Educational endeavors: children of immigrants in education in the Netherlands, 1980-2020

Heijden, E.W.A. van der

EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVORS

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Eva van der Heijden

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	Prof. dr. H.A.G. de Valk
Promotiecommissie:	Prof. dr. M. L. J. C. Schrover
	Prof. dr. P. W. A. Scholten (Erasmus University Rotterdam)
	Prof. dr. J. Mesman
	Prof. dr. M. P. C. van der Heijden
	Dr. N. Bouras

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

Children of immigrants in education in the Netherlands

The educational positions of children of immigrants have been widely scrutinized in academic and societal debates on the integration process of immigrants and their children in the Netherlands. Interest in the education of children of immigrants increased considerably from the 1980s onwards, with the entrance of children of immigrants into the Dutch education system. This interest was particularly sparked by the increasing numbers of immigrants in the Netherlands from the 1970s onwards. Firstly, the temporary stay of many labor migrants and their families, especially from Morocco and Turkey, turned into permanent residency from the mid-1970s onward. Secondly, in the years leading up to its independence in 1975, many Surinamese immigrated to the Netherlands since Suriname was until that moment an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, whose inhabitants enjoyed full Dutch citizenship.

For migrant and non-migrant families alike, education is a key resource for socio-economic improvement. Education plays a dual role in the intergenerational mobility of families. It can facilitate upward social mobility. Simultaneously, education can consolidate previous social stratification, i.e., reproduce the existing socio-economic class positions of families. The influence of migration background and the socioeconomic position of the family on the educational trajectories of children of immigrants are the main points of interest in this research. This dissertation, with its focus on the educational trajectories of immigrants in the Netherlands since 1980, connects the domains of social sciences focused on educational and immigrant acculturation - mainly sociology - with the domain of migration history. The principal research question in this dissertation is: how did the educational attainment of children of immigrants evolve between 1980 and 2020 and how did the perspectives on this change? This overarching question is divided in three sub questions: (1) how the educational trajectories of children of immigrants developed over the last forty years; (2) how the explanations of these trajectories shifted and (3) how migration background interacted with other student characteristics in affecting these trajectories. Therefore, in this dissertation, I combine a review of the educational positions of children of immigrants from the perspective of the 1980s until recent days, including academic insights, with empirical examinations of some of the mechanisms behind these educational positions.

Theoretical framework

By focusing on the relationship between the socio-economic positions and migration background of immigrant families, and the educational positions of their children, this dissertation operates at the intersection of two academic debates: (1) the debate on immigration and integration of immigrants and their children and (2) the debate on intergenerational mobility.

A canonical debate on assimilation and integration

In the debate on immigration and integration, the processes of settlement and incorporation of immigrants into the host society have been discussed in the sociological and historical literature using various terms. These processes span more than a single life course as they are intergenerational. The main concepts are acculturation, assimilation, and integration. Assimilation is the dominant terminology adopted in the North American context whereas integration is often used in Europe. The definitions of these two concepts converge as they refer to long-term processes of settlement and incorporation of immigrants and their children. Nevertheless, 'assimilation' and 'integration' can refer to the different outcomes of the processes of settlement and incorporation on the individual level, see the acculturation framework by Berry (1992) for the detailed differences as elaborated later in this dissertation. However, in this dissertation, the term 'integration' is used when referring to the overarching processes of settlement and incorporation of immigrants in the host society as this is the terminology in the European – and specifically the Dutch – context.

To understand the Dutch context of integration, I start with a brief history of the American debate. Theories on the acculturation of immigrants were developed by American sociologists in the first half of the twentieth century by Park (1928), Warner and Srole (1945), and Gordon (1964), who coined the term 'assimilation'. They described many struggles faced by first-generation migrants. Alba and Nee (1997) distinguished three perspectives on acculturation. First, the Chicago school put forward one-dimensional theories on the assimilation of the first generations. The central idea was that the first generation would become fully assimilated into the host society, and thereby they gradually abandoned their culture of origin through the stages of contact, competition, accommodation, and assimilation (Park, 1928; Park & Burgress 1921; Park, 1950; Park and Thomas). Reducing assimilation to the only possible outcome of intergroup relations in multicultural or multi-ethnic societies was later heavily criticized by other scholars (Lyman 1973; Stone 1985; Alba & Nee 1997). Second, a multi-dimensional framework was presented by Gordon (1964) and he characterized assimilation as a far more complex process by differentiating between seven stages: acculturation, structural assimilation, intermarriage, host identity identification, attitude-receptional assimilation, behavior-receptional assimilation, and civic assimilation. Moreover, he expected that structural

assimilation would be the route to other types of assimilation though remarkably leaving out socioeconomic assimilation, such as occupational mobility, as pointed out by Alba and Nee (1997). These conceptions were challenged especially since Gordon referred to a minority-majority dynamic and thus overlooked the American multigroup reality (Alba and Nee, 1997). Methodological critiques of Gordon emphasized that the level of analysis remained ambivalent: the boundaries – as well as the interactions - between individual attainment and group-level process were disregarded (Alba and Nee, 1997). Thirdly, the straight-line assimilation emphasizes the generational development of acculturation: every new generation represents a next step in the assimilation process. Assimilation would be inevitable with the passing of multiple generations. This was put forward by Gans (1973) and Sandberg (1973) though bequeathed by Warner and Srole (1945). This inevitable generational assimilation implied that assimilation was endogenously driven by immigrant or ethnic groups, therefore neglecting the context of the host society in the assimilation process. Gans listened to this criticism: in 1992, he adjusted the straight-line to the bumpy-line theory. He differentiated between three paths of upward mobility: education-driven, succession-driven, and niche improvement (Gans, 1992). In this theory, he devoted special attention to the second generation as he predicted the economic decline of the second generation coming of age in the second half of the 20th century: part of the U.S.-born second generation would have great difficulty integrating economically, because they - voluntarily or involuntarily - would struggle to obtain jobs in the mainstream economy. Also focusing on the second generation were the scholars working on segmented assimilation (Zhou, 1997; Zhou & Portes, 1993). Zhou and Portes painted a similar picture with their theory of segmented assimilation to Gans' bumpy line. They expected part of the second generation, especially with roots in the Caribbean and Latin America, to assimilate downward into the American stigmatized underclass, which was excluded by racial discrimination, rather than into a seemingly unified core of American society. Three modes of assimilation into the host society are distinguished: linear upward assimilation, linear downward assimilation, or assimilation into an ethnic niche. Linear upward assimilation expected part of the second generation to assimilate into 'the white middle class'. Those who assimilated into the underclass and are associated with poverty and discrimination experienced linear downward assimilation. This was especially expected to occur among the children of low-skilled immigrants of color, such as the Mexican second generation. Assimilating into an ethnic niche referred to upward economic incorporation while maintaining the tight ethnic group-based social network and culture.

Although the notion of segmented assimilation gained prominence in the thinking about the integration of children of immigrants, it did not remain uncriticized either. Criticism mainly centered around having overlooked socio-economic differentiation as well as the role of gender and agency.

Waldinger and colleagues (Perlmann, 2005; Waldinger, 2007; Waldinger & Feliciano, 2004) pointed out that the assimilation of the Mexican second generation in the U.S. did not unilaterally support the hypothesis of downward assimilation into a 'rainbow underclass', nor did the parallels drawn between the contemporary and previous - e.g., Jews, Italians, Slavs - second generation by Portes, Zhou, and Rumbaut hold. They specifically claimed that segmented assimilation ignored gender and the specific economic opportunity structure in shaping the roads of assimilation of the current second generation (Waldinger, 2007; Waldinger & Feliciano, 2004) as the main paths of assimilation addressed mainly concerned the male second generation and disregarded the differential economic situation including the importance of the manufacturing sector and compressed wage structure when earlier birth cohorts of the second generation came to age. Perlmann and Waldinger (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997) juxtaposed two different categories of comparison for the next generation of children of immigrants in the United States: class and agency. They argued that lower socio-economic position and average lower skill levels - which they labeled as 'class' - especially of Mexican immigrants and their descendants posed risks for their acculturation. At the same time, they expected that children of higher SES immigrants would renegotiate their position in society to circumvent 'the stigmatized and subordinated "other" category' (Perlmann & Waldinger, 1997, p. 918).

The work of Alba and Nee, and Foner (Alba & Nee, 2003; Foner, 2000) contradicted the premise of segmented assimilation by showing how immigrants and their children assimilate into mainstream society and thus succeed in intergenerational upward mobility. They rejected the assumption of segmented assimilation that there is a singular linear upwardly mobile path for children of immigrants, while the main trend for immigrants and their children in the United States remained assimilation into the mainstream.

The theories recounted thus far studied the trajectories of integration - or assimilation in the American context - on a group level rather than on an individual level. A useful analytical framework on the immigrants' individual modes of acculturation was developed by Berry (1992). He juxtaposed the retention versus rejection of the origin culture to the adaption versus rejection of the host culture. This leads to four possible outcomes: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization as depicted in Figure 1.1.

Figure 1.1

Modes of individual acculturation as formulated by John W. Berry (1992)

	Retention culture of "origin"	Rejection culture of "origin"
Adaptation of "host" culture	integration	assimilation
Rejection of "host" culture	separation	marginalization

Integration in the Dutch context

These 'grand' macro-level theories were developed in a specific North American context, and its application to Western European welfare states, and specifically, the Dutch variant is disputed. The national context of the Netherlands differs unmistakably from the American context, hence, the process and options of integration into Dutch society differ from those in the United States. Specifically, the path of downward assimilation is contested as it assumes assimilation of the visibly identifiable second generation into a 'rainbow underclass', joining minorities such as African Americans and Puerto Ricans as explained by Lucassen (2005) and Foner and Lucassen (2012) since the European context is seemingly more complex with less clear-cut "native" minorities (Foner & Lucassen, 2012; Lucassen, 2005). Moreover, European welfare states such as the Dutch one, guaranteed a certain level of social security over the last decades, in stark contrast to the absence of national-level social securities in the United States which aggravates uncertain socio-economic positions and opportunities. Notwithstanding the critical assessments of segmented assimilation, the core notion that several paths can occur for children of immigrants when it comes to their incorporation into society remains of vital importance – also in the Dutch context. Specifically, approaching integration in Dutch society as a single path to integration into a unified core neglects contextual differences regarding local context, immigrant group, generation, or gender. Firm criticism on segmented assimilation has been formulated by Crul and colleagues (Crul & Heering, 2008; Crul & Vermeulen, 2003) as they argued it's too static and pessimistic to apply to the Dutch context. They especially stress the importance of intra-group differences by painting an American picture of ghettos with downward assimilation that do not exist in the Netherlands. Moreover, the assumption that people with a migration background should 'integrate' into Dutch society seems archaic as the population – specifically in the urban contexts - is becoming "super-diverse". The concept of super-diversity as described by Vertovec (Vertovec, 2007) goes beyond the binary of those with and without a migration background in which both groups are seemingly described as monolithic. Vertovec (2007) argued for accounting for "differential convergence of factors" associated with migration background

such as country of origin, legal status, migration channel, human capital, and access to employment (see Vertovec 2007 for elaboration). This perspective formed a starting point to consider the "interaction of multiple axes of differentiation" when studying migrants and immigration (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1049). Super-diversity provides a new outlook on what the integration of people with a migration background means as the interaction between - and the numeric breakdown of - people with and without a migration background in local entities like neighborhoods in big cities are shifting. Remarkably, super-diversity gained traction in the European debate on immigration and integration (for example see (Crul, 2016; Crul et al., 2013; Vertovec, 2007) yet barely in the American debate to date as pointed out by Crul (2016) and by Foner, Duyvendak and Kasinitz (Foner et al., 2019). In the European context, super-diversity – however – provoked criticism. Meissner (Meissner, 2015) formulated a critique of its definition: what differentiates super-diversity, especially when compared to the concept of diversity? Another criticism is how super-diversity describes the new reality of shifting population proportions rather than providing a useful analytical framework to study these shifts. Criticism from intersectional scholars contends that super-diversity contributes to the one-dimensional message of 'happy diversity' (Ahmed, 2007; Geerts et al., 2018) and insufficiently takes gender and power relations into account (Geerts et al., 2018).

Intergenerational transmission and social mobility

Apart from the field of migration and integration studies, this dissertation is indebted to ideas about social mobility in general and more specifically about the intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic status. The effect of family background on education is twofold: (1) through processes of socialization within the family preferences and values converge, and (2) parents employ their resources to benefit the positions of their children. I mainly focus on the effect of family background in this dissertation as family background spans multiple dimensions of relevance in my research questions, e.g. migration background and socio-economic background. In their pioneering 1967 study, Blau and Duncan examined how determinants of occupational achievement in the American context shed light on the pivotal role of education (Blau & Duncan, 1967). Occupational achievement was found to function directly and indirectly in education through a myriad of additional factors such as sibling size and spatial components like region of birth. The status attainment model developed by Blau and Duncan depicted how the father's education and occupation correlated retrospectively and explained the inferential relations between paternal socioeconomic status and the son's status: paternal education, as well as occupation, influenced that of the son. They differentiated between *ascripted* and *achieved* characteristics in their model. The association between the child's education and its occupational status is an example of achievement, whereas the status attainment of the child that can be linked back to parental education or occupation is interpreted as ascripted and is an

example of reproduction. This model became a blueprint for social stratification models in the decades to come.

The Matthew effect points out another form of social reproduction through education (Kerckhoff & Glennie, 1999; Merton, 1968). This effect explains the accumulative effect of education by assuming that children of higher-educated parents benefit more from education and that this increases exponentially over generations. Although these mechanisms concern individual-level outcomes, the Matthew effect sheds light on the increasing asymmetry between the children lucky enough to be born to higher-educated parents, and those precluded from beneficial family capital.

Diving deeper into the intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic status, questions arise like what is transferred from parent to child, how is this done, and how does this impact the child's education? And more importantly, how does the intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic status and its impact on education vary between immigrant families and non-immigrant families? To answer such questions a conceptual framework that differentiates, on the one hand, between educational performance and educational choice as results of processes of transmission, and, on the other hand, between socio-economic status and migration background as drivers of transmission is insightful, see Figure 1.2.

Figure 1.2

Conceptual framework of intergenerational transmission rooted in socio-economic background or migration background and its impact on educational performance and educational choice

		Drivers of transmission	
		Socio-economic background	*Migration background*
Results of transmission	*Educational performance*	Human capital	Language background
		Cultural capital	Human; cultural; economic capital
		Economic capital	
	Educational choice	Rational choice	Family mobilization
		Risk aversion	

To understand the role of socio-economic status in affecting the education of children of immigrants, the general mechanisms of intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic status regarding education should be examined. Boudon (1973) provides a useful framework for how parental socioeconomic status affects the child's educational position (Boudon, 1973). He described how the family's socioeconomic position influences both the performances - primary effects - and the choices of children - secondary effects - in education. *Primary effects of socioeconomic position* concern the performances of the children, such as test scores or track placement. Socio-economic position influences educational performances via intergenerational capital transmission. Intergenerational capital transmission refers to parental human, cultural and economic capital that affects the children's education. First, *human capital transmission* assumes that children are bestowed with their parents' cognitive abilities directly through genetic transmission and indirectly through parental education level (Anger & Heineck, 2010; Björklund et al., 2010; Black et al., 2009; de Zeeuw et al., 2015; Plug & Vijverberg, 2005). Direct human capital transmission refers to the 'nature' component given the partial genetic transmission: biological children's cognitive ability levels are partially inherited from their parents. Higher-able parents will pass on these abilities to their children who will profit from this in education. Indirect human capital transmission regards the positive 'by-product' of higher parental cognitive abilities: higher-able parents are more likely to have attained higher educational levels themselves, which can result in more or higher human capital to transmit to their children. This could result in an accumulative and additive effect of human capital transmission in high SES families. However, this does not rely on direct associations between cognitive abilities and educational attainment. Stienstra and colleagues (2021) have shown how cognitive abilities and educational attainment both merely rely on genetic influences as well as environmental influences (Stienstra et al., 2021).

Yet for immigrant families, the frequently used measures of human capital transmission such as education level or occupational status do not capture the potential of the family's human capital. Specifically, parental education level as the operationalization of the socio-economic position of immigrant families paints a skewed picture as immigrant parents might not have had similar opportunities, either to translate their human capital into the education level in the country of origin, or in the country of destination as the parents of Dutch majority children have had. This means that despite their cognitive abilities, immigrant parents may not have the opportunities to translate this human capital into education or occupation. Nevertheless, theoretically, we have no reason to believe that the impact of immigrants' parental cognitive abilities on their children's educational levels is solely reliant on the direct genetic link. However, methodologically speaking, measuring the indirect

link through immigrants' parental education level remains challenging as immigrant parents may have more unmaterialized human capital.

Second, *cultural capital* as described by Bourdieu (1973) emphasized 'habitus' (Bourdieu, 1973). This concerns cultural codes, practices, and norms that parents transfer to their children through socialization. These codes, practices, and norms are indirectly related to education: 'high-brow' cultural capital is assumed to be evaluated positively and thus rewarded in education. Hence, children originating from higher socio-economic status families benefit in education from being socialized by 'high-brow' cultural codes, practices, and norms. Immigrant families might not have the cultural capital that is evaluated positively in the Dutch educational system. In studies however, this is mostly limited to language proficiency and barriers (Broeder & Extra, 1999; Driessen, 1996; Extra & Yagmur, 2010; Rijkschroeff et al., 2005). which are merely a consequence of immigration resulting in lower cultural capital.

Third, *economic capital* refers to the financial support of parents in their children's education. Boudon (1973) explained this as the economic capital hypothesis: more wealthy parents can support their children in education because they have the luxury to be able to pay higher tuition fees, live in more affluent neighborhoods with better schools, or through investing in extra-curricular support for their children. In the Dutch case, primary and secondary school fees are predominately publicly funded. Nevertheless, more affluent families can invest in extra-curricular support such as tutoring or in paying tuition fees for tertiary education, preventing their children from taking out student loans. Moreover, with the growing numbers of students attending private education or extracurricular education (Elffers, 2019), economic capital becomes more salient in the educational inequalities between children from wealthy parents and those from less fortunate families.

These three types of capital are interrelated as explained by resource compensation and resource multiplication. A higher SES background could form a buffer for low cognitive abilities (Bernardi, 2014; Bernardi & Boado, 2014; Bernardi & Triventi, 2020; Erola et al., 2016; Heckman & Carneiro, 2003) which is labelled resource compensation. The effects of lower cognitive abilities on educational attainment can be limited in higher SES families as other resources – for example, economic capital or cultural capital – can compensate. Yet having a higher SES background could potentially also boost educational attainment for those with higher cognitive abilities, i.e., resource multiplication (Bukodi et al., 2014). In line with Blau and Duncan (1967) and DiPrete and Eirich (2005), the expectation can be distilled that children from higher SES families would profit more from having higher cognitive abilities in education than peers from lower SES families (Blau & Duncan, 1967; DiPrete & Eirich, 2005). Either because higher SES parents are more likely to have been more highly educated themselves and

consequently are better equipped to recognize and support higher cognitive abilities in their children, or they might engage more in and support their children's education by being able to afford tutoring or private education or advocating for their children in education. It should be noted though that both resource compensation and multiplication require abounding resources: i.e., the relation between abilities and family SES is manifested prominently in the topmost SES families.

The variants of transmission in immigrant families may differ for families without a migration background. Not only because they tend on average to have a higher socio-economic status, but because non-migrant families also profit more from the context in which intergenerational transmission takes place. Specifically, intergenerational transmission is suggested to be weaker in immigrant families than in families without a migration history for two reasons. First, relations between parent and child can be disrupted due to migration (Kwak, 2003; Nauck, 2001b). Children of immigrants grow up in a society in which they may master the host country's language better than their parents and have more or better suitable knowledge of the host country's society, e.g. are better informed about the educational system. Therefore, the role of parents as the main agents in socialization is challenged by peers, school, or media. The theory of dissonant acculturation (Kwak, 2003; Suárez-Orozco & Suárez-Orozco, 2001) shines light on the acculturation gap between immigrant parents and their children. These children are more likely to easily find their way in the host country than their parents because these children are educated and socially embedded in the host society. Particularly, with acquiring the host country's language and culture, the parental origin country's language and cultural norms lose importance to children of immigrants. Moreover, first-generation parents most likely grew up and were educated in their country of origin. The cultural capital that they transmit to their children, however, is likely to be context-specific for the country of origin and thus deviates from the "high-brow" cultural capital as described by Bourdieu (1973) such as cultural codes, practices, and norms, that are evaluated positively in the educational system in the host country. As shown by Leopold and Shavit, the cultural capital in immigrant families may therefore not be as valuable for the education of their children in the host country's educational system (Leopold & Shavit, 2013).

First-generation parents grew up and were educated in their country of origin. The educational system in their home countries, such as developing countries Morocco and Turkey and especially in the rural regions of these countries, may not have provided sufficient opportunities for all first-generation parents to employ their cognitive abilities and obtain the education that matches their abilities. Therefore, the intergenerational transmission of cognitive abilities in immigrant families only partially relies on the mediating mechanism of parental education levels, yet more so on genetic inheritance. Intergenerational transmission of cognitive abilities is thus expected to be weaker in

immigrant families than in native families. In sum, processes of intergenerational transmission of capital – either human, cultural, or economic – are on average expected to be weaker in immigrant families, especially in those with a lower socio-economic status.

Secondary effects of socioeconomic position on education concern educational choices, such as tracking decisions or pursuing the long route. A central assumption in this dissertation is that children from families of a higher social status make more ambitious educational choices (Mare, 1980). First, this can be driven by a rational choice perspective: higher socio-economic status families can afford higher costs of education than lower socio-economic status families, in the short term by paying tuition for example and in the long term by being able to afford the opportunity costs of extended educational trajectories. The lower socio-economic families may not be able to afford the postponed returns of extended educational trajectories as this implies imminent loss of labor and income for the time children are enrolled. This is especially relevant to the Dutch context with relatively high tuition costs for higher education compared to other European countries and increasing socio-economic inequality in education (Onderwijsinspectie, 2016). Second, more ambitious educational decisions can be driven by higher socio-economic backgrounds as explained by risk aversion theory. Breen and Goldthorpe (1997) argued that children from higher socio-economic families are more likely to enroll in higher educational tracks to reassert or maintain the families' position in socio-economic regard and to forestall downward social mobility (Breen & Goldthorpe, 1997). This is especially the case for children with lower cognitive abilities from higher SES families as excellently explained by Stienstra and colleagues (2021). While children with lower cognitive abilities are more at risk of downward social mobility, high SES parents can invest more to compensate for their child's lower cognitive abilities – as compared to lower SES parents – and thereby aim to avoid downward social mobility.

Educational choices and opportunities are often studied in the context of migrant families. Migration background of the family can be a driver in making socially upward educational decisions for their children. Immigration optimism or the family mobilization thesis (Heath et al., 2008; Kao & Tienda, 2002) describes how intergenerational transmission of positive values, aspirations, and behavior pertaining to education in immigrant families can affect children of immigrant's education favorably. The assumption is that the experience of migration facilitates the immigrant family's commitment to education and their urge for intergenerational upward social mobility in the host country. Positive self-selection of the first generation is assumed to be pivotal to this process: international migration is an adventurous operation supposedly undertaken by a selection of overall more positively predisposed and driven people (Borjas, 1987; Chiswick, 1999). Upon arrival and settling into the host society, the first generation might attain lower socio-economic positions.

However, their children aspire to upward mobility and aim for enhanced socioeconomic prospects such as higher educational and occupational levels.

Given these inferences on the role of migration background and socioeconomic positions, with various capital deficits casting down intergenerational transmission within immigrant families, one would expect a rather pessimistic outlook on the educational positions of children of immigrants. Furthermore, children with migration backgrounds tend to be disproportionally disadvantaged by the tracked educational system in the Netherlands. Finally, their position might be negatively influenced by the major shift in the public debate on immigration and integration since the 1990s. Lucassen and Lucassen (2015) described this pessimistic turn as a result of the timing and political correctness on the one hand, and the distinct political nature of the anti-immigrant movement in the Netherlands that transcended traditional categories as 'left-wing' and 'right-wing' on the other (Lucassen & Lucassen, 2015). Combining the disheartening perspectives on the education of children of immigrants in the Netherlands and the pessimistic setting of the public debate on immigration and integration, one may be dispirited about the situation of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. However, contrary to this pessimistic scenario for young people with a migration background, recent reports on the educational position of children of immigrants painted a more hopeful picture (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020, 2022b): immigrant youth become higher educated and the gaps between children with and without migration background are shrinking. I argue that these trends and scenarios should be seen from a longer-term and historical perspective because these trends in educational attainment are embedded in a longer-term process of immigrant children navigating education as successive cohorts of various migration backgrounds enter the educational system.

Data and sources

Children of immigrants are of interest in this dissertation. Specifically, children of immigrants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean background are studied, representing prominent groups within the demographic of immigrant children in the Netherlands. The inclusion of the Indonesian second generation in the fifth chapter is substantiated given it is one of the largest group – next to the aforementioned four groups. The significance of investigating children with an Indonesian migration background lies in the potential to provide insights into distinctive differences or parallels when compared to other colonial or post-colonial groups, such as those with a Surinamese or Antillean migration background. The sixth chapter addresses the Chinese second generation. Prior research conducted in the Netherlands and internationally, including the United States, posits that the children

of Chinese migrants tend to obtain higher educational attainment and employment rates (e.g. Portes & Hao, 2004) despite potential capital deficits.

The concept 'children of immigrants' refers to the second generation yet is not exclusively bound to this generation. Specifically, the research population in Chapters 5 and 6 are people with a second-generation migration background. In Chapters 3 and 4, a broader definition of children of immigrants is used, that includes children of immigrants who attended school in the Netherlands. This included the second generation, but also the 1.5 generation as well as some first-generation children. The conceptual differences between these migrant generations regard place of birth and age of migration. Second-generation children refer to children who are born in the Netherlands and who have at least one parent who was born abroad, contrary to generation 1.5 and first-generation children who themselves were born abroad. Generation 1.5 can be distinguished from the first generation by the age of children upon migration to the Netherlands. Commonly, the difference between generation 1.5 and the first generation is drawn around the age of 12 (Rumbaut, 2004), because people who migrate as adults – i.e., over the age of 18 – are considered first-generation immigrants, and children who migrate before their teenage years as generation 1.5. Differences in this are mainly assigned to the age children enter the educational system in the country of destination. The idea underlying these differentiations is that the earlier children migrated and entered education, the easier their integration is assumed to be. In this dissertation, mainly children with a migration background belonging to the second generation and in the generations between the first and second are studied, unless explicitly mentioned – as is in the fifth and sixth chapters in which the second generation is exclusively of interest.

Two types of data are utilized: public data and register data provided by Statistics Netherlands. Publicly available data concerns information and figures derived from publications and open-source data tools. The third chapter utilizes these secondary source data sourced from publications and public records whereas the fourth chapter provides a literature review. The fifth and sixth chapters utilizes register data provided by Statistics Netherlands. These administrative register data from the System of Social Statistical Datasets (SSD) are compiled and provided by Statistics Netherlands (Bakker et al., 2014). The SSD combines many thematic registers with the population registers (*Basisregistratie Personen*, BRP) resulting in longitudinal datasets containing individual-level demographic information including birth date, migration background, gender, and information on education, income, employment, and welfare benefits. The individual-level data of the children can be linked to the information of the parents and the household, such as the income and the household structure.

Although these data provide sizeable opportunities to study education as will be demonstrated in the following chapters, these come with limitations. First, children of immigrants and their families are assigned and categorized by third parties, therefore overlooking relevant categories of self-identification among children of immigrants in their educational trajectories, acculturation, or integration processes. At Statistics Netherlands, the country of birth and the country of birth of the parents are key in differentiating between migrant groups. This holds for most secondary-source data too. Such categorizations overlook individual agency and intergroup variation since the categorizations of migrant groups are solely based on the country of birth of their parents. However, I acknowledge that children of immigrants are by no means a monolith and that this categorization overlooks intergroup variation and self-categorization or self-identification. Differences between migrant groups, but also between generations, cities, and countryside – i.e., local identities such as "Amsterdammer" -, boys, girls, and other genders and hyphenating identities – i.e., "Dutch-Moroccan" or "Surinamese Dutch" - demonstrate some of the many layers in which self-categorization can be constructed. Utilizing (parental) country of birth as a marker for categorization does not necessarily reflect the religious, ethnic, or cultural minority groups within migrant groups studied here. Among these are Kurdish and Assyrian communities with family history in Turkey, Amazigh people from Morocco, Afro-Surinamese, Marrons, Hindustani, Javanese, and Chinese communities with roots in Suriname, and island identities for people from the Dutch Antilleans. In this dissertation, I contrast the educational trajectories of children of immigrants with children of non-migrant families. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that cultural and financial capital or family mobilization aspirations may vary between cultural minority communities. These intra-group differences are disregarded when the country of birth is the marker for migration background. I did not study ethnic identification or self-categorizations, however, the statically assigned categorization is an impediment to this study.

Chapter 2 – The Netherlands as a research context

The educational trajectories of children of immigrants in the Netherlands are the focal point of this dissertation. Since the late 1970s, many policy and institutional changes regarding the educational system and its stratification have taken place. The children of immigrants navigated the educational system against the backdrop of these developments. Hence, the aim of this chapter is to (1) understand migration histories to contextualize the position of immigrant families with Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean roots in the Netherlands and (2) outline the Dutch education system, its policies, and changes.

Migrant groups

The research population of this dissertation is defined by children of immigrants of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean background. The Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean communities are the largest groups with a non-European migration background in the Netherlands as defined by Statistics Netherlands (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2022a). Moreover, these four groups – plus the Moluccans from the former Dutch East Indies, now Indonesia - were the core target groups of integration policies since the late 1970s, due to their perceived cultural and social distance from the mainstream Dutch population.

Like other West-European countries such as France, Germany, and Belgium, since the late 1950s, the Netherlands was suffering from a labor force shortage in manual jobs like mining, textile industry, and assembly line work and started recruiting men from Southern European countries such as Italy, Spain, and Greece, and soon followed by Turkey and Morocco (Castles, 1986; Lucassen & Lucassen, 2018). Many guest workers however were not recruited but migrated on their own initiative and found employment in North-Western Europe in these sectors. Family reunification and marriage migration rapidly increased from the mid-1970s onwards when partners and children of these laborers arrived and many families settled permanently in the Netherlands, which was followed by a fierce debate on the rights and residence of these family migrants (Bonjour, 2009; Bonjour & Schrover, 2015). The timing of this subsequent migration by spouses and foreign-born children can be explained by the unexpected effects of the restrictive immigration policies that emerged during the Oil Price Shock of 1973. Specifically, Turkish and Moroccan labor migrants realized that returning to their home countries would jeopardize the social and residency rights they had built and therefore decided to stay and exercise their right to bring family members over. The quintupling of the Turkish and

Moroccan populations in the Netherlands coincided with the beginning of a long recession that put many of the – former – guest workers into long-term unemployment (Lucassen & Lucassen, 2015).

The large majority of the Turkish and Moroccan first generation had rural origins. Many Moroccan immigrants originated from Amazigh communities in the North of Moroccan that were politically and economically downtrodden after the Rif Revolution in 1958 and under the rule of king Hassan II from the 1960s onwards. The Turkish first-generation workers were recruited predominantly in regions of Central Anatolia and around the Black Sea shores, both from villages and smaller cities. The immigrants from both countries who were recruited were selected on lower skill levels (Hartog & Zorlu, 2001). In general, Turkish and Moroccan migrant families are intact - i.e., with two parents present in the household - and have held lower socio-economic positions, especially due to the high unemployment that rapidly developed in the late 1970s following the economic recession that especially affected the sectors for which these "guest workers" were recruited (Bouras, 2012; Hartog & Zorlu, 2001). In hindsight, we can conclude that as a result the integration process of the second generation started at a terrible moment: at the beginning of a long recession with most male breadwinners unemployed, with a weak command of the Dutch language, and housed in the cheapest and more socially vulnerable neighborhoods of the larger towns.

The history of migration from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles was determined by a longstanding colonial linkage. Suriname was a Dutch colony whose African-origin ('Creole') population was enslaved, officially until the abolition of slavery in 1863 but de facto until 1873, and remained under Dutch rule until independence in 1975, whereas the Dutch Antilles are still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Many Surinamese people already migrated to the Netherlands in the period before the independence of Suriname in 1975 (Cottaar, 2003). They have diverse backgrounds as the Surinamese population is a mix of descendants of formerly enslaved Africans, and contract workers from India (the Hindustani community) and Java, and China who arrived in 1873. The lure of the Dutch educational system and better paid work explain the migration of the Surinamese and Antillean first generation, many of whom were educated in the Netherlands (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006). Given the colonial ties, the Dutch-spoken education was oriented toward the Netherlands, and often tertiary education in the Netherlands among Surinamese and Antilleans. Because of this colonial Dutch-oriented education, many Surinamese and Antillean first-generation parents are expected to have more Dutch context-specific cultural and linguistic capital.

