over time using longitudinal data of preadolescent minority children living in the Netherlands.

Surprisingly, for preadolescent minority children we did not find that high second language proficiency was related to more favorable attitudes towards members of the host society at the same time or at a later time. With respect to the other indicator of cultural integration, second language proficiency was only related to identification with the host society at the same time point. Our first hypothesis was therefore partially rejected. Hence, compared to adult immigrants (e.g. Jiang et al., 2009; Kang, 2006; Noels et al., 1996), for preadolescent minority children, the link between second language proficiency and cultural integration appears to be less self-evident.

As expected, we found that among preadolescent minority children, majority group friendships were related to more favorable attitudes towards members of the host society. However, this relation only existed at one time point. What we did not expect was that, in the same group, majority group friendships were not related to identification with the host society at the same point in time or later in time. In consequence, the second hypothesis on the relation between majority group friendships and the two indicators of cultural integration was also partially rejected.

The findings on the relation of majority group friendships with positive attitudes towards members of the host society are consistent with the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Williams, 1947). Also the finding that mere exposure to majority group classmates, as indicated by the control variable percentage of majority group classmates, is not related to more positive attitudes is in line with some earlier studies. Specifically this concerns research which indicates that friendships (rather than mere contact) are a very important source of influence during (pre)adolescence (Brechwald & Prinstein, 2011; Corsaro & Eder, 1990), also with respect to cultural integration (Munniksmas, Stark, Verkuyten, Flache, & Veenstra, 2013).

At the same time, however, in their meta analyses Pettigrew and Tropp (2006) concluded that there was a small but consistent effect of mere exposure on outgroup

attitudes. Given that their conclusion is based on a large number of studies, and that even then the effect was weak, it is also possible that our sample was just too small to detect this relation (if it were there).

A possible explanation for the fact that a relation between majority group friendships and cultural integration was found on only one of the two measured indicators may lie in the specific content of these two aspects of cultural integration. A child's experiences with native majority friends are most probably more easily translated into attitudes to members of the host society, as these are relatively concrete ('I like my Dutch friends so I like the Dutch in general'). In contrast, identification with the host society is a quite abstract concept and might be less suitable for such generalizations ('I like my Dutch friends so I feel a member of the Dutch culture').

Our results indicated that in preadolescent minority children high second language proficiency was unrelated to majority group friendships at a later point in time. Also, in this group, majority group friendships were unrelated to higher second language proficiency at a later point in time. Thus, we did not find support in the present data for the third hypothesis, that similarity in terms of second language proficiency is important in the *selection* of majority group friends, as suggested by the 'homophily' principle (McPherson et al., 2001). Nor did we find support for the fourth hypothesis, that second language proficiency can also be a consequence of having majority group friends and is thus a matter of peer *influence*.

The absence of a relation between second language proficiency and majority group friendships is in contrast with earlier research findings which show a relation between second language *use* and majority group friendships (Titzmann et al., 2012). This discrepancy might be due to the fact that using the same language is a *prerequisite* for communicating with each other (and thus for the opportunity to become friends), while having the same proficiency may be seen as more of a *facilitator* in communication. For children who have grown up in the host country, language proficiency is thus probably less salient than language use and, therefore, less likely to be important in selecting friends or as a consequence of being friends.

Finally, the results lend no support to our hypotheses about possible mediating factors. In the present sample of pre-adolescent minority children, majority group friendships did not mediate a theoretically expected relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration in terms of identification and attitudes. Likewise, second language proficiency did not mediate the expected relation between majority group friendships and cultural integration in terms of identification and attitudes. Hypotheses five and six are thus rejected.

Overall, our findings suggest that factors which are generally considered important in cultural integration are not necessarily relevant to *all* immigrants and thus should not too easily be generalized to samples like, as in this case, minority (pre) adolescents. At the same time, the result that friendships with natives are related with more positive attitudes towards native Dutch in general shows that our study can replicate a central finding of the large body of literature building on contact theory (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006).

4.4.1 Limitations and future research

In the current study, the grade in Dutch given by the teacher was used as measure of second language proficiency. Grades are possibly to a certain degree subjective because they can be susceptible to characteristics of the individual teacher and the relative levels of classmates. The results of our respective checks did not indicate such subjectivity (see ‘method section’), but it cannot be completely ruled out. Future researchers should examine whether the findings from our study can be replicated using more objective measures of second language proficiency which are concerned with other aspects of language proficiency, like lexicon. Because in particular active and passive word knowledge is important in communication of immigrant children with peers, lexicon tests might be more relevant predictors of integration than indicators like grades which usually reflect mainly reading, grammar and spelling abilities.

Identification was measured with a single question (Do you feel more Dutch or more a member of the culture of your parents (e.g., Turkish, Moroccan)?). Although this method is used quite often in social surveys, future research would be well advised to use more questions to measure this complex and multi-dimensional concept (Burton, Nandi, & Platt, 2010).

A specific recommendation for future research that follows from our study is to include both identification with the host society and attitudes towards members of the host society as indicators of cultural integration, instead of focusing on one indicator only like many previous studies did. This recommendation reflects what we see as a strong point in our own study. As the content of the two dimensions of cultural integration suggest, and the current findings show, having a positive perception of members of the host society (attitudes) and a sense of belonging (identification) is related to each other, but both aspects of cultural integration can be related to third variables. Thus, investigating both concepts concurrently gives a more complete picture of factors which are relevant in cultural integration.

A general implication for future research follows from the finding that in preadolescent minority children there is only a limited relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration in terms of attitudes towards members of the host society. Because this contrasts with findings from earlier research among immigrant adults, the applicability of findings from research on cultural integration in first-generation immigrants to the following generations of immigrants can be called into question. This caveat is in line with the recent literature on differences in integration processes between immigrants of different generations (Buijs, Demant, & Hamdy, 2006; van Doorn, Scheepers, & Dagevos, 2013; Verkuyten, 2016)

Another explanation that deserves to be tested is whether the difference in life stages (e.g. pre-adolescent versus middle aged adult) can account for the weak impact of second language proficiency on children's cultural integration. Possibly, the second language proficiency of preadolescent minority children does relate to overall cultural integration, but only at a later life stage.

All in all, the present findings offer insight into the cultural integration of preadolescent ethnic minority children through exploration of the influence of second language proficiency and contact with the native majority on identification with and attitudes towards members of the host society. We also explored to what extent second language proficiency and contact with the majority group are related in their impact on the cultural integration of preadolescent minority children. Importantly, our findings indicate that for this group of immigrants, over time second language proficiency is not related to cultural integration as indicated by attitudes towards members of the host society and identification with the host society. Cross-sectionally second language proficiency is only related to identification but not to attitudes. Friendships with the majority group are only cross-sectionally related to more positive attitudes. Second language proficiency does not seem to influence the presence of majority group friendships at a later point in time, nor vice versa. Together, these findings offer important insights for future research aimed at identifying relevant determinants of the cultural integration and well-being of ethnic minorities in culturally diverse societies.

Acknowledgements

We thank Anne Boomsma, Henk Guldemon, Anke Munnikma, and Tina Kretschmer for sharing their knowledge on structural equation modeling with us.

Notes

- ¹ The country of birth of the parents was used to determine ethnicity. If the parents originated from different countries, ethnicity was based on the country of birth of the mother.

Chapter 5

Second language lessons taught by volunteers to immigrants residing in the Netherlands: Well intended, but also beneficial?

Abstract

The current study explored whether informal second language lessons taught by volunteers were related to improved language learning, cultural integration and ease of independent participation in the host society. The longitudinal study (time lag: 6 months) was conducted with a small sample of socially isolated immigrants ($N=85$) who resided in the Netherlands and voluntarily participated in Dutch language lessons. In line with our expectation, overall small, but significant progress was found on three indicators of second language proficiency as well as on perceived ease of independent participation in the host society. However, contrary to our expectation, participants showed no progress on two indicators of cultural integration, *attitudes* towards the host culture and *identification* with the host society. These results suggest that second language lessons provided by volunteers can be useful for immigrants to bridge the time they have to wait before they can follow formal language courses. At the same time the findings indicate that it should not be assumed too readily that improvement of second language proficiency necessarily fosters other forms of integration.

This study is based upon:

Van Niejenhuis, C., Otten, S., Flache, A., & Van der Werf, M.P.C. (2017). Volunteers teaching second language lessons to immigrants residing in the Netherlands: Well intended, but also beneficial?

5.1 Introduction

All over the world, countries are struggling with the integration of immigrants. How can integration best be facilitated? Researchers have suggested that being proficient in the language of the host country is a key factor for immigrants' integration in the host society (Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1980; Gordon, 1964; Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003; Schumann, 1978). In line with this, much policy is directed at fostering immigrants' second language acquisition. In some countries, a certificate testifying proficiency in the host country's language is even a prerequisite for getting or maintaining a permit for permanent stay (for example Canada, Government of Canada, 2016; the Netherlands, Immigration- and naturalization service, 2016). Both researchers and policy makers attach high importance to second language proficiency because it is presumed to facilitate the actual use of the second language and thereby eventually binding immigrants more closely to the host country's social and ethnic community (Clement, Noels, & Deneault, 2001).

To actually learn the second language, immigrants are often referred to organizations which the government assessed as qualified and are facilitated by the government in getting access to and financing language courses.¹ However, not all immigrants receive this support from the authorities. In the specific case of the Netherlands, where the present research was conducted, this mainly concerns immigrants who have been living in the Netherlands for decennia already (e.g. partners of former Turkish and Moroccan guest workers who arrived in the 1960 and 70's), immigrants coming from other European countries (e.g. Polish workers), and newly arrived immigrants who do not yet have a legal status and are therefore not allowed to follow the 'official' lessons (e.g. asylum seekers waiting for a humanitarian status). In order to also support these immigrants, in the past decade many non-governmental organizations initiated easily accessible, free Dutch language lessons given by volunteers. Despite the good intentions of these organizations and their volunteers, it is an open question whether these initiatives are actually beneficial in terms of language learning and foster integration. Not surprisingly, the lessons given by volunteers differ from the official lessons in their methods and materials used to teach the language. Furthermore, in contrast with the majority of the teachers of official language lessons, the volunteers are generally not especially trained as teachers for Dutch as a second language. Some of them (due to differing cultural and educational background) are not even highly proficient in the Dutch language themselves². Experts stress the need for skilled teachers. They claim that teaching the host country's language to immigrants is an especially complex task because of the former traumatic experiences of many immigrants and the cultural differences between immigrants

and the teacher (Bossers, Kuiken, & Vermeer, 2010). Volunteers may not be prepared to avoid the related tensions, stress or irritations during the language lessons, which may then have a negative impact on the learning process of immigrants.

Given the differences with official lessons in terms of methods and teachers, it is important to get more insight into the effects of second language lessons given by volunteers. Are concerns justified that language lessons taught by volunteers may not foster second language proficiency and integration, or could these lessons even be detrimental?

To our knowledge, to date no scientific studies have been done on the actual use of second language lessons given by volunteers. The current explorative study is a first step in filling this gap. In a small sample of immigrants who reside in the Netherlands ($N=85$), we longitudinally (time lag about 6 months) studied the outcomes of voluntary Dutch language lessons that were funded by the Dutch foundation 'Oranje Fonds' (van Niejenhuis, Naayer, & Verkade, 2012). The lessons were given in the context of a program called 'Language encounters.' In line with the goals of the program, we examined whether in the course of the program, participating immigrants made significant progress in terms of (a) Dutch language proficiency, (b) cultural integration as indicated by positive attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society (Hagendoorn et al., 2003), and (c) a greater ease of participating independently in the Dutch society.

5.1.1 The program

In 2009, the Dutch foundation 'Oranje Fonds' started a second edition of the program 'Language encounters' (in Dutch: *Taalontmoetingen*). This program funded 22 Dutch non-governmental organizations who offered voluntary Dutch language lessons to immigrants. Volunteers either gave individual language lessons at the homes of immigrants or lessons in small groups of immigrants at community centers. The target group of the program comprised immigrants who did not speak or hardly spoke the Dutch language and lived in a socially isolated position, that is, who hardly participated in the Dutch society. The aim of the Dutch language lessons was not only enhancing the second language proficiency, but also enhancing the integration and ease of the independent participation of the immigrants.

The participating local organizations differed strongly in the way they executed the program. For example, some organizations gave only individual- or only group lessons, while other gave both. Some focused on immigrants who moved to the Netherlands many years ago, while others focused more on newly arrived immigrants with no access (yet) to formal language lessons. Moreover, organizations differed in their teaching methods. Whereas some organizations chose a formal approach in which volunteers worked through books based on

specific language learning methods, others chose a more informal approach in which the volunteer was more of a buddy/coach who tried to meet the specific needs of the concerning immigrant. However, despite these differences in the program at the local level, the organizations uniformly strived for the enhancement of immigrants' second language proficiency, their integration and ease of participation in the host country. The program was seen as a temporary intervention, offering a foundation which should empower immigrants and enable them to take the next, more independent, steps in taking part in the Dutch society.

5.1.2 Dutch language proficiency

All lessons offered by the volunteers were directed at increasing the Dutch language proficiency of the participating immigrants. Whether it concerned structured book learning lessons or more unstructured lessons like going through a Dutch newspaper while sitting at the kitchen table, or walking through the neighborhood trying to talk in Dutch about the things that came along; in all lessons that the immigrants received during the 6 months' time lag in the present study, they were exposed to the Dutch language and exercising the Dutch language. In this setting, the presents study explores to which degree the Dutch language proficiency of the participating immigrants increases in the course of the program.

5.1.3 Cultural integration

In the literature, it is assumed that immigrants, who are more culturally integrated, will orient themselves more towards the host society (Hagendoorn et al., 2003). Such orientation towards the host society can be reflected in (a) the attitudes immigrants have towards the host society and (b) their sense of belonging to and the extent to which they identify themselves with the host society (see de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Hagendoorn et al., 2003). Accordingly, in the current research attitudes towards the Dutch culture and identification with the Dutch host society are used as indicators of cultural integration.