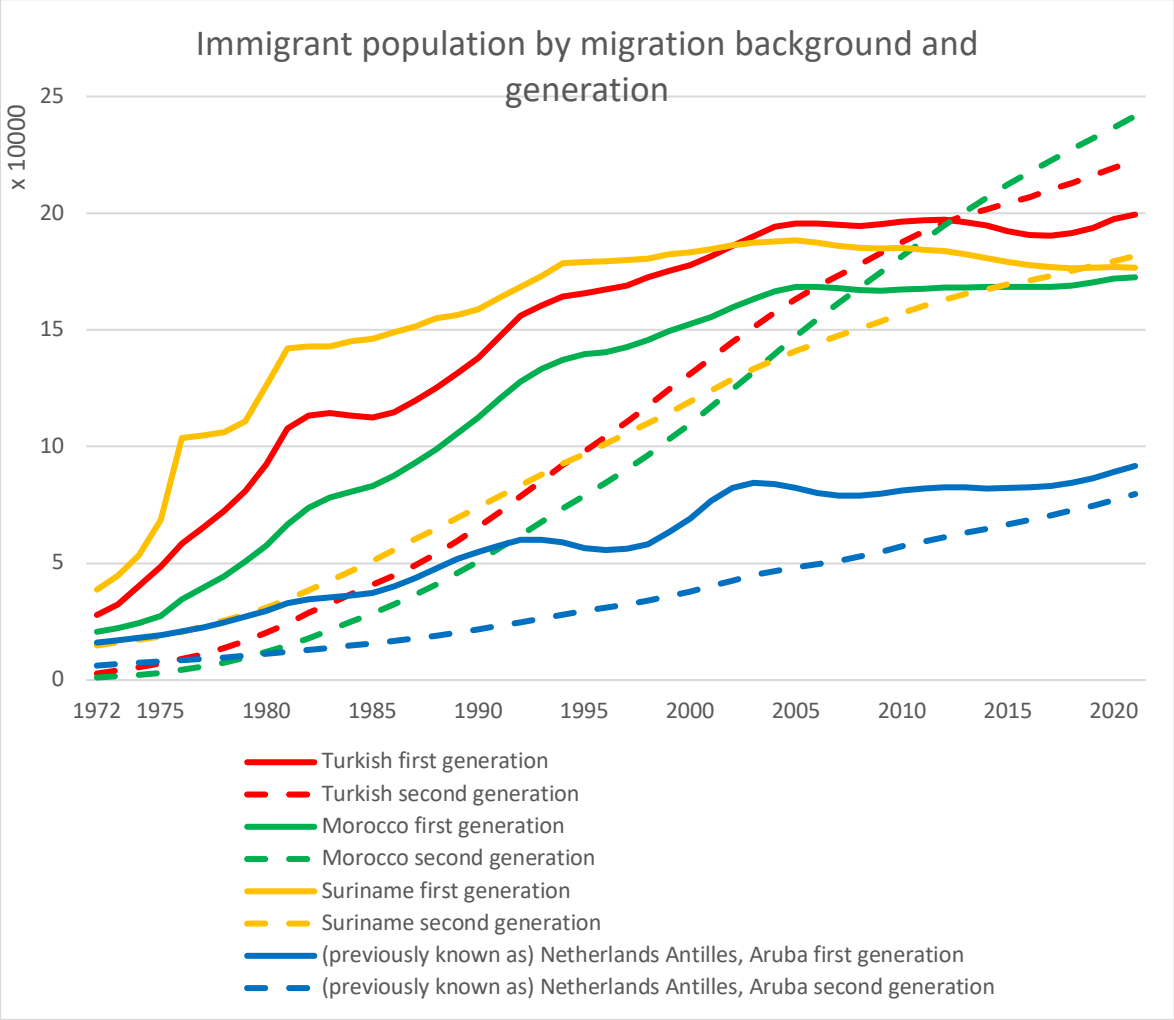
The population with a migration background in the Netherlands has grown substantially since the mid-1970s, starting with the first generation, yet also with their children (i.e. the second generation) as shown in Figure 2.1. The data on the first generation in this figure resembles

immigration developments throughout the years. In 1972, the largest first generation were people from Suriname. This is not surprising given the imminent independence of Suriname in 1975 and the pessimistic outlook due to interethnic tensions, which stimulated many Surinamese to leave their country of birth and set sail to the Netherlands. Since the 'Koninkrijksstatuut' of 1954, people from Suriname, as citizens of the Kingdom, were free to migrate to the Netherlands. After independence, this became increasingly more difficult. Hence, many people from Suriname moved to the Netherlands in the years leading up to independence, as can be seen with the stark increase in 1975 and 1976. Moreover, until the late 1970s people from Suriname could move to the Netherlands and obtain Dutch nationality. This agreement was titled the *Toescheidingsovereenkomst* – and it ended in 1980. This can be seen in Figure 2.1 with the stark increase of people of Surinamese descent living in the Netherlands between 1975 and 1980. People born in the Dutch Antilles have Dutch nationality, which allows for circular migration, i.e. people moving back and forth between the Dutch Antilles and the Netherlands.

One should keep in mind that although the figures depict the population with migration background, that particularly for the more recent years, the first generation are mainly elderly people whereas the second generation are younger in age. Moreover, these developments in immigrant population should be interpreted against the general backdrop of a growing population, both with and without a migration background in the Netherlands since 1972. In 1972, the total population of the Netherlands was comprised of more than 13.2 million inhabitants (Statistics Netherlands, 2022). The vast majority i.e., over 90 percent, had no migration background. Fifty years later, the total population grew to approximately 17.5 million individuals of whom 25 percent had a migration background of sorts. For the four migrant groups studied here, the second generation grew remarkably and has outnumbered the first generation since around 2010 – except for people from the Dutch Antilles. In big cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam, these trends were observed well before that. This distribution is reversed for the total population with a migration background, of whom over 2.3 million had a first-generation migration background in 2021 - 13 percent of the total population - and a little under 2 million people had a second-generation migration background - 11 percent of the total population - in 2021. Out of this 11 percent of people with a second-generation migration background, 11 percent had a Turkish background and 12 percent had a Moroccan background. It should be noted though that as of 2022, the majority of immigrants to the Netherlands in recent years originated from other countries, including Eastern-European countries like Poland, Romania and Bulgaria, which joined the European Union respectively in 2004 and the latter two in 2007, and most recently Ukraine.

Figure 2.1

The population with a migration background by origin country and generation per year, in absolute numbers, 1972-2021



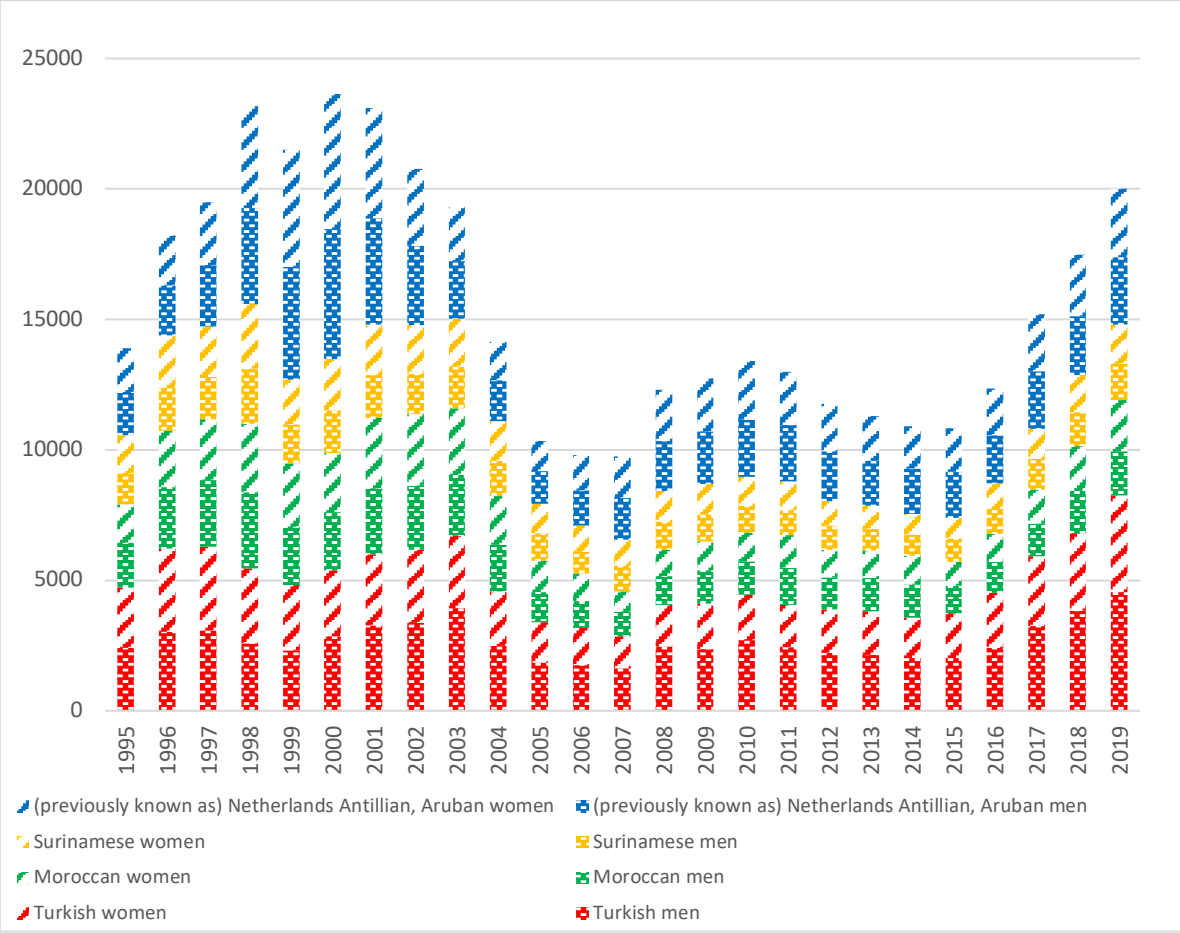
Source: Statline.

Some trends in family reunification migration can be deduced from the population sizes as presented in Figure 2.1. For example, the size of the group of Turkish first-generation immigrants tripled from 1972 to 1980: from 27,887 to 92,568. In the 1980s and 1990s immigration continued and since 2003 the largest first-generation group is of Turkish descent. Generally speaking, a significant increase in group size can be observed for all migration backgrounds up until the mid-1990s and early 2000s. This stark upward trend levels off for the Turkish and Moroccan first generation in the early 2000s. A more restrictive policy with additional demands regarding income and age for marriage migration became effective in 2004. Ever since, partner-choice patterns of Dutch citizens with a Turkish and Moroccan background, from either generation changed (Sterckx et al., 2014). Instead of marrying a partner who migrated from Turkey or Morocco to the Netherlands, Dutch citizens with a Turkish or Moroccan

background increasingly married co-ethnic partners from the Netherlands, i.e., someone with similar migration background, either first-generation or second-generation, who lived in the Netherlands before the marriage (Sterckx et al., 2014). Correspondingly, in Figure 2.2, the years with the lowest immigration figures are 2005, 2006, and 2007, directly following the introduction of stricter marriage migration policies. Moreover, the trends in immigration among these four groups show little to no gender divergence.

Figure 2.2

Immigration to the Netherlands from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, and the Dutch Antilles, by gender, 1995-2020



Source: Statline.

In addition, Figure 2.1 shows that the population share with a second-generation background has increased substantially since 1972. From the late 1970s and early 1980s until the present day, these

four second-generation groups have grown increasingly. Until 1995 the largest group was the Surinamese second generation, from 1996 to 2012 the Turkish second generation, and from 2013 onwards the Moroccan second generation has been in the lead.

The educational system in the Netherlands

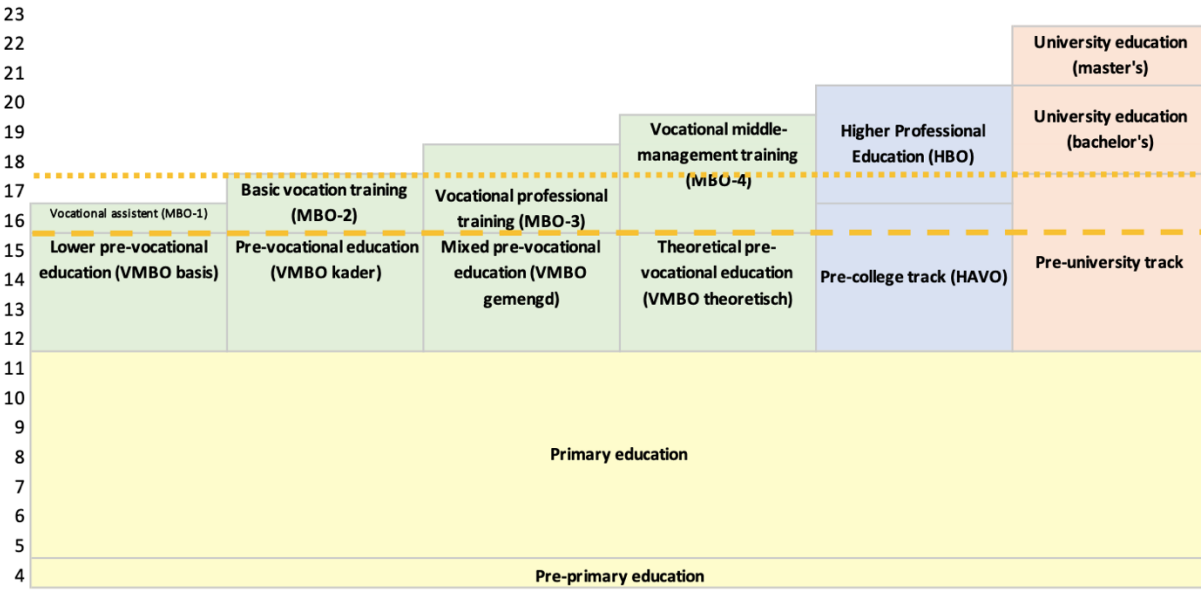
The Dutch educational system is stratified into several tracks and levels (van de Werfhorst & Mijs, 2010), and is visualized in Figure 2.3. The decision in which school to enroll is largely up to children and parents themselves, especially in primary education. In enrolling in secondary education, standardized test scores and teachers' advice play a crucial role in determining track and school options. In recent years, in large cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam the distribution of students was regulated to proportionally distribute students over secondary schools. The vast majority of Dutch schools are state funded regardless of whether they are public or have a religious or philosophical foundation. The share of students attending privately funded schools as well as students with privately funded extracurricular education slowly but surely increased over the last decades (Bisschop et al., 2019; de Geus & Bisschop, 2017; Elffers, 2019). In 2019, around 18 percent of the students followed privately funded extracurricular education. However, few children with a migration background are enrolled in private education.

Compulsory primary education starts at the age of five and lasts eight years, as depicted in Figure 2.3. In the last year of primary school, the first moment of stratification takes place. This is approximately at the age of twelve. After compulsory primary education, children are advised to attend a track in secondary education based on their score in a nationwide standardized test in the last year of primary school and based on consultation with the teacher which is also called: "track or school advice". The most commonly used standardized test is named the CITO test. This test has been around since the 1970s for the final grade of primary school and since the 1990s also for earlier grades to keep track of the development of children throughout primary school. Secondary education offers three main tracks with different durations as depicted in Figure 2.3. Generally, the different tracks prepare students for different tertiary educational levels. Pre-vocational secondary education (VMBO: *voorbereidend middelbaar beroepsonderwijs*) has four sub tracks: lower vocational education (*VMBO basis*), vocational education (*VMBO kader*), mixed vocational and theoretical education (*VMBO gemengd*) and theoretical education (*VMBO theoretisch)*. This reflects the current day differentiation: until 1990 VMBO did not exist, its predecessors were LBO (*lager beroepsonderwijs*; lower vocational education), VBO (*voorbereidend bereoepsonderwijs*; preparatory vocational education) and MAVO (*middelbaar algemeen voortgezet onderwijs*; theoretical vocational education). Each VMBO track in

pre-vocational secondary education prepares the students in four years for vocational tertiary education (MBO*: middelbaar* beroepsonderwijs) which has four hierarchically numbered tracks. The *pre-college track* (HAVO: *hoger algemeen voorbereidend onderwijs*) takes five years and prepares students for higher professional education (HBO: *hoger beroepsonderwijs*). *Pre-university education* (VWO: *voorbereidend wetenschappelijk onderwijs*) spans six years and prepares students for university (WO*: wetenschappelijk onderwijs,* academic bachelor and subsequent master). This tracked nature of secondary school stems from the *Mammoetwet* in 1968. Previously scattered and varying options for secondary schooling were joined in a singular framework distinguishing *MAVO* (now *VMBO*), *HAVO,* and *VWO*. Track mobility and stacking as well as schools that offered multiple tracks (MAVO, HAVO and/or VWO) were features of the so-called *Mammoetwet* that aimed to equalize education in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Figure 2.3

Educational system in the Netherlands

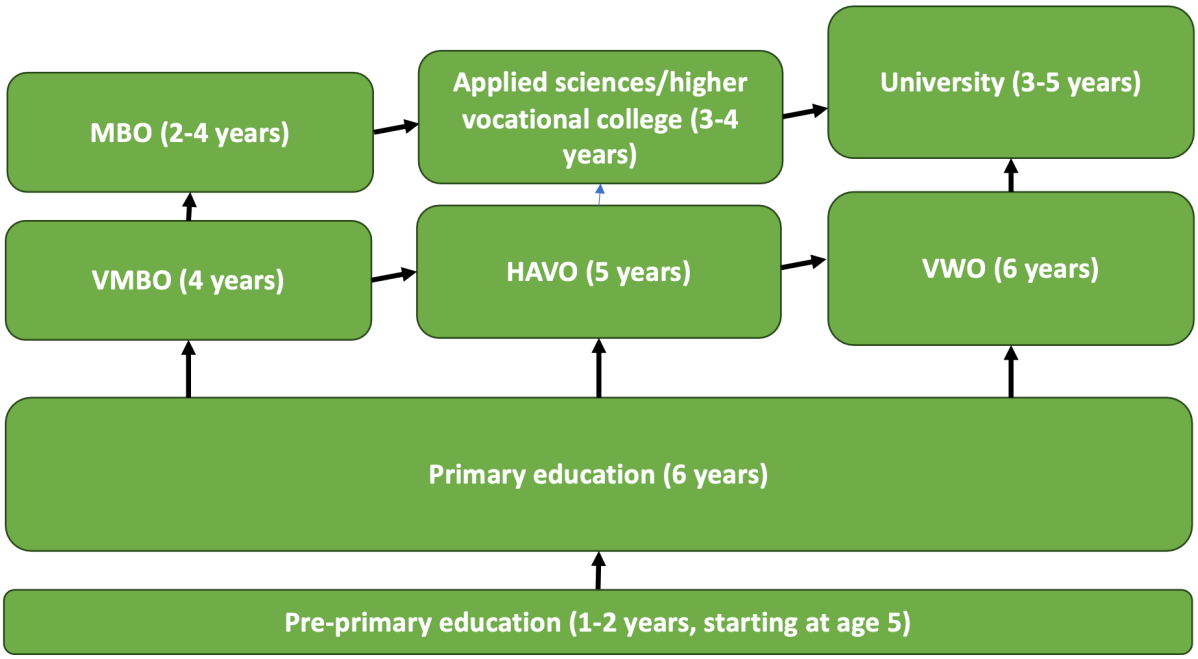


Note. The numbers on the y-axis indicated the age of the student. The official age of starting education is 5 years, although pupils typically enter primary school at age 4. Education in the Netherlands is compulsory up to obtaining at least an MBO2, HAVO, or VWO degree as indicated by the narrow-spaced dotted line or up until the age of sixteen as indicated by the widely spaced dotted line (Rijksoverheid, 2022).

The second moment of stratification takes place after the second year in vocational tracks or the third year in the HAVO and pre-university (VWO) tracks. Based on grades and the school's guidance, students choose a thematic path within their track (e.g., economics or science). At this point switching between tracks is also possible, for example, a student whose grade point average is insufficient to continue in the pre-university track can switch to the pre-college track. It should be noted that track mobility is available throughout the majority of secondary and tertiary education and is a rather unique feature of the Dutch educational system that allows for the accumulation of educational levels over time, which is called "stacking". For instance, after students finished the pre-college track (5 years) with a satisfactory grade point average, they can enroll for two years in the pre-university track and subsequently enter university, as depicted in Figure 2.4.

Figure 2.4

Options for track mobility in the educational system in the Netherlands



Note. Education in the Netherlands is compulsory up to obtaining at least an MBO2, HAVO, or VWO degree or up until the age of sixteen (Rijksoverheid, 2022).

Policy changes in the educational system

Education is an important vehicle for the emancipation of disadvantaged groups. The educational policies in the Netherlands have centered around combating educational disadvantages for decades (Driessen & Dekkers, 2008; Rijkschroeff et al., 2005).These disadvantages are assumed to stem from socioeconomic, migration, and acculturation-related struggles among lower-income and immigrant families resulting in lacking or lower levels of cultural, linguistic, or other capital to succeed in school. To combat these disadvantages additional or differentiated education has been offered to pupils and students. These developments mainly concern primary and secondary education. In the 1960s and 1970s, working-class children were the primary target group of policy in combating educational disadvantages. On municipal levels in larger cities, policies focused on improving cognitive and socio-emotional development through encouraging parental participation, and training teachers (Driessen & Dekkers, 2008) were implemented to support working-class children in their education. Regardless of their underwhelming impact, these local policies gained national traction with the implementation of the educational stimulation policy (o*nderwijsstimuleringsbeleid*) in 1974. A year later, the 'Contourennota' as presented by the social-democratic secretary of education Van Kemenade in 1975 should be highlighted. This policy proposal aimed to restructure primary and secondary education in the Netherlands by delaying tracking to the age of 16 – instead of at the age of 12 as designed in the Mammoetwet in 1968 - especially working-class children were expected to benefit from this. Even though these major reforms aimed at equal educational opportunities were never nationally implemented, this proposal can be seen as a shifting point in educational policies in the Netherlands. Another policy was designed for the growing number of children of immigrants in schools in the early 1980s: cultural minority policy (*culturele minderhedenbeleid*). It should be noted that the educational stimulation policy and cultural minority policy had a similar objective: combatting educational disparities among disadvantaged children, yet the implementation targeted different subjects: working-class children in the case of the educational stimulation policy and children of immigrants for cultural minority policy. The cultural minority policy was divided by two conflicting lines of thought: remigration and integration (Driessen & Dekkers, 2008). On the one hand, programs supporting the idea of remigration were offered to students from immigrant families as part of the regular curriculum in schools, such as classes in the parental mother tongue (*onderwijs in eigen taal en cultuur*, OETC). On the other hand, parts of these cultural minority policies aimed at integration into Dutch society through learning the Dutch language for children of immigrants (Nederlands als tweede taal) and intercultural education for migrant and non-migrant students alike. The separate policies for children from working-class families and immigrant families were conjoined in 1985 into the educational priority policy (*onderwijsvoorrangsbeleid*). This policy was comprised of two parts. Educational

programs targeted at students in various stages of primary and secondary school, for example, pre-primary education to programs focused on truancy and drop-outs among teenage students. Additionally, schools received financial support to hire extra staff based on the student composition in their school. Student composition was measured by assigning weights to students, for a child of immigrants a weight of 1.9 was assigned, for a working-class child 1.25, and for a non-migrant child without a disadvantaged background 1.00. Again, specific programs were designed for children of immigrants, such as '*schakelklassen*', classes for children who recently arrived in the Netherlands and thus had to learn Dutch (Braster & del Pozo Andrés, 2001; Rijkschroeff et al., 2005). With the educational priority policy, the scope of educational policies combating disadvantages among students shifted from the national level back to the local and school levels. Subsequently, the national-level allocation of resources to municipalities for supporting disadvantaged students was realized by 1998 in the municipal educational disadvantages policy (*gemeentelijke onderwijsachterstandenbeleid*). In this policy, a remarkable shift away from emphasizing ethnicity can be observed. The policy measure based on weights assigned to children to divide resources was revised, and ethnicity was no longer part of the equation. As such, parental education level took center stage as this was perceived to be at the root of educational disparities as well as targeted disadvantaged non-migrant children appropriately too (Ledoux & Veen 2009). Other policy measures were preschool education and "schakelklassen". Preschool education aimed to close the gap between disadvantaged and advantaged children upon entering school. "Schakelklassen" remained a policy measure from earlier policies and was targeted to combat linguistic gaps among pupils of primary schools. Colliding with the political uproar reinforced by the murder of the politician Fortuyn in 2002 and cineast Van Gogh in 2004, pluralism was deemed inappropriate in the early 2000s. Promoting cultural diversity was perceived to hinder integration and policies such as parental mother-tongue instruction were dismissed.

Van de Berg-Eldering (1989) distinguished three phases in educational policies for children of immigrants: the two-track approach juggling assumptions of remigration and integration up until 1980, the focus on educational deficiencies specifically among children of immigrants as policymakers realized immigrant families resided permanently in 1980 and combining the needs of children of immigrants and working-class children in education as their disparities were assumed to stem from equivalent roots of lower socio-economic positions rather than focusing on their cultural differences from 1985 onwards. However, ideas of pluralism and cultural diversity were promoted through programs for children of immigrants specifically as parental mother tongue instruction well into the 1990s. The underlying idea of combatting educational disparities for children of immigrants and the working class alike concluded towards the turn of the century. Against this backdrop of educational

policies and its changes, children of immigrants navigated their school careers. An overview in the trends of the educational positions of children of immigrants can be found in the next chapter.

Chapter 3 - A descriptive overview of the educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020

Introduction and theoretical background

This chapter provides an overview of the educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020. The main goal is to offer insight into how children of immigrants with various migration backgrounds fared in education over the last forty years. In the subsequent chapters, these educational positions and the inequalities are analyzed further. Information on the educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands is scattered throughout a plethora of empirical studies, policy or research reports, and publicly accessible data tools. Each of these publications renders interesting and useful insights into the educational positions of children of immigrants, yet these publications provide separate pieces of information, often with different measurements or within specific or limited time frames. For example, track placement in year 3 of secondary education is examined in nearly every *Jaarrapport Integratie* since 2004, yet each edition emphasized the most recent year or compares the current position with a specific earlier year. In this chapter, I gather the information these publications provide and use these as pieces for the bigger puzzle through which a time series can be built. Therefore, I derived data from indicators on primary, secondary, and tertiary education from various editions of *Jaarrapport Integratie* to build time series on the education of children of immigrants.

This chapter provides a distinctive overview of the educational trends among children of immigrants over the last decades. To this end, this chapter deals with the first sub question of this dissertation: how did the educational trajectories of children of immigrants develop over the last decades? Descriptive data are at the core of this chapter and offer an introduction to the educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. Furthermore, it is important to clarify the development of the educational positions of children of immigrants over time before moving on to the explanatory chapters in this dissertation. The main question in this chapter is: which trends in educational positions throughout the primary, secondary and tertiary stage among children of immigrants can be observed cross-sectionally? Furthermore, what are the differences between the migrant groups in educational positions?

Educational positions are a product of educational performance, advice, and choice (Boudon, 1974; Driessen, 2006a; Timmermans et al., 2018). Test scores for subjects like language or math or standardized tests like CITO since the 1970s are examples of performance-based indicators. Track recommendation in the final grade of primary school is an example of an advice-based indicator. Track placement in the first years of secondary school is, for example, a combination of choice, advice, and admission. These concepts of performance, advice, and choice do not exist in a void. Family background, specifically the family's migration history and socio-economic position, gender of the student, and migrant generation, each affect performance, advice, and choice (Boudon, 1974; Bourdieu, 1973; Broeder & Extra, 1999; Dekkers et al., 2000; Ledoux, 1996; Timmermans et al., 2018; Wolbers & Driessen, 1996). For example, children from immigrant families where a language other than Dutch was spoken at home are likely to start primary education with a Dutch language deficiency as compared to peers for whom Dutch is the first language (Broeder & Extra, 1999; Driessen, 1996; Driessen et al., 2002; Extra & Yagmur, 2010). Another example is that teacher's recommendation on track placement in the final grade of primary school is often biased and based on expectations informed by migration and the socio-economic background of the pupil's family (Timmermans et al., 2015). This means that children with a migration background and children from lower SES families are more often advised to attend vocational tracks, although educational performance would indicate otherwise (Driessen, 2006a; Luyten & Bosker, 2004; Timmermans et al., 2018). In short, background characteristics influence educational performance, advice, and choice. The latter concepts can be operationalized in multiple indicators as illustrated above. Pooling these indicators measured across time provides an insightful picture of the educational position of children of immigrants in the Netherlands.

Several assumptions on the impact of background characteristics on the educational positions of children of immigrants are examined in this chapter. First, the longer immigrant families live in the Netherlands, the higher the educational position of their children will be. This expectation is rooted in the idea that accumulating capital, such as cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1973) but also financial, linguistic, or social capital, takes time and that this capital accumulation benefits the education of children both in their educational performance and their choices in education. This aligns with the theory of primary and secondary effects of socio-economic background on education as described by Boudon (1974). Immigrant families may need some time to amass sufficient socio-economic capital to positively impact the education of their children (Driessen, 2004; Driessen & Merry, 2011; Oomens et al., 2003). Hence, *it could be expected that the younger birth cohorts will outperform the older birth cohorts in education.*

Additionally, differences between first generation parents due to migration histories could indicate subsequently varying levels of Dutch-context specific capital. Due to colonial ties, colonial Dutch-spoken education and partial education in the Netherlands, post-colonial families are likely to have more cultural and linguistic capital that is relevant in the Dutch context (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006). Their children might benefit from this capital in their education indirectly – such as through speaking Dutch and receiving support in navigating the educational system and its choices – resulting in higher education levels. Therefore, it is expected that: *children of post-colonial migrants – especially of Surinamese descent - are expected to obtain higher education levels than peers with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background.*

Methods

This chapter presents time series of trends in the education of children of immigrants from the 1980s until recent years. The indicators to study these trends are track placement advice, track placement in the first year of secondary education and in the third year, entrance into higher education, and the highest overall education level, see Figure 3.1 for an overview split by stage of education: primary, secondary, or tertiary education. These indicators are examined for children of immigrants with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean background, across a time frame from 1980 to 2020 for cross-sectional differentiation between cohorts. This chapter focuses on describing the long-term trends in educational positions of children of immigrants, in the subsequent chapters of this dissertation this will be examined further, such as in chapter 4 which zooms in on how the educational positions of children of migrants, in the Netherlands, have been researched in scholarly publications in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020.

Sources

The data sources are twofold. Primarily, the editions of Jaarrapporten Integratie are used and these are at times supplemented with information from Statline to complete information on the more recent years. Descriptive data on the educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands have been gathered since the 1980s. The most comprehensive overview of the educational positions of children of immigrants can be found in the "*Jaarrapport Integratie*" (Annual Reports on Integration, first edition in 2004) and its predecessors. These reports give a comprehensive overview of the position of immigrants and asylum seekers in the Netherlands regarding socio-economic issues such as education, labor market, housing, demographic issues such as marriage migration and fertility, health issues, as well as crime-related issues. The Dutch government,

specifically the Department of Social Affairs, commissions these reports, and currently Statistics Netherlands (*Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*) executes the research and publishes the report, whereas the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (*Sociaal Cultureel Planbureau*) published previous editions. Currently, these reports are published bi-annually. They are primarily based on Dutch nationwide register data. Previous editions were based on survey data, especially the earlier ones from the 1980s and 1990s, because at that time register data were not yet widely available. Since 2005, register data have been utilized in these reports, which includes the full population of these groups. Remarkably, in the first edition of these reports, titled "De leefsituatie van Turken en Marokkanen in Nederland" (Living conditions of Turks and Moroccans in the Netherlands) from 1984 concerning demography, housing, labor market, income, social contacts and health, no attention was paid to education. The second generation barely reached school age in the mid-1980s, however, the educational position of the first generation or their 1.5-generation peers remained out of scope as well. The same holds for the 1985 report, in which I searched for indications of the educational positions of children of immigrants. It took until 1993 for education to be included, based on data from 1989 onwards.

The *Jaarrapport Integratie* editions from the 1990s to 2020 were examined with the aim of including indicators from every stage of education. The indicators that provided at least three years in order to draw time series, were included in this chapter. The recurring indicators with at least three years reported across these reports were track placement advice in the final grade of primary school, track placement in the first year of secondary education and in the third year, entrance into higher education, and the highest overall education level, see Table 3.1 for an overview split by stage of education: primary, secondary, or tertiary education.