For a number of reasons it can be expected that, in the course of the 'Language Encounters'-program, participants will become more culturally integrated in the Netherlands. Firstly, a reason to assume progress in terms of cultural integration among participating immigrants is that the Dutch culture and its practices are discussed in lessons on Dutch as a second language. This can be done intentionally as part of the language learning method (e.g. discussing the practice of maternity visit in CINOP/ETV.nl, 2016) or

unintentionally because it is brought up by course members during the lessons (Bossers et al., 2010, page 393). Having such knowledge about the Dutch culture is a relevant prerequisite for forming a positive opinion about it (attitudes) and a potential starting point for feeling part of it (identification).

Secondly, an increase in cultural integration can be expected because the second language lessons involve intergroup contact between the volunteer who teaches Dutch and the immigrant. Given that majority of the volunteers were either native Dutch or non-native, but living in the Netherlands for a long time already, it can be assumed that participating immigrants considered the volunteers to be members of the Dutch host society. The literature on intergroup contact suggests that positive contact with a member of another group does not only foster a positive attitude towards the respective person, but also towards the other group (the 'outgroup') as a whole (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Furthermore, contact with members of the host society has been found to be associated with a stronger identification with the host society as a whole (de Vroome et al., 2014; Nesdale, 2002).

Finally, an increase in cultural integration can be expected because the lessons were aimed at enhancing the second language proficiency. Earlier research revealed a positive relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration. Specifically, a high second language proficiency has been found to be associated with more favorable attitudes towards (members of) the host culture (Rubinfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006) and stronger identification with the host society (Rubinfeld et al., 2006; van Niejenhuis, Otten, & Flache, 2016).

Based on these arguments in the present research we explore to which degree in the course of the program the participating immigrants (a) become more positive in their attitudes towards the Dutch culture, and (b) identify more strongly with the Dutch society.

5.1.4 Ease of independent participation in the host society

The program did not only aim to improve the cognitive (attitudes) and affective (identification) components of integration, but was also intended to improve behavioral correlates of successful integration, namely the actual ability to manage oneself and participate independently in the host society. The assumption was that the stimulating role of the volunteer (whether or not with support of an activating method) together with a higher proficiency in the Dutch language would empower immigrants to take part more independently in the Dutch society. This should become visible in being able to perform simple, but essential actions independently, such as buying food and clothes, going to the doctor and using public transport. In line with this goal of the program, in this study is we

explore whether in the course of the program the involved immigrants experience a greater ease of participating independently in the Dutch society.

5.2 Method

5.2.1 Participants

Nationally, a total of 1.101 immigrants were registered as participants of the program. With help of Dutch volunteers, 624 of them filled in a complete intake form in Dutch with questions about their background, such as country of birth, mother tongue and self-assessed Dutch language proficiency (see also van Niejenhuis, van der Werf, & Otten, 2015). Given respondents' low Dutch language proficiency, the two questionnaires which were relevant for the current study had to be translated. These two questionnaires, together with passive and active lexicon tests were to be administered at two different time points. Due to scarcity in terms of time and money the translation of the questionnaires was done into a limited number of languages, namely Turkish, Arabic, Berber, Somali, English and Polish. Thus, only program participants speaking these languages were able to take part in the research, which were about 500 of the 624. The local project leaders asked them to fill in the questionnaires and lexicon tests, with the exception of very vulnerable (e.g. highly traumatized) individuals. Illiterate participants (20% of the total sample) were supported in the completion by literates speaking the relevant language.

Eventually, at the first time point, a total of 134 respondents completed the first questionnaire and lexicon tests (see below). About 6 months later 85 of them also completed the second questionnaire and/or lexicon tests.^{3, 4} The data of these 85 respondents is used in the current study.

5.2.2 Measures

In this study, validated instruments were used as much as possible. All instruments were first piloted and discussed in focus groups. These groups mainly consisted of immigrants who belonged to our target group, supported by interpreters. Only instruments were used that the focus groups experienced as clear and appropriate considering the social environment of the immigrants at the time of measurement, their differing cultural background and privacy issues.

The indicators of second language proficiency applied in the present study are similar to items employed in an earlier study on the relation between background characteristics of

immigrants and the language proficiency at the first time point (van Niejenhuis et al., 2015). Below, these measures are presented in more detail.

Self-assessed second language proficiency. In line with earlier research (Beenstock et al, 2001; Carliner, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 1995; van Tubergen, 2010), the dependent variable used in the first analyses was self-assessed Dutch-language proficiency, based on two items: “How well can you read in your own language?” and “How well can you write in your own language”. The inter-item correlation was 0.79 ($p < 0.001$). Therefore the two items were combined into one scale. The four-point Likert scale ranged from “not/hardly”, “a little”, “considerably”, to “excellent”.

In addition, to also provide more objective indicators of second language proficiency, lexicon tests were used. These tests were based on the only validated Dutch lexicon test that was available at the time when the research was conducted: the ‘*Taaltoets Alle Kinderen*’ [Language test for all children] (TAK, Verhoeven & Vermeer, 2001). As will be outlined below, the TAK includes both a passive and an active lexicon test. Though it is mostly used for children, this test seemed appropriate to also measure the level of language proficiency for the adults in the present sample. In fact, the words from the test (e.g. nose, chair) are used in the daily language of both children and adults. Moreover, a strong advantage of this test is that it is appropriate for people with very low Dutch language proficiency, and that it is easy to administer, even to illiterate people (see van Niejenhuis et al., 2015, for more test details including the scoring of the passive and active lexicon tests).

Passive lexicon test. This part of the TAK consists of 96 items. The items are of increasing difficulty and are administered by showing a page with four pictures, saying a certain word and asking the participant to point to the corresponding picture on the page. Immigrants were asked, for example, to “point out the nose” while being shown four pictures depicting an eye, a nose, a mouth and a knee.

Active lexicon test. For this test, a total of forty-one pictures from the TAK were selected, which were assumed to be most relevant in immigrants’ daily life (26 concerning concrete subjects and 15 concerning actions). The test was administered by pointing out one item at a time and asking the immigrant a predefined question, like “What is this?” or “What is this woman doing?” For example, a bike was pointed out on a picture, while asking “What is this?” The passive and active lexicon test correlated moderately to highly at the independent points of measurement (time 1: $r=.54$, $N=83$, $p<.001$; time 2: $r=.48$, $N=74$, $p<.001$). The correlation coefficients indicate that the two tests are related to each other but not fully overlapping.

Attitudes towards the Dutch culture were measured by asking respondent to what extent they liked various aspects of Dutch culture, namely (a) Dutch food, (b) Dutch clothing, (c) Dutch humor, (d) Dutch (and English) music, (e) traditional Dutch celebrations, and (f) the way Dutch people treat each other ($\alpha=.80$). The five-point Likert scale ranged from “not at all to “very much”; higher scores on this scale indicate more positive attitudes.

Identification with the Dutch host society was measured by asking respondents to what extent they agreed to the following four statements: “I feel at home in the Netherlands”, “I like to live in the Netherlands”, “I feel connected with the people who live in my neighborhood”, “I feel a strong tie with the Netherlands” ($\alpha=.86$). The five-point Likert scale ranged from “strongly disagree” to “strongly agree”. Higher scores on this scale indicate stronger identification. Attitudes and identification correlate moderately at the independent points of measurement (time 1: $r=.45$, $p<.001$, $N=78$; time 2: $r=.51$, $p<.001$, $N=76$). The correlation coefficients indicate that attitudes towards the Dutch culture and identification with the Dutch society are related to each other, but not fully overlapping, suggesting that they should best be treated as separate indicators of cultural integration in our further analyses.

Ease of participating independently in the Dutch society in the Dutch host society was measured by asking respondents about the ease with which they performed various activities in daily life. The list of 12 activities (e.g., “travelling alone by public transport”, “doing groceries on your own”, “going to the town hall on your own”) was preceded by the question: “According to you, how difficult is it to independently do these things in the Netherlands (if they were necessary)?” The five-point Likert scale ranged from “not difficult” to “difficult”. After reversed coding, higher scores on this scale indicate a greater ease in participating independently in the Dutch society. The internal consistency of the 12-item scale was good (alpha time 1= .86, time 2 = .78).

5.3 Results

5.3.1 Background respondents

The 85 participants with valid scores on at least one of the dependent variables at both time points were related to 20 different non-governmental organizations. The number of participants per organization varied from 1 to 13. Whereas 73% of the participants followed individual language lessons, 27% followed language lessons in small groups. The number of years that passed since the moment of migration to the Netherlands varied from 1 to 46, with 15 being the mean. The majority of the participants were female. The mean age of the

participants varied from 21 to 23, with a mean of 45. Participants originated from 13 different countries with a majority coming from Turkey and Morocco. Most participants came to the Netherlands because they planned to marry or were already married to a person residing in the Netherlands. The educational level was relatively low with 64% of the participants having finished no education at all or only primary school. Table 5.1 gives a more detailed insight into the background of the participants.

Table 5.1 Sample characteristics

	N	%
Country of birth:		
- Turkey	31	37
- Morocco	27	32
- Iraq	11	13
- Poland	3	4
- other 9 countries	12	14
Reason of migration:		
- family unification/formation	57	67
- not save in own country	17	20
- economic	7	8
Gender:		
- Male	21	25
- Female	62	73
Educational level:		
- non	30	35
- primary school	22	26
- secondary school	11	13
- middle of higher vocational	12	14
- university	4	5

To explore the validity of our expectations on progress in terms of second language proficiency, attitudes, identification and ease of independent participation, we first looked at the mean differences between the first and second moment of measurement for the entire group of respondents. Secondly, we tried to further interpret our findings by inspecting whether the changes in the mean scores over time differ for immigrants with varying background characteristics. This second step fits earlier studies which indicated that several background characteristics are associated with immigrants' second language proficiency (Chiswick & Miller, 2001; van Tubergen, 2010). For example, there is evidence that a higher educational level is related to a relatively high Dutch language proficiency (e.g., van Niejenhuis et al., 2015). In line with this, immigrants with a high educational level might

learn a second language relatively easily and thus benefit more from the language courses which are subject of the current study. By inspecting changes in the study variables per background category (see Table 5.3), such influences are taken into account.⁵

5.3.2 Main analyses

In the course of the program, positive change was expected on all study variables. Table 5.2 shows the descriptives of each study variable at both times of measurement supplemented with the results of the paired sample t-tests investigating whether the changes in the mean scores obtained at the two time points are significant. Table 5.3 shows the differences in means per background characteristic. To also provide insight in the progress on the study variables for immigrants who differ in number of years since migration and in age, these continuous variables were divided into categories.

As expected Table 5.2 shows that for all participating immigrants the mean self-assessed *Dutch language proficiency* is higher at time point 2 than at time point 1. Similarly, there is evidence for an overall increase in the scores on the passive and active lexicon test in the course of the program. Results of the t-tests show that these positive changes are significant. Thus, the analyses on the three indicators of Dutch language proficiency are consistently in line with the expected improvement in language proficiency over time. As can be seen in Table 5.3, this consistent improvement on all indicators of second language proficiency concerns nearly all immigrants, regardless of their background characteristics.

Focusing on the indicators of *cultural integration*, the overall mean score on attitudes toward the Dutch culture increased while the mean score on identification with the Dutch society decreased over time (see Table 5.2). According to the respective t-tests, these small changes are not statistically significant. Thus, the analyses provide no support for our expectation that participants' cultural integration increased in the course of the program.

Interestingly, Table 5.3 shows that the changes in both attitudes and identification differ strongly per background characteristic. For example, the mean score on attitudes towards the Dutch culture decreased for economic immigrants and increased for uneducated immigrants. Also, the mean score on identification with the Netherlands decreased for immigrants between 20 and 30 years of age and increased for (the few) immigrants with an academic degree. These positive as well as negative changes in both attitudes and identification might be the cause for the very small and insignificant overall change in these indicators of cultural integration.

Finally, the overall means on the *ease of participating independently* indicate progress (see Table 5.2). Results of the t-test indicate that this change is significant. This suggests that, as expected, in the course of the program overall the participants experienced a greater ease or at least less difficulty in participating independently in the Dutch society. However, Table 5.3 shows that despite the overall progress, for some immigrants their ease of participation did indeed decrease. The most substantial group that decreased in the ease of participating independently was refugees.

Table 5.2 Descriptives and t-tests (differences time 1 vs time 2) on study variables ($N=74-84$)

	Range	Mean	SD	Results t-test
Self-assessed language proficiency t1	1-4	1.83	0.67	$t(73)=3.00, p<.05,$
Self-assessed language proficiency t2	1-4	2.13	0.63	Cohen's $d=0.40$
Score passive lexicon test t1	3-67	21.72	11.78	$t(73)=6.11, p<.001,$
Score passive lexicon test t2	7-89	30.59	16.31	Cohen's $d= 0.59$
Score active lexicon test t1	15-80	59.14	11.55	$t(72)= 5.72, p<.001,$
Score active lexicon test t2	27-80	64.38	9.21	Cohen's $d= 0.52$
Attitudes t1	1-5	2.98	1.00	$t(69)= -.70 p=.24,$
Attitudes t2	1.5-5	3.02	0.90	Cohen's $d= -0.07$
Identification t1	1-5	3.84	1.02	$t(70)= -1.48 p=.07,$
Identification t2	1-5	3.73	1.03	Cohen's $d= -0.15$
Ease of participating independently t1	2.58-5	4.09	0.68	$t(70)=1.99 p<.05,$
Ease of participating independently t2	2.27-5	4.22	0.60	Cohen's $d= 0.21$

Table 5.3 Background respondents with mean progress on study variables ($N=74-84$)

	%	Mean progress (time 2 –time 1)					
		Self-assessed proficiency	Passive lexicon	Active lexicon	Att. Id.	Ease of part.	
Country of birth:							
- Turkey	37	.29	9.50	4.92	.09	-.08	.12
- Morocco	32	.18	5.52	5.48	-.11	-.31	.26
- Iraq	13	.55	9.00	8.50	-.08	.12	.01
- Poland	4	.83	5.00	10.33	-.44	-.08	-.20
- other 9 countries	14	-.08	14.11	2.67	-.33	-.30	.04
Reason of migration:							
- family unification/formation	67	.27	6.88	5.58	.05	-.23	.16
- not save in own country	20	.24	12.93	2.93	-.22	.08	-.04
- economic ¹	8	.33	13.50	7.00	-.82	-.08	.18
Nr of years since migration: ²							
- 1 to 5	21	.16	5.71	9.79	-.28	-.09	.11
- 5 to 10	20	.44	6.71	4.67	.01	-.14	.18
- 10 to 15	13	.21	15.27	.27	-.07	-.06	.02
- 15 to 20	5	.13	10.67	7.00	.03	-.11	.35
- 20 to 25	20	.25	4.88	5.19	.08	-.35	.16
- 25 to 30	6	.63	9.60	1.00	.09	-.33	-.44
- 30 to 50	9	-.25	11.83	7.33	-.01	-.03	.13
Gender: ³							
- Male	25	.21	9.75	7.18	-.09	.04	.16
- Female	73	.26	8.16	5.20	-.06	-.20	.10
Age: ⁴							
- 20 to 40	30	.38	10.41	6.22	-.24	-.37	.32
- 40 to 60	60	.14	6.35	3.90	.03	-.05	.02
- 60 to 80	8	.38	16.14	12.14	-.13	-.17	.59
Educational level: ⁵							
- non	35	.15	6.92	3.92	.10	-.03	.10
- primary school	26	.33	7.95	3.68	-.12	-.32	.26
- secondary school	13	.64	12.89	10.10	-.10	.07	.34
- middle of higher vocational	14	.13	8.45	6.64	-.24	-.36	-.18
- university	5	.00	10.00	3.25	-.42	.50	.25

Notes:

¹The 'other 9 countries' all have less than 3 participants.²Correlations between number of years since migration and the study variables are all $r < .12$, $p > .05$.³Correlations between gender and the study variables are all $r < .12$, $p > .05$ ⁴Correlations between age and the study variables are all $r < .18$, $p > .05$.⁵Correlations between educational level and the study variables are all $r_s < .17$, $p > .05$.