Table 3.1

The indicators used to examine the educational positions of children of immigrants as included in this descriptive overview

Primary	Secondary	Tertiary
Track placement advice	Track placement year 1	Starting higher tertiary education
	Track placement year 3	
	Highest education level achieved (overall)	

Data and method

Data were gathered from various editions of *Jaarrapport Integratie* (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2008, 2018a, 2020; Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek, 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016; Gijsberts et al., 2012; Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2009; Huijnk et al., 2014a; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau / Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek- en Documentatiecentrum / Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2005; Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, 2003, 2007; Tesser, 1993; Tesser et al., 1999; Tesser & Iedema, 2001; Tesser & Veenman, 1997). For track placement in the final grade of primary school the data on the years 1988/1989 were derived from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2007, the years 1994 to 2005 from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2009, and 2008 to 2019 from the *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2020. The last year reported in the *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2020 was 2018/2019. Regarding track placement in the first year of secondary school, the data on the year 1989 were derived from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 1997, 1993 from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 1999, and 1999 from the *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2001. For track placement in the third year of secondary school, the data were derived from the editions of *Jaarrapport Integratie* in 1993, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 for the respective years 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995/1996, 2001/2002, 2004/2005, 2003/2004, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2017/2018 and 2019/2020. For early school leavers in MBO, the data were derived from the *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2018 for the years 2004/2005, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2008/2009, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, and 2012/2013. The data for the subsequent years were derived from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2020, specifically for the years 2013/2014, 2014/2015, 2015/2016, 2016/2017, 2017/2018, and 2018/2019. For entrance into higher education, the years 1995/1996 to 2010/2011 were derived from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2011, and the years 2011/2012 to 2015/2016 were derived from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2016. For the overall education level, the data

on the years 1991 to 2002 were derived from *Jaarrapport Integratie* 2011. From 2003, this was supplemented with Statline-data to draw a time series from the early 1990s to the recent day.

The data for each indicator by year by migrant group were entered into a database. These numbers were obtained from either the table or the figures in the respective editions of the *Jaarrapport Integratie*. For indicators lacking data until today, the data tool Statline was searched to complement the data from the *Jaarrapport Integratie*. This was particularly used for the overall highest education level, which was added to the database. The time series provided here are tabulated from this.

For the indicators pooled from the editions of the *Jaarrapport Integratie*, i.e. track placement advice, track placement in year 1 and in year 3, the population across years includes everyone with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean migration background – irrespective of migrant generation. However, given the demographic development of these groups over 90 percent of the pupils with a Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese migration background belongs to the second generation from approximately 2008 onwards (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2020). For entrance into higher education, again students were included based upon migration background rather than generation – i.e. first and second generation combined. The exceptions were the years between 1995 and 2020, where exclusively the second generation was included for those with a migration background. For the indicator on overall education level, once more, no differentiation was made regarding migrant generation.

Results: a historical synthesis

Education level across the population

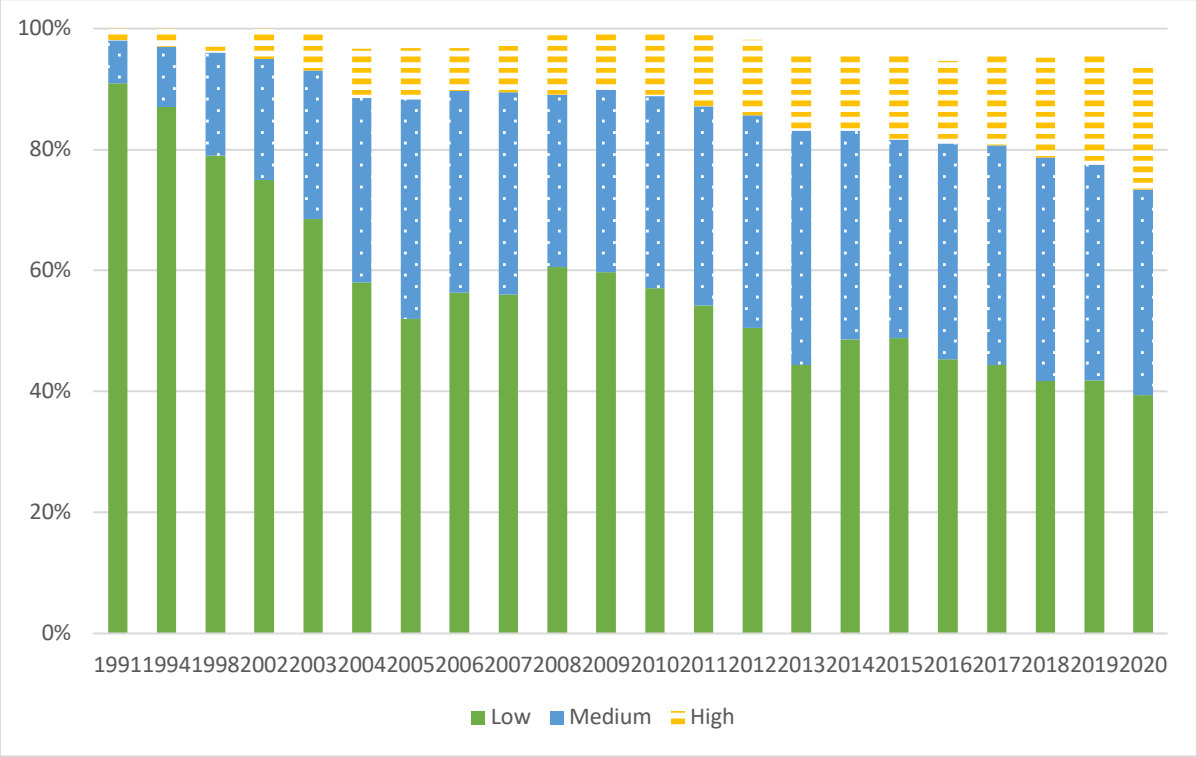
The overall educational level of people with a migration background increased over the years as shown in Figures 3.2.1 to 3.2.4, although the share of those with a higher education among the non-migrant people continued to outpace the respective shares among the four migrant groups discussed here.
In these figures, 'lower educated' refers to primary school, a VMBO track or MBO level 1 as the highest attained education, and the 'middle' category means a HAVO or VWO diploma in secondary education or an MBO level 2, 3, or 4 in tertiary education, whereas a 'higher' education means a degree from the university of applied sciences (HBO) or an academic degree (WO). In certain cases, the figures do not add up to one hundred percent, the missing few percentages are those for whom the educational level was unknown.

The figures below present the percentages for the total population with the respective migration background, i.e. Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean, across generations and above the age of 15. The data split by women and men were only available between 2003 and 2019. The figures split by gender can be found in Appendix A. The main take-away from the figures split by gender was that the general trends per migrant or non-migrant group were alike, though slightly more women obtained higher education in the recent years than their male counterparts did.

Figure 3.2.1 shows that the share of people with a Turkish migration background that is lower educated decreased from almost 69% in 2003 to 42% in 2019. In other words, the share of people with a Turkish migration background with a medium-level education or higher education grew correspondingly. Around 25% of people with a Turkish migration background had a medium-level education in 2003 and this increased to almost 36% in 2019. Over 6% of people with a Turkish migration background had a higher educational degree in 2003 which then tripled to over 18% in 2019. Hence, upward trends in education level for people with a Turkish migration background can be observed. This increase might be linked to the demographic changes as presented in Chapter 2: the Turkish second generation grew with time, while for the Turkish first generation this growth came to a halt around the time stricter marriage migration policies came into effect. The Turkish second generation thus might be a catalyst for the upward educational trend shown among the overall population with a Turkish background, which preliminarily supports the first expectation (i.e. the second generation will outperform the first generation in education).

Figure 3.2.1

Time series on the education level of people with a Turkish migration background in the Netherlands, above the age of 15, all generations, in percentages, 1991-2020.



Note. For the years 1991 to 2002 the data in this figure is derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2011. From 2003 onwards the data were derived from Statline.

A similar pattern is observed for people with a Moroccan migration background, as shown in Figure 3.2.2. Almost 68% had a lower education in 2003 and this decreased to 43% in 2019. More people with a Moroccan migration background had a medium-level education or higher education over time: for medium-level education, 23% in 2003 to 32% in 2019 and for higher education, 8% in 2003 to 18% in 2019. Again, keeping the demographic development of a growing second generation in mind, this seems to support the argument that with generations, the educational positions of Moroccan immigrants improved. In other words, this gives a preliminary indication that the second generation with a Moroccan migration background outperforms the co-ethnic first generation in education, in line with the first expectation.

Figure 3.2.2

Time series on the education level of people with a Moroccan migration background in the Netherlands, above the age of 15, all generations, in percentages, 1991-2020.

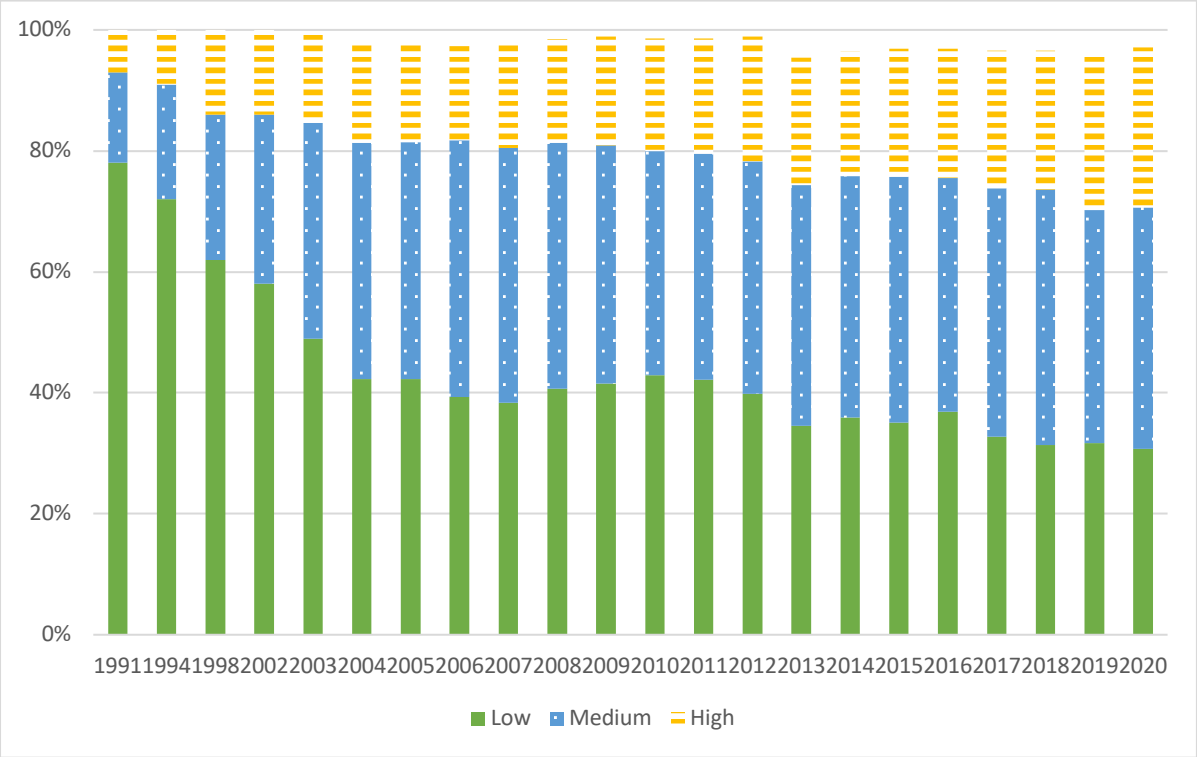
Note. For the years 1991 to 2002 the data in this figure is derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2011. From 2003 onwards the data were derived from Statline.

In Figure 3.2.3, the overall education level of people with a Surinamese migration background is shown. The percentage of people with a Surinamese migration background that is higher educated has been higher consistently over time, compared to people with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background. Of the people with a Surinamese migration background in the Netherlands, almost 15% had finished higher education in 2003, against 25% in 2019. A feasible explanation could be that the first-generation Surinamese immigrants had linguistic and cultural capital that was beneficial in the Netherlands. The education system and curriculum in Suriname, before and after independence, was rather like the Dutch education system (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006), which provided cultural capital beneficial to the Dutch education system. Moreover, Dutch was the language of instruction of education in Suriname (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006; van Niekerk, 2000, 2004). Hence, first-generation immigrants from Suriname were likely to be educated in an educational system that taught linguistic skills that were advantageous in the Dutch educational system. Even more importantly, many

Surinamese students came to the Netherlands to enroll in tertiary education, for example, doctors and nurses (Cottaar, 2003; Oostindie & Maduro, 1986). Higher education was thus the migration motive of many first-generation Surinamese.

Figure 3.2.3

Time series on the education level of people with a Surinamese migration background in the Netherlands, above the age of 15, all generations, in percentages, 1991-2020



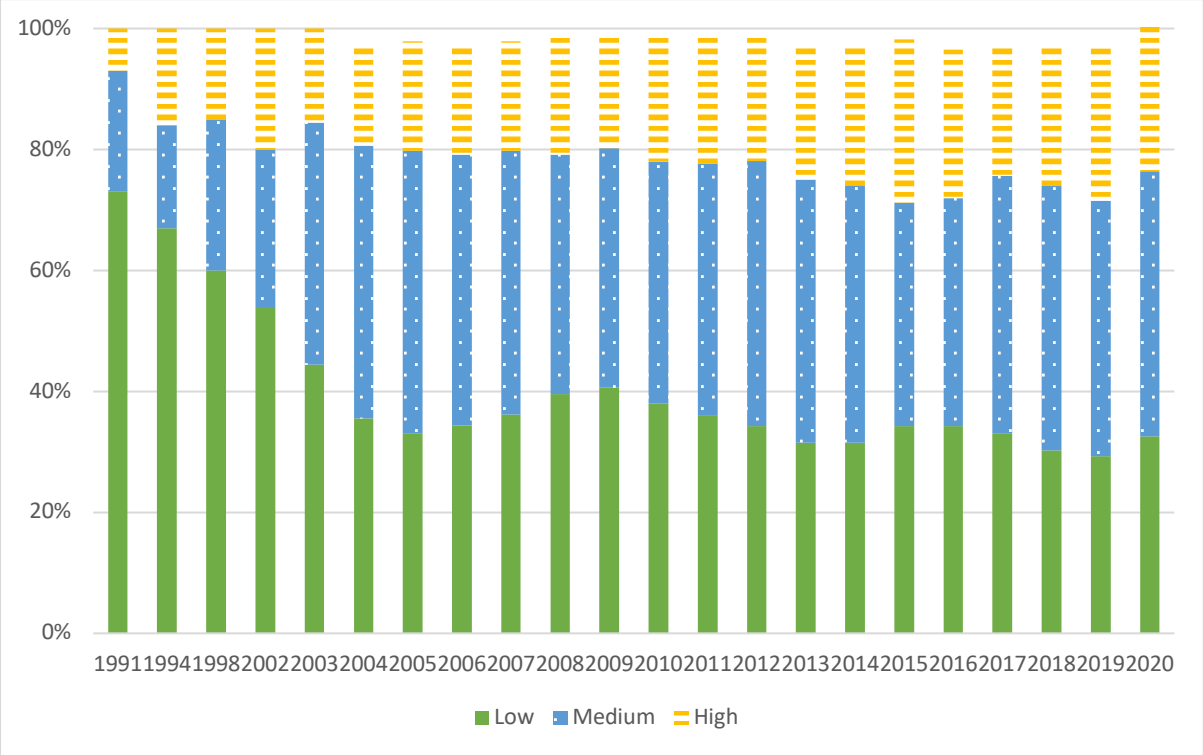
Note. For the years 1991 to 2002 the data in this figure is derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2011. From 2003 onwards the data is derived from Statline.

For people with an Antillean migration background, the picture resembles that of the Surinamese population as presented in Figure 3.2.4. More than half of the people with an Antillean migration background had a medium or higher education. In particular, the share of people with higher education increased over these years: from nearly 16% in 2003 to 25% in 2019. This seems to suggest that over time people of Antillean descent become higher educated, this was contrary to research in the 1990s that concluded that newer immigrant cohorts were lower educated than previous ones (Van Hulst, 1997; Van San, 1998). The differences in conclusions likely stem from the differentiation in

aggregation level: the data presented here concern the population – i.e. macro – level over time whereas the research of the aforementioned authors zoomed in on the lower-educated and working-class people who migrated from the Dutch Antilles to the Netherlands in the nineties and earlier. Moreover, due to circular migration and higher mobility of people with Antillean heritage, the Antillean population in the Netherlands is ever-changing. The composition of those with an Antillean background included over the various years is likely to be dynamic and thus this graph in all likelihood captures different people over the years.

Figure 3.2.4

Time series on the education level of people with an Antillean migration background in the Netherlands, above the age of 15, all generations, in percentages (1991-2020)



Note. For the years 1991 to 2002 the data in this figure is derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2011. From 2003 onwards the data were derived from Statline.

The education level of people without a migration background is shown in Figure 3.2.5. Among people without a migration background, fewer obtained lower education over time: from 33% in 2003 to 26% in 2019. At the same time, there are more 'higher educated' people without a migration background

than any of the four migrant groups discussed previously. Moreover, the percentage with higher education increased from 17% to 26% over these years. Yet, it should be noted that direct comparisons between certain migrant groups and the population without a migration background should be approached with caution. Some migrant groups occupied – on average - rather lower socio-economic strata within Dutch society, and drawing direct comparisons with the overall Dutch population may provide a negatively skewed image. Analogously, comparing certain migrant groups with only a segment of the Dutch population – for example, the lower socio-economic strata – overlooks the socio-economic diversity within migrant groups.

Figure 3.2.5

Time series on the education level of people without a migration background in the Netherlands, above the age of 15, all generations, in percentages (1991-2020)

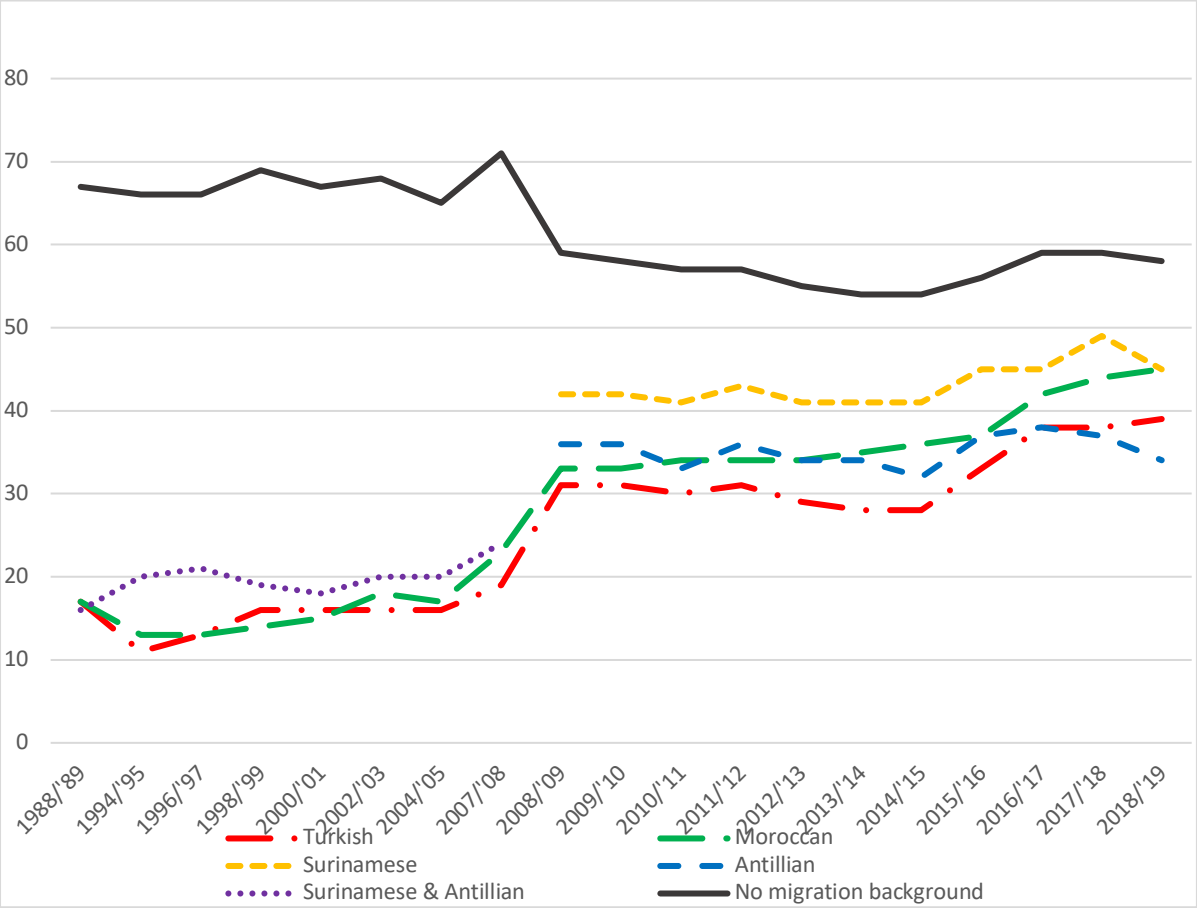
Note. For the years 1991 to 2002 the data in this figure is derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2011. From 2003 onwards the data were derived from Statline.

End of primary education: track placement advice

In the final year of primary education, around the age of 12, pupils are advised to attend a certain track in secondary education. The track placement advice is offered by the teacher of the final grade in primary education. This advice is based upon the test scores throughout primary education, the results of a standardized test that the majority of pupils take in their last year in primary school, and the evaluation of the teacher. The weight of these three elements in the track placement advice has varied throughout the last forty years, see Chapter 2 for an elaboration on these policy changes.

Figure 3.3.1

Percentage of pupils with HAVO/VWO track placement advice in the final grade of primary education, by year and migration background



Note. Different data sources were used: the years 1988/1989 are derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2007, the years 1994 to 2005 from Jaarrapport Integratie 2009, and 2008 to 2019 from the Jaarrapport Integratie 2020. The last year reported in the Jaarrapport Integratie 2020 was 2018/2019. From 1988 to 2008, pupils with a Surinamese or Antillean migration background were studied as one group. From 2009-2009 onwards, these groups were studied separately.

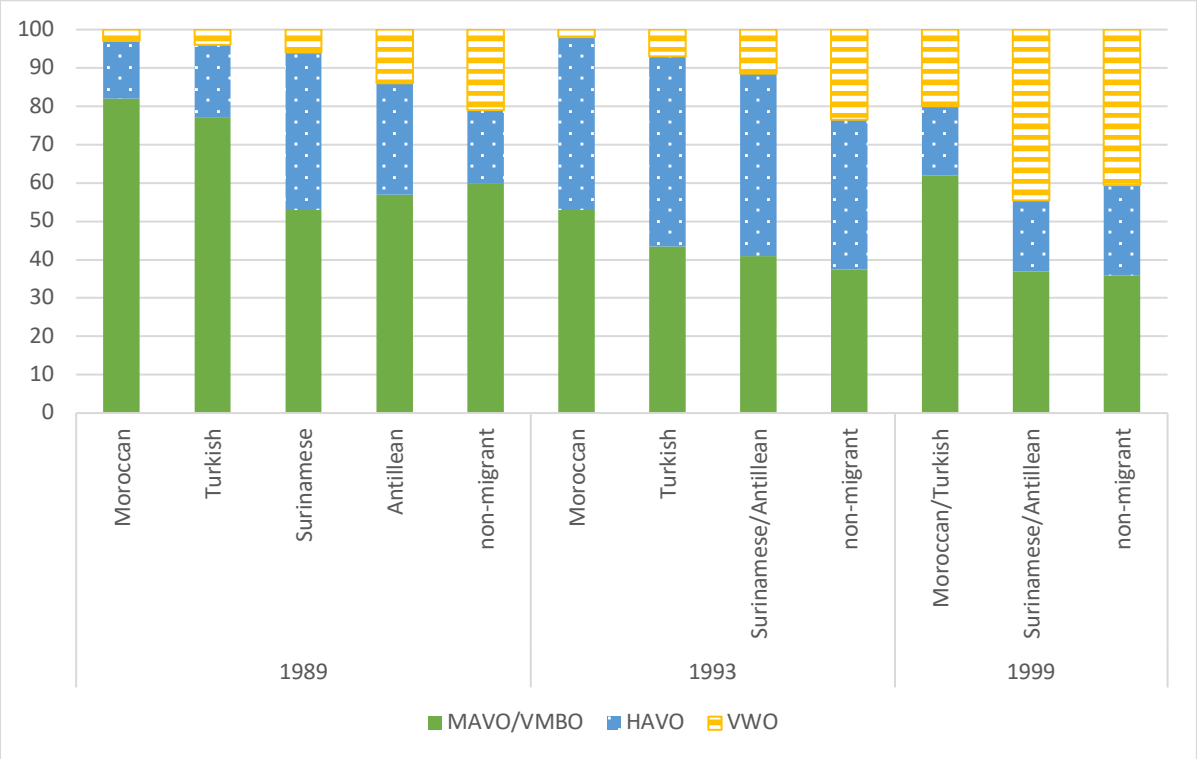
The track placement advice has six main options: VMBO-basis, VMBO-kader, VMBO-gemengd, VMBO-theoretisch, HAVO, and VWO. These track placement options in secondary education are categorized from vocational secondary education (the four VMBO options), a preparatory college - or applied sciences - track (HAVO) and a preparatory university track (VWO), see Chapter 2 for a detailed explanation of these tracks. This reflects the current educational tracks, prior to 1990 the vocational secondary options were LBO (lower vocational education), VBO (preparatory vocational education), and MAVO (theoretical vocation education). Figure 3.3.1 presents the percentage of the pupils that were advised to attend a HAVO or VWO track in the first year of secondary education. These two tracks are the preparatory options to enter higher education such as the university of applied sciences or a university in tertiary education. Pupils without a migration background received the advice to attend a HAVO or VWO track the most frequently throughout the years. For the four immigrant groups studied here, the advice to attend a HAVO or VWO track increased slightly over the years. Pupils with a Surinamese migration background were advised more frequently to attend a higher track in secondary education than pupils of the other three migration backgrounds. In 2018/2019, 45 percent of students with a Surinamese migration background as well as 45 percent of students with a Moroccan migration background were advised to attend a HAVO/VWO track. A spectacular increase in advice to attend a HAVO/VWO track was observed: from 17% in 1988 to 45% in 2018/2019 among students with a Moroccan migration background. A similar trend occurred among pupils with a Turkish migration background: the percentage of pupils with a HAVO/VWO advice increased from 17% in 1988 to 39% in 2018/2019. The percentage of pupils with an Antillean migration background that were advised to attend a HAVO/VWO track was rather stable during the last decennium: 36% in 2008/2009 and 34% in 2018/2019. The remarkable increase of students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background – in recent years those with a Moroccan migration background reached a similar level as students with a Surinamese migration background - as well as the relatively stable and lower recommendation of a HAVO/VWO track of students with an Antillean migration background indicate that the ‘colonial bonus’ as described by Oostindie (2011) might not stand the test of time. This ‘colonial bonus’ described how colonial groups are expected to benefit from their colonial ties and history regarding their position in the Netherlands, yet for education at least it is not supported.

Start secondary education

Track placement is the key outcome indicator in secondary education in the Netherlands. It refers to the placement of the student in one of the available tracks (VMBO Basis/Kader, VMBO Gemengd/Theoretisch, HAVO, VWO). In the first year of secondary school – around the age of 12 - students are placed into a track based on their test scores and recommendation by the teacher in the last grade of primary school. Hence, this is an indirect combination of educational performance, choice, and advice in which migration background and socio-economic background of the family play an important role. Figure 3.4.1 presents a time series across 10 years from 1989 to 1999 on the track placement of children of migrants in the first year of secondary education.

Figure 3.4.1

Time series on track placement of children of immigrants in the first year of secondary education. (1989-1999)



Note. The data on the year 1989 is derived from Jaarrapport 1997, 1993 from Jaarrapport 1999, and 1999 from the Jaarrapport Integratie 2001.

During the 1990s the majority of students with these four migration backgrounds attended a MAVO/VMBO track in the first year, especially in the earlier years (1989) and among students of Moroccan or Turkish descent. Moroccan and Turkish students attended a MAVO/VMBO track more often than students of Surinamese or Antillean descent: respectively 82% and 77% versus 53% and 57% in 1989, and 53% and 43.5% versus 41% in 1993 and 62% versus 37% in 1999. Over time, an increase in attendance in HAVO and VWO tracks can be observed for students of all migration backgrounds. At first, this mainly concerns an increasing attendance in HAVO tracks between 1989 and 1993. In 1999, this upward trend in track attendance in the first year took place among students in the VWO track too. Against this backdrop, the percentage of Turkish and Moroccan students that attends a MAVO/VMBO track increased between 1993 and 1999. This could indicate a switch from over-advisement to under-advisement. In the final year of primary education, the teacher recommends a track for secondary education. For children of immigrants, in the 1980s and early 1990s over-advisement was more prevalent, i.e. children were recommended to attend a higher track in secondary school than their performance indicated. In the late 1990s and 2000s by contrast, under-advisement became more prevalent, e.g. students were advised to attend a lower track than their performance suggested (Claassen & Mulder, 2003).

Figure 3.4.1 should be interpreted with caution, however. The data on track placement in year 1 were only available for the late 1980s and 1990s. Later reports mainly focused on the track placement in year 3. Moreover, the categorization of students with a Surinamese or Antillean migration background were combined in 1993 and 1999, as well as students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background in 1999. This is all the more remarkable as the next section sheds light on the meaningful differences between these groups in their track placement in year 3, the indicator that will be discussed next.

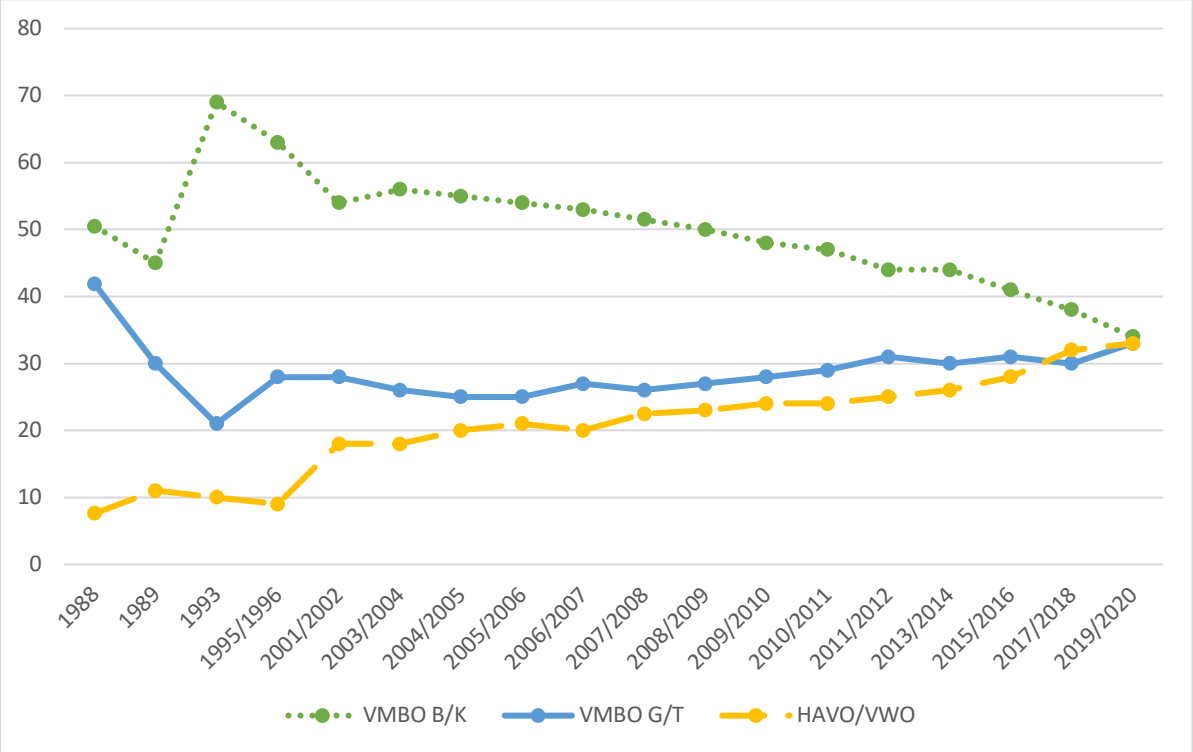
Half-way through secondary education

Switching between tracks is most common between the second and third years of secondary education. Moreover, the possible over-advising or under-advising of children of immigrants at the start of secondary education can be corrected in the first years of secondary education. In other words, children who attended a lower track than their performance indicated can switch to a higher track and the other way around. Hence, track placement in the third year of the secondary school provides a better insight into the educational position in secondary school than track placement in the first year.

Figure 3.5.1 presents a time series on track placement of students with a Moroccan migration background in the third year of secondary education. Generally, a converging trend in track placement can be observed. This means that the differences between track placement within the group of Moroccan students decreased over time. In the late 1980s and 1990s, there was a substantial gap in track placement among students with a Moroccan background: around 50% or more of the students with Moroccan background attended a vocational track (i.e. 'VMBO basis or kader') and around 10% of these students attended a 'HAVO or VWO' track. This gap shrunk: in the school year of 2017/2018, 38% of these students attended a 'VMBO basis or kader' track, 30% a 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' track, and 32% a 'HAVO or VWO' track. The attendance rate at 'HAVO or VWO' increased remarkably over time: from around 8% in 1988, this quadrupled to 32% in 2017/2018. The attendance rate at 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' fluctuated between 20% and 30% from 1993 to 2017/2018 with a slight upward trend. This means that students of Moroccan descent became higher educated over time. Seemingly, younger birth cohorts outperformed older birth cohorts of Moroccan descent in the third year of secondary education.

Figure 3.5.1

Time series on track placement of students with a Moroccan migration background in the third year of secondary education, 1988-2020

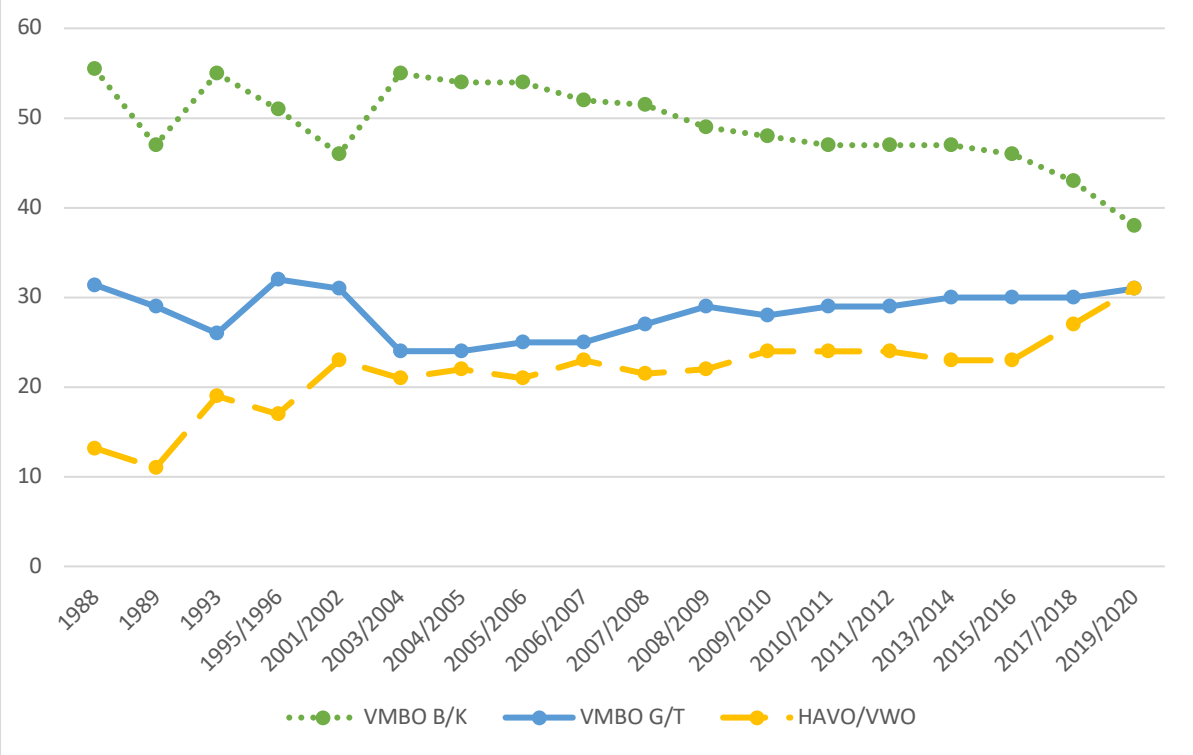


Note. The data was derived from the editions of Jaarrapport Integratie in 1993, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020 for the respective years 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995/1996, 2001/2002, 2004/2005, 2003/2004, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2017/2018 and 2019/2020.

Figure 3.5.2 presents the time series on track placement of students with a Turkish migration background in the third year of secondary education. Again, a converging trend is observed: over time students with a Turkish migration background attended the 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' or 'HAVO or VWO' tracks in increasing numbers while decreasing amounts attended 'VMBO basis or kader' tracks. Specifically, track placement in 'VMBO basis or kader' tracks diminished by more than 10% from 55.5% in 1988 to 38% in 2019/2020. Attendance in the 'HAVO or VWO' tracks doubled from 13.2% in 1988 to 31% in the most recent year. The tracks 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' showed a slight upward trend as well, but generally levitated between 25% and 30% over time. In sum, we can conclude that more children with a Turkish migration background attend a HAVO/VWO track over time, and fewer children attend a lower VMBO track. So, younger birth cohorts outperform older birth cohorts of Turkish descent in the third year of secondary education.

Figure 3.5.2

Time series on track placement of students with a Turkish migration background in the third year of secondary education, 1988-2020

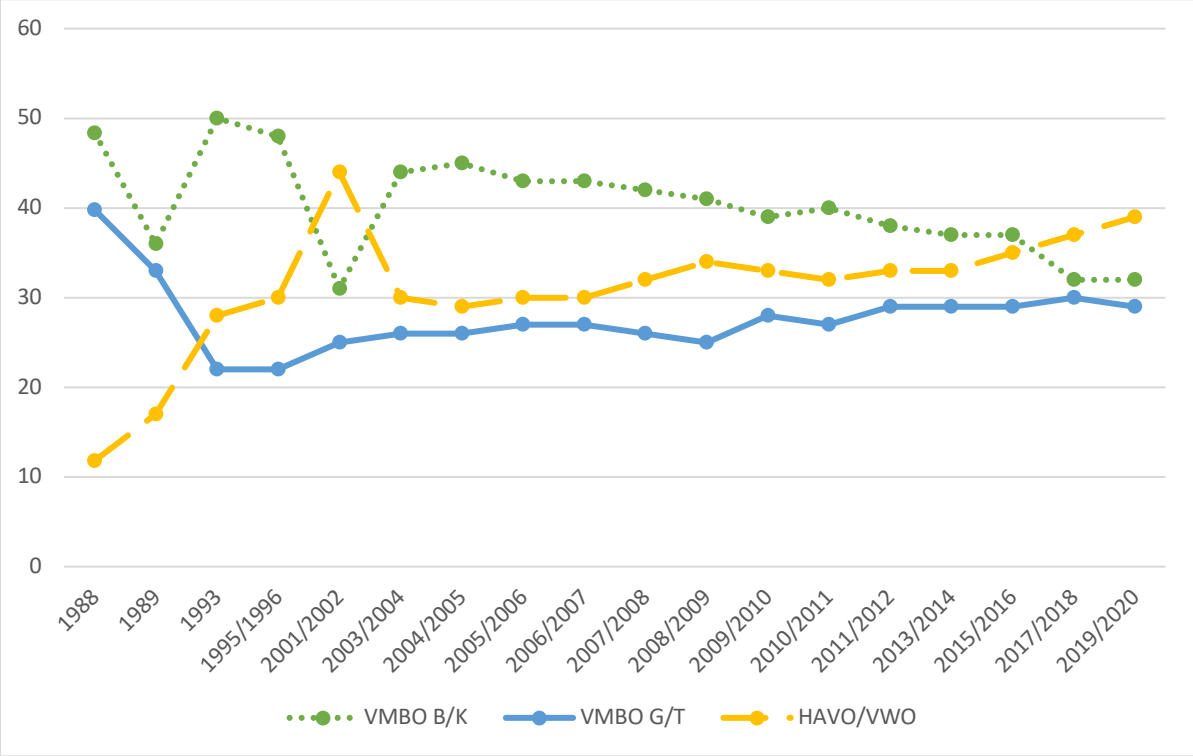


Note. The data are derived from Jaarrapport 1993, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020 for the subsequent years – respectively derived from the listed Jaarrapport editions: 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995/1996, 2001/2002, 2004/2005, 2003/2004, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2017/2018 and 2019/2020.

Figure 3.5.3 presents the time series on track placement of students with a Surinamese migration background in the third year of secondary education. The trend of convergence was also noticeable among these students: by 2019/2020 attendance across the three categories drew near to one another between 29% and 39%. In the late 1980s, a majority of the students attended a 'VMBO basis or kader' track or 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' track, respectively 48% and 40% in 1988 and 36% and 33% in 1989. The attendance of students of Surinamese descent of a 'HAVO or VWO' track more than tripled: from 12% in 1988 to 39% in 2019/2020. From 1993 onwards, more students with a Surinamese migration background attend a 'HAVO or VWO' track in the third year than a 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' track, and in 2019/2020 even more students attended a 'HAVO or VWO' track than VMBO options in this figure. To sum up, younger birth cohorts outperform older birth cohorts of Surinamese descent in the third year of secondary education, in line with the second expectation.

Figure 3.5.3

Time series on track placement of students with a Surinamese migration background in the third year of secondary education, 1988-2020

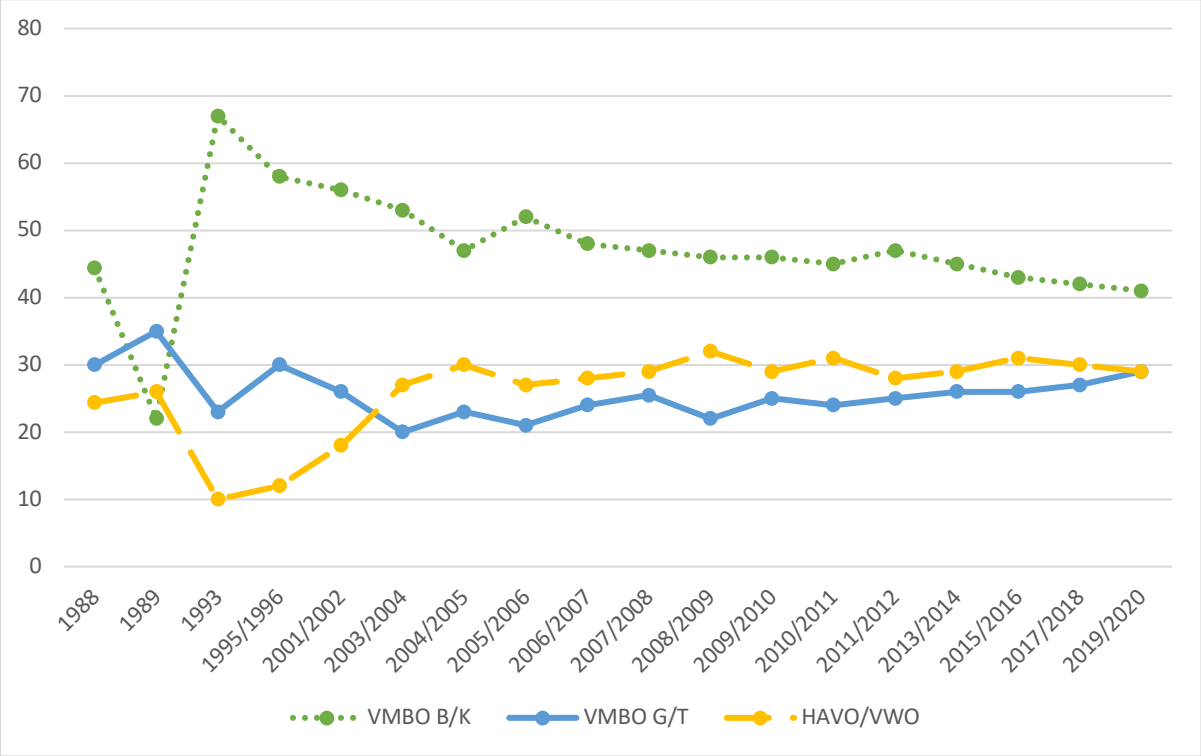


Note. The data are derived from Jaarrapport 1993, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012,2014, 2016, 2018, 2020 for the subsequent years – respectively derived from the listed Jaarrapport editions: 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995/1996, 2001/2002, 2004/2005, 2003/2004, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2017/2018 and 2019/2020.

Figure 3.5.4 presents the time series on track placement of students with an Antillean migration background in the third year of secondary education. In line with the results from the other migrant groups, the track attendance among Antillean students indicated a converging trend. The differences in attendance rates between the three categories decreased over time. With some stark fluctuations in the late 1990s and early 1990s, from 1995/1996 onwards a downward trend of 'VMBO basis or kader attendance' commenced, respectively 58% in 1995/1996 to 41% in 2019/2020. Track placement in a 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' track oscillated between 20% and 30% from the early 1990s up until the most recent years. Since 2003/2004, more students with an Antillean migration background attended a 'HAVO or VWO' track than a 'VMBO gemengd or kader' track in the third year of secondary education. Yet, the 'HAVO or VWO' attendance fluctuated around the 30% mark for almost 15 years, from 2003/2004 to 2019/2020.

Figure 3.5.4

Time series on track placement of students with an Antillean migration background in the third year of secondary education, 1988-2020



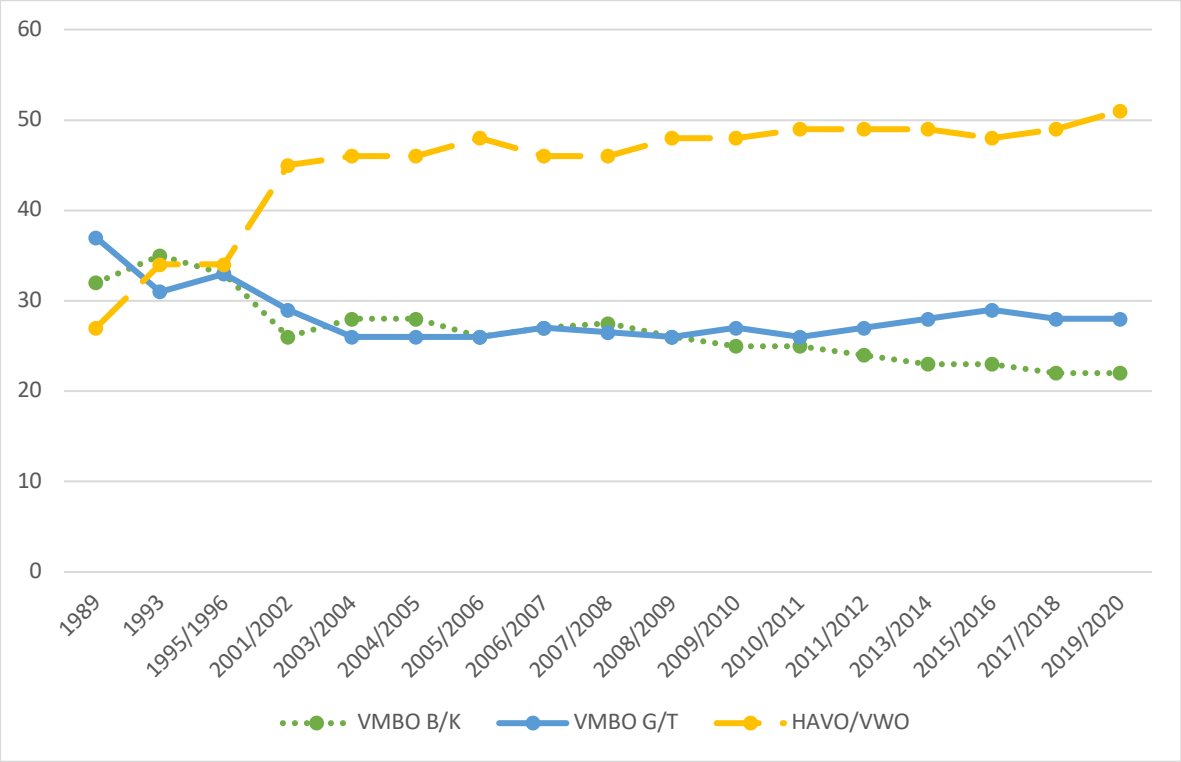
Note. The data are derived from Jaarrapport 1993, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010,2011, 2012,2014, 2016,2018, 2020 for the subsequent years – respectively derived from the listed Jaarrapport editions: 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995/1996, 2001/2002, 2004/2005, 2003/2004, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2017/2018 and 2019/2020.

In Figure 3.5.5, we can see that over the years almost half of the children without a migration background attended a 'HAVO/VWO' track and around 20% to 30% a VMBO track, either B/K or G/T, in the third year of secondary education. The stark fluctuations in the 1980s and 1990s are likely due to sampling and data issues. Later on, register data was used in the reports, and from that moment on the trend remained relatively stable as can be seen from the years 2001/2002 onwards. For children of immigrants - of all four migration backgrounds - an upward trend occurred. For children with a migration background, the most attended track was the 'VMBO B/K' track, even though attendance of this track shrank across the years. For children without a migration background however, the 'HAVO/VWO' track was the most attended one. Moreover, among children with a migration background, younger cohorts outperformed older cohorts. In other words: the track placement of children of immigrants became better over time, in line with the second expectation. By contrast, the track placement of children without a migration background was relatively stable. Yet,

this should be contextualized within the limitations of comparing migrant and non-migrant populations and the issues of socio-economic stratification by demographic groups.

Figure 3.5.5

Time series on track placement of students without migration background in the third year of secondary education, 1989-2020



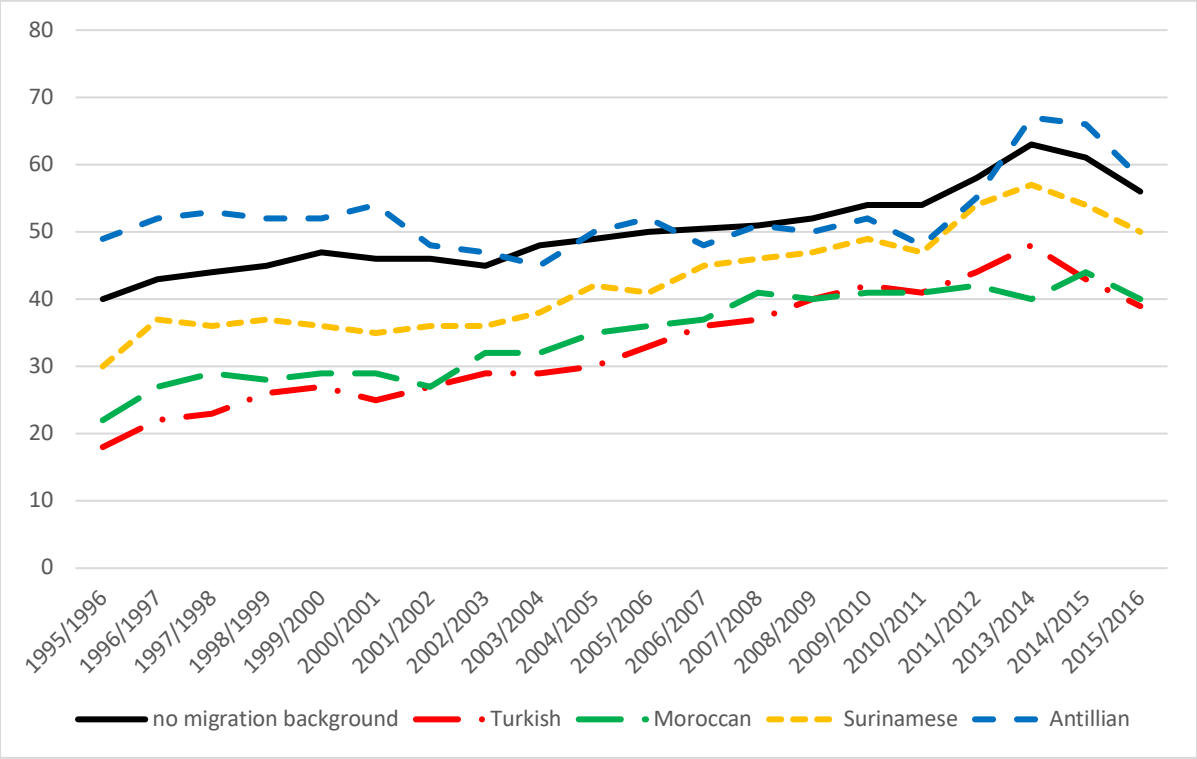
Note. The data were derived from Jaarrapport 1993, 1997, 1998, 2003, 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2016, 2018, 2020 for the subsequent years – respectively derived from the listed Jaarrapport editions: 1988, 1989, 1993, 1995/1996, 2001/2002, 2004/2005, 2003/2004, 2005/2006, 2006/2007, 2007/2008, 2009/2010, 2010/2011, 2011/2012, 2013/2014, 2015/2016, 2017/2018 and 2019/2020.

Entrance into higher tertiary education

The share of students that started higher education has increased over time for all migration backgrounds, as presented in Figure 3.6.1. Remarkably in 1995/1996, a relatively higher share of students with an Antillean migration background started tertiary education than students without a migration background.

Figure 3.6.1

Percentage of students starting higher tertiary education (HBO or university), by year and migration background



Note. The years 1995 to 2010 concerned only those 24 years of age and younger. The years 1995 to 2010 concerned exclusively the second generation for those with a migration background. Sources: The year 1995/1996 to 2010/2011 were derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2011, and the years 2011/2012 to 2015/2016 were derived from Jaarrapport Integratie 2016.

In the most recent year – 2015/2016 – this was still the case: 58% among Antillean students and 56% among students without a migration background. The largest increase was observed among students with a Turkish migration background: from around 18% in 1995 to nearly 40% in 2015. This paints an optimistic picture: more and more students with a migration background enroll in higher education

over time. This provides some preliminary evidence for the expectation that younger birth cohorts outperform older birth cohorts in education. Specifically, the year 1995 to 2010 only included students with a second-generation migration background, yet this trend holds true. This provides some preliminary evidence for the expectations that the second generation will perform better than the first.

Nonetheless, this figure only showed the percentage of students that started higher tertiary education. This is no guarantee that all of these students completed higher tertiary education. However, the larger the percentage of students that starts the more likely a larger share obtain a higher tertiary degree.

Discussion

From this historical synthesis of the educational trends among children of immigrants over the last decades several conclusions emerge. First, an upward trend in education level appears true across the four migrant groups. The education level of students with a Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese, and Antillean migration background increased over time and especially for the second generation of these migrant groups. This is in line with the expectation that educational positions increased over time. Moreover, this may imply that the educational positions of migrant groups could approach the positions of the non-migrant population. This is more remarkable when we realize that the Dutch comparison group has not been stratified for socio-economic background in this chapter. If that were the case, the gap between migrant and non-migrant groups could have decreased even faster. However, when compared to all people without a migration background, a sizeable gap remains in 'medium' or 'higher' educated even though these discrepancies have become much smaller over time. These conclusions provided some preliminary support for the first expectation that the younger birth cohorts will outperform the older birth cohorts in education. This is only a descriptive exploration of these data and trends, yet the increase in education level seems to align with the increasing population share of the second generation across these four migrant groups.

Second, the key pattern in track placement in the third year for all migrant groups was one of convergence. Fewer students attended a 'VMBO basis or kader' track over time, whereas slightly more students of various migration backgrounds attended 'VMBO gemengd or theoretisch' tracks. Meanwhile, more children of immigrants attended a HAVO/VWO track. Students with a Surinamese and Antillean migration background attended a 'HAVO or VWO' track more frequently than students with a Turkish or Moroccan background. Particularly, students with a Surinamese migration

background attended ‘HAVO or VWO’ tracks in increasing numbers, to the point where they surpassed attendance of ‘VMBO gemengd or theoretisch’ over time. This provides some preliminary support for the second expectation in this chapter that children of post-colonial migrants – especially of Surinamese descent - are expected to obtain higher education levels than peers with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background. Yet these numbers were not on par with the children without a migration background. Moreover, this trend in the third year of secondary school followed the track placement in the first year of secondary school. Throughout the 1990s, more students from the four migration backgrounds attended HAVO and VWO tracks in the first year. However, given the track mobility options after the first year of secondary school as well as after two or three years of secondary school attendance, the track placement in the third potentially offers a more appropriate measure to examine secondary school attainment than track placement advice or track placement in year one.

These conclusions should nevertheless be interpreted with caution. The research population varied over time and by report. Some reports included all children with a certain migration background, regardless of whether this was a first-generational or second-generational status, whereas other reports did not unequivocally disclose the exact definition of their research population though most likely included children of various migrant generations. This curtailed the option to compare across generations. In addition, the categorization of the tracks into three groups: ‘VMBO kader or basis’, ‘VMBO gemengd or theoretisch’, and ‘HAVO or VWO’ may overlook discrepancies within these broad categories. This caution is most relevant to the ‘HAVO or VWO’ category because this lumped together two very distinct tracks.

This chapter mainly presented data zooming in on a subset of students: those with a HAVO or VWO track placement advice and those who entered higher education. Therefore, potentially only including those in the ‘higher tracks’ in the education system. Data on the vocational tracks were only included in the track placement in secondary school. This chapter therefore may overlook two vital aspects: (1) the educational trajectories of those in vocational tracks in secondary education (VMBO) and tertiary education (MBO) and (2) the drop-out rates in secondary and tertiary school. Hence, the sixth chapter investigates the patterns of school drop-out across various school tracks further.

The research questions addressed in this chapter were: which trends in educational positions throughout the primary, secondary, and tertiary stage among children of immigrants can be observed cross-sectionally? Moreover, what are the differences between the migrant groups in educational positions? The key conclusion was that a converging trend can be observed for all migrant groups. The education level of all migrant groups showed an upward trend. With time, more people with a migration background became ‘medium’ or ‘higher’ educated and more children attended a ‘HAVO/VWO’ track in school. Yet these numbers were not on a similar level to the population without

a migration background, even though it should be noted this was not stratified by socio-economic positions. To sum up, the gaps between children of immigrants and children without a migration background in education are tapering. Although these developments are a cause for optimism, we should keep in mind that shining a light on the increasing numbers of students attending HAVO or VWO still overlooks the majority who do not attend these tracks. Potentially, the subset of students who are attending HAVO or VWO will enroll in higher education too. This is a seemingly self-propelling effect of students who performed well in secondary education and who keep on moving forward and upward after. Keeping these trends and conclusions on education among children of immigrants in the Netherlands in mind, the next chapter examines the scholarly literature on this theme.

Chapter 4 - A literature review of educational positions of the second generation in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020

Introduction and theoretical background

Education is an essential indicator for the socio-economic integration of children of immigrants across the globe. The education of children of immigrants has therefore been researched extensively in various European countries (for comparative research among Western-European societies see (Crul et al., 2012; Dustmann et al., 2012; Heath et al., 2008; Levels & Dronkers, 2008). In the OECD's Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), a substantial gap in the performance level between second-generation children of immigrants and children without a migration background has repeatedly been shown for the Netherlands. In international comparison, several countries, among which most notably Nordic countries, appear to have smaller educational gaps than the Netherlands (OECD, 2015, 2018). Possible explanations of this disadvantage offered in PISA reports are – relatively - early tracking, socio-economic background, and school segregation in the Dutch educational context.

This chapter zooms in on the vast scholarly literature published in the last decades on the educational positions of children of immigrants to gain a better understanding of the insights and knowledge gathered thus far. To that end, it answers the second sub-research question: how did the explanations of educational trajectories of children of immigrants shift during the last forty years? This will be done through examining which topics surface and which explanations prevail in explaining the educational positions of children of immigrants in various stages of their education.

Many researchers studied the multifaceted educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands (for example see: Baysu et al., 2018; Bol et al., 2014; Crul, 2009, 2018; Driessen, 2004, 2013; Driessen & Dekkers, 2008; Driessen & Merry, 2014; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003; Ledoux, 1996; Levels & Dronkers, 2008; Nygård, 2017; Oomens et al., 2003; Pásztor, 2010; van de Werfhorst & Heath, 2019; van de Werfhorst & van Tubergen, 2007; Wolbers & Driessen, 1996). These scholars have researched the education of children of immigrants in various stages of education in the Netherlands as well as in comparison with neighboring countries with a variety of indices and have provided diverse factors to explain educational inequalities. Test scores tend to be the main outcome variable for studies in primary school and for secondary education this is track placement. Family and

migration background are mentioned as explanations of educational inequalities throughout the three stages of education.

More than 11 percent of the Dutch population has a second-generation migration background and among school-aged children and youth, i.e., below the age of 25, this is more than 20 percent. Children of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean immigrants are traditionally the most studied groups in migration and educational research, although research on the education of children of 'newer' groups such as refugees from Somalia, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Eritrea, or Syria or children of recent immigrants from Poland or Bulgaria has grown over the years (Crul et al., 2016; Dagevos et al., 2018; Damen, Huijnk, et al., 2022; Dourleijn et al., 2011; Vogels et al., 2014). To examine how this sizeable share of Dutch children and youth fares in education it is thus of major importance to understand how the socio-economic integration of immigrant families in the Netherlands evolves. In 2020, almost half a century since many labor and colonial migrants settled, it is a good moment to take stock with a literature review of the results that the extensive research field has yielded.

This literature review systematically examines how the educational positions of children of migrants, in the Netherlands, have been researched in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020. More explicitly, this literature review studies which educational inequalities or disadvantages of children of immigrants have been analyzed and which explanations have been provided for these inequalities. Among the main explanations of educational inequalities in the Netherlands, socioeconomic and migration background and resources of immigrant families are key (Oomens et al., 2003; Roelandt et al., 1990; van de Werfhorst & Heath, 2019; Wolbers & Driessen, 1996)

Reviews of this type are rather scarce. There are only two studies that have reviewed the socioeconomic background and educational inequalities among children of immigrants in the Netherlands (Rijkschroeff et al., 2005; Stevens et al., 2011). Rijkschroeff and colleagues (2005) examined the educational policies targeted at minorities between 1970 and 2002, whereas Stevens and colleagues (2007) included the academic literature and policy up to 2007. This literature review takes a broader approach and thus also includes academic publications dated between 1980 and 2020 concerning empirical and policy evaluation studies. Moreover, this literature review uses systematic literature review methods to enable transparency.

This chapter consists of four sections. First, the methods of this literature review will be introduced. Second, the literature regarding children of immigrants will be reviewed in the three stages of education. Literature on children of immigrants in primary, secondary, and tertiary education will be analyzed with specific attention to the main research questions, methods, data, research population, and outcomes. Third, drawing from the literature review a synthesis will discuss the main

explanations for educational inequalities among children of immigrants. Last, the main conclusions and reflections that arose from this literature review can be found in the discussion.

Data & methods

The first step in the methodology of a literature review is the definition of the problem according to Badger and colleagues (Badger et al., 2000): this review aims to examine what the main trends and theories regarding the educational positions of children of immigrants were and how the gaps in educational positions are explained between 1980 and 2020. The protocol provides a concise and structured overview of the methods employed here – see Appendix B - and follows the guidelines of the PRISMA Statement (Liberati et al., 2009; Moher et al., 2009) which was originally developed in the domain of healthcare interventions, but also serves as a proper guideline for systematic reviews in other fields. The procedure of this literature review is explained in five steps.

First, the eligibility criteria are defined, which determine the characteristics of the study. Thematically, research should focus on the education of children of immigrants, meaning the educational performance, decisions, or level measured in primary, secondary, or tertiary education. The research context should be the Netherlands and the studies should employ data between 1980 and 2020. The population of the research should specifically include children of immigrants in their research. Children of immigrants refer to the second generation and the 1.5 generation. The four most studied migrant groups in the Netherlands have a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean background, although studies that included children with other migration backgrounds have also been considered in this chapter. *Qualitative*, *quantitative, or review studies* were eligible for inclusion. *Additional restrictions* for inclusion concern language and publication status: exclusively English-language and Dutch-language studies and academically published research will be included.

The second step is to describe how and when the information sources were searched for relevant articles and chapters. First, multiple research databases were researched: ERIC, Sociological Abstracts, and Psych Info in late February 2020 and early March 2020. Additional journals and publishers were also mined for relevant articles, such as the Social Science Research, Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies, Research in Social Stratification and Mobility, SAGE, Routledge, and Elsevier publishers (for an extensive list of additional journals and publishers searched see Appendix B).

The third step was to lay out the executed search strategy which describes the combination of search terms and the limits imposed on the search. The databases and additional journals were

searched on combinations of education, migration background, socio-economic background, and the Netherlands, and synonyms of these terminologies. The search in the three databases yielded 1293 records and the search in the additional journals yielded an additional 206 records, resulting in a total of 1499 records.