Finally, we explored an implicit assumption of the program, namely that second language proficiency was a key factor in integration. To this end, we investigated whether improvement of the Dutch language proficiency was associated with increasing identification with the Dutch host society, more positive attitudes towards the Dutch culture and more ease of participating independently in the Dutch host society. Bivariate correlations between the changes of these indicators in our sample provide no support for a reliable association of these variables over time (see Table 5.4). Only a weak negative correlation is found between change in passive lexicon and change in attitudes towards the Dutch culture.

Table 5.4 Correlations ($N=60-67$)

	Self-assessed Proficiency t2-t1	Passive lexicon t2-t1	Active lexicon t2-t1
Attitudes t2-t1	-.01	-.26 *	-.14
Identification t2-t1	-.01	.10	-.10
Ease of participating independently t2-t1	-.04	-.02	.04

* $p < .05$ (one tailed).

5.4 Conclusion and discussion

This study was set out to explore whether second language lessons taught by volunteers were related to improved language learning, cultural integration and ease of independent participation in the host society. The study was done with a small sample of immigrants ($N=85$) who resided in the Netherlands and voluntarily participated in Dutch language lessons. The language lessons were thus given by volunteers to volunteers. All lessons were part of a program which was executed by 22 non-governmental organizations throughout the Netherlands. To explore the impact of this intervention, we collected longitudinal data from participating immigrants. The first measurement was shortly after registration for the program, the second about six months later.

We expected progress in second language proficiency in the period of the study. This expectation was confirmed by significant improvements on all three indicators we employed to assess second language proficiency. Not only did self-reported language proficiency increase, but also performance on the two lexicon tasks – which can be considered more objective indicators of language proficiency – improved significantly. This is noteworthy, because the present program did not rely on a formal certification system enforcing and standardizing the quality of the second language lessons as ‘official’ lessons by expert teachers would.

We also expected that in the course of the program respondents would experience a greater ease of participating independently in the Dutch society. Overall, this expectation was confirmed. On average, the participating immigrants made significant progress in their ease of participation. However, further inspection showed that this positive finding did not apply to all participants. Rather, immigrants with specific background characteristics, most notably refugees, did not make progress, but even declined (slightly) in their ease of participation in the course of the language lessons. Possibly, at least some refugees are so traumatized that they need more or longer help in order to increase their ease of participation.

Contrary to our expectations, additional analyses on the whole group of participants showed that the change over time in terms of second language proficiency did not correlate with the change in the ease of participation. This suggests that it was not the improvement of second language proficiency which made the difference, but rather the stimulating role of the Dutch volunteer (whether or not supported by an activating method). Plausibly, this support empowered immigrants in a way that they felt capable of independently performing essential activities in the host society needed to meet their basic personal needs and to participate in a wider sense.

Hence, notwithstanding differing Dutch language- and teaching skills of the volunteers, and the strong differences in the way the lessons were executed, the Dutch language proficiency of participating immigrants as well as their ease of independently participating in the Netherlands reliably increased in the period in which they followed the lessons.

Contrary to theoretical expectations, we did not find evidence that enhanced language proficiency in the course of the language lessons were also associated with an increase in the two indicators of cultural integration that we employed, namely attitudes towards the Dutch culture and identification with the Dutch society. A possible reason for this lack of overall progress in terms of cultural integration is (again) the fact that the participating immigrants differ strongly in terms of background. Our results show positive changes in the cultural integration of immigrants with certain characteristics and negative changes in the cultural integration of others. This might cause the overall absence of change.

An interesting question is whether these positive and negative changes in cultural integration are actually due to the background characteristics of immigrants. For example, is it indeed the reason of migration that causes the negative change in attitudes among the economic immigrants? Possibly they are disappointed by the actual economic opportunities they are offered by the Dutch and adjust their attitudes towards the Dutch culture accordingly. Or are it other (maybe coincidental) factors that cause this relatively high

decrease among the economic immigrants in specific? Given the low amount of immigrants per background characteristic, this could not be examined in the current study.

Previous research has indicated that higher second language proficiency is related to more positive attitudes towards the Dutch culture and stronger identification with the host society (de Vroome et al., 2014; Rubinfeld et al., 2006; van Niejenhuis et al., 2016). This makes it all the more surprising that the progress we found in terms of second language proficiency was *not* correlated with an increase in our indicators of cultural integration. Tentatively, we suggest as possible explanation for this lack of association a process that has been labelled the ‘integration paradox’ (Buijs, Demant, & Hamdy, 2006; Verkuyten, 2016). The integration paradox refers to the finding that immigrants with a high level of education are often relatively critical about the host society. An explanation for this is that education enables immigrants to become more informed social critics (Verkuyten, 2016). For immigrants from the current study level of education at school is probably less relevant, because this level was mostly attained in their home country. A more important type of education which enables an immigrant to become an informed social critic is second language education. Immigrants who learn the Dutch language are better capable of communicating with members of the Dutch society and understanding Dutch media. Doing so, they may become more aware of anti-immigrant sentiments in the Dutch society and therefore become more critical regarding and disassociate themselves from the Dutch society. Thus, a higher Dutch proficiency is not necessarily conducive to more positive attitudes towards the Dutch culture and stronger identification with the Dutch society.

In addition, the lack of a relation between progress in second language proficiency and progress in cultural integration could also be related to research which indicates that increasing second language proficiency only goes together with a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture for (temporary) immigrants with a high degree of social initiative, measured as one of the five traits constituting a multicultural personality (Van der Zee & Van Oudenhoven, 2001; van Niejenhuis et al., 2016). In line with these findings, the possible benefits of the current intervention in terms of cultural integration might have been restricted to participants of our study with relatively high scores on this trait. However, given that the target group of this intervention comprised of immigrants with a relatively high degree of social isolation, presumably only a very small number of participants could be seen as having this characteristic of a multicultural personality.

All in all, our results suggest that it should not too readily be assumed that by improving second language proficiency, other forms of integration are also enhanced. In fact, this link seems to be far from self-evident, but appears to be rather contingent on many other factors.

5.4.1 Limitations and future research

To our knowledge, the present study is the first to explore the use of second language lessons given by volunteers. A large majority of the participating immigrants have been residing in the Netherlands for more than five years already (see Table 5.3) and were classified as socially isolated. Therefore, it is plausible to assume that immigrants' participation in the program 'Language Encounters' played a decisive role in the positive change we found in the present study. But in order to conclude with certainty that the positive developments we observed were actually due to participation in the program, we would have needed a control group with respondents having similar characteristics as the intervention group, but not actually taking part in the intervention. However, in the present study, such a control group would have implied withholding motivated immigrants from participation in the second language lessons until the data collection was finished. In our view (and also in the view of the organization that implemented the program), this would have been unethical. Future research should explore possibilities to obtain natural variation on participation in voluntary language courses, which was not feasible for our study.

The present study was conducted among a relatively small group of participants. While we translated the questionnaire into the substantial amount of six different languages, the variety in languages spoken among immigrants in the target group is considerably larger and limited the number of immigrants we could include in the study. Moreover, participation was voluntarily. This may have resulted in a selection bias and a possible overestimation of the positive development that occurred during the intervention. It seems plausible that the respondents who decided to take part in research were the ones who gained most from the intervention (due to for example high motivation, self-confidence). Moreover, one could argue that drop out between the two time-points might be especially probable for those who did not experience progress. In the current research, however, we do not have a reason to assume the latter. On the contrary, according to local project leaders, many respondents who dropped out between the first and second point of measurement, actually did so because they successfully finished their individual trajectory within the intervention and started participating in other (subsequent) activities which required more independence.

Thus, presumably the drop out in between time points did not cause an over- but instead an underestimation of the progress in language proficiency that occurred in the course of the intervention, and possibly also in terms of the progress in integration. This makes it all the more encouraging that progress in language proficiency was actually found.

In order to further improve second language lessons given by volunteers, it would be interesting for future research to make a distinction between types of lessons as well as types of immigrants receiving these lessons. Are certain types of lessons more effective for the enhancement of second language proficiency and/or integration of certain immigrants? Elaborating on results from the current study it could for example be questioned whether refugees (who are often traumatized and therefore vulnerable) benefit more from individual second language lessons compared to group-wise language lessons. So far, it is an open question whether it would be wise to enforce specific types of lessons for specific immigrant groups, or whether it is precisely the room for variety offered within the program that makes it successful, because it offers the opportunity to tailor the intervention to the participating local organizations, the volunteers and the participating immigrants.

Furthermore, it would be interesting for future research to not only include self-assessment items on literacy, but also items on speaking and understanding the second language as indicators of second language proficiency. Although earlier research suggests that self-assessed proficiency in reading and writing is closely related to self-assessed proficiency in speaking and understanding ($r=.88$ between writing and speaking, van Tubergen & Wierenga, 2011), including all dimensions could give more accurate information. An even more complete picture of the second language proficiency is obtained when not only participants own perception of second language proficiency is retrieved, as is common in research on second language proficiency, but also second language test scores. Including these objective indicators as well is exactly what we did in the present study and can, in our view, be considered as one of its major strengths.

5.4.2 Policy implications

The present research suggests several interesting implications for policies aiming at the successful integration of immigrants. Despite (a) the lack of a governmental certification system safeguarding the quality of the second language lessons, (b) the strong differences in the way the participating local organizations executed the program and its lessons, (c) the varying backgrounds and (thus) language and teaching skills of volunteers, and (d) the small number of respondents in this study, the current study at least tentatively suggests that on the whole second language lessons given by volunteers can be beneficial in the enhancement

of immigrants' second language proficiency and ease of participation. This finding is encouraging, especially given the current era in which countries are faced with many asylum seekers, who often have to wait a very long time for a decision upon whether or not they will be granted a humanitarian status in the host country. Only after asylum seekers are appointed this status, they are entitled to follow official second language lessons by expert teachers. The OECD (2016b) has very recently warned that this time of waiting, which frequently takes months or even years, might be a time in which immigrants' ability and motivation to integrate might suffer long term damage. In this situation, the help of volunteers to provide second language lessons might importantly help to bridge the gap until immigrants' status allows them to follow formal language courses.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank the Dutch Oranje Fonds and the Institute for Integration and Social Efficacy (ISW) at the University of Groningen for funding and facilitating this research. The authors would also like to thank all local project leaders, volunteers and participants of '*Taalontmoetingen*' for their contributions to the research.

Notes

- ¹ In the case of the Netherlands, the quality of the second language courses is assured by an assessment based on the course members' success rates on the official language tests and their level of satisfaction with the language course (Outlook for work, 2016). Only organizations that are well evaluated get a governmental certificate. Immigrants can borrow money from the Dutch government to follow language lessons at a certified organization. Immigrants with a humanitarian status do not have to reimburse the loan on condition that they passed the state exam within a certain period of time (Service for implementation of education, 2016).
- ² We have information on the background of 124 volunteers from the overall program. About 80% of them were born in the Netherlands. The 20% that was not born in the Netherlands arrived there between 8 and 58 years ago (mean is 28 years). Only half of them indicated that they had 'excellent' Dutch speaking skills, others were either 'reasonably' or 'good'.
- ³ Several respondents were lost out of sight during the data collection and thus did not participate in the second data wave. According to local project leaders, there are two known reasons for this. Firstly, some immigrants stopped participating in the

program because they started participating in other (subsequent) activities which required more independence. This was actually one of the goals of the program and thus implies that the program was successful for these immigrants. Secondly, some immigrants temporarily stopped participating in the program because they went back to their home country for a certain period of time. Finally, some respondents were lost out of sight for unclear reasons. Unfortunately the number of respondents falling in each of these three categories was not registered.

- 4 Non response analyses were performed to check whether respondents who did- versus did not drop out between the first and second measurement differed from each other in their initial scores on the study variables. The analyses showed no significant bias.
- 5 An alternative would be controlling for demographic variables in our analyses. This was not done because of the low number of participants and the associated relatively low power of our statistical analyses. Also, no links were found between these background variables and progress in terms of second language proficiency, attitudes, identification or ease of participating independently (all $r_{(s)} < .19$, $p > .05$; see notes Table 5.3 for more details).

Chapter 6

General conclusions and discussion

6.1 General conclusions and discussion

The overarching aim of this dissertation was to provide new insights regarding the question: *How and to what extent is second language learning related to cultural integration and which factors facilitate or hinder this?*

More specifically, we addressed three questions: Firstly, which factors facilitate or hinder immigrants' second language proficiency? Secondly, to what extent does second language learning actually go together with an increasing cultural integration? And finally, are there other factors that are relevant in this relation between second language learning and cultural integration such as multicultural personality traits or interethnic friendships? By examining our questions among various groups of immigrants we aimed to provide insight into the extent to which findings from both earlier research and the current dissertation can be generalized to different groups of immigrants.