The fourth step was to prune the harvest that the search yielded by deleting duplicate records which reduced the number of studies to 1308. Next, these studies were screened for eligibility based on the title and abstract. The following criteria had to be met: the focus on education at primary, secondary, or tertiary levels among children of immigrants; in the Netherlands; with data gathered between 1980 and 2020; including children of immigrants, either second generation or generation 1.5, and reporting in English or Dutch. This resulted in 65 studies that were included. The fifth step was to code these 65 studies. Each publication was coded based upon a variety of variables such as studied years, theme, included groups, operationalization of SES and migration background, dependent and independent variables. The secondary literature was studied by first selecting the studies that examine primary schools, second examining which themes, groups, and explanations are discussed over which years, and what commonalities can be found. The same steps were then taken for secondary and tertiary education.

Databases and queries

The main theoretical concepts in this literature review are *education and family background*. The research population are children of immigrants and the research context is the Netherlands. Hence, literature that examines education of children of immigrants in the Netherlands in relation to their family background should be included in this chapter. The main keywords words are thus: family background, education, migrant groups and the Netherlands. Obviously various synonyms, operationalizations, and spelling differences are prevalent for these keywords. The final list included, for family background: family*, socio-economic*, socioeconomic*, social*, education*, occupation*, income*, capital*, support*, investment*, mobility*; for education: education*, academic*, school*, scholastic*, studies; for migrant groups: immigrant*, migrant*, migration*, ethnic*, second generation*, second-generation*, Turk*, Morocc*, Surinam*, Antill*; and for the Netherlands: the Netherlands, Dutch, Holland. Per main keyword field entry, the listed keywords could be used interchangeably – i.e. using “OR”. The Dutch equivalent of these words were used too: familie*, socio-economisch*, socioeconomisch*, social*, onderwijs*, beroep*, inkomen*, kapitaal*, mobiliteit*, for education: onderwijs*, academi*, school*, educatie*, studie*; for migrant groups: immigrant*,

migrant*, migratie*, etnisch*, tweede generatie*, Turk*, Marokk*, Surina*, Antill*; for the Netherlands: Nederland.

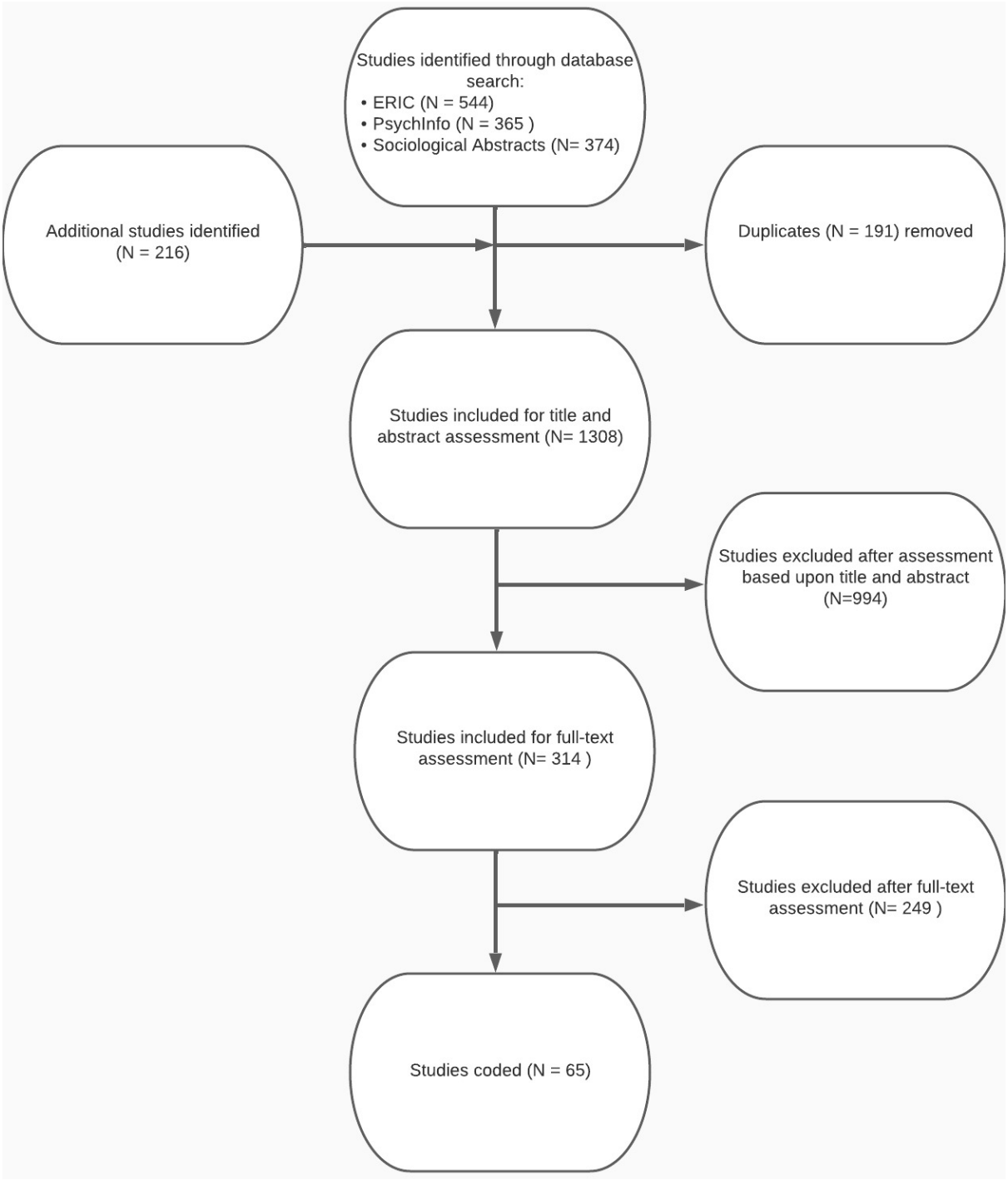
Three databases were searched. First, ERIC, which stands for Education Resources Information Center and is funded by the U.S. Department for Education, was searched with the keyword field entries as described above. This database was searched on February 26, 2020. The queries can be found in Appendix B. This yielded 554 results. Second, PsychInfo (by the American Psychological Association, via EBSCOHOST) was searched on February 26, 2020. Like the search in ERIC, I searched with these four entries. The third entry regarding education targeted the title, to search for papers that concerned education as main theme instead of other psychological topics. This yielded 365 results. The exact queries used can be found in the Appendix B. Third, Sociological Abstracts was searched on March 2, 2020, again with the four entries. The first entry regarding family background targeted the title, to search for papers that concerned social and family background as main themes instead of other sociological topics that are researched in relation to education. This search yielded 374 records. The queries can be found in Appendix B. In addition, as a more detailed search, the specific relevant English-language and Dutch-language journals were searched on February 27 and 28, 2020. These outlets were searched with the same queries as search in ERIC. The journals were researched in groups based upon their publisher. The list can be found in Appendix B. The total number of records from the databases and the journals was 1499. Duplicate records (N = 191) were removed. This resulted in 1308 records.

Study selection and inclusion

These 1308 studies were screened for eligibility based on the title and abstract. The following criteria had to be met: (1) academically published studies with a quantitative, qualitative or review approach with a focus on (2) education at primary, secondary, or tertiary levels among (3) children of immigrants; (4) in the Netherlands; with (4) data gathered between 1980 and 2020; and (5) reporting in English or Dutch. A total of 994 records were removed because they did not meet these criteria. After full-text assessment another 249 records were removed, which resulted in 65 studies that were included and coded. See Figure 4.1 for the flowchart with the steps of the search strategy and inclusion.

Figure 4.1

Flow chart of search strategy



Coding

The fifth step was to code these 65 studies. The coding scheme addressed study identifiers (authors, year, title, abstract), stage in education (primary, secondary or tertiary), type of study, type of data and data collection (e.g. quantitative vs. qualitative), sample characteristics (data source, sample size; migrant groups included), explananda (educational performance such as test scores, exams, degrees; educational choices) and explanans (micro level: parental migration and/or SES background; meso-level: schools, networks or peers; macro-level: educational system, segregation or school choice). Specifically, the types of operationalization of migration background or SES. See Table 4.1 for the coding scheme. After coding the first five studies as a pilot, the differentiation in operationalizations of the explananda – i.e. educational performance vs. choice – stood out as well as the operationalization of some explanans, specifically migrant background and socio-economic background. Therefore, these categories were added to the coding schema.

Table 4.1

Coding scheme by category and subcategories

Category	**Sub categories**
Type of study	Quantitative
	Qualitative
	Mixed
	Review
Stage in education	Primary
	Secondary
	Tertiary
Type of data and data collection	Quantitative vs qualitative; cross-sectional vs longitudinal; interviews; focus groups etc.
Data source	PRIMA, VOCL etc.
Migrant groups studied	Turkish; Moroccan; Surinamese; Antillean;
Sample size	
Explananda	Performance (test scores, exams, degree)
	Choices

Operationalization explananda	Individual level: migrant background; socio-economic background
Explanans	Meso level: schools, networks, peers Macro level: educational system, educational policies, segregation, school choice Migrant background: parental place of birth, citizenship, generation, language spoken at home
Operationalization explanans	Socio-economic background: parental education level, types of capital Education system: track mobility and permeability;

The literature review is structured along the three stages of education. Discussing the literature on a specific stage of education allows for comparison between explanans shining light on similar explananda. The various explanations of education stage-specific outcomes can thus be contrasted. In the synthesis, I zoom in on the various explanans and how these explained differences in educational performance and choice across educational stages.

Literature review

Primary education

Primary education in the Netherlands starts at age 5 and is completed around age 12. The main focus in research on primary education among children of immigrants is either the starting position or the outcome in the last grade, relatively few studies examined education over time. In research on primary schools, language proficiency issues and track placement advice, and performance testing in the final primary school grade are emphasized. Migration-related explanations given in these studies for educational gaps among children of immigrants are language proficiency and integration of the parent into the host society.

Language proficiency

Research in primary schools focused on the language development and proficiency of children of immigrants in both the parental mother tongue and the Dutch language. On the one hand, studies analyzed the development and skills in the parental native tongue. In the 1980s and 1990s, primary

schools offered language courses in the parental mother tongue (i.e., *Onderwijs in Eigen Taal en Cultuur* and later *Onderwijs in Allochtone Levende Talen*, Minority Language, and Cultural Teaching), which aimed at developing a positive self-concept and self-awareness, to close the gap between school and home environment and to contribute to intercultural education (Broeder & Extra, 1999; Driessen, 1996; Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Rijkschroeff et al., 2005). The focus of these policies has shifted from preparing children for remigration to contributing to the integration and education of children of immigrants (Driessen, 1996), even though the evidence for these contributions has been ambiguous (for various arguments see: Driessen, 1996; Lucassen & Köbben, 1992) and this language curriculum was no longer offered in schools from 2005 on (Extra & Yagmur, 2006).

On the other hand, studies focused on language development and skills in Dutch. Children of immigrants are shown to have lower language proficiency upon entering the school system at age five. Speaking minority languages at home is assumed to be one of the explanations for this. Even before entering primary school, preschool programs are offered to children from lower socio-economic families or families with a migration background to prevent and combat educational disadvantages, such as language discrepancies upon starting school (Driessen, 2018). Only small effects and even sometimes equivocal empirical evidence on the effectiveness of preschool have been found (Driessen, 2018; Fukkink et al., 2017). As children with lower Dutch language proficiency obtained lower scores on Dutch language tests throughout primary school (Van der Slik et al., 2006), the importance of Dutch language proficiency from a young age onward has been stressed. Nonetheless, other studies demonstrated that in the first years of primary school children of immigrants who spoke another language besides Dutch at home, can speed up their lexical skill development, yet this still resulted in lower lexical skills when compared to children who spoke Dutch at home (Appel & Vermeer, 1998; Driessen et al., 2002). Lower Dutch language proficiency and reading skills may also have a spillover effect on test performance in other subjects such as mathematics, in which assignments must be read and interpreted correctly for successful completion as argued by (Latuheru & Hessels, 1996). Moreover, differential item functioning and item bias are prevalent in performance testing among children of immigrants. Differential item functioning refers to items in a test function differently for certain individual pupils or groups of pupils regardless of cognitive abilities due to 'construct-irrelevant' factors such as unnecessarily difficult wording in arithmetic test items or profiting from prior or extra-curricular knowledge that does not reasonably correspond with the grade curriculum. Differential item function has been shown in the standardized test taken in the final year of most primary schools, i.e. *CITO Eindtoets Basisonderwijs*, among children with a Turkish and Moroccan migration background (Van Schilt-Mol, 2007). Differential item functioning was also found regarding

language that hindered these children for some items, yet for others, pre-existing knowledge benefitted these children (Uiterwijk & Vallen, 2003, 2005).

Parental integration into host society

The second migration-related explanation for educational positions is the extent of integration of the parents into the host society. Generally, parental integration is assumed to be linearly associated with the education of children. In short, the more integrated the parents are, the higher the educational outcomes of the children. Yet, the integration of parents is measured in various ways. Driessen (2004) focused on parental years of residence and demonstrated very weak effects of paternal and maternal years of residence on children's mathematics and language performance in primary school. Driessen & Merry (2011) concluded that the more integrated the parents, the higher the language and numeracy skills of the children were. They measured integration in socio-economic terms of education level and employment status, socio-cultural terms of language spoken with children, command of Dutch, number of children, and secularism (Driessen & Merry, 2011). These measures of integration explained more variance in language than in numerical skills and the measure of parental education turned out to be the most influential. Their conclusions are remarkable as almost a decade earlier Oomens and colleagues concluded that the extent to which the parents are integrated was barely associated with the math and reading performance of their children. Integration was measured both socio-economically (education level and employment status) and socio-culturally (proficiency in Dutch and native tongue and orientation towards ethnic community) in this study (Oomens et al., 2003). As such, the integration of parents has a stronger effect on language skills than on math skills and it seems to be getting better with time.

Socio-economic background of the family

A vast body of literature examined the trade-off between migration and family background influences in the education of children of immigrants. Family background can refer to the socio-economic position of the family or the parental involvement in the education of their children. The assumption is that immigrant families often have relatively lower *socio-economic positions* in the host society, and that this lower parental socio-economic position is negatively associated with the education of their children. Some scholars thus argued that educational disadvantages in performance and track placement advice can be explained by the lower parental socio-economic position rather than by the migration background (de Jong & van Batenburg, 1984; Driessen, 1990; Dronkers & Kerkhoff, 1990). In other words, these authors argued that the educational positions of children of immigrants in primary school were like those of children without a migration background from families with lower socio-economic positions. Driessen (2013) demonstrated higher math and reading performance levels

of children of immigrants than that of the children without an immigration background with comparable, lower, education levels. Moreover, while accounting for parental educational level, the trends over time in the educational performance of children of immigrants surpassed the performances of the majority children. However, parental education level as the operationalization of socio-economic position has been widely debated. Driessen (1990), de Jong (1987), Kerkhoff (1988), and Tesser (1989a) all stipulated provisos to this operationalization, such as the limited comparability of parental education level between immigrant and majority families and the possibility of an interaction between socio-economic position and migration background, which will be elaborated upon in (1) the section on secondary education in this chapter and (2) in the synthesis. Another measurement of the socio-economic position of the family can be the financial or economic resources available to support the education of the children. Oomens and colleagues (2003) demonstrated that children from more affluent immigrant families perform slightly better in math and reading.

Both parental involvement and aspirations were not associated with the math and reading performance of children of immigrants according to the study by Oomens and colleagues (2003). Therefore, the fact that Denessen and colleagues (2007) concluded from interviews with primary school principals that the involvement in primary schools by immigrant parents was experienced as rather difficult (Denessen et al., 2007) is interesting, but does not automatically offer an explanation.

Track placement advice

The practice of *track placement* advice is another explanation of educational positions and disadvantages and is related to the family background. An important debate in research on track placement advice is how this advice practice relates to meritocratic principles (Driessen et al., 2008a; Luyten & Bosker, 2004; Tolsma et al., 2007; van der Slik et al., 2006). In other words, to what extent is the track placement advice based on test performance or the teacher's assessment of background characteristics of the pupil - such as family background, migration background, or gender? Biased track placement advice can work in two ways: over-advising and under-advising. The practice of over-advising was widely studied in the 1980s and 1990s, the dominant perception was that children of immigrants would be recommended a higher track placement than their test performance indicated, i.e., a higher track placement would be recommended to children of immigrants than to children without a migration background with an equal test performance (Driessen, 1991, 2006b; Jong, 1987).

Over-advising was perceived as a practice of positive discrimination (Driessen, 1991). It challenged the meritocratic approach to track placement advice in which test performance was complemented with motivation and academic potential. Driessen and colleagues (2008a) argued that the meritocratic ideal of exclusively considering performance-level variables in track placement advice

overlooked the importance of effort and motivation, which were variables measured with greater difficulty. This cohort study that covers the years 2002 to 2008 did not find evidence of over-advising for children of immigrants. Students from various migration backgrounds with equal performance levels received similar track placement advice, with an exception for the slightest over-advising for the miscellaneous category of 'other minority pupils' (Driessen, 2006b; Driessen et al., 2008b). Timmermans and colleagues (2018) concluded this as well in their longitudinal study from 1995 to 2007: the practice of over-advising diminished over time. Thus we see that the practice of over-advising diminished around the turn of the century.

Over-advising and under-advising are relative terms, the question is to whom children of immigrants are compared. Both concepts describe an advice practice in which the track placement advice in the last grade of primary school does not completely align with the performance level as measured by standardized CITO score. The question is, however, to what extent over-advising befell children of immigrants more often than children without a migration background? Some studies have shown that under-advising was found among children without a migration background as well: given equal performance levels, children from lower social classes received lower advice than peers from higher social classes (Luyten & Bosker, 2004; Mulder, 1993). Timmermans and colleagues (2018) concluded that under-advising for children from lower socio-economic backgrounds in comparison with similarly able peers remains over time (1995-2014), whereas over-advising for children of immigrants diminished over the same period.

The causes of over-advising were found at the student level, the class level, or the school level. At the student level, test performance would only indicate the current capabilities, whereas children of immigrants could have more potential for development that was not yet manifested due to prohibitive and disrupting effects of migration, such as lower language proficiency or later entrance into the Dutch school system (de Boer & van der Werf, 2015; Driessen et al., 2008; Timmermans et al., 2018). Over-advising would allow children of immigrants with more potential, as observed by the teacher, to optimally develop this potential in secondary school. On the class or school level, the evaluation of children's school performance is affected by the relative performance level of their peers in the class or school (Driessen, 2015; Timmermans et al., 2015). With high levels of segregation in immigrant communities in the cities, children of immigrants run a high risk of being segregated in schools and classes, with lower performance levels (Driessen, 2015; Timmermans et al., 2015). Hence, children of immigrants who stood out in terms of their performance levels in their - segregated – class context and thus received higher track placement advice might not stand out to the same extent in a new school context in secondary school. This has also been described as the frog-pond effect which refers to the evaluation of a pupil's performance dependent upon the class or school context; a pupil

might be evaluated more positively in a lower-performing context than the same pupil in a higher-performing group.

School context characteristics

The school context characteristics include school and class composition. Socially and ethnically segregated schools and classes are assumed to negatively affect the educational performance of the children. Driessen (2002a) demonstrated that children in schools in which more than half of the pupil population has a migration background performed lower on math and especially on language tests in grade 4 (approximately 8-year-olds) than schools with a majority of Dutch majority children, even when accounted for cognitive abilities, gender, age, ethnic background, and parental education (Driessen, 2002). Ironically, no performance gap was found between children of immigrants and Dutch majority children in schools where pupils with a migration background dominate (Driessen, 2002). Contrarily, Veerman and colleagues (2013) showed that the proportion of children of immigrants in a class was negatively related to the language and math performance for Dutch majority children, but less so for children of immigrants. Gijsberts (2006) concluded similarly that math and language performances are aggravated when half or more of the pupil population has a migration background (Gijsberts, 2006). Contrary to Driessen (2002), Gijsberts (2006) and van der Slik (2006) concluded that the socio-economic characteristics of segregated schools prevail in negatively affecting school performance over migration background characteristics. On the class level, Luyten and colleagues (2009) concluded that upon entering primary school, classes with many pupils from a lower socio-economic background and immigrant families had a lower performance level in both language and math tests than classes with predominantly Dutch pupils, regardless of socio-economic position. The gap in language test performance disappeared in the subsequent primary school grades, while the gap in math persists throughout primary school grades (Luyten et al., 2009).

Free school choice and access to state-funded denominational and philosophical schools are other explanations for school segregation. Next to public schools, religious – such as Christian, Islamic, Jewish, or Hindu - and philosophical schools - e.g., Montessori, Jenaplan or Steiner schools - are state-funded in the Netherlands. Karsten and colleagues (2003) demonstrated how free school choice, next to residential segregation, fosters school segregation: immigrant parents consider other characteristics of schools to be essential in their choice of enrolling their children and prefer schools with differentiation in curriculum and good academic reputations whereas Dutch majority parents looked for a “match” in the home and school environment (Karsten et al., 2003), preferring schools with children from their own social background. The degree of differentiation, the academic standard of the school, and distance to the school were the most important motives for parents who had had

little schooling, and these factors became less important as the level of education of the parents increased.

In the debate on school segregation, specific attention has been devoted to denominational schools. The combination of free school choice and state funding for both public and denominational schools allows parents to decide to enroll their children in a school that matches their religious beliefs. This has been offered as an explanation for school segregation among Islamic (Moroccan and Turkish) immigrant families. Some Islamic primary schools have been evaluated as 'weak' by the Dutch Education Inspectorate and this was expected to negatively affect the education of the children enrolled in these schools among whom are many children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Driessen and colleagues (2016) demonstrated that Islamic schools had lower math and language performance levels than other denominational schools, yet pupils in Islamic schools made the most progress from the first to last grade in primary education (Driessen & Bezemer, 1999).

Secondary education

Secondary education in the Netherlands starts at age 12 and lasts four to six years depending on the track. The main emphasis in research on the second education among children of immigrants is either the impact of family and migration background, tracking, early school leave, or dropping out on educational performance.

Socio-economic background of migrant families

Wolbers and Driessen (1996) argued that socio-economic background prevailed over migration background as a determinant of the educational outcomes of children of immigrants. Specifically, the parental educational level as the operationalization of socio-economic background was an important predictor for track placement advice and test performances. Hustinx (2002), however, showed that children of immigrants were "less successful in their school career if we equalize the groups on 'lower social background' " When compared with Dutch majority children from lower socio-economic position families, children of immigrants "receive lower advice and are found in lower types of education during the first five years following the transition to secondary education" and have a much higher drop-out rate (Hustinx, 2002, pp. 181–182). However, Hustinx (2002) argued that the operationalization of "lower social background" skewed the picture for immigrant families drastically as the lowest category of parental education was a collapsed category, in which immigrant parents were overrepresented among those having had "only primary school". Thus, after equalizing for "only primary school", children of immigrants were shown to have higher performance levels, i.e., track

placement. Moreover, he concluded that track placement advice seemed not to have negative consequences for children of immigrants. Similarly, Van de Werfhorst & van Tubergen (2007), using a later cohort than Hustinx (2002), concluded that children of immigrants "attend lower levels of education and score lower on achievements test". Again, these ethnic gaps were found to be related to the socio-economic background as the achievement differences disappeared and track placement differences decreased (van de Werfhorst & van Tubergen, 2007). Moreover, after accounting for socio-economic background, children of immigrants were found to choose higher tracks in secondary schools.

Migration background has also been found to affect the educational outcomes of children of immigrants in secondary schools. Van de Werfhorst and Heath (2019) showed how the educational outcomes - test performance and track placement - of second-generation children of immigrants were affected by migration background. More precisely, a positive selection effect impacted secondary school outcomes, i.e., children from immigrant communities who were positively selected performed better in secondary school than peers from immigrant communities who were negatively selected. Selection was measured as a selectivity index that compares the education levels of first-generation migrants to the same birth cohorts in the population of the country of origin. For the Netherlands, the positive selection effect was found for children from Surinamese and Antillean families and not for the communities of Turkish and Moroccan origin due to the rather unfortunate timing of family reunification that coincided with the economic recession following the oil crisis. Additionally, they noted how these findings were amplified by the stratification of secondary education, in countries with stratified, or tracked, secondary education, such as the Netherlands (van de Werfhorst & Heath, 2019).

Combinations of family and migration background that affect educational outcomes in secondary school were also found by various scholars. When it comes to the 1980s Roelandt, Martens, and Veenman (1990) demonstrated how the differences in performance level are affected by the socio-economic background of the family and migration background-related characteristics. Generational differences played an important role, children of immigrants born in the country of origin and who entered the Dutch educational system past the age of 5 years were found to have lower track placement and diplomas in secondary school than second-generation children. Orientation towards the host country's society and familiarization and proficiency in the Dutch language seems to play an important role in these generational differences. In addition, they argued that the role of socio-economic background should not be overlooked either, children of lower socio-economic families, still, had lower performance levels (Roelandt et al., 1990). A decade later Dekkers and colleagues (2000) studied the interactions between gender, socioeconomic background, and migration

background over time. They concluded that girls with a migration background have similar education levels six years after entering secondary school as Dutch majority girls, irrespective of socio-economic background, but that children of immigrants with higher socio-economic backgrounds slightly outperformed lower socio-economic background children of immigrants. For Dutch majority peers, the difference between low and high SES was larger. Moreover, girls from immigrant families and, from higher socio-economic backgrounds families "choose a technical or agricultural specialization (instead of caring or commerce) far more often than other girls given their performance and arithmetic at age 12" (Dekkers et al., 2000, p. 73). Boys, either from immigrant or higher socio-economic backgrounds families, chose the most science subjects, contrary to co-ethnic boys from lower SES families and co-ethnic girls regardless of SES. Latuheru and Hessels (1996) argued socioeconomic and migration backgrounds were interconnected. They demonstrated how multicollinearity issues, i.e., existing associations between the independent variables socio-economic and migration background in multiple previous studies, hinder straightforward conclusions on whether socioeconomic background prevails over migration background in predicting school outcomes, or vice-versa. They concluded that the separate, or unique, effects of either socioeconomic or migration background on school outcomes are rather small or not significant (Latuheru & Hessels, 1994).

Stratification

Another important explanation for differences in educational outcomes of children of immigrants in secondary school is stratification. Specifically, tracking is a widely studied explanation for the educational outcomes of children of immigrants in secondary schools in various countries (Baysu et al., 2018; Nygård, 2017). The timing and permeability of tracking are the main issues that have been studied. The Dutch secondary education system can be assessed as stratified, with its three main tracks, and a multitude of sub-tracks that prepare students for specific tertiary education (Baysu et al., 2018; Bol & Van de Werfhorst, 2013; Crul et al., 2012; Dronkers & Fleischmann, 2010). In international comparison, it is not as comprehensive as Sweden and not as rigid as Germany. Nevertheless, this intermediately stratified system in the Netherlands affects the educational outcomes of children of immigrants negatively.

Track placement happens at a relatively young age of 12 in the Netherlands. Early tracking affects aspirations and enables persisting gaps in track placement and performance levels of children of immigrants. Nygård (2017) showed that early tracking negatively affected the educational aspirations of children of immigrants in the Netherlands: children of immigrants in vocational tracks perceive incongruity in aspirations between what one hopes to achieve and what one thinks one can

achieve. This incongruity was not as prevalent among children of immigrants in Sweden, which has a more comprehensive educational system and where tracking takes place at age 16, four years later than in the Netherlands. The timing of tracking has far-reaching consequences for the school trajectories of children of immigrants. Baysu and colleagues (2018) showed how differentiation in educational trajectories of children of specifically Turkish immigrants and majority peers diverged around the first moment of tracking. In the Netherlands, the first moment of tracking upon entering secondary school and the first gaps in educational trajectories between children of immigrants and majority peers emerged in the first year(s) of secondary school, i.e., and led to the overrepresentation of children of Turkish immigrants in vocational tracks. This gap persisted throughout the educational trajectories into tertiary education.

A possibility to challenge these gaps is *track permeability* or track mobility. Track permeability is usually difficult in stratified educational systems because the differences between the track curricula tend to be more rigid. The intermediately stratified Dutch educational system allows some track permeability. Changing or "stacking" tracks is a well-known strategy for children of immigrants, and children from lower socio-economic strata, to attain higher education levels in the Netherlands. Baysu and colleagues (2018) demonstrated how children of immigrants more often follow "the long route" to tertiary education by moving on to an academic track after completing a vocational one in secondary school or by moving tracks in tertiary education, for example from MBO to HBO or from HBO to university. Contrarily – and fifteen years earlier, Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (2003) studied how tracking permeability can have negative consequences for children of immigrants in secondary school. They showed how children of immigrants were more likely to be downwardly mobile in secondary school than their majority peers. This downwardly mobile path leads to school drop-out for children of immigrants more often than for majority peers. Dropping out of secondary school, or early school leave is another phenomenon that is often studied in the secondary education of children of immigrants. Studies that focus on the 1990s, like Bosma and Cremers (1996), Dekkers and Driessen (1997), and Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (2003), examined how children of immigrants tend to be two to five times more likely to drop out of secondary school than majority peers, similarly to findings by Hustinx (2002). Even more so, boys with a migration background have a significantly higher drop-out rate than girls (Dekkers & Driessen, 1997).

The interaction between stratification and family background was also examined by some scholars (Baysu et al., 2018; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003). Baysu and colleagues (2018) accounted for additional characteristics and concluded that gaps in attained track in severely stratified educational systems between children of Turkish immigrants and majority peers were affected by family background, more specifically parental education level and employment status, although not by

individual characteristics such as age and gender. In the Dutch context, when accounted for family background, the differences in educational trajectories between Turkish and majority peers decreased although they did not disappear entirely (Baysu et al., 2018). Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (2003) concluded that accounting for family background, the dropout rate of children of immigrants was 1.8 times higher than the majority of peers, whereas this was almost three times higher without taking family background into account. Moreover, family background prevailed over entry-level ability in explaining the discrepancy in dropout rates between children of immigrants and majority peers (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003). For downward mobility another picture arose: when the parental background was held constant, children of immigrants were less likely to be downwardly mobile than Dutch majority peers. They concluded that when the family background was accounted for, children of immigrants were more likely to drop out, whereas the majority of peers were more likely to be downwardly mobile (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003).

Individual and family characteristics beyond socio-economic stratification

In addition to family and migration background-related explanations of educational discrepancies among children of immigrants in secondary education, other explanations arise from the literature as well. Luyten (2004) concluded that track placement in the first and fourth year of secondary education is explained merely by performance (test scores and GPA) and effort (track placement advice and truancy) and barely by background variables including the socio-economic position of the family, migration background and gender. Moreover, parenting style and parental support have been shown to contribute to successful secondary school achievements (van der Veen, 2003; van der Veen & Meijnen, 2001; van der Veen & Meijnen, 2002).

Van der Veen (2003) studied which factors contribute to successful secondary education among children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, where success was defined as attending HAVO or VWO in the fifth year of secondary school. She concluded that next to the education level of the parents, the parents' high mobility orientation played an important role in the educational success of children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. In another study on the educational success of children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, van der Veen and Meijnen (2001) showed how a competitive attitude was the best predictor for successful educational careers among these children – more so than other social psychological constructs such as a strong ethnic identity, autonomy, or conformity. Van der Veen and Meijnen (2002) demonstrated how successful children of Turkish and Moroccan parents were subject to a less authoritarian parenting style than the less successful co-ethnic peers. The relationship between successful students of Turkish and Moroccan origin and their parents was less satisfactory than the one between less successful co-ethnic peers and their parents. This could be

due to the educational success that increased the social gap between parents and successful students. Many findings on the secondary education phase of children of immigrants are based upon studies before the turn of the century – and thus concern different birth cohorts than the studies in the 2000s and 2010s. These conclusions should thus not be interpreted as representing the indisputable positions and explanations of children of immigrants in secondary education as more recent studies have painted a somewhat more optimistic picture.

Tertiary education

Studies or reviews on the education of children of immigrants in the Netherlands rarely examined tertiary education. However, this provides vital insights into the final education levels and what the educational trajectories of children in tertiary education looked like. Tertiary education in the Netherlands has three main branches: vocational tertiary education (MBO) which is sub-tracked into four levels, higher professional education (HBO), and university (WO).

The longer route through education

The 'longer route' describes a longer trajectory to the final obtained educational level than a nominal trajectory in which students pursue another, often higher, degree after obtaining the initial degree. This longer route has been studied as an opportunity for children of immigrants to obtain higher education levels despite the lower educational tracks in secondary (Crul, 2015; Crul & Schneider, 2009; Pásztor, 2014a; Schnell et al., 2013). In numerous studies, children of immigrants are interviewed on successfully obtaining a higher education degree by reconstructing their educational trajectories. The longer route was an avenue to this higher degree for several successful higher educated children of immigrants (Crul, 2015; Pásztor, 2009; Schnell et al., 2015). Schnell and colleagues (2013) shed light on the importance of various resources in succeeding in the long route among children of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. Teachers specifically were found to be vital supporters of the upwardly mobile educational trajectories of these children, even more so than supportive parents, siblings, or peers (Ledoux, 1996; Schnell et al., 2013). Crul (2015) pointed out how the longer route in the Netherlands provided opportunities for children of immigrants who were disadvantaged in secondary school, though strong determination and perseverance played a key role in succeeding in a longer route. Even more than a decade before this elaborate study by Crul, Hofman and van den Berg (2003) demonstrated how students with a migration background who attended pre-university education in secondary school performed better in higher education than their same ethnic peers who followed a long route through education levels.

Family background: social-economic status, attitudes and agency

The role of family background in the stories of attaining higher education among children of immigrants was widely studied. Hofman and van den Berg (2003) showed that the parental education level correlated with higher education enrolment of their children: almost 60 percent of Dutch majority children in university had at least one parent that attained higher education, whilst this was less than 50 percent (i.e. 48%) for students with an Antillean or Surinamese migration background and even 25 percent of students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background. Ooijevaar (2010) examined whether students obtained their higher education degree within eight years after the first enrolment, how many years it took to obtain their degree and concluded that parental background (measured as income and intact parental union), as well as other predictors such as gender, high GPA in secondary school and time investment in their education, explained the gap between students with a migration background and Dutch majority students. However, these predictors did not explain the gaps between Dutch majority students and students with a migration background when the latter group was differentiated by specific migration background (i.e., Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean).

Ooijevaar suggested that other factors could explain this gap in study success better, such as segregation or attitudes toward education. Pásztor (2014b) concluded that attitudes towards the education of Turkish immigrant families varied across national contexts and over time: from a sojourner perspective – i.e., upholding orientation to country of origin rather than to host country- to a family mobilization perspective. She demonstrated through interviews how the attitudes towards education became more upwardly mobile oriented in the Netherlands over time whereas the lack of labor market returns shaped the negative attitudes towards Turkish families in Austria and highlighted the importance of ethnic community or 'niche' for employment opportunities instead (Pásztor, 2014b). Almost twenty years earlier Ledoux (1996) concluded similarly that Turkish and Moroccan parents have high aspirational levels for their children from an idea of migration as a family mobility project, whilst these first-generation parents were not able to support the educational careers of their children emotionally or in terms of resources. Noteworthy is the conclusion of Pásztor (2010) that the importance of education in the family mobilization perspective did not counteract the negative impact of lower socio-economic background in immigrant families. Pásztor (2009) found divergent trends in the choice patterns in higher education: children of Turkish immigrants with a higher socio-economic status background, i.e., higher educated parents or middle-class status families, were 'embedded choosers' whereas children of immigrants who lacked this parental support and expectation pattern were 'contingent choosers', meaning that they are less likely to progress on to higher education. The educational trajectories of embedded choosers were characterized by the importance of schooling

and the support parents provided either directly themselves or indirectly through engaging their network, whilst for contingent choosers 'loopholes' or 'back doors' in the school system such as the 'long route' were essential in attaining higher education.

Social contexts: teachers, peers and networks

Another resource to support the educational trajectories of children of immigrants is the social context. Severiens and Wolff (2008) studied first-year university students and concluded that the quality of contact with teachers and peers in higher education was alike for minority and majority students. However, they concluded that "the same learning environment can have different effects on each group of students and can set different types of mechanism in motion" (Severiens & Wolff, 2008, p. 264). An explanation might be that high-quality contact with teachers in higher education functioned differently for low and high-performing minority students, i.e., formal contact between teachers and low-performing students and informal contact between teachers and high-performing students. Wolff (2013) examined the importance of social resources in higher education among children of immigrants and concluded from qualitative data such as from interviews that good and frequent contact with teachers and students on the one hand and a structured and guided study program, especially in the first year, on the other hand, were unmistakably part of the school success among the children of immigrants who obtained a higher educational degree. He also considered parents a social resource, however, the support in considering and choosing a higher education program was more limited compared to Dutch students (Wolff 2013). Nevertheless, the extrinsic motivation to study certain programs by children of immigrants should be noted. Wolff (2013) mentioned how immigrant parents see migration as an intergenerational socially upward project in which the 'status' or 'prestige' of the study program matters in choosing higher education programs among their children. Hence, the family support in choosing a program is focused on status or social mobility rather than intrinsic motivation of children of immigrants (Wolff, 2013).

Crul and colleagues (2017) described the importance of new social contexts and social capital gathered by students over time as the 'multiplier effect'. This is "a "self-triggering" element produced during the pathways of the climbers" among successful children of immigrants through which they "take more advantage of opportunities in education and on the labor market than their peers of native descent" (Crul et al. 2017). These opportunities are exponential in the educational and labor market careers of socio-economic climbers. Hence, the gap between the successful and less successful co-ethnic children of immigrants increases over time. The successful children of immigrants thus climb the social ladder mostly with support from the 'new' social and cultural capital they gained by entering new socio-economic circles and less so due to the family's social and cultural capital. One of the new

social circles that is mentioned by minority students to be of importance for their higher education experience are minority students' organizations (Slootman, 2019). This is in addition to the idea of Pásztor (2014b) that social integration of students in higher education supported better outcomes but that minority students employed individual strategies such as "joining existing networks, creating new networks, or simply, keeping old high school friends throughout university" (Pásztor, 2014b, p. 9).

Despite the increasing number of higher educated children of immigrants, the transition from education to the labor market comes with hindrances (Allen & Belfi, 2020; Khoudja, 2018). Allen and Belfi demonstrated how higher education attendance expanded over the last decades in the Netherlands and this positively affected the graduate skill levels and labor market returns for graduates (Allen & Belfi, 2020). Graduates with a non-Western migration background, i.e., children of immigrants in this study, and female students did not profit from this expansion to the same extent as similarly educated male Dutch majority students: students with a migration background had higher chances of unemployment than their majority peers. Similarly, Khoudja (2018) demonstrated the persistence of ethnic employment gaps, specifically for women in tertiary education.

Synthesis

This synthesis discusses the main explanatory mechanisms for educational gaps and trajectories of children of immigrants in the Netherlands that arise from the literature described for the three stages above. Roughly, explanations of the educational outcomes of children of immigrants can be found on three levels: family background, school context, and institutional context.

Family background

As to family background, the main explanations pertain to the parental level. The majority of studies discussed either the socioeconomic status or migration background as the source of the educational inequalities of children of immigrants. Penninx (1989) described these two explanations of differences in the educational careers of children of immigrants by distinguishing between the *disadvantaged perspective* and the *immigration perspective*. The disadvantaged perspective focused on the lower socio-economic position of immigrant families in the Netherlands and how this impacts the educational careers of their children. As described by Boudon (1974) the family's socioeconomic position affects performances and choices in education, i.e., the primary and secondary effects. This divide in performance and choice can also be found in the research on the education of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. Concerning primary effects, socioeconomic position influences educational performances via intergenerational transmission of human, cultural, or economic capital.

First, *human capital transmission* is by far the most studied of these three., and these operationalize human capital as parental education level or occupation level, concluding that this negatively affects their children's education or that children have higher performance levels despite their lower parental socio-economic position. The question for these studies however remains to what extent this negative association between socio-economic background and educational performance is due to a problematic and inaccurate operationalization of socio-economic background for first-generation parents. This issue of unmaterialized human capital is certainly contentious and often mentioned by researchers (e.g., van de Werfhorst & van Tubergen 2007; van der Veen 2003; Pels & Veenman 1996) but these studies utilized these biased operationalizations for human capital in immigrant families, nevertheless.

Second, *cultural capital* as described by Bourdieu (1973) emphasized 'habitus', such as cultural codes, practices, and norms that parents transfer to their children. Immigrant families might not have the cultural capital that is evaluated positively in the Dutch educational system, yet in studies this is mostly discussed regarding language proficiency and barriers (Broeder & Extra, 1999; Driessen, 1996; Extra & Yagmur, 2006; Rijkschroeff et al., 2005) caused by immigration and not as lower cultural capital. The studies that examined the role of integration of parents for their children's education tended to indirectly measure cultural capital by parental language proficiency or residence period, i.e., the longer the parents lived in the Netherlands, the more knowledge they would have about the Dutch society and educational system (see for example Driessen, 2004; Driessen & Merry, 2011; Oomens et al., 2003). However, these studies found weak or no effects on test scores. Moreover, they studied integration in combination with variables that measure socioeconomic status, such as parental education. Siblings, peers, or teachers are found to provide additional resources to help children of immigrants navigate their educational pathways (Crul et al., 2017; Ledoux, 1996; Pásztor, 2014b; Schnell et al., 2013; Severiens & Wolff, 2008; Wolff, 2013).

Third, *economic capital* refers to the economic support of parents for their children's education. Relatively few studies operationalize parental socio-economic background by income among other measures (for exceptions see: Ooijevaar, 2010; Oomens et al., 2003) and yield divergent conclusions. Oomens and colleagues (2003) concluded that a higher income was positively associated with test scores in primary school, while Ooijevaar (2010) showed that parental income was not associated with higher education success for students with a migration background.

Stratification and agency in tracking

Secondary effects of socioeconomic position on children of immigrants' education concern educational choices, e.g., tracking decisions or pursuing the long route. The central assumption is that children from higher social status families would make more ambitious educational choices. This can be driven by either the rational choice perspective or risk aversion theory. The most obvious educational decisions in the Netherlands concern tracking in secondary school and 'stacking' diplomas in the 'longer route'. Contrarily to these theories of rational choice or risk aversion, various scholars (Ledoux, 1996; Pásztor, 2009; Pásztor, 2010, 2014b; Schnell et al., 2013) described how immigrant parents, often with lower socio-economic background, encouraged and supported their children in following and choosing educational trajectories that were upwardly mobile. Yet this was not to reassert or maintain the relative socio-economic standing of the family but to improve it, which is in line with the idea of immigrant optimism, which is part of the immigration perspective.

This brings us to the *immigration perspective* which emphasizes the immigration-related factors that influence the education of children of immigrants such as differences in cultural and social capital between the country of origin and country of destination/host society, for example lower language proficiency or little knowledge on the educational system in the Netherlands. Immigration-related factors in a family can positively influence the education of the children. Immigration optimism or the family mobilization thesis (A. F. Heath et al., 2008; Kao & Tienda, 1995) describes families striving for upward social mobility through the education of their children and especially by choosing certain tracks or schools. In the literature examples for this family mobilization thesis are put forward by Pásztor (2009; 2010; 2014b) and Ledoux (1996). They show that first-generation parents in the Netherlands see the education of their children as the way for them to move up the socioeconomic ladder. Specifically, the labor market returns of higher education were mentioned by various parents (Pásztor 2010; 2014b) with a higher education degree expected to help their children in the labor market. This family mobilization thesis seems to only arise from the stories of successful higher education students with a migration background (Ledoux, 1996; Pásztor, 2009; Pásztor, 2010, 2014b) and this mechanism does not function similarly for children of immigrants in lower tracks. The higher aspirations of parents might not match the achievement of these children, which has been described as the aspiration-achievement paradox (Heath et al. 2008). Nygård (2017) demonstrated the discrepancy between what secondary vocational students hope to aspire to and what they think they can obtain.

School characteristics and factors

Segregation, school, and *class composition* played a key role in research on the school level for primary schools mostly. The literature provided mixed results on the effects of school and class composition. Children in schools and classes with a high proportion of children of immigrants tend to have lower test scores (Driessen, 2002). However, this did not negatively impact children of immigrant and majority peers alike in mixed schools (Gijsberts, 2006; Veerman et al., 2013). Segregation in schools was linked to residential segregation and free school choice with the options of choosing denominational schools such as Islamic schools (Karsten et al. 2003) whilst various scholars demonstrated that segregation on socio-economic characteristics impacted the performance of children more than migration-related characteristics.

The stratified educational system was regarded as the main explanation for differential educational trajectories of children of immigrants at the institutional level. The track placement advice, timing of tracking, and track permeability were discussed as essential in shaping educational trajectories. For children of immigrants, the track placement advice has frequently been found to not match the ability level (Driessen, 1991, 2006b, 2015; Driessen et al., 2008b; Jong, 1987; Luyten & Bosker, 2004; Mulder, 1993; Timmermans et al., 2018). The practices of over-advising and under-advising stem from a divergence in the teacher's expectations and the child's ability level. This contradicts the ideal of meritocracy: children should be evaluated by their performance and not by their background characteristics. Track placement is very important for the development of the educational trajectory of the pupil, as demonstrated by Baysu and colleagues (2018) whose work shows that initial track placement gaps persist throughout educational trajectories. The advice by the teacher is thus highly influential for the educational trajectories of children of immigrants. Moreover, the relatively *early tracking* at the age of 12 limited opportunities to overcome possible socio-economic and migration-related disadvantages and translate this into performance. The *permeability of tracking* provides opportunities to switch to higher tracks (i.e., upwardly mobile) yet at the same time it enables downward educational mobility. Children of immigrants who followed a "longer route" to higher education utilized track permeability by stacking diplomas (Crul, 2015; Crul & Schneider, 2009; Schnell et al., 2013), whereas for others downward mobility is enabled by track permeability (Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003), with early school leave or drop-out as a consequence. This divergent trend of upward and downward mobility through track permeability corresponds with the concepts of segmented assimilation in which subgroups differentiate in their path of integration.

Conclusions

Several conclusions arise from this synthesis. First: the operationalization and definition of migration background vary widely. Most studies included children of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean immigrants. In early studies, children of immigrants were lumped together in a single category not allowing any differentiation between migration backgrounds. This overlooks intragroup differences in the effects of migration background and SES as well as other explanans. In more recent studies, groups were differentiated by migration background and thus included mainly children of immigrants from Turkey, Moroccan, Suriname, or the Dutch Antilles. Specifically, children of Turkish immigrants were frequently chosen as research population in both Dutch-focused studies and internationally comparative ones (Baysu et al., 2018; Crul et al., 2017; Pásztor, 2009; Pásztor, 2010, 2014a). Despite this differentiation between groups, the general picture was one of contrast with Dutch majority peers rather than between groups, generational status, or cohorts.

The predominant operationalization of migration background is the parental country of origin. However, the generational status of the children of immigrants varied throughout the studies. Early studies barely distinguished between the generational statuses of children of immigrants, whereas contemporary studies pay more attention to changes over time, as the population of children of immigrants grew significantly over time, enabling researchers to distinguish between first-generation, 1.5-generation, and second-generation status. Similarly, differentiation between cohorts became more apparent in recent years and painted an optimistic picture: the more recent the cohort, the higher their educational efforts.

Do different operationalizations of migration backgrounds yield different conclusions? The short answer is yes. The elaborate answer suggests that the explanations for educational inequalities among children of immigrants vary between migrant groups. The studies that examined language proficiency in primary school tend to focus on children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants whereas children of Surinamese and Antillean origin were often assumed to have linguistic and cultural capital due to the Dutch educational system in the (former) colonies, and thus are not included in these studies. Moreover, segregation and Islamic schools were mostly examined for Turkish and Moroccan children. This might be related to the increased attention to (Islamic) Turkish and Moroccan communities after the turn of the century – see also immigration pessimism mentioned by Lucassen and Lucassen (2015) – with 9/11 and the murders of Pim Fortuyn and Theo van Gogh as important triggers.

The second conclusion regards the divergent conclusions of qualitative and quantitative studies. The qualitative studies examined the educational trajectories of children of immigrants

retrospectively. Moreover, qualitative research studied mostly successful higher education students and thus focused on the "longer route" and educational upward mobility. In contrast, quantitative research examined the education of children of immigrants statically (i.e., on the singular moment) and occasionally longitudinal. The conclusions of quantitative studies seemed to paint more negative pictures of the education of children of immigrants than qualitative studies.

Discussion

Children of immigrants are a diverse group in their migration and socio-economic backgrounds and generational statuses. Against the background of an increasingly polarized public and political debate on migration and integration over the last forty years, children of immigrants navigated their way through the Dutch educational system. This chapter provides an overview of the literature on the education of children of immigrants in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020. Through a structured literature review, the main trends and theories in this field of research were examined. In the literature on the primary school phase, a ubiquitous explanation for gaps in educational positions was language proficiencies as an extension of parental migration background. Additionally, track placement advice was another widely studied phenomenon with an emphasis on the role of both socioeconomic and migration backgrounds. In the literature on secondary education, the track placement in the first year and the tracking throughout secondary school gained a large share of the attention, this was both influenced by socioeconomic and migration background. In tertiary education, the focus was on retrospective interviews of successful higher education students and on how they described their educational trajectories. As for the "longer route", the family mobilization thesis and additional help from teachers and other social contacts were key in their successful educational trajectories. These are mostly educational outcomes focused on performance, whereas track placement and tracking are framed as educational choices. The question remains though to what extent track placement is a process of choice rather than selection. The "longer route" could be a mechanism including choice in which higher-able students obtain a higher education by perseverance and deciding to keep on studying.

Thus, a polarized picture emerges. On the one hand, the retrospective interviews of successful children of immigrants in higher education painted a hopeful story that with support from parents, siblings, teachers, and others upward mobility can be realized through education. On the other hand, children of immigrants remained overrepresented in the lower tracks and have higher dropout rates. This dichotomy hints at the idea of segmented assimilation in the segregated American context in which various subgroups have distinctly upward or downward educational paths. The question is

whether family background exclusively can account for these differences. Research that examined multiple mechanisms such as family background, effort, and performance to predict educational outcomes were scarce, which impeded comprehensive conclusions on the importance of family background. Moreover, the influence of tracking in the stratified Dutch education system should not be overlooked.

Furthermore, socio-economic and migration background seem to function in interaction rather than as a trade-off in the educational trajectories of children of immigrants. Some processes of intergenerational transmission may be disrupted or weakened in immigrant families and are thus hard to compare with the intergenerational transmission of capital and attitudes that take place in majority families (Kwak, 2003; Nauck, 2001b, 2001a). Moreover, these processes can vary between children of immigrants depending on their migration background. For example, language-related studies tend to focus on Turkish and Moroccan families and not Surinamese or Antillean as, due to the colonial history, they speak Dutch frequently. Lumping all children of immigrants together and comparing them in a one-on-one comparison with Dutch majority families is therefore debatable.

A multitude of research examined the disadvantaged educational positions of children of immigrants in comparison to the majority children, sometimes accounting for socio-economic status, whereas other studies focus on the progress and development of the educational careers (and cohorts) of children of immigrants over time. Both approaches deal with the educational position of children of immigrants, yet the question is a matter of perspective: should the educational position of children of immigrants be held on par with majority children or their (co-ethnic peers) starting position at the age of 4?

Chapter 5 - Intergenerational transmission of educational inequalities among children of immigrants in the Netherlands

Introduction

Over the last fifty years, the population of the Netherlands has become increasingly diverse. Over 11 percent of the Dutch population has a second-generation migration background, i.e., children born in the Netherlands to at least one parent born abroad (Statistics Netherlands, 2019). The educational disparities between second-generation children and children without a migration background persisted over time in the Netherlands (Crul & Heering, 2008; Dekkers et al., 2000; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003; Tolsma et al., 2007; van de Werfhorst & van Tubergen, 2007; van Ours & Veenman, 2003) and other European countries (Fleischmann et al., 2014; Heath et al., 2008; Kilpi-Jakonen, 2011, 2012; Kristen & Granato, 2007; Riphahn & Trübswetter, 2013). These studies have found that students with a migration background have lower grades in primary school, attend and complete lower tracks in high school, are less likely to attend higher education, and have lower educational attainment levels in adulthood. Against this backdrop, zooming out over time offers a more nuanced picture: the educational levels of children of immigrants are rising, with the most recent cohorts doing better than their predecessors, yet generally they still lag behind their peers without a migration background – as explained in Chapter 3.

Many explanations have been offered for the educational inequalities – as described in Chapter 4. The most prominent explanations relate to lower parental socio-economic background and status, gender, use of minority versus majority language and unfamiliarity with the host culture at home, social and ethnic segregation in schools and neighborhoods, and institutional differences across countries (Blossfeld & von Maurice, 2011; Brandén et al., 2016; Dronkers & Fleischmann, 2010; Fleischmann et al., 2014; Heath et al., 2008; Kao & Thompson, 2003; Levels & Dronkers, 2008). Previous research examined educational outcomes mainly at a single point in time, for example, PISA scores at age 15 or grades and track placement in secondary school (Bauer & Riphahn, 2007; Entorf & Tatsi, 2009; Hustinx, 2002; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003; Kilpi-Jakonen, 2012; Levels & Dronkers, 2008).

This chapter analyzes the educational level at two points in time: the level attained at the age of 15 and that obtained between the age of 23 and 28. Specifically, I examine the importance of

parental background for educational outcomes over time through processes of intergenerational transmission, in which parents transfer various types of capital to their children. This is studied among the students in the Netherlands with a second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, and Indonesian migration background and peers without a migration background. This chapter therefore addresses the third sub-research question of my dissertation: how does migration background interact with other student characteristics in affecting the educational trajectories of children of immigrants? The purpose is to examine whether parental capital affects the educational level at these two points in time differently for children of immigrants than for children of Dutch natives. The main research question of this chapter is thus: how does parental capital influence educational outcomes over the life course of youth with and without a migration background?

Theoretical background

Blossfeld and Von Maurice (2011) described education as a lifelong process. They formulated five principles of studying education as a lifelong process, inspired by Elder's life course research (Elder, 1994). These principles are: (1) "focusing on long-term educational processes over the individual lifespan", (2) "considering individual educational pathways within their institutional and social embeddedness", (3) "analyzing decision-making processes in education connected with the idea of agency as well as planning, creative and self-determining actors" , (4) "investigating the time structure and timing of educational events and transitions and the consequences they have for the subsequent educational pathways and educational chances", and (5) "conceptionally differentiating age, cohort, and period effects" (Blossfeld & von Maurice, 2011). These five principles shine light on how educational trajectories can look different among students depending on their surroundings and networks, their choices or agency, the timing of and the time they are in education.

In this chapter, the relationship between, on the one hand, parental background - i.e., the ascribed characteristic – and, on the other hand, educational attainment in secondary school at age 15 and adulthood - i.e., the achieved characteristic(s) - is studied. First, the importance of parental background on educational attainment through intergenerational transmission of behavior and values is examined. This relates to the second principle of linked lives. Educational achievement is studied, instead of educational decisions (Mare, 1980) and thus the third principle is not incorporated in this research. The fifth principal concerns period, cohort, or age effects. Period effects regard changes in the historical or societal context experienced by everyone, irrespective of life course phase, e.g. the turn of the public debate on immigration towards pessimism around the millennium (Lucassen &

Lucassen, 2015, 2018) . Cohort effects zoom in on the influences of a period that particularly affects the life course phase for a specific cohort, e.g. changes in the education system experienced by a specific cohort such as the 1998 introduction of the *Tweede Fase*, a renewed curriculum for HAVO and VWO tracks in secondary education and the 1999 introduction of the VMBO and it sub tracks as the successor of the previously separate *mavo* and *VBO*. Given that this chapter examines a selected number of years – i.e. 1988-1993 – the period and cohort effects should be largely alike for those born in these years. Age effects, however, are more likely to appear. This refers to the variation in outcomes due to the chronological age. Because the youth included in this study is born in these restricted number of years, the educational attainment in adulthood is measured at the same point in time – i.e. in 2016 - for the five birth years. The older birth cohorts are more likely to have obtained a higher educational level than the younger ones, simply because they had more years to achieve this. This is accounted for in the sensitivity analyses.

Intergenerational transmission

A vast literature has examined the intergenerational transmission of socioeconomic and education specifically (Blau & Duncan, 1967; Boudon, 1974; Bourdieu, 1973; Erola et al., 2016; Fekjaer, 2007; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003; Kloosterman, 2010; Mare, 1980). Blau and Duncan (1967) developed the status attainment model in which ascribed and achieved characteristics affect status attainment. In this model, the background of the family, i.e., the status or social position, affects the occupational position of the child directly, as well as indirectly via educational attainment (Blau & Duncan, 1967). They operationalized the ascribed characteristics through paternal education and occupation. The achieved characteristics referred to the child's efforts and abilities that contribute to the status attainment. Regarding the ascribed characteristics, the primary and secondary effects of parental background are distinguished by Boudon (1974). Primary effects of parental background concern the impact of human capital and the socioeconomic position of the family on educational performance, attainment, and level. Secondary effects of parental background refer to the educational inequalities that originate in educational choices children and their parents make, dependent on their socio-economic position (Boudon, 1974).

Three types of capital transmission underpin the primary effects of parental background: human capital, cultural capital, and economic capital (Kloosterman, 2010; Scheeren et al., 2017). First, the human capital component in intergenerational transmission refers to the transfer of cognitive abilities and behavior from parents to children. Intergenerational transmission of cognitive abilities can take place in two ways: a nature-based and nurture-based explanation (Anger & Heineck, 2010; Björklund et al., 2010; Plug & Vijverberg, 2005). The nature-based explanation focuses on how children inherit

genes from their biological parents. Research into this biological transmission of cognitive abilities has shown that parents and children share at least a sizeable part of their abilities and IQ (Björklund et al., 2010; Black et al., 2009; de Zeeuw et al., 2015). The assumption in this "nature" argument is that the higher the abilities and IQ of the parents, the higher this will be among their children, and these ability levels and cognitive development will result in higher educational performance. The nurture-based explanation, by contrast, focuses on how cognitive abilities and skills can be transferred from parent to child via parental education and upbringing. Moreover, parents with higher cognitive abilities and skills will invest more in their children which could result in higher health and educational outcomes (Anger & Heineck, 2010; Plug & Vijverberg, 2005). This argument thus relies heavily on the mediating effect of parental education and investments in the parent-to-child transmission of cognitive development.

Second, cultural capital affects the educational performance of children. Parents endow their children with capital that benefits their education. This capital specifically refers to how parents transmit cultural codes, practices, and norms to their children through socialization, which is called *habitus* by Bourdieu (1973). The cultural capital that is transferred from parents to children reflects the position of the family in society and thus varies by social class. Families with a higher-class background will pass on the "high-brow" cultural capital that is valued in society. Specifically, the educational system is shaped by the cultural codes and norms of the higher social strata. So, children coming from higher social status families are more likely to feel at home at school because they have already been socialized with the norms, behavior, and other cultural codes that dominate the educational system and thus will be rewarded with positive evaluations or higher achievement levels. Children who grew up in families with higher social status are thus endowed with cultural capital that benefits them in school; the transmission of parental cultural capital thus reproduces the social and educational inequalities over generations (Bourdieu, 1973).

Third, families from higher social strata have more financial resources to support their children throughout education (Becker & Tomes, 1986; Leibowitz, 1974). Following argumentation from Bourdieu's economic capital theory, parents with more financial means can support their children better in their education because they can afford better schools and extra-curricular activities (Buis, 2013; de Graaf et al., 2000). However, financial support can take different forms. First, direct financial investments benefit the children's education explicitly. Although primary and secondary education is publicly funded in the Netherlands, families with more financial resources can afford tutoring or extracurricular activities. Higher-resource families can pay for tuition in tertiary education, so their children do not have to take out student loans. Second, higher-resource families can provide a home environment that is beneficial for the educational performance of their children. On the one

hand, parents can provide tangible goods such as electronics, books, and a desk or room to do homework, also described as objectified cultural capital by Bourdieu (Bourdieu, 1973; Buis, 2013; Von Otter, 2014). On the other hand, parents influence the living conditions of the children through nutrition, health, and family size. Children who grow up with better nutrition and health tend to do better in school. According to Dumont's law of capillary actions this is related to family size: bigger families have to redistribute resources like food and health investments over more children (Bras et al., 2010; Dumont, 1890; Kok et al., 2011). Moreover, by means of resource concentration or dilution the status attainment outcomes of the children increase with a lower number of siblings and decrease with more siblings.

However, the context in which intergenerational transmission takes place may alter the process of transmission. These processes could be different for immigrant families as compared to families without a migration background on three grounds. Firstly, Nauck (2001) and Kwak (2003) explained how parent-child relations can be disrupted due to migration. An example of this would be an information and knowledge asymmetry among immigrant families - because children of immigrants grew up in the host society, they potentially master the language of the country of destination better than their parents and have more insight into the host society institutions such as the education system. This results in the waning role of parents as the main agents in socialization as family-external sources – e.g., peers or school – could gain influence. This relates to the theory of dissonant acculturation (Kwak, 2003; Portes, 1997) in which the balance between the host country's influences and the origin country's influences are at conflict with one another. Secondly, the cultural capital that immigrant parents do have and can transfer to their children might not be as relevant to a similar extent as that of non-migrant families. The cultural capital present in immigrant families was most likely gathered through education and socialization in the country of origin. This context-specific cultural capital could deviate from the "high-brow" cultural capital that is positively evaluated in the education system in the host country and thus may not be as useful and of as much value in the Dutch education system.

Third, intergenerational transmission of capital has a genetic element too. Children and their biological parents share at least some cognitive abilities and IQ (Mills & Tropf, 2020). This likely remains undisturbed by migration. However, human capital transmission also relies heavily on the 'nurture' transmission through the mediation of education level – which would be hindered in immigrant families as first-generation parents are likely to be educated in the country of origin. Parents from developing countries could have lacked opportunities to enter education to enter education therefore lacking the chance regardless of their cognitive abilities.

Various types of capital are often intertwined as shown by The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (2023) and Savage and colleagues (2013; 2015). In this chapter, I focus on economic capital. Given the intertwined nature of the types of capital, economic capital might be a proxy for the other types of capital as well. The more human and cultural capital parents have, the higher the parental economic capital is assumed to be, and hence more capital can be intergenerationally transmitted from parent to child. According to Plug and Vijverberg (2003), the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission are only assumed to partially work through economic capital. They also specified that the transmission of genetic abilities as part of human capital could partially be determined by income. In this chapter, this is most likely the case for higher able parents - in terms of human capital - and parents with "high-brow" cultural capital. Given the entangled nature of capital types, a higher education level could consequently result in a higher status job with higher income. Household income is also a proxy for the financial capital of the parents: the higher the household income is, the more parents can invest in their children's education. Thus, a higher income implies more human, cultural, and financial capital that can be transferred to or invested in children to benefit their education. In line with Boudon's economic capital hypothesis (1974), I expect children living in a family with a higher household income to attain higher educational levels. A higher income is expected to be directly positively associated with the child's educational attainment in secondary education as well as in adulthood, but less so in immigrant families than in families without a migration background (*hypothesis 1*).

The Dutch context: education system and migrant groups

Children commonly attend primary school from the age of 4 onwards in the Netherlands. After primary education up until the age of 12, students enter secondary school in different tracks. They are advised to attend a track in secondary education based on their score in a nationwide standardized test in the last year of primary school and/or based upon the consultation of the teacher. The Dutch educational system distinguishes three main tracks in secondary education, see Chapter 2 for the complete structure of the educational system in the Netherlands. Parents are largely free to decide in which school they enroll their child, despite some recent regulations in big cities to redistribute students proportionally over several high schools. Dutch schools, regardless of whether they are public, religious, or ideological principled, are state-funded. Pre-vocational track (VMBO) has four sub-tracks: lower vocational education (*VMBO basis*), vocational education (*VMBO kader*), mixed vocational and theoretical education (*VMBO gemengd*), and theoretical education (*VMBO theoretisch*) and prepares the students in four years for upper secondary vocational education (*MBO,* with four tracks

hierarchically numbered 1 to 4). The *pre-college track* (HAVO) takes five years and prepares students for higher tertiary education (HBO). *Pre-university education* (VWO) lasts the longest at six years and prepares students for university. Generally, the different tracks prepare students for different tertiary educational levels.

It should be noted though that the second moment of stratification takes place after the second year - in the vocational track - or third year - in the pre-college and pre-university track. Students select, based on personal preference, grades, and school guidance, a thematic path within their track, e.g., economics or science. At this point switching between tracks is also possible, for example, a student whose grade point average is not satisfactory for the pre-university track can switch to the pre-college track. This is an example of downward-track mobility. Track mobility is a rather specific feature of the Dutch educational system and allows students to switch tracks or education levels over time. Track mobility can be either "downward" or "upward". "Stacking" is the most prominent example of "upward" track mobility as it allows for the accumulation of educational levels over time. For example, if a student finished the pre-college track (5 years) with a satisfactory grade point average, he or she can enroll for two years in the pre-university track and subsequently enter university.

The migrant groups studied in this chapter are of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean and Indonesian descent. To understand some between group differences, a brief contextualization is included. Immigration of the first generation from Suriname, the Dutch Antilles, and Indonesia related to decolonization and continuous colonial links. Suriname and Indonesia (former Dutch East Indies) were both Dutch colonies and the Dutch Antilles are currently still part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. Many Indonesian and Surinamese immigrants migrated to the Netherlands in the buildup to the independence of Indonesia and Suriname from the Netherlands in respectively 1949 and 1975. Education and labor-related reasons for migration were common among the Surinamese and Antillean first generation, many of them were educated in the Netherlands (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006). As a result of the colonial ties and education in the Netherlands, many Surinamese, Antillean, and Indonesian first-generation parents are expected to have more Dutch context-specific cultural and linguistic capital (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006) than the Turkish and Moroccan first-generation who migrated as 'guest-workers' in the 1960s and 1970s or through family reunification from the mid-1970s onwards. This Dutch context-specific cultural and linguistic capital is expected to result in a higher household income for these immigrant groups. A higher income is expected to be positively associated with a child's educational attainment but more so in families with post-colonial heritage than in Turkish and Moroccan families (*hypothesis 2*).