In the following sections we begin with summarizing the studies and main findings reported in the four empirical chapters of this dissertation. In these chapters our overarching research question was addressed from various angles for distinct groups of immigrants residing in the Netherlands. This is followed by a general discussion of the implications of our findings for theory, practice and future research.

6.2 Summary per chapter

Chapter 2. This chapter focused on the factors that may facilitate or hinder second language proficiency. Specifically it was examined whether immigrants who differ in terms of background characteristics also differ in the extent to which they acquire the second language. Notably, this question was addressed for a group of immigrants that is generally underrepresented in research: immigrants who hardly participate in the host society, and who have a relatively low level of second language proficiency (Groves & Couper, 1998; Stoop, 2005). In addition to the predictors reported in previous research (e.g. migration age, number of years since arrival: see for an overview Chiswick & Miller, 2007), other (new) predictors of second language proficiency (e.g. similarity in alphabet between mother tongue and second language) were examined, which were assumed to be of relevance given the specific immigrant group addressed.

In line with earlier research we found that the self-assessed second language proficiency was higher among immigrants who followed a language course, did voluntary work, had a high educational level, high mother-tongue proficiency, low migration age, and

who arrived in the host country many years ago. No associations, however, were found between self-assessed second language proficiency and having psychological problems, or gender or migration motive of the respondents. Newly identified predictors of self-assessed second language proficiency were similarity in alphabet between mother tongue and second language, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, and speaking the second language at home.

The study reported in chapter 2 uses a methodological innovation in this type of research. Not only the commonly used self-assessed proficiency was used as indicator of second language proficiency (Beenstock et al, 2001; Carliner, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Chiswick & Miller, 2002; van Tubergen, 2010), but also (for a subsample) passive- and active lexicon test scores were applied as more objective measures of language proficiency. When using the lexicon test scores, only years since migration turned out to be a significant predictor.

Chapter 3. This chapter investigated longitudinally whether an increase in second language proficiency is associated with a higher extent of cultural integration. Moreover, elaborating on earlier research revealing the importance of personality in integration (e.g. Leong, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002), it was tested whether the relationship between second language proficiency and cultural integration differs for immigrants with different personality traits. In doing so, we specifically focused on trainable multicultural personality traits (see van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013). Respondents of this longitudinal study were temporary immigrants residing in the Netherlands (so called sojourners, e.g. Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013).

Findings revealed that the increase in second language proficiency was positively associated with an increase in both indicators of cultural integration, being identification with the host society and attitudes towards the host culture. With respect to identification, this relation was found to be significant, irrespective of immigrants' personality traits. With respect to attitudes towards the host culture, however, we found that the increase of second language proficiency only went together with a positive change in attitudes towards the host culture for immigrants with a high degree of social initiative. Another notable finding was that, during the time period that this study was conducted, immigrants with a high degree of openness became more positive in their attitudes towards the host culture, regardless of the progress they made in terms of second language proficiency.

Chapter 4. Unlike earlier research on the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration (e.g. Jiang, Green, Henley, & Masten, 2009; Kang, 2006), and unlike chapter 2 and 3 of this dissertation, this chapter focused on immigrant (ethnic

minority) children instead of adult immigrants. These children grow up in the host society, go to school there, and (thus) learn to speak the language. However, these children are also exposed to the heritage culture of their parent(s) and its corresponding language. Therefore it is hard to predict the extent to which they actually become proficient in the second language and integrate culturally, let alone to predict the extent to which their second language proficiency is linked to their cultural integration.

Next to examining second language proficiency and cultural integration among minority children, this study also distinguishes itself from other research by (simultaneously) studying the role of interethnic friendships. Such friendships are, like second language proficiency, typically seen as a key factor in cultural integration (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011; Sabatier, 2008) and may interact with the effects of language proficiency on integration.

Findings indicated that in a longitudinal perspective second language proficiency and interethnic friendships were *not* related to both indicators of cultural integration (i.e., attitudes towards members of the host society and identification with the host society). Cross-sectionally, second language proficiency was positively associated with identification, and interethnic friendships were positively associated with attitudes towards members of the host society. Second language proficiency did not predict minority children's majority group friendships at a later point in time, nor vice versa. Finally, no mediation effects were found; interethnic friendships did not mediate the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration, and second language proficiency did not mediate the relation between interethnic friendships and cultural integration.

Chapter 5. In the last empirical chapter, we focused on an actual intervention which was aimed at enhancing immigrants' second language proficiency and integration. The intervention consisted of second language lessons taught by volunteers. Such lessons are currently widespread in the Netherlands and considered as complementary to the second language lessons facilitated by the government. Volunteers typically have not been professionally trained as language teachers, which raises the question whether and if so to what extent their lessons are actually beneficial in terms of language learning. Like in the previous chapters of this dissertation, we were also interested in the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration. In line with findings from research on the relation between interethnic contact (de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Nesdale, 2002) and second language proficiency (Rubinfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006) with cultural integration, we explored whether in the course of the intervention participating immigrants made significant progress in terms of (a) their Dutch language

proficiency, (b) their cultural integration, and (c) their ease of participating independently in the Dutch society.

This longitudinal study was conducted on a small sample of immigrants who voluntarily participated in Dutch language lessons (subsample of the respondents of chapter 2). At the moment they registered for the intervention they hardly participated in the Dutch host society and had a relatively low Dutch language proficiency.

The encouraging finding was that, overall small, but significant progress was found on all indicators of second language proficiency (self-assessed proficiency and lexicon scores) as well as on the perceived ease of independent participation in the host society. At the same time, however, participants showed no progress on the two indicators of cultural integration, namely attitudes towards the host culture and identification with the host society.

6.3 General discussion

6.3.1 Predictors of second language proficiency

The empirical part of this dissertation started by examining which factors facilitate or hinder the second language acquisition of a group of immigrants who is generally underrepresented in research, namely immigrants who hardly participate in the host society and have a relatively low level of second language proficiency (Groves & Couper, 1998; Stoop, 2005: 274). We found that for this group the earlier findings on the *predictors of self-assessed second language proficiency* could only partly be replicated. Replicated predictors were having followed a language course, doing voluntary work, educational level, mother-tongue proficiency, migration age and number of years since migration. No links, however, were found between having psychological problems, gender, and migration motive and self-assessed second language proficiency.

We also identified new predictors which appeared to be of relevance for the self-assessed second language proficiency of this group, namely similarity in alphabet between mother tongue and second language, daily interactions with natives in the public domain, and speaking the second language at home. However, our findings differed when we used *objective lexicon test scores* as indicators of second language proficiency instead of the commonly used subjective self-assessments. Now, only years since migration turned out to be a significant predictor. Plausibly the lexicon test scores, and thus findings on the predictors of this, give a more objective assessment of language proficiency. The self-assessments might be biased by, for example, cultural differences. This is in line with research that showed differences in self-assessment scores between immigrants from different cultures (Carliner,

2000). Also, the self-assessment method can also be biased by personal or 'peer related' factors, as suggested by Finnie and Meng (2005) who point out that self-esteem might bias self-assessment scores as well as the language proficiency of the people with whom the immigrant compares oneself.

Though tentative, these outcomes indicate that findings on the predictors of self-assessed second language proficiency should not too easily be generalized. Different predictors of language proficiency may apply, depending on the specific immigrant group that is taken into account and on the instrument used to measure second language proficiency (see also directions for future research, paragraph 6.5 of this dissertation).

6.3.2 Second language proficiency and cultural integration

At the heart of this dissertation is the question whether second language proficiency does indeed relate closely to cultural integration, and whether some variables can be identified that further affect this relation. It is surprising that earlier research on this topic is cross-sectional (with the exception of Hochman & Davidov, 2014), while in fact the theoretical claim that second language learning is a key factor or even a prerequisite for integration needs a longitudinal approach (Barker, 2015; Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1980; Gordon, 1964; Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003; Schumann, 1978).

In the same vein, the current dissertation takes earlier research one step further by studying the development of second language proficiency and cultural integration over time. Doing so we were able to study how the actual acquisition of a language relates to the extent of cultural integration, as indicated by attitudes towards the host society and identification with the host society.

Novel is also that in this dissertation we took additional factors into account that possibly mediate or moderate the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration, being multicultural personality (Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002) and interethnic friendships (Agirdag et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Sabatier, 2008). Altogether we studied the topic of second language proficiency and cultural integration longitudinally, from different angles, and among differing groups of immigrants.

Notably we found only mixed evidence for the idea that second language acquisition goes together with more cultural integration. Only for one of the three immigrant groups examined (sojourners), we found that second language learning is positively associated with cultural integration over time. In this group, for one indicator of cultural integration (identification) we found an overall relation, while for the other indicator (attitudes) this

relation was moderated by the multicultural personality trait *social initiative*. Interestingly, we also found that sojourners who scored high on the multicultural personality trait *openness* showed a positive change in attitudes regardless of the progress they made in terms of second language proficiency.

One plausible explanation for the different findings between the studies among adult immigrants (chapter 3 and 5) compared to the study among immigrant (minority) children is the fact that at the first moment of measurement the difference in the second language proficiency of the children compared to natives of their age was much smaller than it was for adults. It is thus not surprising that the children did not make significant improvement in terms of second language proficiency while the adults did. However, only in the study among the adult *sojourners*, this improvement of second language proficiency was accompanied with an increasing cultural integration. Possibly, the reason for migration is a relevant factor in explaining this finding. The sojourners typically moved to the host country because of so-called 'pull factors'. Specifically they had the opportunity to pursue a higher level of study or to find work abroad. Out of the countries they could pick from, they chose the Netherlands. It is thus plausible that they had a relatively high interest in the Dutch culture, to begin with. In line with this, it can be assumed that the sojourners were especially willing to get acquainted with the Dutch culture and to adjust to it.

In contrast, the majority of the immigrants who participated in the language lessons provided by volunteers, were 'pushed' out of their country. Some of them were asylum seekers, who left their country because they were not safe there (20%). Hence, interest in the Dutch culture was not their guiding motivation, which might explain why the improvement in their second language proficiency was not (directly) accompanied by a higher extent of cultural integration.

Similarly, many of the immigrants, who followed language lessons provided by volunteers, came to the Netherlands for family unification or - formation (67%). Although this was not formally registered, we know from additional interviews with respondents and coordinators of the language lessons that typically the partners of these immigrants were former 'guest workers'. They were 'pushed' out of their country because of poverty during the period in which the Netherlands was actively recruiting uneducated immigrants for temporary unskilled labor. Apart from the fact that the partners of these former guest workers have not especially been stimulated by the Dutch government to integrate (on the contrary, see for example Arib, 2009), it can thus be assumed that unification with their partner rather than interest in the Dutch culture was their guiding motivation. Therefore, their willingness to learn the Dutch language at the time our study was conducted might not

have been driven by the wish to integrate. Rather, the guiding motivation was most probably the assumption that low Dutch language proficiency caused difficulties regarding the (functional) participation in the Dutch society, like going to the doctor or using public transportation. Judging from the aforementioned interviews, many of them did not want to rely on their (now adult) children anymore but instead wanted to participate independently. Interestingly, our data show that the aim to be better able to participate was indeed served by the intervention: we did find a significant improvement in ease of participating independently in the Dutch society. However, at the same time this explanation is not fully in line with the fact that we did not find a reliable relation between second language proficiency and ease of participation.

Alternatively, the different findings in the two studies among adult immigrants may be due to the 'stage' in which the participating immigrants were at the moment the research was conducted. The sojourners were newcomers in the Netherlands. They just arrived and were not yet acquainted with the Dutch host society. Many of the socially isolated immigrants who participated in the language lessons given by volunteers, however, arrived in the Netherlands many years ago and were (at least to some extent) already acquainted with the Dutch society. As a consequence, and different from the sojourners, they might already have firmly established their attitudes towards- and their extent of identification with the Dutch society.

This reasoning might also be applicable to the pre-adolescent children investigated in this dissertation. Many of them were raised in the Netherlands and went to school there. Yet, they were already immersed in and acquainted with the Dutch society. Therefore, the fact that their Dutch language proficiency is typically lower than the language proficiency of natives and, thus, offers room for improvement (CBS - Statistics Netherlands, 2014; CBS - Statistics Netherlands, 2016b), does not necessarily imply that there is also 'room' for a higher extent of cultural integration. Thus, for the socially isolated immigrants as well as the minority children, the cultural integration might have already reached its 'limit' before the studies were conducted. A caveat regarding this explanation, however, is that there is no benchmark which can be used to determine whether immigrants are sufficiently integrated in a cultural sense. Interestingly, such a norm might even differ per immigrant group.

By and large, this overall discussion does not provide an explanation which, without further empirical tests, can fully account for the differing findings on the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration in our different samples. However, it does give relevant leads which are relevant for practice as well as future research (see paragraph 6.4 and 6.5).

6.4 Practical implications

Altogether, this dissertation provided little support for the idea that second language proficiency in itself is a key factor or even a prerequisite for immigrants' integration in the host society. These findings place integration programs with a strong emphasis on fostering second language acquisition into a different perspective. Second language proficiency is undoubtedly essential for immigrants' ability to participate in the host society. However, it should not too easily be assumed that a high second language proficiency actually facilitates the language use and that it binds, through communication, those using it to a social and ethnic community (Clement, Noels, & Deneault, 2001).

The findings from this dissertation suggest that immigrants differ in (a) the extent to which they acquire the second language, and (b) the extent to which their increasing second language learning is actually related to more cultural integration. Thus, some groups seem to have more difficulty in integrating, and within these groups there are also differences between individuals, depending on factors like personality, age or reason of migration. All in all this suggests that policy on second language learning and integration should not assume that 'one size fits all.' Differentiation seems justified and necessary in what is expected from immigrants (the norm or benchmark), and in the way they are taught in order to eventually live up to this norm.

In line with the latter, our findings suggest that immigrants' multicultural personality traits are a possible facilitating or hampering factor in cultural integration. Given that these traits are considered as trainable, policy makers may be well-advised to not only pay attention to implementing language teaching programs, but to also consider a training of social perceptual personality traits (social initiative and openness) when trying to set up efficient integration programs for immigrants (see van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013).