When it comes to the family structure and socioeconomic status, Surinamese and Antillean families have similarities as Surinamese – especially with Creole heritage - and Antillean migrant families are often not intact: single mothers are the head of the household in a large share of the families. Meanwhile, in comparison to other migrant groups, more Surinamese and Antillean first-generation migrants had a Dutch partner (van Niekerk, 2007). Their socio-economic position is generally better than those of Turkish and Moroccan families (Hartog & Zorlu, 2001).

Methods

Data and population

This study used administrative register data from the System of Social Statistical Datasets (SSD) compiled and provided by Statistics Netherlands (Bakker et al., 2014). The use of this register data from Statistics Netherlands (CBS) was made possible through the collaboration between Statistics Netherlands and the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI). The SSD combines a large number of thematic registers with the population registers (*Basisregistratie Personen*, BRP) resulting in a dataset containing individual-level demographic information including birth date, migration background, gender, and information on education, income, employment, and welfare benefits. The individual-level data of the children can be linked to the information of the parents and the household, such as the income and the household structure. As pointed out by Blossfeld and Von Maurice (2011) and Blossfeld (2009), such data provides unique opportunities to study educational levels, because it includes information on the same individuals over time.

This study includes second-generation youth and youth without a migration background born in the Netherlands between 1988 and 1993 who were registered in the Netherlands on December 31, 2016. The birth cohorts between 1988 to 1993 were chosen as these children turned 15 years old in the school year 2002/2003 or later and they were at least 23 years old in 2016. The data on high school enrolment were available from 2002/2003 onwards. Moreover, only those who lived with at least one parent in the same household at the age of 15 years are included. Therefore, children living in institutional households – such as residential childcare communities - were excluded. Regarding migration background, youth with a second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, or Indonesian migration background are included, as well as youth without a migration background. This resulted in the following sample sizes – by migration background: Turkish (N = 33 976), Moroccan (N = 29 931), Surinamese (N = 26 709), Antillean (N = 8 117) or Indonesian (N = 15 028) migration background and without a migration background (N = 903 411).

Dependent variables

Two dependent variables are included: the educational level at the age of 15 and the educational level in adulthood, i.e., between the age of 23 and 28. The educational level at both ages was derived from the educational registers as maintained by the Dutch Department of Education, Culture, and Science.

Education level at age 15 referred to the track the student is enrolled in at this age. Four categories are distinguished. The four pre-vocational tracks – i.e., the VMBO tracks - were categorized into lower vocational tracks by combining *VMBO basis/kader* and *VMBO beroeps* into one category and higher vocational tracks by combining *VMBO gemengd* and *VMBO theoretisch* into another category. This is in addition to the pre-college track (*HAVO)* and pre-university track (*VWO)*. Education level at age 15 is treated as an ordinal variable in the regression analyses.

Education level in adulthood referred to the highest educational level at which a diploma was obtained and was measured on December 31, 2016. There are three categories: low, medium, and high educational levels. A low educational level refers to primary education, a lower secondary education (*VMBO basis/kader* or *beroeps*) or lower vocational education (*MBO* Level 1), medium educational levels refer to higher general secondary education (*HAVO*), pre-university secondary education (*VWO*) and higher vocational training (*MBO* Level 2, 3 or 4), and a higher educational level referred to higher professional education (*HBO*) and university. Education level in adulthood was also treated as an ordinal variable in the regression analyses.

Independent variables

The *household income* referred to the annual income of the household at the child's age of 15 and is obtained from tax registers. This income measure is equalized by correcting for differences in the size of the household. Due to inflation, the same gross annual household income in euros is not comparable across various years. Hence, the yearly household income in percentiles is used. The annual household income in percentiles indicated the relative socio-economic position of the household in comparison with all other households. The children for whom household income was unknown were excluded from the analyses.

Migration background is operationalized by the parental country of birth. A child is considered as having a migration background if at least one parent was born abroad. If both parents are born abroad but in different countries, the maternal country of birth defined the child's migration

background. Six backgrounds are distinguished: no migration background, Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, or Indonesian migration background. Dummy variables for each migration background (e.g., 1 = Turkish, 0 = not Turkish) were included in the analyses. The reference category was youth without a migration background.

Control variables

We controlled for the individual's *gender* – coded as 0 = female, 1 = male - and the individual's *year of birth* by including dummies for each year of birth. The year 1988 was the reference category. The *degree of urbanization* was included as a control variable and as a dummy variable. The dummy variables referred to the degree of urbanization of the individual's residence on January 1, 2017, varying from a very high degree of urbanization, i.e., over 2 500 house addresses per squared kilometer, to not urbanized, i.e., less than 500 house addresses per squared kilometer, with the latter as the reference category. *The household structure* was measured at the child's age of 15 years by two categories "1" intact family - i.e., the child lived with both legal parents - and "0" not intact family - i.e., the child did not live with both legal parents, either with a single parent and possibly also with a stepparent. An interaction term of an intact family and migration background was the last control variable, because for certain migrant groups - i.e., Turkish and Moroccan - intact families are shown to be more prevalent than among other migrant groups - i.e., Surinamese and Antillean.

Method

The descriptive results can be found in Table 5.1. The results of the ordinal regression analyses can be found in Table 5.2. First, the effects of the independent and control variables on the educational level at age 15 were estimated for each group, see Model 1. In this first model, interactions for household income are included to examine whether this affected the educational level differently for the migrant groups. Next, the effects of the independent and control variables on the educational level in adulthood were estimated, see Model 2.

Considering that education in adulthood was measured between the ages 23 and 28, a group of students might still be in education. In a sensitivity analysis, this was controlled for by replicating the analyses with an alternative dependent variable, i.e., the highest attained education level in adulthood. Therefore, those students who were currently attending education were included too.

Results

Descriptive analyses

Table 5.1 presents the descriptive statistics of the dependent, independent, and control variables. The research population included 1 017 172 individuals, of whom 11.1%, i.e., 113 761 individuals, had a second-generation migration background. The Turkish second generation was the largest group at 3.3% of the total population, followed by the Moroccan second generation making up 2.9%.

The second generation had on average, a lower educational level at age 15 than Dutch peers. The Indonesian second generation formed an exception: 29% were enrolled in the pre-university track. This is a higher pre-university enrollment than among Dutch children, i.e., 22.4%. More than half of the Turkish – i.e., 52.9% - and Moroccan – i.e., 54% - second generation was enrolled in lower vocational secondary education. In adulthood, youth without a migration background and with an Indonesian migration background obtained a higher education level: respectively 35.2% and 37.2% were higher educated. Among all migration backgrounds, the most commonly obtained educational level was the medium level.

Children without a migration background grew up in a household with, on average, a higher income – i.e., the 55th percentile, SD = 16.59 - than the second-generation children with various migration backgrounds, except for the Indonesian second generation. Nevertheless, the mean income percentile across migration backgrounds varied: children with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background grew up in a household with lower incomes, respectively the 31st and 25th percentile, SD = 21 and 19, as compared to the Surinamese – i.e., the 42nd percentile, SD = 25 - and Indonesian – i.e., the 55th percentile, SD = 26 - second generation. Children without a migration background grew up mostly in intact family situations, i.e., 80%. Among children with a second-generation migration background, these percentages were slightly lower for the Turkish, Moroccan, and Indonesian second generation, but substantially lower for the Surinamese and Antillean second generation. A larger share of the second generation lived in an urban context than their Dutch peers.

Table 5.1

Descriptive statistics for dependent, independent, and control variables, for the total population and by migration background, all variables in percentages and income in percentiles

	Total population (N=1017172)	Dutch, non-migrant (N=903411)	Turkish (N=33976)	Moroccan (N =29931)	Surinamese (N= 26709)	Antillean (N=8117)	Indonesian (N=15028)
Educational level, age 15, in %							
lower VMBO tracks	31.0	29.2	52.9	54.0	42.4	41.6	22.8
higher VMBO tracks	26.6	26.7	26.2	26.2	27.3	23.5	25.1
HAVO	21.0	21.7	12.7	12.2	16.6	16.8	22.8
VWO	21.4	22.4	8.1	7.7	13.7	18.1	29.2
Educational level in adulthood, in %							
Low	12.6	11.6	21.8	24.2	19.1	19.2	12.2
Middle	53.9	53.3	61.6	58.6	59.6	56.3	50.6
High	33.5	35.1	16.6	17.0	21.3	24.5	37.2
Household income, mean (SD) in percentiles	52.98 (26.06)	55.08 (25.43)	30.62 (21.27)	25.42 (19.45)	41.88 (24.67)	46.06 (27.16)	55.33 (26.22)
Male, in %	0.51	0.51	0.52	0.51	0.50	0.51	0.50
Year of birth, in %							
1988	0.160	0.143	0.143	0.144	0.167	0.141	0.201
1989	0.163	0.163	0.159	0.157	0.160	0.155	0.185
1990	0.170	0.170	0.168	0.168	0.171	0.178	0.173
1991	0.171	0.171	0.175	0.169	0.171	0.178	0.162
1992	0.169	0.168	0.177	0.182	0.166	0.180	0.147
1993	0.168	0.168	0.178	0.179	0.165	0.168	0.131
Intact family, in %	0.785	0.800	0.755	0.792	0.437	0.467	0.726
Degree of urbanization, in %							
Not	0.075	0.083	0.004	0.007	0.007	0.014	0.021
barely	0.182	0.198	0.054	0.042	0.033	0.060	0.086
moderate	0.148	0.155	0.110	0.088	0.068	0.084	0.115
high	0.301	0.299	0.344	0.308	0.271	0.330	0.348
very high %	0.294	0.264	0.489	0.556	0.621	0.512	0.430

Multivariate analyses

Table 5.2 presents the multivariate analyses. The educational level at age 15 is the dependent variable in the first model. In the second model, the highest obtained education level in adulthood is the dependent variable. The first model examined the influence of migration background, household income, gender, birth cohort, living in an intact family, and degree of urbanization of the living environment on attending a higher education level at the age 15, i.e. in secondary school. For household income and living in an intact family interaction effects are included to examine the between group differences.

Students with a migration background had a lower probability of attending a higher education level at age 15 than non-migrant children. Indonesian second-generation youth were the exception to this, they did have a higher probability of attending higher education level at age 15 than peers without a migration background. An increase in household income was associated with an increase in the odds of attending a higher education level at age 15 among the majority population - with an odds ratio of 1.017. This suggests that for non-migrant youth growing up in households with a higher income will have a higher probability of attending a higher education level at age 15. As per the first hypothesis, the association between growing up in a higher-income household and attending a higher education level at age 15 is somewhat more attenuated among students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background compared to non-migrant youth. The slightly larger effect size for Antillean students indicates that growing up in households with a higher income will have increase the probability of attending a higher education level at age 15 than among non-migrant youth. The role of household income is thus somewhat more pronounced in Antillean families than in families without a migration background. The Indonesian and Surinamese second-generation youth did not differ significantly from non-migrant students when it comes to the association between household income and education level at age 15. It should be noted though that despite a significant and positive association between household income and education level at age 15, the standard error indicates some uncertainty.

Table 5.2

Regressions analyses for highest obtained educational level, 1988 – 1993

	Model 1 (N = 906674) Education level, age 15		Model 2 (N = 993261) Education level, adulthood	
	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)
Threshold (1)	0.750 (0.010)***		-1.051 (0.011)***	
Threshold (2)	2.005 (0.011)***		1.893 (0.011)***	
Threshold (3)	3.135 (0.011)***			
Turkish migration background (*ref. non-migrant*)	-0.728 (0.028)***	0.483	-0.359 (0.026)***	0.699
Moroccan migration background	-0.712 (0.032)***	0.491	-0.416 (0.030)***	0.659
Surinamese migration background	-0.778 (0.026)***	0.459	-0.416 (0.025)***	0.66
Antillean migration background	-1.152 (0.050)***	0.316	-0.730 (0.045)***	0.482
Indonesian migration background	0.136 (0.041)**	1.146	0.003 (0.043)	1.003
Equalized household income, in percentiles *(ref. non-migrant)*	0.017 (0.086)***	1.017	0.016 (0.089)***	1.016
Household income * Turkish	-0.007 (0.001)***	1.01	-0.008 (0.001)***	1.009
Household income * Moroccan	-0.005 (0.001)***	1.012	-0.007 (0.001)***	1.009
Household income * Surinamese	-0.001 (0.001)	1.016	-0.003 (0.001)***	1.013
Household income * Antillean	0.008 (0.001)***	1.025	0.006 (0.001)***	1.022
Household income * Indonesian	0.001 (0.001)	1.018	0.000 (0.001)	1.016
Male	-0.262 (0.004)***	0.769	-0.570 (0.004)***	0.566
Year of birth, 1989	0.042 (0.007)***	1.043	-0.065 (0.007)***	0.937
Year of birth, 1990	0.014 (0.007)*	1.014	-0.106 (0.007)***	0.899
Year of birth, 1991	0.055 (0.007)***	1.057	-0.205 (0.007)***	0.815
Year of birth, 1992	0.038 (0.007)***	1.038	-0.372 (0.007)***	0.69
Year of birth, 1993	0.068 (0.007)***	1.071	-0.607 (0.007)***	0.545
Intact family *(ref. non-migrant)*	0.411 (0.005)***	1.508	0.637 (0.006)***	1.891
Intact family * Turkish	-0.075 (0.029)**	1.399	-0.137 (0.027)***	1.649
Intact family* Moroccan	-0.249 (0.032)***	1.175	-0.216 (0.029)***	1.524
Intact family* Surinamese	0.184 (0.027)***	1.812	-0.017 (0.028)	1.859
Intact family* Antillean	0.458 (0.052)***	2.383	0.067 (0.052)	2.023
Intact family* Indonesian	-0.042 (0.038)	1.445	-0.089 (0.039)*	1.731
Very high (*ref. not urbanized*)	1.355 (0.008)***	3.879	0.877 (0.008)***	2.403
High	0.545 (0.008)***	1.725	0.233 (0.008)***	1.262
Moderate	0.243 (0.009)***	1.276	0.074 (0.009)***	1.077
Barely	0.075 (0.008)***	1.078	0.032 (0.009)***	1.032
R-squared	0.161		0.136	

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

Boys had, on average, a lower educational level than girls at age 15. Moreover, living in an intact family was positively associated with a higher educational level at age 15 for non-migrant youth. For the Surinamese and Antillean second-generation youth, the association between living in an intact family and education level at age 15 was somewhat stronger than in non-migrant families. This association was smaller in magnitude among Turkish and Moroccan second-generation youth than among non-migrant youth.

The second model examined the same independent variables and interactions as the first model, but the outcome variable was educational level in adulthood. Similar to the first model, students with a migration background had a lower probability of obtaining a higher education level in adulthood than non-migrant children. Indonesian second-generation youth were again the exception to this, they did not significantly differ from non-migration youth in their odds of obtaining higher education level in adulthood. Household income was positively associated with education level in adulthood for youth without a migration background. This suggests that non-migrant students growing up in households with a higher income will have a higher probability of obtaining a higher education level in adulthood. The interaction effects suggest that the impact of growing up in a higher income household on the educational level in adulthood is slightly weaker among Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese youth than among non-migrant youth. Again, for Antillean youth, the interaction term suggests that the association between household income and education in adulthood is slightly stronger than among non-migrant youth. This association among Indonesian second-generation youth does not vary significantly from their non-migrant peers. In adulthood, men still had on average, a lower educational level than women. For non-migrant youth, those living in an intact family had a higher probability of obtaining a higher education level in adulthood than peers from broken homes. For Turkish and Moroccan second-generation youth, the positive impact of living in an intact family on education level in adulthood was slightly attenuated in comparison to youth without a migration background. For youth with an Indonesian background, living in an intact family resulted in a higher probability of obtaining a higher education level in adulthood than among non-migrant peers. Living in an urbanized context was - again contrasted to living in non-urban environment - positively associated with a higher educational level in adulthood.

In sum, the first and second hypotheses were largely supported. Regarding the first hypothesis, I can conclude that a higher income was found to increase the probability of obtaining a higher education level at age 15 as well as in adulthood, for non-migrant students this was however more pronounced than for students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background. Among the Antillean second generation, at both ages, the association between household income and educational level was even stronger than among non-migrant youth. Moreover, the Indonesian

second generation did not differ from youth without a migration background in the role household income played in their education level, at both ages. For the Surinamese second generation, at age 15 this association did not differ from youth without a migration background. Subsequently, I can conclude that corresponding with second hypothesis the impact of growing up in a higher income household on the probability of obtaining higher education levels at age 15 and in adulthood was more pronounced for Surinamese, Antillean, and Indonesian students than for Turkish and Moroccan peers.

Two additional analyses were conducted. First, although beyond the initial scope of this chapter, the role of previous education on 'final' education level later in life was explored. Research conducted by Von Otter (2014) found that the relation between parental resources and involvement and adult educational level is partially though substantially mediated through performance in secondary school in Sweden. Exploratively, I looked into predicting education level in adulthood from education level at age 15. Attending a pre-university preparatory track in secondary school (VWO) resulted in incredibly high odds ratios in obtaining higher education levels in adulthood among students with and without migration backgrounds. This is not surprising at all, given the stratified education system from secondary school onwards: students are stratified in secondary school into tracks that prepare them for specific types of tertiary education. Students in a VMBO track are prepped for vocational tertiary education (MBO), students in a HAVO track for university of applied sciences (HBO), and students in VWO for university. Due to this tracked nature of the Dutch education system, educational level at age 15 and education level in adulthood are likely to be collinear in this model, and therefore this relation has not been further examined in this chapter. Moreover, for students with a migration background drawing a direct inference from education level at age 15 to education level in adulthood may overlook the nuanced reality. For students with a migration background, "stacking" degrees is a proven strategy to have agency and find ways to obtain higher education through accumulation of educational levels over time (Crul et al., 2009.; Schnell et al., 2013). Stacking degrees provides a loophole to the nominally rather stratified educational trajectory for children of immigrants especially in the "stacking" of degrees from VMBO and HAVO tracks of secondary education as shown by (CBS Integratierapport 2022).

Education in adulthood was measured between the ages 23 and 28, so it could very well be that the students were still in education around this age. Therefore, a sensitivity analysis examined whether the results were influenced by this. The youngest cohort was only 23, they are relatively young to have completed their education completely. These concerns could specifically apply to the second generation because previous studies have shown that these students take a longer route to their final education level (Crul et al., 2009; Schnell et al., 2013). In this sensitivity analysis, the highest

obtained educational level in adulthood was swapped for the highest attended educational level on December 31, 2016, to control for the students who potentially were still attending tertiary education. Appendix C presents the results of this sensitivity analysis. The findings aligned with the main analyses: a higher household income resulted in a higher educational level at both age 15 and in adulthood.

Discussion

In this chapter, I used a unique sample of nationwide administrative data that included students with a second-generation migration background and peers without a migration background. I examined how parental capital influences educational outcomes of these students over their life course. The key finding is that parental capital is associated with educational outcomes for students of all migration backgrounds, yet this association was found to be slightly weaker among the second generation with a Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese migration background. In short, the higher the capital, as measured by household income, the higher the educational outcomes in adolescence - at age 15 - and in adulthood – between the age of 23 to 28.

Substantial differences between the several second-generation groups were observed. The association between household income and educational levels at both ages was stronger for second-generation Indonesian, Surinamese, and Antillean youth than for second-generation Turkish and Moroccan youth. This may signal that families with an Indonesian, Surinamese and Antillean migration background have more capital available that could benefit the education of their children. Specifically, these families might have cultural capital or language skills that are relevant in the Dutch context for their children's education. Especially given that many of these first-generation parents were educated in an education system based upon the Dutch educational system in the former Dutch colonies (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006) or perhaps came to the Netherlands to pursue their education further. Another explanation might be that more second-generation youth with an Indonesian, Surinamese, and Antillean migration background have a parent without a migration background as mixed relationships between a Surinamese, Antillean or Indonesian partner and a Dutch partner occur more frequently than among Turkish and Moroccan peers (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2017; Wachter & de Valk, 2019), who could also be more familiar with the Dutch education than those with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background. The impact of mixed parental heritage on the educational outcomes of children in the United States was found to be mixed: although higher parental human capital and linguistic capital positively mediated this association, other mechanisms like precarious family situations negatively impacted the educational outcomes (Emonds & Van

Tubergen, 2015). Insights into this in the Dutch context would be a promising avenue for future studies given the interesting position of migrant groups from former Dutch colonies.

In addition, the impact of living in an intact family varied across the migrant groups. For the Turkish and Moroccan second generation, this had a positive yet weaker association with the educational level at age 15 than the native Dutch. Potentially, variation in family arrangements play a role in explaining this. Fewer children with a Surinamese and Antillean migration background grow up in intact families than their peers with a Turkish, Moroccan, Indonesian or non-migrant background. Therefore, the positive effect that growing up in an intact family – contrasted to a non-intact family - might be more substantial for children of Surinamese and Antillean descent.

An interesting reflection on the outcome that the effect of income on educational outcomes in Indonesian families was like families without a migration background is the specific selection of birth years of the second generation. The first generation of Indonesian Dutch living in the Netherlands who were born in Indonesia is comprised of various groups such as Moluccans, Dutch-origin government and private sector employees, and Indonesian nationals who migrated to the Netherlands. At least one parent was born in Indonesia of this Indonesian second-generation group (born between 1988 and 1993) and so was likely born in Indonesia around 25 to 35 years earlier, i.e., the mid-1950s to late 1960s. These parents most likely migrated – or were repatriated – to the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s. The first subgroup of interest here are “spijtoptanten”, referring to people who came to the Netherlands in the 1960s and 1970s. The socio-economic standing of these “spijtoptanten” is somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand, in comparison to other migrant groups from Indonesia such as those with Dutch ancestry, “spijtoptanten” had lower social standings. On the other hand, higher social and educational positions have been attributed to “spijtoptanten” too, as they aimed to seize the opportunities and to occupy the higher social strata in Indonesia that were left unoccupied after the Dutch colonial rule ended. Some registrations of the occupational status of “spijtoptanten” by institutions supporting migrants from Indonesia as reported by Ellemers and Vaillant (1985) indicated that a sizeable share of the “spijtoptanten” were skilled workers, or with a “medium” occupational status.

Another subgroup stands out in this context. Many people registered as first-generation Indonesian migrants had Dutch ancestry and had higher socio-economic positions and occupations – such as those working for the Dutch colonial government or private sector employees working for Dutch companies like Shell in the former Dutch East Indies. The children of this specific subgroup could have benefitted from their parents’ higher social standing- in comparison with other migrant groups in this chapter. A possible explanation for the effect of income on educational outcomes in Indonesian families could be driven by the socio-economic standing of these particular groups of migrants.

Patterns in circular migration could explain the larger coefficient of income among Antillean families as compared to families without a migration background. Circular migration refers to moving back and forth between the Dutch Antilles and the Netherlands among Dutch-Antillean families. The finding that household income has a stronger effect on educational levels at both ages in Antillean families might be explained by the socio-economic divergence of the families who permanently reside in the Netherlands and those circularly migrating between the Netherlands and the Dutch Antilles. Potentially, more dire socio-economic circumstances collide with circular migration for Antillean families. This socioeconomic reasoning could go both ways: circular migration might be a disposition of the fragile socio-economic situations of Antillean families in the Netherlands or their fragile socio-economic positions might be ground for circular migration. The families permanently residing in the Netherlands would have more stable socio-economic positions. Either way, the difference between families permanently residing in the Netherlands and those circularly migrating could be rooted in socio-economic divergence. In short, the larger coefficient of income could be a selection effect based on socio-economic divergence within Dutch-Antillean families in the Netherlands. Examining this in more detail would a valuable avenue for further research.

The impact of previous education level – such as in secondary school – on education level in later life was beyond the scope of this chapter. Particularly, this link between education in earlier and later life for students with a migration background could be an interesting topic for further investigation (see for an interesting example: Kuyvenhoven & Das, 2022). This would be especially insightful keeping in mind the fact that 'stacking' degrees is a proven strategy for children of immigrant to obtain higher levels of education. However, this option of the longer route could be self-selective as extended years in education could require more resources from those families. Economic resources could be needed to cover the costs of extended time in education and the opportunity cost that come along with it, as well as the ambition and commitment to keep going.

Even though it can be concluded that parental capital is important for educational outcomes, the underlying mechanisms of intergenerational transmission at play here remain unknown. I apprehend the limited operationalization of parental capital by household income in our study. Parental education would have been a preferred addition to the measurement of parental capital as done in other Dutch and international studies (de Graaf et al., 2000; Erola et al., 2016; Kilpi-Jakonen, 2012; Scheeren et al., 2017; Wolbers & Driessen, 1996). However, in the register database that is used in this study, the availability of the educational level of the parents is limited as the educational level is known of approximately only 20% of the first-generation parents. This limited information on parental education was deliberately not included in this study as it is likely to be rather self-selective and thus potentially biased as the educational levels are self-reported. So first-generation migrants who

migrated at an early age and completed education in the Netherlands and those with better Dutch language skills are more likely to fill out their educational levels. In addition, I reckon that the wide variety of educational systems and degrees in the country of origin of the parents poses problems to the comparability of the educational level of first-generation and parents without a migration background as also remarked by Van de Werfhorst and van Tubergen (2007).

Further examination of the mechanisms of intergenerational transmission through human capital, cultural capital, and economic capital deserve attention in future research. Sibling models could explore to what extent variation in educational outcomes between siblings stem from parental genetic and environmental influences in migrant families (for example in the majority population in Sweden: Björklund et al., 2010). In addition, more explicit measures of cultural capital, such as language spoken at home or the educational level of parents, could be included in future research, especially when utilizing survey research rather than register data in which such detailed information on skills, behavior, and childrearing remains absent to date. In particular, examining the role of human capital in intergenerational transmission of socio-economic positions among immigrant families could be examined further. The issue here might be that first-generation parents are most likely to be educated in the country of origin, but that immigrant parents from developing countries – such as Morocco or Turkey - might have lacked opportunities in the country of origin to translate their cognitive abilities into a certain education level. The intergenerational transmission of human capital would thus rely mostly on the nature dimension rather than the nurture dimension – so an overall lower transmission as the mediating effect of education may dwindle.

In summary, household income is important for the educational outcomes of students in the short and long run. The Dutch annual education report (Onderwijsinspectie, 2016) pointed out that educational inequalities between children from low and high-resource families are rising. Extra-curricular support, such as hiring a tutor or sending the child to study-specific training, has an important role in these inequalities. The findings in this chapter suggest that resource differences between families do not affect the educational outcomes of youth with a migration background and youth without a migration background alike. Growing up in a family with more resources benefits the educational outcomes of youth without a migration background more than those of second-generation youth. This is extra alarming when keeping the results of the Inspectorate of Education in mind as educational gaps may sustain and grow over time.

Chapter 6 - School dropout rates among second-generation youth

An earlier version of this text is published as Chapter 8 (van der Heijden & de Valk, 2018) in CBS Jaarrapport Integratie 2018 [1]

Introduction

Rates of school dropout among children of immigrants has been substantially higher than among the majority peers in the Netherlands (Bosma & Cremers, 1996; de Graaf & van Zenderen, 2009; Kalmijn & Kraaykamp, 2003). These statistics are especially alarming given the far-reaching consequences of school dropout: children who drop out of school have higher risks of being unemployed in low-skilled and low-paid jobs (Beckers & Traag, 2005). These life-course consequences of dropping out are perhaps even gloomier for children of immigrants, for whom educational disparities have been found regardless of dropout rates. The Dutch government has therefore been keen on decreasing and monitoring the causes of school dropout over the last decades through plentiful policy initiatives.

This chapter addresses the third sub-research question of this dissertation: "how does migration background interact with other student characteristics in affecting the educational trajectories of children of immigrants?". The role of various student and contextual characteristics in school dropout among youth with a migration background is studied in this chapter. Specifically, I aim to answer the research questions: (1) "what are the patterns in school dropout among the second generation with regards to gender, migration background, education type, and degree of urbanization?" and (2) "how can differential dropout occurrences be explained?".

The four largest and most studied groups of children of immigrants in the Netherlands are of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean ancestry. In this chapter, students with these migration backgrounds are studied as well as the now sizeable group with a Chinese migration background. These students are compared to their peers without a migration background. Much less is known about the Chinese second generation, partly because the size of the group has made it difficult to conduct structured research. In 2011, the Social and Cultural Planning Office (*Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, SCP*) provided some insight into the Chinese second generation and their educational

[1] van der Heijden, E., & de Valk, H. A. G. (2018). Schooluitval onder tweede generatie jongeren. In *Jaarrapport Integratie 2018* (pp. 191-219). Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (CBS).

pathways (Gijsberts et al., 2011). This group is interesting for further study because previous research in the Netherlands but also in other countries, for example in the United States, suggests that children of Chinese migrants are relatively often highly educated and employed (Portes & Hao, 2004). This implies that a migration background per se, including when parents have low educational levels, will not automatically result in educational barriers for their children. However, so far it is unclear whether their schooling trajectory is more successful overall or whether we also see school dropouts among this group during their school career.

In recent years, government policy has focused heavily on reducing early school leave, to prevent that young people from entering the labor market without a diploma and a 'start qualification'. A start qualification regards enrolment in education compulsory for students up until the age of 16 and students up until the age of 18 have to be in school unless they have obtained a start qualification. A diploma of one of the following education types are considered a start qualification by the Dutch government: HAVO, VWO or MBO level 2 or higher. Early school leaving has been addressed in previous research (Meng, Verhagen, and Huijgen in Huijnk et al., 2014b; Hartgers & Besjes in Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 2014) which looked at the labor market position of youth who dropped out of school as well as at their position in terms of education level, employment, income, benefits, and crime six years after dropping out of school. They showed that early school leave hurts outcomes across these different life domains.

School dropout among students with a migration background is studied in the context of urbanization in this chapter. This is especially relevant in the context of the Netherlands in big cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam. In these cities the populations are becoming 'super-diverse': as of 2022, around a quarter of the Dutch population has a migration background, yet already in 2011, more than half of the population in Amsterdam had a migration background. The same is true of Rotterdam since 2017.

In this chapter, we look at pupils and students who at some point leave secondary education (VO), adult secondary education (VAVO), or vocational tertiary education (MBO) without a diploma. They could have obtained a starting qualification at a later stage. I therefore speak of *school dropouts,* rather than early school leave.

Theoretical background

Three contexts – each on another aggregation level - are crucial in understanding the occurrence of school dropout: the students' characteristics, the family background, and the institutional characteristics of the school and the living environment. *Individual characteristics* refer to the student-level features that affect school achievement and school dropout. Of these, cognitive abilities, effort and participation in school, and gender are found to be the main influential characteristics. The higher the cognitive abilities, the higher the school achievement. Higher cognitive abilities are related to higher grades, higher attainment and achievement levels, and a higher education level overall. The inverse effect of cognitive abilities has been found for school dropouts, where these students had lower cognitive ability levels and performance levels than peers who remained in school (Audas & Willms, 2001; Cairns et al., 1989; Ensminger & Slusarcick, 1992).

Students' attitudes and behavior regarding school and learning included motivation, effort, and participation. Again, students who were motivated, put in the effort, and had high participation levels, generally, had higher educational performance levels. For students who dropped out of school, the inverse pattern has been found (Audas & Willms, 2001). The causal inference of the cognitive ability and motivational and participatory attitudes on the one hand, and the school performance and dropout, on the other hand, is ambiguous. The question is whether school dropout is the consequence of lower ability and motivational levels, or whether these relations are merely correlational rather than inferential.

Gender is the last individual-level factor. Over the last decades, a trend of upward mobility for girls in education took place. Girls have higher performance levels such as grades and track placement in secondary education, and more girls than boys start higher education. Moreover, boys tend to drop out of school more frequently than girls (Traag & van der Velden, 2011). Hence, I expect to find a positive effect of gender on school dropout. In other words, boys are expected to drop out more than girls do (*Hypothesis 1)*.

In addition to these three individual-level factors, school dropout should also be seen from a decision-making perspective: the decision of dropping out versus continuing school can be contextualized from the rational choice perspective. From this perspective, the idea prevails that the costs and benefits of education are weighed by the student – and potentially their family - and that in the case of school dropout, the costs of continuing education outweighed the benefits. Similarly, students might act risk averse when it comes to education: students aim to achieve an education level that consolidates or even improves their socio-economic standing. In line with the relative risk aversion, students from higher socio-economic status families are less likely to leave school, because

they value the benefits of education over the costs and perceive school as a way to sustain their socio-economic standing. Hence, the decision to quit or to continue is not made in a micro-level vacuum: family background and institutional characteristics such as school context and living environment play a substantial role too.