Despite the fact that such integration programs might help improve the effectivity of integration programs, it should also be taken into account that these programs in themselves do not suffice to safeguard cultural integration. Cultural integration is a complex dynamic concept which involves both immigrants and members of the host society. Illustrative for this is also a recent publication of Statistics Netherlands (SCP - The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 2016). Partly in line with findings from this dissertation, the results revealed that while the Dutch language proficiency of the four biggest non-western immigrant groups increased over the past few years, their connectedness with the host society (measured as 'feeling at home') actually decreased. Following from this, the question was raised how immigrants' increased human and cultural capital can contribute to a more inclusive society

in which (young) immigrants feel more connected. As partial answer to this question, in this report of Statistics Netherlands, it was suggested to focus more on the responsibility of members of the host society instead of the immigrants themselves. In fact, the report showed that over the past years, immigrants have the perception that natives became more negative towards them. Especially young immigrants feel that the Dutch apply double standards (see also Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Andriessen, 2015). Even though data of native Dutch did not confirm this, this is certainly the image that many politicians and (thus the) media shape. Illustrative is a recent open letter of the Dutch prime minister Mark Rutte, written shortly before the elections of the Dutch parliament. Rutte urged immigrants (thus not natives) who act criminal and/or who do not adapt themselves to the Dutch values and/or who respond negative towards Dutch customs to leave the country. The letter was published online and in full-page newspaper advertisements and caused both national and international indignation (see Heijne, 2017; Rutte, 2017; Yeginsu, 2017).

However, despite the anti-immigrant attitude which is prominent in the societal debate and which is focused on immigrants' own responsibility in integrating, many natives do take their responsibility. Illustrative are the 11.000 Dutch volunteers who act weekly as language coaches for 21.000 immigrants (Het begint met taal, 2017). Findings from this dissertation, at least tentatively, indicate that on the whole such second language lessons provided by volunteers can be beneficial by enhancing immigrants' second language proficiency and their ease of independent participation in the host society. It is encouraging to see such concrete evidence for the difference that the efforts of members of the Dutch host society can make in the integration of immigrants.

The findings on second language lessons provided by volunteers are all the more relevant in the current era in which countries are faced with many asylum seekers, who often have to wait a very long time for a decision upon whether or not they will be granted a humanitarian status in the host country. Only after asylum seekers are appointed this status, they are entitled to follow official second language lessons by expert teachers. The OECD (2016b) has very recently warned that this time of waiting, which frequently takes months or even years, might be a time in which immigrants' ability and motivation to integrate might suffer long term damage. In this situation, or at least until this situation is improved, the help of volunteers who provide second language lessons might help to bridge the gap until immigrants' status allows them to follow formal language courses.

6.5 Directions for future research

Findings from this dissertation offer interesting leads for further research. One asset of the current dissertation is that it examined the relation between second language learning and cultural integration among immigrants with various characteristics. To get more insight into the plausible causes of the differing results of these studies, we encourage future studies to pursue this approach by further examining the influence of factors like reason of migration, the 'stage' of migration and the generation immigrants belong to.

While examining the relation between second language proficiency and integration among different groups of immigrants, we also took other key factors of integration into account, notably multicultural personality traits and interethnic friendships. Hopefully more research on such factors will give more insight into which interventions work for which immigrants under what conditions.

In this dissertation, identification with the host society as well as attitudes towards the host society were used as indicators of cultural integration. Many earlier studies either focused on only one of these indicators or used a broad instrument covering both (and more) without distinguishing between them. Given that our results indicate that identification and attitudes are related but distinct factors, future research is advised to also use this approach and distinguish between the two aspects of cultural integration, and to further refine the measurement in order to do justice to the complexity and multidimensionality of both attitudes and identification.

When comparing results of several studies, the scale items used to measure constructs should, obviously, be exactly the same. This was not consistently the case in the current dissertation for the measurement of attitudes and identification. In two of the studies (chapters 3 and 5), attitudes towards the host society were measured with identical items about attitudes towards specific aspects of the host *culture*, while in one study (chapter 4) this was measured with items about attitudes towards *members* of the host society. Also, in two of the studies (chapters 3 and 5) identification with the host society was measured with several comparable items about the identification with the host society *in itself* while in one study (chapter 4) this was measured with only one item on identification with the host society *in comparison* with the identification with the society of heritage. However, given that the studies using identical indicators of cultural integration also yielded dissimilar results, we assume that the different findings from the three studies (chapters 3-5) are not (or at least not completely) due to differences in instruments used measure cultural integration.

Another methodological implication for future research is concerned with the measurement of second language proficiency. In much research, the self-assessed second language proficiency is used as indicator of second language proficiency. In two studies from this dissertation we also used lexicon test scores. One of these studies (see chapter 2) shows that research findings can differ substantially when more objective measures of second language proficiency are used instead of the commonly used subjective way of measuring second language proficiency. Therefore, in future research it would be worthwhile to (also) use more objective measures of second language proficiency.

Importantly, the current dissertation is one of the first to study second language proficiency and cultural integration longitudinally. However, due to the limited number of respondents, no ‘cross-lagged analysis’ could be done to test causality. Accordingly, we cannot straightforwardly argue that progress in second language proficiency actually leads (or does not lead) to a higher extent of cultural integration, or that this is the other way around. Therefore, future research on this topic would benefit from performing longitudinal research with a considerably larger sample of immigrants, and in a context wherein change in language proficiency and integration can be expected. Also, by including more moments of measurement, various time lags can be taken into account to study whether the magnitude of the relation between second language proficiency and cultural integration is different over time.

To our knowledge, we are the first to explore the use of second language lessons given by volunteers. Our findings are encouraging regarding the potential of volunteers to enhance immigrants’ second language proficiency. In order to further improve second language lessons given by volunteers it would be interesting for future research to make a distinction between types of lessons (e.g., individual or group lessons) as well as (again) types of immigrants (e.g. reason of migration, stage after migration) receiving these lessons. Also, it would be interesting to examine the influence of the characteristics of volunteers (e.g. background characteristics, multicultural personality traits) in the extent to which second language lessons are beneficial. More knowledge on these topics might also be beneficial for second language lessons from the certified organizations that governments refer to. This is especially relevant in the case of the Netherlands, where a recent national report indicated that requirements for certification of such organizations (mainly based on satisfactory rates of participants and satisfactory pass-rates of national exams as reported by the organization itself) need to be sharpened, and that the quality of at least some of the certified lessons needs considerable improvement (Algemene Rekenkamer, 2017: 35, 36).

6.6 Final conclusion

In this dissertation the topic of second language proficiency and cultural integration was studied longitudinally, from different angles, and among differing groups of immigrants. The findings suggest that immigrants differ in the extent to which they acquire the second language, as well as in the extent to which their increasing second language proficiency is accompanied by more cultural integration. This suggests that it should not too easily be assumed that second language learning and integration of immigrants can be approached with the assumption that 'one size fits all'. This suggestion offers interesting leads for future research as well as for future policy on this topic, which is, and will probably remain, of great societal relevance.

Nederlandse samenvatting

(Summary in Dutch)

Samenvatting (summary in Dutch)

In dit proefschrift staat de volgende vraag centraal: *Hoe en in welke mate is het leren van een tweede taal gerelateerd aan culturele integratie en welke factoren bevorderen of belemmeren dit?*

Meer specifiek worden de volgende drie deelvragen beantwoord: Ten eerste, welke factoren bevorderen of belemmeren de tweede taalvaardigheid van immigranten? Ten tweede, in welke mate gaat het leren van een tweede taal samen met een toenemende mate van culturele integratie? En tot slot, zijn er andere factoren van belang in de relatie tussen de verwerving van de tweede taal en culturele integratie, zoals multiculturele persoonlijkheidskenmerken en interetnische vriendschappen? Door deze vragen te onderzoeken onder verschillende groepen immigranten beogen we inzicht te bieden in de mate waarin bevindingen van zowel eerder onderzoek als van het huidige proefschrift te generaliseren zijn naar uiteenlopende groepen immigranten.

In de volgende paragrafen geven we eerst een samenvatting van de bevindingen uit elk van de studies waarover is gerapporteerd in de vier empirische hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift. Daarna worden enkele meer algemene conclusies beschreven.

Samenvatting per hoofdstuk

Hoofdstuk 2. In dit hoofdstuk ligt de focus op factoren die de vaardigheid in de tweede taal bevorderen of belemmeren. Specifiek is onderzocht of immigranten met verschillende achtergrondkenmerken ook verschillen in de mate waarin ze de Nederlandse taal verwerven. Hierbij hebben we ons gericht op een groep immigranten die doorgaans ondervertegenwoordigd is in onderzoek, namelijk immigranten die nauwelijks participeren in het gastland en een relatief lage tweede taalvaardigheid hebben (Groves & Couper, 1998; Stoop, 2005). Naast de voorspellers die zijn gerapporteerd in eerder onderzoek (zoals leeftijd op moment van migratie, en aantal jaren sinds migratie: zie voor een overzicht Chiswick & Miller, 2007), zijn andere (nieuwe) voorspellers van tweede taalvaardigheid onderzocht. Dit betreft voorspellers die gezien de specifieke achtergrondkenmerken van deze groep immigranten waarschijnlijk van belang zijn (bijvoorbeeld overeenkomst in alfabet tussen moedertaal en tweede taal).

In lijn met eerder onderzoek bleek dat de door de respondenten zelf ingeschatte tweede taalvaardigheid hoger was onder immigranten die een Nederlandse taalcursus hebben gevolgd, vrijwilligerswerk deden, een hoger opleidingsniveau hadden, vaardiger waren in hun moedertaal, jonger waren op het moment van migratie, en langer in het gastland waren. We

vonden echter geen relatie tussen de zelf ingeschatte tweede taalvaardigheid van de respondenten en geslacht, reden van migratie, of psychische problemen. Nieuwe voorspellers van de zelf ingeschatte taalvaardigheid waren overeenkomst in alfabet tussen moedertaal en tweede taal, dagelijks contact met Nederlanders in het publieke domein en het thuis spreken van de tweede taal.

In de in hoofdstuk 2 beschreven studie is een methodologische innovatie in dit type onderzoek toegepast. Niet alleen de door de respondent zelf ingeschatte taalvaardigheid is gebruikt als indicator van tweede taalvaardigheid (Beenstock et al, 2001; Carliner, 2000; Chiswick & Miller, 1995; Chiswick & Miller, 2002; van Tubergen, 2010), maar ook de score op passieve- en actieve woordenschattoetsen zijn (voor een selecte groep) gebruikt als objectieve indicatoren van tweede taalvaardigheid. Bij het gebruik van de woordenschattoetsen, bleek alleen het aantal jaren sinds migratie een significante voorspeller te zijn.

Hoofdstuk 3. In dit hoofdstuk is middels een langlopende studie onderzocht of een toename in tweede taalvaardigheid samen gaat met een hogere mate van culturele integratie. Voortbouwend op eerder onderzoek dat het belang van persoonlijkheid in integratie aantoont (bijv. Leong, 2007; Suanet & Van de Vijver, 2009; Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002), is ook getest of de relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheid en culturele integratie verschilt voor immigranten met uiteenlopende persoonlijkheidskenmerken. Hierbij hebben we ons gericht op multiculturele persoonlijkheidskenmerken die door training positief te beïnvloeden zijn (zie van der Zee & van Oudenhoven, 2013). Respondenten van dit langlopend onderzoek waren immigranten die slechts tijdelijk in Nederland verbleven (in de literatuur veelal *sojourners* genoemd, bijv. Wilson, Ward, & Fischer, 2013).

Uit het onderzoek bleek dat de toename in tweede taalvaardigheid samenhangt met een toename in de twee indicatoren van culturele integratie; identificatie met het gastland en attitude ten opzichte van de cultuur van het gastland. De relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheid en identificatie was significant, ongeacht de persoonlijkheidskenmerken van de immigranten. Echter, het bleek dat een toename in tweede taalvaardigheid alleen bij immigranten met een hoge mate van *sociaal initiatief* gepaard ging met een positieve verandering in attitude ten opzichte van het gastland. Een andere interessante bevinding was dat, in de periode dat dit onderzoek is uitgevoerd, immigranten met een hoge mate van *openheid* een positievere attitude kregen ten aanzien van de gastcultuur, ongeacht de vooruitgang die ze maakten in hun tweede taalvaardigheid.

Hoofdstuk 4. In tegenstelling tot ander onderzoek naar de relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheid en culturele integratie (bijv. Jiang, Green, Henley, & Masten, 2009; Kang,

2006), en in tegenstelling tot hoofdstuk 2 en 3 uit dit proefschrift, ligt het accent in dit hoofdstuk op kinderen van immigranten in plaats van volwassen immigranten. Deze kinderen groeien op in het gastland, gaan daar naar school en leren (dus) de taal. Echter, deze kinderen zijn ook blootgesteld aan de cultuur van hun ouders en de bijbehorende taal. Het is dan ook lastig om te voorspellen in welke mate deze kinderen vaardig worden in de tweede taal en cultureel integreren, laat staan om te voorspellen in welke mate hun tweede taalvaardigheid gerelateerd is aan hun culturele integratie.

Naast de focus op migrantenkinderen, onderscheidt deze studie zich van eerder onderzoek door (tegelijktijd) de rol van interetnische vriendschappen te bestuderen. Dergelijke vriendschappen zijn, zoals tweede taalvaardigheid, veelal gezien als een sleutelfactor in culturele integratie (Agirdag, Van Houtte, & Van Avermaet, 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, Tropp, Wagner, & Christ, 2011; Sabatier, 2008) en zijn daarom mogelijk ook een belangrijke factor in de relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheid en integratie.

Uit de resultaten van de longitudinale analyses bleek dat tweede taalvaardigheid en interetnische vriendschappen *niet* gerelateerd waren aan de twee indicatoren van culturele integratie die in deze studie werden gebruikt (attitude ten opzichte van leden van het gastland en identificatie met het gastland). Cross-sectioneel bleek dat tweede taalvaardigheid positief samenhangt met identificatie en dat interetnische vriendschappen positief samenhangen met attitude ten opzichte van leden van het gastland. Tweede taalvaardigheid bleek geen voorspeller te zijn van de interetnische vriendschappen van migrantenkinderen op een later moment in de tijd, of vice versa. Tot slot bleek er geen sprake te zijn van mediatie; de relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheden en culturele integratie werd niet gemedieerd door interetnische vriendschappen, en de relatie tussen interetnische vriendschappen en culturele integratie werd niet gemedieerd door tweede taalvaardigheden.

Hoofdstuk 5. Het laatste empirische hoofdstuk heeft betrekking op een daadwerkelijke interventie die gericht was op het verhogen van de tweede taalvaardigheid en de integratie van immigranten. De interventie betrof lessen in de tweede taal die werden gegeven door vrijwilligers. Dergelijke lessen zijn momenteel wijdverbreid over Nederland en worden veelal beschouwd als een aanvulling op de tweede taallessen die worden gefaciliteerd door de overheid. Vrijwilligers zijn doorgaans niet professioneel getraind als leerkracht tweede taal. Het is dan ook onduidelijk of, en zo ja in welke mate, deze lessen eigenlijk bevorderlijk zijn voor de tweede taalvaardigheid. Evenals in de voorgaande hoofdstukken van dit proefschrift, waren we ook geïnteresseerd in de relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheid en culturele integratie. In lijn met eerder onderzoek naar de relatie tussen interetnisch contact (de Vroome, Verkuyten, & Martinovic, 2014; Nesdale, 2002) en tweede taalvaardigheid

(Rubenfeld, Clément, Lussier, Lebrun, & Auger, 2006) met culturele integratie, onderzochten we of deelnemende immigranten in de loop van de interventie significante vooruitgang boekten in termen van (a) Nederlandse taalvaardigheid, (b) culturele integratie, en (c) het gemak waarmee ze zelfstandig participeerden in de Nederlandse samenleving.

Deze langlopende studie is uitgevoerd onder een kleine groep immigranten die vrijwillig meededen aan de Nederlandse taallessen (subgroep van de respondenten uit hoofdstuk 2). Bij aanvang van de interventie participeerden ze nauwelijks in de Nederlandse samenleving en hadden ze een relatief laag Nederlands taalniveau.

De bevinding was dat de deelnemers, kleine, maar significante vooruitgang boekten op alle indicatoren van tweede taalvaardigheid (zelfinschattingen en woordenschattoetsen), en op het gemak waarmee ze zelfstandig participeerden in de gastsamenleving. De deelnemers gingen echter niet significant vooruit in mate van culturele integratie, oftewel in hun attitude ten opzichte van de gastcultuur en hun identificatie met het gastland.

Samenvatting algemene conclusies

Voorspellers van tweede taalvaardigheid

In het empirische deel van dit proefschrift onderzochten we allereerst de factoren die de tweede taalvaardigheid bevorderen of juist belemmeren (bijv. opleidingsniveau, aantal jaren sinds migratie). Hierbij hebben we ons gericht op immigranten die nauwelijks participeren in het gastland en een relatief geringe vaardigheid hebben in de tweede taal. Uit de resultaten bleek onder meer dat voor deze specifieke immigrantengroep slechts een deel van de voorspellers uit soortgelijk eerder onderzoek kon worden gerepliceerd. Ook bleek uit ons onderzoek dat de voorspellers verschilden als we objectieve woordenschattoetsen gebruikten als indicator voor tweede taalvaardigheid in plaats van de veelgebruikte en subjectieve zelfinschattingen.

De conclusie die hieruit getrokken kan worden is dat bevindingen met betrekking tot de voorspellers van zelf ingeschatte tweede taalvaardigheid niet al te gemakkelijk gegeneraliseerd moeten worden naar alle groepen immigranten. Tevens kunnen verschillende voorspellers van taalvaardigheid van toepassing zijn afhankelijk van het instrument dat wordt gebruikt om tweede taalvaardigheid te meten.

Tweede taalvaardigheden en culturele integratie

De essentie van dit proefschrift ligt in de vraag of tweede taalvaardigheid nauw samenhangt met culturele integratie en of er variabelen kunnen worden geïdentificeerd die deze relatie beïnvloeden. Het is verbazingwekkend dat dit onderwerp, voor zover wij weten, nooit eerder

longitudinaal is onderzocht (met uitzondering van Hochman & Davidov, 2014), terwijl de theoretische claim dat tweede taalverwerving een sleutelfactor of zelfs een voorwaarde voor integratie is een langlopende onderzoeksbenadering vereist (Barker, 2015; Clement, Gardner, & Smythe, 1980; Gordon, 1964; Hagendoorn, Veenman, & Vollebergh, 2003; Schumann, 1978).

Het huidige proefschrift helpt onderzoek naar dit vraagstuk dan ook een stap verder door de ontwikkeling van tweede taalvaardigheid en culturele integratie over de tijd te bestuderen. Dit stelde ons in staat om te onderzoeken of de daadwerkelijke verwerving van een tweede taal samen gaat met een hogere mate van culturele integratie, ofwel attitude ten opzichte van en identificatie met het gastland.

Vernieuwend is ook dat we in dit proefschrift factoren in beschouwing hebben genomen die de relatie tussen tweede taalvaardigheid en culturele integratie mogelijk mediëren of modereren. Dit betreft de factoren multiculturele persoonlijkheid (Van Oudenhoven & Van der Zee, 2002) en interetnische vriendschappen (Agirdag et al., 2011; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew et al., 2011; Sabatier, 2008). Al met al hebben we het onderwerp tweede taalvaardigheid en culturele integratie langlopend, vanuit verschillende oogpunten en voor verschillende groepen immigranten onderzocht.

Opmerkelijk is dat de bevindingen met betrekking tot het idee dat tweede taalvaardigheid samengaat met culturele integratie verschilden al naar gelang de groep immigranten die in het onderzoek betrokken was. Slechts voor een van de drie onderzochte immigrantengroepen (tijdelijke immigranten, ofwel sojourners) bleek het verwerven van de tweede taal samen te gaan met een hogere mate van culturele integratie. In deze groep vonden we met één van de indicatoren van culturele integratie (identificatie) een directe relatie. Voor de andere indicator (attitude ten opzichte van het gastland) werd deze relatie gemodereerd door het multiculturele persoonlijkheidskenmerk *sociaal initiatief*. Interessant is ook dat we voor sojourners met een hoge score op het multiculturele persoonlijkheidskenmerk *openheid* een positieve verandering vonden in attitude ten opzichte van het gastland ongeacht de vooruitgang die ze maakten in hun tweede taalvaardigheid.

De bevindingen uit dit proefschrift lijken erop te duiden dat immigranten verschillen in de mate waarin ze de tweede taal verwerven, en in de mate waarin de toegenomen taalvaardigheden samengaan met een hogere mate van culturele integratie. Dit impliceert dat er bij het (aan)leren van de tweede taal en de integratie van immigranten niet te gemakkelijk van het *'one size fits all'* principe uit moet worden gegaan. Deze suggestie biedt interessante aanknopingspunten voor zowel toekomstig onderzoek als toekomstige beleid op dit maatschappelijk relevante onderwerp.

References

- Agirdag, O., Van Houtte, M., & Van Avermaet, P. (2011). Ethnic school context and the national and sub-national identifications of pupils. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(2), 357-378. doi:10.1080/01419870.2010.510198
- Alba, R. D., Handl, J., & Muller, W. (1994). Ethnic-inequality in the German educational-system. *Kolner Zeitschrift Fur Soziologie Und Sozialpsychologie*, 46(2), 209-237.
- Aldashev, A., Gernandt, J., & Thomsen, S. L. (2009). Language usage, participation, employment and earnings evidence for foreigners in west Germany with multiple sources of selection. *Labour Economics*, 16(3), 330-341. doi:10.1016/j.labeco.2008.11.004
- Algemene Rekenkamer. (2017). *Inburgering. eerste resultaten van de wet inburgering 2013*. Den Haag.
- Ali, A., Van der Zee, K., & Sanders, G. (2003). Determinants of intercultural adjustment among expatriate spouses. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 27(5), 563-580. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(03)00054-3
- Allport, G. W. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.
- Arib, K. (2009). *Couscous op zondag. Een familiegeschiedenis*. Amsterdam: Balans.
- Bakker, W., Van Oudenhoven, J., & Van Der Zee, K. (2004). Attachment styles, personality, and Dutch emigrants' intercultural adjustment. *European Journal of Personality*, 18(5), 387-404. doi:10.1002/per.515
- Barker, G. G. (2015). Choosing the best of both worlds: The acculturation process revisited. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 45, 56-69. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2015.01.001
- Beenstock, M., Chiswick, B. R., & Repetto, G. L. (2001). The effect of linguistic distance and country of origin on immigrant language skills: Application to Israel. *International Migration*, 39(3), 33-60. doi:10.1111/1468-2435.00155
- Bennett, M., Barrett, M., Karakozov, R., Kipiani, G., Lyons, E., Pavlenko, V., & Riazanova, T. (2004). Young children's evaluations of the ingroup and of outgroups: A multi-national study. *Social Development*, 13(1), 124-141. doi:10.1046/j.1467-9507.2004.00260.x
- Bennett, M., Lyons, E., Sani, F., & Barrett, M. (1998). Children's subjective identification with the group and in-group favoritism. *Developmental Psychology*, 34(5), 902-909. doi:10.1037//0012-1649.34.5.902
- Berry, J. W. (1997). Immigration, acculturation, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology-an International Review-Psychologie Appliquee-Revue Internationale*, 46(1), 5-34.

- Bigler, R., Brown, C., & Markell, M. (2001). When groups are not created equal: Effects of group status on the formation of intergroup attitudes in children. *Child Development, 72*(4), 1151-1162. doi:10.1111/1467-8624.00339
- Bigler, R., Jones, L., & Lobliner, D. (1997). Social categorization and the formation of intergroup attitudes in children. *Child Development, 68*(3), 530-543. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.1997.tb01956.x
- Bossers, B., Kuiken, F., & Vermeer, A. (2010). *Handboek Nederlands als tweede taal in het volwassenenonderwijs*. Bussum: Uitgeverij Coutinho.
- Brechwald, W. A., & Prinstein, M. J. (2011). Beyond homophily: A decade of advances in understanding peer influence processes. *Journal of Research on Adolescence, 21*(1), 166-179. doi:10.1111/j.1532-7795.2010.00721.x
- Brewer, M. B. (1979). In-group bias in the minimal intergroup situation - cognitive-motivational analysis. *Psychological Bulletin, 86*(2), 307-324. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.86.2.307
- Brown, R. J., & Turner, J. C. (1981). Interpersonal and intergroup behavior. *Intergroup Behavior, 33*, 65.
- Buijs, F. J., Demant, F., & Hamdy, A. (2006). *Strijders van eigen bodem, radicale en democratische moslims in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Burton, J., Nandi, A., & Platt, L. (2010). Measuring ethnicity: Challenges and opportunities for survey research. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 33*(8), 1332-1349. doi:10.1080/01419870903527801
- Carliner, G. (2000). The language ability of US immigrants: Assimilation and cohort effects. *International Migration Review, 34*(1), 158-182. doi:10.2307/2676016
- CBS - Statistics Netherlands. (2005). *Enquêteonderzoek onder allochtonen. Problemen en oplossingen*. Voorburg/Heerlen: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- CBS - Statistics Netherlands. (2014). *Integratie jaarrapport 2014*. Den Haag/Heerlen: Centraal Bureau Voor de Statistiek.
- CBS - Statistics Netherlands. (2016a). Definition cultural minority. Retrieved from www.cbs.nl/en-gb
- CBS - Statistics Netherlands. (2016b). *Jaarrapport integratie 2016*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek.
- CBS - Statistics Netherlands. (2016c). StatLine. Retrieved from <http://statline.cbs.nl/Statweb/?LA=en>
- Chen, S. X., Benet-Martinez, V., & Bond, M. H. (2008). Bicultural identity, bilingualism, and psychological adjustment in multicultural societies: Immigration-based and

- globalization-based acculturation. *Journal of Personality*, 76(4), 803-837.
doi:10.1111/j.1467-6494.2008.00505.x
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2007). *The economics of language: International analysis*. London: Routledge.
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2008a). Modeling immigrant's language proficiency. In B. R. Chiswick (Ed.), *Immigration: Trends consequences and prospects for the united states*. (pp. 75-128). Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Chiswick, B. R. (1998). Hebrew language usage: Determinants and effects on earnings among immigrants in Israel. *Journal of Population Economics*, 11(2), 253-271.
doi:10.1007/s001480050068
- Chiswick, B. R., Lee, Y., & Miller, P. (2004). Immigrants' language skills: The Australian experience in a longitudinal survey (vol 38, pg 611, 2004). *International Migration Review*, 38(4), 1560-1560.
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (1995). The endogeneity between language and earnings - international analyses. *Journal of Labor Economics*, 13(2), 246-288.
doi:10.1086/298374
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2001). A model of destination-language acquisition: Application to male immigrants in Canada. *Demography*, 38(3), 391-409.
doi:10.2307/3088354
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2002). Immigrant earnings: Language skills, linguistic concentrations and the business cycle. *Journal of Population Economics*, 15(1), 31-57.
doi:10.1007/PL00003838
- Chiswick, B. R., & Miller, P. W. (2008b). A test of the critical period hypothesis for language learning. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 29(1), 16-29.
doi:10.2167/jmmd555.0
- CINOP/ETV.nl. (2016). *Taalkit Dutch. Handleiding voor vrijwilligers*.
- Clement, R., Gardner, R. C., & Smythe, P. C. (1980). Social and individual factors in 2nd language-acquisition. *Canadian Journal of Behavioural Science-Revue Canadienne Des Sciences Du Comportement*, 12(4), 293-302.
- Clement, R., Noels, K. A., & Deneault, B. (2001). Interethnic contact, identity, and psychological adjustment: The mediating and moderating roles of communication. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57(3), 559-577.
- Cohen, J. (1992). A power primer. *Psychological Bulletin*, 112(1), 155. doi:10.1037/0033-2909.112.1.155

- Corsaro, W. A., & Eder, D. (1990). Childrens peer cultures. *Annual Review of Sociology*, *16*, 197-220. doi:10.1146/annurev.so.16.080190.001213
- Cummins, J. (2000). *Language, power and pedagogy: Bilingual children in the crossfire*. Tonawanda, New York: Multilingual Matters.
- Davies, K., Tropp, L. R., Aron, A., Pettigrew, T. F., & Wright, S. C. (2011). Cross-group friendships and intergroup attitudes: A meta-analytic review. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *15*(4), 332-351. doi:10.1177/1088868311411103
- de Vroome, T., Coenders, M., van Tubergen, F., & Verkuyten, M. (2011). Economic participation and national self-identification of refugees in the Netherlands. *International Migration Review*, *45*(3), 615-638. doi:10.1111/j.1747-7379.2011.00860.x
- de Vroome, T., Verkuyten, M., & Martinovic, B. (2014). Host national identification of immigrants in the Netherlands. *International Migration Review*, *48*(1), 76-102. doi:10.1111/imre.12063
- Dewaele, J. M., & Van Oudenhoven, J. P. (2009).
The effect of multilingualism/multiculturalism on personality: No gain without pain for third culture kids? *International Journal of Multilingualism*, *6*(4), 443-459.
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., & Saguy, T. (2007). Another view of "we": Majority and minority group perspectives on a common ingroup identity. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *18*, 296-330. doi:10.1080/10463280701726132
- Dovidio, J. F., Gaertner, S. L., Saguy, T., & Halabi, S. (2008). From when to why: Understanding how contact reduces bias. In U. Wagner, L. R. Tropp, G. Ginchilescu & C. Tredoux (Eds.), *Improving intergroup relations: Building on the legacy of thomas F. Pettigrew* (pp. 75). Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Dustmann, C. (1994). Speaking fluency, writing fluency and earnings of migrants. *Journal of Population Economics*, *7*(2), 133-156.
- Edwards, J. (1994). *Multilingualism*. London: Routledge.
- Ellison, C. C., & Powers, D. A. (1994). The contact hypothesis and racial attitudes among black Americans. *Social Science Quarterly (University of Texas Press)*, *75*(2), 385-400.
- Espenshade, T. J., & Fu, H. S. (1997). An analysis of English-language proficiency among US immigrants. *American Sociological Review*, *62*(2), 288-305. doi:10.2307/2657305
- Esser, H. (2006). *Sprache und integration. die sozialen bedingungen und folgen des sprachenerwerbs von migranten*. Frankfurt am Main: Campus.
- Feddes, A. R., Noack, P., & Rutland, A. (2009). Direct and extended friendship effects on minority and majority children's interethnic attitudes: A longitudinal study. *Child Development*, *80*(2), 377-390. doi:10.1111/j.1467-8624.2009.01266.x

- Finnie, R., & Meng, R. (2005). Literacy and labour market outcomes: Self-assessment versus test score measures. *Applied Economics*, *37*(17), 1935-1951.
doi:10.1080/00036840500244519
- Gaertner, S. L., & Dovidio, J. F. (2000). From superordinate goals to decategorization, recategorization, and mutual differentiation. *International Journal of Psychology*, *35*(3-4), 193-194.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., Anastasio, P. A., Bachman, B. A., & Rust, M. C. (1993). The common ingroup identity model: Recategorization and the reduction of intergroup bias. *European Review of Social Psychology*, *4*, 1.
- Gaertner, S. L., Dovidio, J. F., & Bachman, B. A. (1996). Revisiting the contact hypothesis: The induction of a common ingroup identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *20*(3-4), 271-290. doi:10.1016/0147-1767(96)00019-3
- Gaertner, S. L., Rust, M. C., Dovidio, J. F., Bachman, B. A., & Anastasio, P. A. (1994). The contact hypothesis - the role of a common ingroup identity on reducing intergroup bias. *Small Group Research*, *25*(2), 224-249. doi:10.1177/1046496494252005
- Galchenko, I., & van, d. V. (2007). The role of perceived cultural distance in the acculturation of exchange students in Russia. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *31*(2), 181-197. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2006.03.004
- Giles, H., & Byrne, J. L. (1982). The intergroup model of second language acquisition. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *3*, 17-40.
- Gonzalez, A. (2000). The acquisition and labor market value of four English skills: New evidence from NALS. *Contemporary Economic Policy*, *18*(3), 259-269.
doi:10.1093/cep/18.3.259
- Gordon, M. M. (1964). *Assimilation in American life: The role of race, religion, and national origins*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Government of Canada. (2016). Retrieved from
<http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/citizenship/become-eligibility.asp#language>
- Graham, J. W. (2009). Missing data analysis: Making it work in the real world. *Annual Review of Psychology*, *(60)*, 549.
- Greenholtz, J., & Kim, J. (2009). The cultural hybridity of lena: A multi-method case study of a third culture kid. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, *33*(5), 391-398.
doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2009.05.004
- Groves, R., & Couper, M. (1998). *Nonresponse in household interview surveys*. New York: John Wiley.

- Hagendoorn, L., Veenman, J., & Vollebergh, W. (2003). *Integrating immigrants in the Netherlands. Cultural versus socio-economic integration*. England: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Heijne, B. (2017). Ruttet grote leugen. Retrieved from <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/01/27/ruttet-grote-leugen-6431581-a1543419>
- Herfst, S. L., van Oudenhoven, J. P., & Timmerman, M. E. (2008). Intercultural effectiveness training in three western immigrant countries: A cross-cultural evaluation of critical incidents. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32(1), 67-80. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.10.001
- Het begint met taal. (2017). Taalcoaching vergroot je wereld. Retrieved from www.hetbegintmettaal.nl
- Hochman, O., & Davidov, E. (2014). Relations between second language proficiency and national identification: The case of immigrants in Germany. *European Sociological Review*, 30(3), 344-359. doi:10.1093/esr/jcu043
- Hofhuis, J., van der Zee, K. I., & Otten, S. (2012). Social identity patterns in culturally diverse organizations: The role of diversity climate. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 42(4), 964-989. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2011.00848.x
- Hou, F., & Beiser, M. (2006). Learning the language of a new country: A ten-year study of English acquisition by south-east Asian refugees in Canada. *International Migration*, 44(1), 135-165. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2435.2006.00358.x
- Hu, L., & Bentler, P. M. (1999). Cutoff criteria for fit indexes in covariance structure analysis: Conventional criteria versus new alternatives. *Structural Equation Modeling-a Multidisciplinary Journal*, 6(1), 1-55. doi:10.1080/10705519909540118
- Huijnk, W., Dagevos, J., Gijsberts, M., & Andriessen, I. (2015). *Werelden van verschil. Over de sociaal-culturele afstand en positie van migrantengroepen in Nederland*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Immigration- and naturalization service. (2016). Retrieved from www.ind.nl
- Ince, B. U., Fassaert, T., de Wit, M. A. S., Cuijpers, P., Smit, J., Ruwaard, J., & Riper, H. (2014). The relationship between acculturation strategies and depressive and anxiety disorders in Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. *Bmc Psychiatry*, 14, 252. doi:10.1186/s12888-014-0252-5
- Jackman, M. R., & Crane, M. (1986). "Some of my best friends are black. . .": Interracial friendship and whites' racial attitudes. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50(4), 459.

-
- Jiang, M., Green, R. J., Henley, T. B., & Masten, W. G. (2009). Acculturation in relation to the acquisition of a second language. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 30*(6), 481-492. doi:10.1080/01434630903147898
- Kang, S. (2006). Measurement of acculturation, scale formats, and language competence - their implications for adjustment. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 37*(6), 669-693. doi:10.1177/0022022106292077
- Lambert, W. E. (1974). Culture and language as factors in learning and education. In F. E. Aboud, & R. D. Meade (Eds.), *Cultural factors in learning and education*. (pp. 91). Bellingham, WA: Fifth Washington Symposium on Learning.
- Leong, C. (2007). Predictive validity of the multicultural personality questionnaire: A longitudinal study on the socio-psychological adaptation of Asian undergraduates who took part in a study-abroad program. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 31*(5), 545-559. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2007.01.004
- Levin, S., van Laar, C., & Sidanius, J. (2003). The effects of ingroup and outgroup friendships on ethnic attitudes in college: A longitudinal study. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 6*(1), 76-92. doi:10.1177/1368430203006001013
- Lyttle, A. D., Barker, G. G., & Cornwell, T. L. (2011). Adept through adaptation: Third culture individuals' interpersonal sensitivity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 35*(5), 686-694. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.02.015
- MacKinnon, D. P., Fairchild, A. J., & Fritz, M. S. (2007). Mediation analysis. *Annual Review of Psychology, 58*, 593-614. doi:10.1146/annurev.psych.58.110405.085542
- Massey, D. S., & Espinosa, K. E. (1997). What's driving Mexico-US migration? A theoretical, empirical, and policy analysis. *American Journal of Sociology, 102*(4), 939-999. doi:10.1086/231037
- McPherson, M., Smith-Lovin, L., & Cook, J. M. (2001). Birds of a feather: Homophily in social networks. *Annual Review of Sociology, 27*, 415-444.
- Moore, A. M., & Barker, G. G. (2012). Confused or multicultural: Third culture individuals' cultural identity. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 36*(4), 553-562. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.11.002
- Mummendey, A., & Otten, S. (1998). Positive-negative asymmetry in social discrimination. *European Review of Social Psychology, 9*, 107.
- Munniksma, A. (2013). *Crossing ethnic boundaries: Parental resistance to and consequences of adolescents' cross-ethnic peer relations*

- Munniksma, A., Stark, T. H., Verkuyten, M., Flache, A., & Veenstra, R. (2013). Extended intergroup friendships within social settings: The moderating role of initial outgroup attitudes. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations*, 16(6), 752-770. doi:10.1177/1368430213486207
- Muthén, L. K., & Muthén, B. O. (1998-2012). *Mplus user's guide. seventh edition*. Los Angeles, CA: Muthén & Muthén.
- Muthén, B. O., & Satorra, A. (1995). Complex sample data in structural equation modeling. In P. V. Marsden (Ed.), *Sociological methodology* (pp. 267-316). Washington, DC: American Sociological Association.
- Nesdale, D. (2002). Acculturation attitudes and the ethnic and host-country identification of immigrants. *Journal of Applied Social Psychology*, 32(7), 1488-1507. doi:10.1111/j.1559-1816.2002.tb01448.x
- Nguyen, A. D., & Benet-Martinez, V. (2013). Biculturalism and adjustment: A meta-analysis. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(1), 122-159. doi:10.1177/0022022111435097
- Noels, K. A., Pon, G., & Clement, R. (1996). Language, identity, and adjustment - the role of linguistic self-confidence in the acculturation process. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*, 15(3), 246-264.
- OECD. (2013). *International migration outlook 2013*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-213-en
- OECD. (2015). *International migration outlook 2015*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi: http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2015-en
- OECD. (2016a). *International migration outlook 2016*. Paris: OECD Publishing. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/migr_outlook-2016-en
- OECD. (2016b). *Making integration work. refugees and others in need of protection*. Paris: OECD publishing. doi:10.1787/9789264251236-en
- Outlook for work. (2016). Retrieved from <http://www.blikopwerk.nl/inburgeren/waarom-een-keurmerk>
- Patchen. (1982). *Black-white contact in schools: Its social and academic effects*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.
- Pettigrew, T. F., Tropp, L. R., Wagner, U., & Christ, O. (2011). Recent advances in intergroup contact theory. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 35(3), 271-280. doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2011.03.001

- Rubinfeld, S., Clément, R., Lussier, D., Lebrun, M., & Auger, R. (2006). Second language learning and cultural representations: Beyond competence and identity. *Language Learning, 56*(4), 609-631. doi:10.1111/j.1467-9922.2006.00390.x
- Rubin, D. B. (1987). *Multiple imputation for nonresponse in surveys*. New York: Wiley.
- Rutland, A., Brown, R. J., Cameron, L., Ahmavaara, A., Arnold, K., & Samson, J. (2007). Development of the positive-negative asymmetry effect: In-group exclusion norm as a mediator of children's evaluations on negative attributes. *European Journal of Social Psychology, 37*(1), 171-190. doi:10.1002/ejsp.342
- Rutte, M. (2017). De brief van Mark. Retrieved from <https://vvd.nl/nieuws/lees-hier-de-brief-van-mark/>
- Ryder, A. G., Alden, L. E., & Paulhus, D. L. (2000). Is acculturation unidimensional or bidimensional? A head-to-head comparison in the prediction of personality, self-identity, and adjustment. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(1), 49-65. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.79.1.49
- Sabatier, C. (2008). Ethnic and national identity among second-generation immigrant adolescents in France: The role of social context and family. *Journal of Adolescence, 31*(2), 185-205. doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2007.08.001
- Schafer, J. L. (1997). *Analysis of incomplete multivariate data*. London: Chapman & Hall.
- Schofield, J. W. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks, & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multi-cultural education*. (pp. 597-616). New York: Macmillan.
- Schumann, J. H. (1978). *The pidginization process: A model for second language acquisition*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.
- SCP - The Netherlands Institute for Social Research. (2016). *Integratie in zicht? De integratie van migranten in Nederland op acht terreinen nader bekeken*. Den Haag: Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau.
- Searle, W., & Ward, C. (1990). The prediction of psychological and sociocultural adjustment during cross-cultural transitions. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 14*(4), 449-464. doi:10.1016/0147-1767(90)90030-Z
- Service for implementation of education. (2016). Retrieved from <http://en.inburgeren.nl/#>
- Sole, Y. R. (1990). Bilingualism - stable or transitional - the case of Spanish in the united-states. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, (84)*, 35-80.

- Stanat, P. (2006). Schulleistungen von jugendlichen mit migrationshintergrund. die rolle der zusammensetzung der schülerschaft. In J. Baumert, P. Stanat & R. Watermann (Eds.), *Herkunftsbedingte disparitäten im bildungswesen: Differenzielle bildungsprozesse und probleme der verteilungsgerechtigkeit* (pp. 189-219). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag Sozialwiss.
- Stark, T. H., Flache, A., & Veenstra, R. (2013). Generalization of positive and negative attitudes toward individuals to outgroup attitudes. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 39, 608-622.
- Stark, T. H., & Flache, A. (2012). The double edge of common interest: Ethnic segregation as an unintended byproduct of opinion homophily. *Sociology of Education*, 85(2), 179-199. doi:10.1177/0038040711427314
- Stevens, G. (1999). Age at immigration and second language proficiency among foreign-born adults. *Language in Society*, 28(4), 555-578.
- Stoop, I. A. L. (2005). *The hunt for the last respondent. non response in sample surveys*. (No. SCP Report 2005/8). The Hague: Social and Cultural Planning Office of the Netherlands.
- Suanet, I., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2009). Perceived cultural distance and acculturation among exchange students in Russia. *Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology*, 19(3), 182-197. doi:10.1002/casp.989
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). An interactive theory of intergroup conflict. In W. G. Austin, & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.
- Titzmann, P. F., Silbereisen, R. K., & Mesch, G. S. (2012). Change in friendship homophily: A German Israeli comparison of adolescent immigrants. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 43(3), 410-428. doi:10.1177/0022022111399648
- Van Buuren, S. (2007). Multiple imputation of discrete and continuous data by fully conditional specification. *Statistical Methods in Medical Research*, (16), 219.
- van der Zee, K., van Oudenhoven, J., & de Grijns, E. (2004). Personality, threat, and cognitive and emotional reactions to stressful intercultural situations. *Journal of Personality*, 72(5), 1069-1096. doi:10.1111/j.0022-3506.2004.00290.x
- Van der Zee, K., & Van der Gang, I. (2007). Personality, threat and affective responses to cultural diversity. *European Journal of Personality*, 21(4), 453-470. doi:10.1002/per.619
- van der Zee, K., & van Oudenhoven, J. P. (2013). Culture shock or challenge? The role of personality as a determinant of intercultural competence. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 44(6), 928-940. doi:10.1177/0022022113493138

- Van der Zee, K., & Van Oudenhoven, J. (2000). The multicultural personality questionnaire: A multidimensional instrument of multicultural effectiveness. *European Journal of Personality, 14*(4), 291-309. doi:10.1002/1099-0984(200007/08)14:4<291::AID-PER377>3.3.CO;2-Y
- Van der Zee, K., & Van Oudenhoven, J. (2001). The multicultural personality questionnaire: Reliability and validity of self- and other ratings of multicultural effectiveness. *Journal of Research in Personality, 35*(3), 278-288. doi:10.1006/jrpe.2001.2320
- Van Doorn, M., Scheepers, P., & Dagevos, J. (2013). Explaining the integration paradox among small immigrant groups in the Netherlands. *International Migration & Integration, 14*, 381.
- Van Niejenhuis, C., Naayer, H., & Verkade, A. (2012). *Evaluatie stimuleringsprogramma taalontmoetingen II [evaluation of social intervention 'Language encounters']*. Groningen: ISW.
- Van Niejenhuis, C., Van der Werf, M. P. C., & Otten, S. (2015). Predictors of immigrants' second language proficiency: A Dutch study of immigrants with a low level of societal participation and second language proficiency. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 236*, 75-100. doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2015-0022.
- Van Oudenhoven, J., & Van der Zee, K. (2002). Predicting multicultural effectiveness of international students: The multicultural personality questionnaire. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 26*(6), 679-694. doi:10.1016/S0147-1767(02)00041-X
- Van Tubergen, F. (2010). Determinants of second language proficiency among refugees in the Netherlands. *Social Forces, 89*(2), 515-534.
- Van Tubergen, F., & Kalmijn, M. (2005). Destination-language proficiency in cross-national perspective: A study of immigrant groups in nine western countries. *American Journal of Sociology, 110*(5), 1412-1457. doi:10.1086/428931
- Van Tubergen, F., & Wierenga, M. (2011). The language acquisition of male immigrants in a multilingual destination: Turks and Moroccans in Belgium. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, 37*(7), 1039-1057. doi:10.1080/1369183X.2011.572476
- Verhoeven, L., & Vermeer, A. (2001). *Taaltoets alle kinderen*. Arnhem: Citogroep.
- Verkuyten, M. (2005). Ethnic group identification and group evaluation among minority and majority groups: Testing the multiculturalism hypothesis. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 88*(1), 121-138. doi:10.1037/0022-3514.88.1.121
- Verkuyten, M. (2016). The integration paradox: Empiric evidence from the Netherlands. *American Behavioral Scientist, 60*(5-6), 583.

-
- Vervoort, M. H. M., Scholte, R. H. J., & Scheepers, P. L. H. (2011). Ethnic composition of school classes, majority-minority friendships, and adolescents' intergroup attitudes in the Netherlands. *Journal of Adolescence*, *34*(2), 257-267.
doi:10.1016/j.adolescence.2010.05.005
- VROM. (2007). *Integratienota 2007-2011: Zorg dat je erbij hoort!*. Den Haag: VROM.
- Williams, R. M. (1947). *The reduction of intergroup tensions*. New York: Social Science Research Council.
- Wilson, J., Ward, C., & Fischer, R. (2013). Beyond culture learning theory: What can personality tell us about cultural competence? *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, *44*(6), 900-927. doi:10.1177/0022022113492889
- Yeginsu, C. (2017). Dutch leader takes Trump-like turn in face of hard-right challenge. Retrieved from https://www.nytimes.com/2017/01/24/world/europe/mark-rutte-netherlands-muslim-immigrants-trump.html?_r=0

Dankwoord

“*A je to!*” Deze term van Buurman en Buurman valt vaak bij ons thuis als wij een ‘klus hebben geklaard.’ Dit is dan ook het eerste wat mij te binnen schiet bij het schrijven van dit dankwoord. Net als Buurman en Buurman, die elkaar hebben, had ik dit niet alleen kunnen doen. Graag wil ik de betrokken mensen hiervoor bedanken.

Allereerst wil ik mijn promotoren bedanken. Greetje, ik begon mijn promotietraject met jou. Het was een voortvarende start. Je gaf me veel ruimte in het uitvoeren van het onderzoek en voorzag me van nuttige feedback. Naarmate mijn proefschrift vorderde werd onze samenwerking meer op afstand. Echter ook vanuit die positie, heeft jouw feedback dit proefschrift naar een hoger niveau getild. Sabine, hoewel jij pas later betrokken raakte, had dit proefschrift er zonder jou niet gelegen. Jij was degene die tijdig inzag dat de bij het Oranje Fonds verzamelde data niet volstond voor het schrijven van een volwaardig proefschrift en stimuleerde mij aanvullende data te verzamelen. Jouw inhoudelijke en persoonlijke betrokkenheid waren een belangrijke drijfveer voor mij om dit proefschrift af te maken. Een dergelijke promotor gun ik iedereen! Andreas, ook jij raakte later betrokken bij mijn promotietraject. Zonder te weten wat het jou op zou leveren stemde jij ermee in om mijn copromotor te worden. Op basis van mijn eerdere ervaringen met jou bij het schrijven van mijn scriptie en het uitvoeren van het TASS onderzoek, was ik heel blij dat je instemde. Dat ben ik nog steeds. Dank voor de fijne en constructieve samenwerking!

Aan het evaluatieonderzoek naar het programma *Taalontmoetingen* van het Oranje Fonds, waar mijn promotietraject mee begon, hebben veel mensen meegewerkt. Ik wil hun allemaal hartelijk danken. Allereerst dank ik de programmaleiders Mirjam Lammers en Melanie Vaessen van het Oranje Fonds voor hun betrokkenheid bij het onderzoek. Ook dank ik Maarten Koekoek en Aafje Dotinga van het voormalige ISW (nu *Sustainable society*) voor het faciliteren van het onderzoek. Bij de dataverzameling waren mijn GION collega's Marleen, Dorinde, Anna en Harm betrokken, dank daarvoor! Externe tolken/vertalers die ik wil bedanken voor hun sleutelrol in dit onderzoek zijn Fatma Ali, Claudia Atmaj, Tülay Dekker-Yazgili, Jamal el Hannouche, Mohamed al-Tayeb, Mirjam Fennich, en Sylwia Staniszewska. Ook wil ik graag de 22 lokale projectleiders van het programma, hun vrijwilligers én deelnemers bedanken voor hun medewerking aan het onderzoek. Het was indrukwekkend om te zien hoeveel moed de deelnemers toonden door te besluiten om mee te doen aan het programma. Voor velen was dit één van de eerste stappen in de wens naar

zelfredzaamheid. Ook was het indrukwekkend om te zien hoe gedreven de projectleiders en vrijwilligers zich inzetten om hieraan een bijdrage te leveren.

Ik dank Berna de Boer en de docenten Nederlands als tweede taal voor hun medewerking aan de dataverzameling bij het Talencentrum. Ylva Holtzhausen dank ik voor haar cruciale hulp bij de dataverzameling onder internationale psychologiestudenten. Tobias Stark bedank ik voor het mogen gebruiken van de TASS data én voor alles wat ik in zijn project heb geleerd over het coderen van data in STATA. Als ik dat niet had geleerd, was ik waarschijnlijk ‘verdronken’ in alle verzamelde data.

Er zijn ook een aantal (andere) GION collega’s die ik expliciet wil bedanken. Ralf, jij was inhoudelijk betrokken bij het evaluatieonderzoek voor het Oranje Fonds. Afgezien van de inhoudelijke gesprekken, herinner ik me onder andere leuke gesprekken over koffie zetten op de camping en muziek van Kraftwerk (☺) en de Pixies (☺). De gesprekken over muziek waren soms naar aanleiding van de mooie jaarlijstjes van Harm. Dergelijke lijstjes behoorden tot de dingen die jou gaven aan mijn tijd bij het GION. Dit geldt ook voor de wandelgangsgesprekken met Rink en Marjolein. Belangrijk voor mij waren ook de collega aio’s Anouk, Annemieke, Lieneke, en Mechteld. Hoewel ik veel mijn eigen gang ging, stonden (en staan) jullie altijd voor me klaar. Dat geldt ook voor Mayra. Ik heb mooie herinneringen aan de tijd dat wij samen een kantoor deelden. Nog altijd is het fijn om je te zien.

Na mijn aanstelling bij het GION ging ik met veel plezier (weer) aan de slag bij Sociologie. Een groot deel van mijn ‘vrije’ uren zat ik daar ook, om mijn proefschrift af te maken. Dit keer met kamergenoot Gijs, oftewel met grappen die op (of net over?) het randje zijn, verhalen over dagelijkse en nachtelijke belevenissen met de kinderen, en gesprekken over waarom je toch echt naar Wigbold, Het Onderdelenhuis of De Koning moet voor klusspullen (wat jij waarschijnlijk niet meer doet sinds je bent vertrokken naar ‘de jungle’). Dankjewel, Gijs!

Paranimfen, wat fijn om te promoveren met jullie aan mijn zijde. Elke, jou ken ik inmiddels al heel wat jaren. Jouw energie, positiviteit en luisterend oor doen me altijd weer goed. Helaas zien we elkaar tegenwoordig niet zo vaak als ik graag zou willen. Maar hoe dan ook: op naar Oerol 2018! Het liefst inclusief een kopje koffie bij Gerrit en Gryt op de boot. Mieke, ik weet nog goed dat jij en John op het hof kwamen wonen; jij liet tijdens de jaarvergadering direct van je horen. Dit is ook hoe ik je nu ken, een eerlijke en betrokken vriendin. Na mijn eerdere ervaring met jou als ceremoniemeester, kon ik bijna niet anders dan jou te benaderen voor deze soortgelijke rol. Anke, ik ken jou als een hele leuke collega en vriendin. Ik heb dan ook nog altijd de stille hoop dat je weer terug komt naar Groningen. Gezien het feit dat ik twee zwangere vrouwen als paranimf heb, was jij bereid *back up*

paranimf te zijn. Of ik je daarvoor nodig heb, moet nog blijken maar in welke rol dan ook: ik vind het fijn dat je erbij bent!

Opa Schenkel, papa, mama, Kor, Rik, en uiteraard Gerda (die ik toch ook echt uit zou kiezen als ze geen familie van me was ☺). Woorden schieten te kort om te beschrijven wat wij allemaal hebben beleefd samen en wat ik aan jullie te danken heb. Tóch denk ik dat ik hier met een heel klein aantal woorden kan volstaan, namelijk Ede zijn “*vaaier woorden...*” Naast mijn *Grunniger familie*, heb ik het geluk een *Fryske famylje* te hebben: Heit, Froukje, Douwe, Jens Pieter, Anna Renske. Hoewel niets de warmte van mem kan vervangen, voelt het nog altijd als een ‘warm bad’ als we samen zijn. Lekker ‘keuvelen’ met op zijn tijd een foute grap zoals de ‘Handleiding voor het schrijven van een scriptie’ (hoewel, zonder die handleiding was dit proefschrift natuurlijk nooit af gekomen).

Jan, het begon met “*He said, I’m fabulously rich, come on just let’s go.’ She kind of bit her lip, ‘Jeez, I don’t know.’*” Ik ben met je meegegaan en inderdaad, rijker dan dit had ik me niet kunnen voelen; op geen enkel vlak. Dankjewel... En tot slot mijn dank voor onze prachtige Anna en onze lieve Luuk met al zijn grappen en grollen. “*Soms gaat er eens iets fout, dan heb je een probleem, maar dat lossen wij dan simpel op!*” Samen kunnen we alles. “*A je to!*”

Curriculum Vitae

Coby van Niejenhuis werd geboren op 11 september 1981 in Garrelsweer. Ze behaalde de MAVO (Waezenburg, 1997), MEAO bedrijfsadministratie (Alfa College, 2001), en Bachelor of Social Work (Noordelijke Hogeschool Leeuwarden, 2006). In 2008 behaalde ze de master Sociologie aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen (RuG) met een scriptie over het effect van buitenschoolse activiteiten op interetnische beeldvorming onder jongeren. Ze werkte ze een jaar als onderzoeksmedewerker bij The Arnhem School Study (TASS); een grootschalig kwantitatief onderzoek naar de etnische integratie van jongeren in Arnhem. Aansluitend begon haar promotietraject bij het Gronings Instituut voor Onderzoek van Onderwijs, Opvoeding en Ontwikkeling (GION), waarvan de eerste drie jaar in het teken stond van het evaluatieonderzoek naar het landelijke programma Taalontmoetingen van het Oranje Fonds. Coby werkt momenteel als docent en onderzoeker bij de vakgroep Sociologie aan de RuG.