It may not come as a surprise that socio-economic background is an influential *family characteristic* for school dropouts. Four elements of socio-economic background – i.e., four types of capital - can be distinguished in influencing school dropout: human capital, cultural capital, social capital, and economic capital (de Graaf & de Graaf, 2002; Kloosterman, 2010; Traag & van der Velden, 2011). Human capital refers to the cognitive abilities and support available in the family. Cultural capital concerns the dominant culture and mores prevailing in the school system and the degree to which parents socialize and equip their children. The underlying idea is that children from families whose cultural capital corresponds with what is positively evaluated in the school system will benefit (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977; DiMaggio & Paul, 1982). Social capital refers to the social embeddedness of the student and the family in society and with one another (Bourdieu, 1977; Putnam, 2000). A tight-knit support network and a safely attached parent-child relationship are examples of this. Two different types of social capital can be distinguished: bonding capital and bridging capital (Putnam, 2000). The former refers to the tight-knit support network in family and direct surroundings, and chiefly within the own ethnic or migrant community. Bridging capital reaches out of the own community and relies on more superficial trust, such as interethnic networks and contacts. Economic capital, finally, refers to the financial resources of the family. Parents with higher incomes can better help their children in education by providing support such as learning materials, electronics, and private tutoring. These negative effects of socioeconomic background on school dropout are likely to affect children of immigrants disproportionally. Immigrant families more often lack these kinds of capital. Migrant children often lack these kinds of capital, as their first-generation parents work disproportionally lower-skilled jobs, may lack the language skills to help their children with their homework and may have trouble understanding the school system and what is expected, have relatively few bridging contacts with families who are better off in these regards, and simply do not have the money to compensate for these arrears.

In other words, the socioeconomic background may interact with migration background which in various ways can result in capital deficits. First, the measurement of human capital potentially neglects the cognitive abilities of immigrant parents. Human capital is often measured by education level. As far as parents are educated in their country of origin, the fruits of their education may be less functional in the country of destination because it has a different meaning than in the country of origin. Moreover, in some countries of origin, the possibility to employ cognitive abilities by means of

education relies heavily on access to education which in turn is often unequally distributed. First-generation immigrant parents might be less likely to have employed their cognitive abilities through education level. Second, immigrant parents have been socialized in the country of origin, in which - most likely – different forms of cultural capital, i.e. mores and customs, were valued than in the country of destination. Hence, the cultural capital that their children will be equipped with may not match the highly valued cultural capital in the country of destination. Third, the social capital in immigrant families may be disturbed by the event of migration. Social networks must be built up and established in the country of destination; and the parent-child relationship may be disrupted through migration (Nauck, 2001a). Fourth, immigrant families may have lower economic capital due to working lower-skilled jobs and experiencing financial precarity. Hence, having a migration background is expected to positively affect school dropout. Put differently, children of immigrants are expected to drop out of school more frequently than peers without a migration background (*Hypothesis 2a*).

Differentiation within the broad category of children with migration backgrounds should be acknowledged too, as immigrant parents can vary in their capital to support their children's education, based upon migration-related grounds and/or on the position in the country of destination. For example, coming from a – former - Dutch colony where Dutch was the instruction language at school and school methods resembled those in the metropole, as in Suriname and the Antilles, is assumed to positively impact the context-specific capital of these migrants in the Netherlands. First-generation Surinamese and Antillean parents are expected to have more Dutch context-specific cultural and linguistic capital because of the colonial Dutch-oriented education system in Suriname and the Dutch Antilles and the orientation towards the Netherlands, especially when it came to entering tertiary education. Many of these first-generation parents were educated in the Netherlands (van Amersfoort & van Niekerk, 2006). First-generation parents with a Surinamese and Antillean migration background could better support their children's education than their peers in non-colonial immigrant communities. In the Turkish and Moroccan communities, by contrast, the socio-economic positions plummeted because of the economic recession in the early 1970s. The parents who came to the Netherlands as "guest workers" were especially affected by this economic recession resulting in high unemployment rates in the 1970s and 1980s (Hartog & Zorlu, 2001). This is assumed to affect the economic capital available in these families to support their children's education. Moreover, first-generation parents with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background are assumed to – already – have lower levels of cultural capital to support their children's education, in contrast to Surinamese and Antillean families. So, I expect that children of immigrants from Suriname and the Dutch Antilles had more support in their education due to the beneficial capital their parents had than the children of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants. Hence, students with a Surinamese and Antillean migration

background are expected to drop out of school less frequently than students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background (*Hypothesis 2b*).

The Chinese second generation is assumed to have different positions. In education, children of Chinese immigrants have educationally outperformed other migrant groups. More human capital, in terms of parental education, and economic capital have been offered as explanations for this. Portes and Hao (2004) described a discrepancy between high-grade point averages and dropout rates for Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese students in the United States. These children had a significantly higher GPA, but no significant association was found with school dropout (Portes & Hao, 2004). This means that these children do not drop out of school significantly more frequently. Moreover, these authors describe different modes of incorporation between immigrant communities in the country of destination as a potential explanation for this. In the Netherlands, students with a Chinese migration background are more often enrolled in general secondary education (HAVO) or pre-university education (VWO) in secondary school than in vocational secondary education (VMBO) (Gijsberts et al., 2011). The argument of more human capital and economic capital that benefits their children's education could apply to the case of the Netherlands too. Hence, students with a Chinese migration background are least likely to drop out, out of the students with a migration background (*Hypothesis 2c*).

An important note to these background-centered explanatory factors is that school dropout takes place in an *institutional context*, i.e., schools. Two school-related factors are key in understanding dropout rates among students: the type of education and school composition. In the Netherlands, for students up until the age of 16 education is compulsory. After age 16, but under age 18, students must still be in school unless they have obtained a HAVO, VWO, or MBO level 2 diploma. Hence, dropping out of school is mainly monitored in secondary school (VO) and vocational tertiary education (MBO). Students enter secondary school around the age of 12. The Dutch school system is stratified, as described in chapter 2. Three main tracks are distinguished in secondary education: VMBO, HAVO, and VWO. Students with a VMBO diploma enter vocational tertiary education consecutively around the age of 16 since these students must obtain an MBO level 2 degree when under the age of 18. Another feature of the Dutch school system in the stage of secondary education is the sole track school, also called categorical schools. These schools only offer one track, often-times either exclusively VMBO or only VWO. Contrary to the schools that offer the three tracks, dropping out of a certain track may mean dropping out of school altogether. Students who did not obtain a diploma in secondary education, beyond the age of 18 and sometimes the age of 16, have the option to follow adult secondary education (VAVO). This is to obtain a secondary school diploma after all. Students in adult secondary education are a specific crowd, and moreover a relatively small group of

students. Hence, I expect that school dropout will mainly occur in secondary education (VO) and vocational tertiary education (MBO) (*Hypothesis 3*).

The school composition is often used in research into students' performance and dropout rates as a euphemistic term to refer to segregated schools. The proportion of students with a migration background is linked to the performance of students (Van der Slik et al., 2006). The recurring idea is that performance levels are lower and that dropout levels are higher in schools with a relatively high percentage of students with a migration background than in those with lower percentages. The underlying mechanisms are threefold. First, Dutch language levels are assumed to be lower among students with a migration background, due to relatively short residence in the case of the first generation or to speaking another language as the first language in the case of the second generation. Lower Dutch language skills would negatively impact language test scores but also have spill-over effects on other subjects. Remarkably, this was found to negatively affect majority children but less so for children of immigrants (Veerman et al., 2013). This line of reasoning is applied to primary schools mostly rather than to secondary or vocational tertiary education. Second, socio-economic resources are scarcer among peers in these segregated schools. This would for example hinder students from benefiting from their peers' cultural capital. Third, school resources are often linked to the number of students with a migration background. Schools with many students with a migration background suffer from teaching staff shortages and inadequate funding to support their students properly. In addition to the school segregation argument, the context of the living environment of the students plays a role too. De Witte and colleagues (2015) showed that variation in types of urbanized contexts matters in explaining school dropout: "new" cities like Almere or Lelystad have different populations than "old" cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam in their socio-economic and migration characteristics (De Witte et al., 2015). They argued that cities themselves are not to blame for higher dropout rates but rather that the underlying characteristics of the populations in the cities play an important role. In other words, cities, or urbanization, are a proxy for socio-economic positions, income, migration background, and a plethora of other underlying variables that affect school dropout. I take a similar approach in order to study the role of urbanization in school dropout. Rather than approaching cities or the urban living environment as the root of the problem, it should be seen as a proxy for the multidimensional features of populations in cities that suffer from higher dropout rates, as also elaborated upon in the downward path in segmented assimilation. Hence, students in more urbanized vicinities are expected to be more likely to drop out when compared to those who live in less urbanized contexts (*Hypothesis 4*).

Methods

Data and population

The dropout rates among the second generation are compared with those of their peers without a migration background. I used CBS data on school leave in secondary and vocational tertiary education. These data are part of the administrative register data from the System of Social Statistical Datasets (SSD) which are compiled and provided by Statistics Netherlands (Bakker et al., 2014). The SSD combines a large number of registers, such as the population registers (*Basisregistratie Personen*, BRP) and information on enrolment in education. This resulted in a longitudinal dataset containing individual-level demographic information including birth date, migration background, gender, and information on education. The individual-level data of the children are linked to the information of the parents and living environment.

I used data on early school leave to examine whether someone dropped out of school. These data showed whether a person has left school prematurely, is still enrolled, or has obtained a starting qualification. The data are available from the 2003/2004 school year for secondary education (VO) and adult secondary education (VAVO) and from 2005/2006 for vocational tertiary education (MBO). The last observation I had at my disposal is from December 31, 2016.

Nearly 1.8 million individuals were born between 1990 and 1998 and were still living in the Netherlands at the end of 2016. About 20 percent of the population born between 1990 and 1998 had a second-generation migration background. On December 31, 2016, over 160 thousand people with a second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, or Chinese migration background were living in the Netherlands. In total, these five groups account for about half (55 percent) of the total second-generation population. The total research population was 1 501 085 individuals. This number included individuals born between 1990 and 1998 without a migration background or a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, or Chinese second-generation migration background for whom data were available. For most bivariate and multivariate analyses, the research population consisted exclusively of students from these backgrounds who dropped out (N = 209 035). So, the analyses only concern those who dropped out, and not the totality of these groups.

Variables

School dropout is the dependent variable and is defined as young people who at a given time during their school career have left one of the following types of education without receiving a diploma at that time: secondary education (VO): VMBO, HAVO or VWO; adult secondary education (VAVO): VMBO, HAVO or VWO; MBO-level 1 or MBO- level 2; and MBO-level 3 or MBO-level 4 if they started

with a VMBO diploma. If someone has ever left one of the above courses without a diploma, I define this as a school dropout in this chapter, even if someone later re-entered education and obtained a diploma and/or start qualification. Young people who have an MBO-2 diploma and drop out at the MBO-3 level or those who have an MBO-3 diploma and drop out at the MBO-4 level are not included as school dropouts. This definition is thus not the same as that of early school leave (*Voortijdig Schoolverlaten,* VSV). Early school leave means that pupils leave education without a starting qualification (diploma at HAVO, VWO, MBO-2 level or higher). In this chapter, however, I look at school dropout as an event, the patterns, timing, and differences by migrant group and urbanization, but not whether the person obtained a starting qualification or not.

The main independent variable was migration background. *Migration background* is defined by the country of birth of the child and the country of birth of the parents. People who were born in the Netherlands and have at least one parent born abroad are considered to be part of the second generation. On January 1, 2017, almost 1.8 million people had a second-generation migration background. This is almost 11 percent of the Dutch population. The second generation refers specifically to children with a second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, Antillean, or Chinese migration background. People without migration backgrounds are included in the research population, as well as the second generation. Children born in the Netherlands whose parents and grandparents also were born in the Netherlands are considered to have no migration background. The Chinese migration background excludes Hong Kong and Macau.

Additional independent variables were urbanization, birth cohort, and gender. As a reference for *urbanization*, the residential addresses at age 15 are used. The degree of urbanization of the residential address is determined by CBS based on the number of addresses per square kilometer. The CBS classification of degree of urbanization was condensed into four categories because of the low numbers of migrants in the less urban areas: not or barely (less than 1,000 environmental addresses per square kilometer), moderate (1,000 to 1,500 environmental addresses per square kilometer), high (1,500 to 2,500 environmental addresses per kilometer), and very high (2,500 environmental addresses or more per kilometer. An overview of the distribution of the population by the degree of urbanization of the residential environment can be found in Appendix D, Table 2. Some patterns can be observed in this distribution. Students without a migration background live - relatively speaking - mostly in non or barely urban environments and least often in very urban environments. For students with a migration background, the opposite pattern is observed. Students with a second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean background live mostly in very urban environments and least often in non or barely urban environments. Students of second-generation Chinese descent live

mostly in high or very urban environments but remarkably live more often in non or barely urban environments than other students with a migration background.

In the multivariate analyses, the *birth cohort* years are divided into older and younger cohorts: birth years 1990 to 1994 for the older group and 1995 to 1998 for the younger group. *Gender* had two options: men or women. In the multivariate analyses, women were the reference category.

Method

The analyses are conducted in two steps. First, bivariate analyses are conducted on how school dropout occurs among youth divided by type of education, gender, and migration background. Next, multivariate analyses are conducted to examine the influence of gender, migration background, birth cohort, and degree of urbanization of the living environment on the probability of dropping out of school. In the multivariate analyses, binary logistic regression with the binary outcome measure – to drop out or not to drop out – was employed. The regression analyses are conducted separately for the three types of education: secondary education, adult secondary education, and vocational tertiary education.

Results

Descriptive analyses

A critical proviso to the results presented here is that the vast majority of students do not drop out of school. The lowest rate of dropping out of school at least once by December 2016 was among Chinese women (7.9%) and the highest among Moroccan men (33.4%), see Appendix D, figure 1. Hence, one ought to keep in mind that the results presented here concern the dropout rates of a minority of students in secondary education and vocational tertiary education. Among the students who dropped out remarkable differences by gender and migration background were observed, see Table 6.4.1. Men dropped out of school more frequently than women (Traag & van der Velden, 2011). Among students without a migration background, 11 percent of men and 15 percent of women dropped out at some point during their school trajectories. Students with a second-generation Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean migration background dropped out more frequently than peers without a migration background; this was the case for both men and women. These findings preliminary align with the first hypothesis that boys dropped out more frequently than girls.

Table 6.4.1

School dropout rates among study population by background, and sub-share of drop-out by education, by December 31, 2016

		Total % of drop-outs, out of total population	Drop-outs by type of education		
			secondary education	adult secondary education	vocational tertiary education
no migration background	Women	10.70%	31.40%	4.10%	64.40%
	Men	14.80%	35.20%	3.70%	61.10%
Turkish migration background	Women	16.40%	22.10%	4.10%	73.90%
	Men	29.30%	25.20%	5.20%	69.70%
Moroccan migration background	Women	17.10%	23.10%	4.00%	72.90%
	Men	33.40%	25.40%	5.00%	69.60%
Surinamese migration background	Women	18.40%	26.80%	5.20%	68.00%
	Men	27.60%	28.50%	5.80%	65.70%
Antillean migration background	Women	20.90%	27.60%	3.40%	69.00%
	Men	28.40%	29.60%	4.80%	65.60%
Chinese migration background	Women	7.90%	34.00%	10.40%	55.70%
	Men	10.70%	33.10%	17.60%	49.30%

Students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background, specifically men, dropped out most frequently. Over a quarter of men with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, or Antillean second-generation migration background had dropped out of school. Women with the same migration backgrounds dropped out less frequently, yet still between 16 and 21 percent. Students with a Chinese second-generation migration background had lower dropout rates than students of all migration backgrounds, i.e. 11 percent for men and 8 percent for women. These students dropped out even less frequently than those without a migration background. Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2c - about the differences by migration background - were preliminarily supported. The only deviation from these hypotheses was that the dropout rates among students with a Chinese migration background were lower than among peers without a migration background.

As the overwhelming majority of students dropped out only once, I examined the type of education at the first occurrence of dropout. Approximately 80 percent of the cases of school dropout

were a one-time occurrence in the educational trajectory of the students (see Appendix D, figure 3). Most students who dropped out left vocational tertiary education, i.e. over 60 percent of the students with and without a migration background as can be seen in Figure 6.4.1. Only students with a Chinese migration background deviated from this pattern: around half of these students dropped out of vocational tertiary education. Although the majority of dropouts in this group of students still occurred in vocational tertiary education, they dropped out of secondary education and adult secondary education more frequently than peers with other migration backgrounds. This may be related to the larger proportion of the second generation with a Chinese migration background enrolled in general secondary education (HAVO) or pre-university education (VWO) course (Gijsberts et al., 2011).

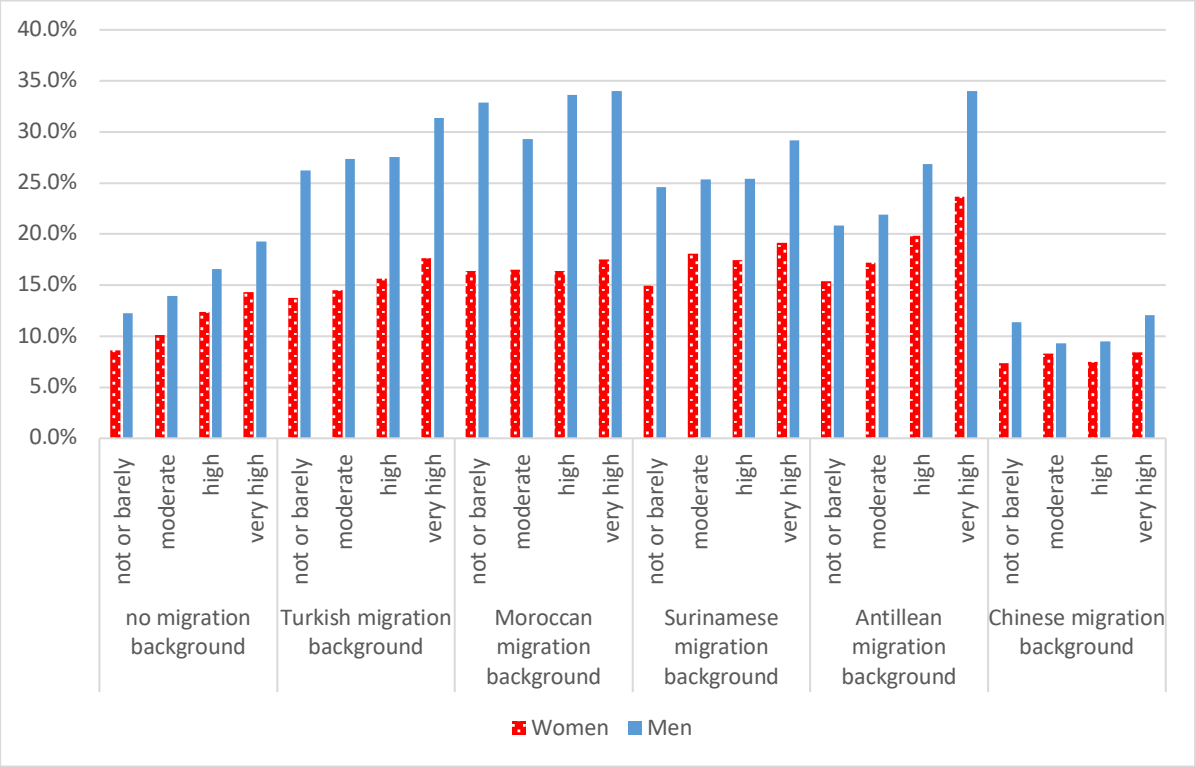
Between 20 and 30 percent of all school dropouts occurred in secondary education for students of all backgrounds. These bivariate findings preliminarily align with the third hypothesis: school dropout occurred mostly in vocational tertiary education and secondary education. Women with Turkish and Moroccan migration backgrounds dropped out least frequently from secondary education: around 25 percent, as compared to approaching or a little over 30 percent for women with other backgrounds. In vocational tertiary education, however, women with a Moroccan or Turkish migration background dropped out most frequently compared to women with other backgrounds. A similar pattern was observed among men. School dropout among men with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background occurred predominantly in vocational tertiary education with 74 percent and 73 percent respectively, and to a lesser extent in secondary education with 22 percent and 23 percent respectively. These findings corresponded with figures showing that early school leave was most frequent among students in vocational tertiary education in the national registration of dropout rates. Differentiation in enrolment should be considered when examining these figures as previous research showed that more students with a migration background were enrolled in vocational tertiary education (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Additional figures on the average age at the first dropout and cohort differences can be found in Appendix D.

Figure 6.4.3 presents the school dropout rates by gender, migration background, and degree of urbanization. Among women, the differences by migration background stand out. For women without a migration background, the more urbanized the vicinity, the more dropout occurred. Though in relatively small percentages: between 8 percent to 14 percent. For women with a Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese migration background the differences in the degree of urbanization of the living environment were minimal. Whilst for women with an Antillean migration background, the differences between school dropouts in the low urban residential environments – about 15% - and high urban residential environments – almost one in four - were substantial. In residential areas with high degrees of urbanization, women with an Antillean migration background dropped out most often

of women of all backgrounds. School dropout rates among women with a Chinese migration background differed marginally by the degree of urbanization.

Figure 6.4.3

School dropout rate by the degree of urbanization of the residential area, background, and gender for those born between 1990 and 1998, measured up until December 31, 2016



Among men another picture arose. Men who lived in more urbanized environments dropped out more, except among men with a Moroccan migration background. The differences were most apparent among men with an Antillean migration background. In a very urban environment, 34 percent of these men dropped out of school at some point compared to 21 to 27 percent in lower urbanized vicinities. For men with a Moroccan migration background, there appeared to be no link between dropout and urbanization: approximately one in three men with a Moroccan migration background dropped out of school regardless of where they lived. Among men with a Chinese migration background, small differences in school dropout rates were found in the degree of urbanization as well as for co-ethnic women. Regardless of the urbanization of their vicinity, students with a Chinese migration background dropped out the least.

Circling back to the fourth hypothesis, which was: students in more urbanized vicinities are expected to be more likely to drop out when compared to those who live in less urbanized contexts, the bivariate analyses only aligned partially with this hypothesis, as a gendered divide arose. Higher dropout rates were found among men living in more urbanized vicinities when compared to co-ethnic women. Only for women with an Antillean migration background, was there evidence that dropout rates increased substantially with higher degrees of urbanization. For women with a Turkish, Moroccan, or, Surinamese migration background and for women with a Chinese migration background, dropout showed no gradient increase with urbanization.

Students with a migration background are overrepresented in vocational tertiary education (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Among students born between 1990 and 1998, 844 536 students started vocational tertiary education, 446 561 were men and 397 975 were women. Figure 6.4.4 shows that men dropped out more often than women, regardless of their migration background. The gender difference was sizeable among students with a Moroccan migration background: over twice as many men dropped out than for this group.

Figure 6.4.4

School dropout rates among students born between 1990 and 1998 who started vocational tertiary education by gender and migration background

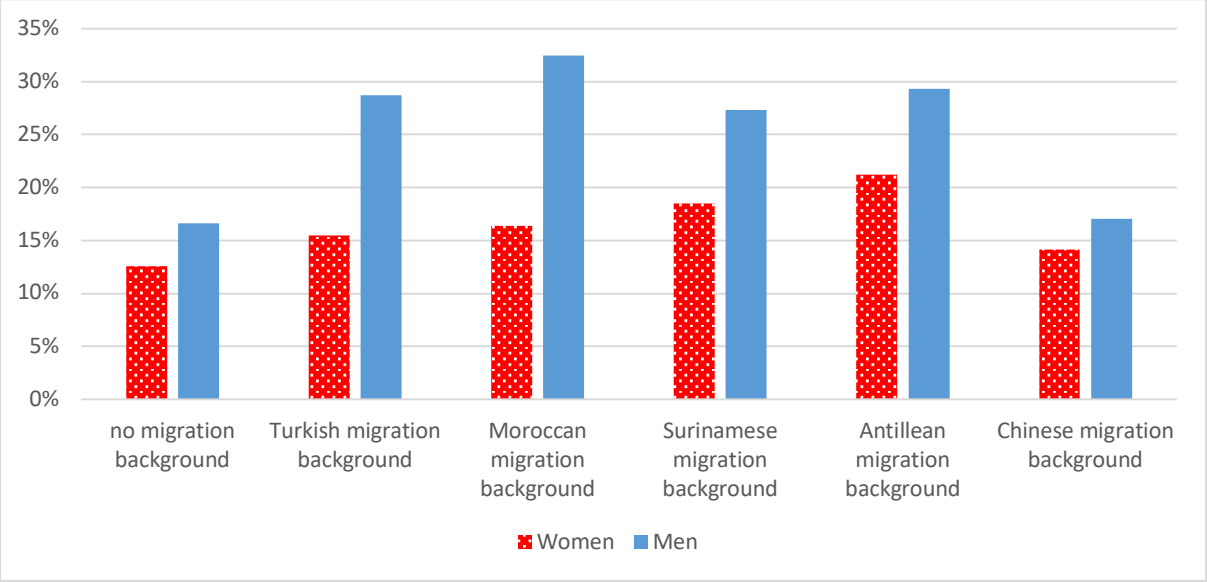
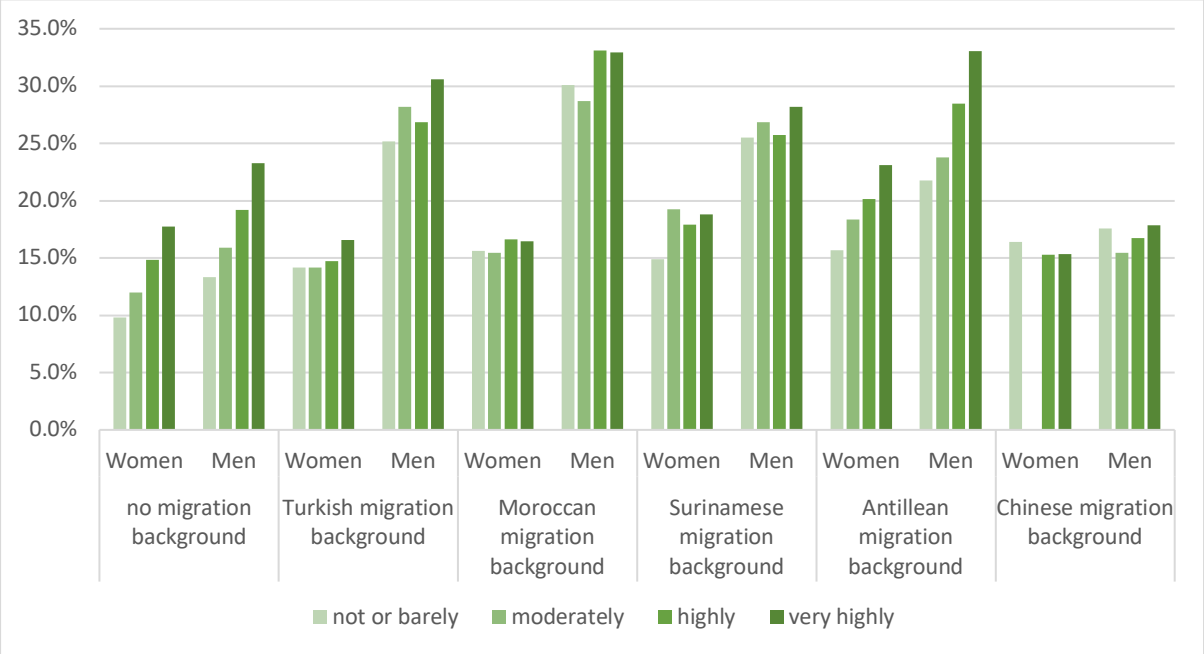


Figure 6.4.5 shows how dropout rates increased when the degree of urbanization increased. This trend was most apparent among men with an Antillean migration background. Almost 22 percent of them dropped out in non or barely urbanized areas whereas 33 percent dropped out in vicinities with

high degrees of urbanization. Among men with a Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese migration background, however, this increase with urbanization level was gradient. Around or more than one in four men with a Turkish, Moroccan, and Surinamese migration background who started vocational tertiary education dropped out, irrespective of the degree of urbanization. In addition, for men with a Chinese migration background, school dropout by the degree of urbanization was smaller than for the other groups.

Figure 6.4.5

School dropout rate among vocational tertiary education students born between 1990 and 1998 by the degree of urbanization of vicinity, gender, and migration background



For women with a Turkish, Moroccan, or Chinese[2] migration background, the degree of urbanization of the living environment made little difference in their school dropout rates: all were around 15 percent. By contrast, for women with a Surinamese or Antillean migration background who enrolled in vocational tertiary education, an upward trend can be seen: the more urban the living environment, the more students dropped out. This was similar to the gradient trend among women without a migration background. Women with an Antillean migration background in areas with a very high degree urbanization were relatively most likely to drop out, at over 23 percent.

[2] There were too few women with a Chinese migration background living in a moderately urban setting who dropped out of school after starting an MBO course to present them here.

When trying to understand the relationship between urbanization and school dropout, it is important to consider the extent to which the population in different areas has a different composition. The differences in dropout rates may be explained by compositional effects, meaning that youth in urban areas could have characteristics that increase the likelihood of dropping out of school even if they had lived in a non-urban context. To test this, a multivariate analysis of the predictors, i.e. determinants of dropout is presented.

Multivariate analyses

Earlier research (Pijpers, 2010) analyzed school dropout in secondary education and vocational tertiary education combined but remarked that analyzing school dropout in secondary education and vocational tertiary education separately could provide new insights. Therefore, dropping out of secondary education, adult secondary education, and vocational tertiary education were examined separately. Predictors for the dropout rate may play different roles in the three types of education. Moreover, examining education types separately is important as different students follow different educational trajectories and someone can only drop out of the type of education they are enrolled in.

School dropout rates in secondary education

The first model examined the influence of gender, migration background, and birth cohort on the probability of dropping out of secondary school (see Table 6.5.1). Two birth cohorts were distinguished: youth born between 1990 and 1994 and youth born between 1995 and 1998. The number of students with a Chinese migration background was too small for a meaningful analysis, hence only the students without a migration background and students with a Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean migration background were included. Table 6.5.1 presents the odds ratios of each of the predictors as well as the regression coefficients and standard errors corresponding with the table presenting the odds ratios. Model 1 included gender, birth cohort, and migration background, and in model 2 degree of urbanization was added, and in model 3 the interaction term between migration background and urbanization was added. When the odds ratio exceeded 1, this meant that the probability of having dropped out of school was higher, a value lower than 1 indicated that the probability was lower. All predictors in the models were statistically significantly associated with the probability of dropping out of school.

Table 6.5.1

Logistic regression for dropout of secondary education (N = 1 497 235)

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B(SE)	OR	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)
Men	0.247(0.008)***	1.281	0.249 (0.008)***	1.282	0.248 (0.008)***	1.282
Moroccan migration background (*ref. non-migrant*)	0.391 (0.020)***	1.479	0.168 (0.020)***	1.183	0.770 (0.078)***	2.159
Turkish migration background	0.249 (0.020)***	1.283	0.050 (0.020)***	1.051	0.282 (0.082)***	1.326
Surinamese migration background	0.430 (0.021)***	1.537	0.200 (0.022)***	1.221	0.687 (0.087)***	1.988
Antillean migration background	0.540 (0.034)***	1.717	0.399 (0.035)***	1.491	0.894 (0.098)***	2.446
Cohort 1995 -1998 (*ref. cohort 1990-1994)*	-0.425 (0.008)***	0.654	-0.424 (0.008)***	0.654	-0.424 (0.008)***	0.654
Moderately urbanized (*ref. not urbanized*)			0.211 (0.012)***	1.235	0.216 (0.013)***	1.241
High urbanized			0.373 (0.011)***	1.452	0.385 (0.011)***	1.470
Very high urbanized			0.581 (0.012)***	1.787	0.622 (0.013)***	1.862
Moroccan * moderately urbanized					-0.488 (0.103)***	0.614
Moroccan * high urbanized					-0.630 (0.087)***	0.533
Moroccan * very high urbanized					-0.678 (0.082)***	0.507
Turkish * moderately urbanized					-0.282 (0.104)**	0.754
Turkish * high urbanized					-0.207 (0.089)*	0.813
Turkish * very high urbanized					-0.287 (0.086)**	0.750
Surinamese * moderately urbanized					-0.209 (0.112)	0.811
Surinamese * high urbanized					-0.462 (0.096)***	0.630
Surinamese * very high urbanized					-0.597 (0.091)***	0.550
Antillean * moderately urbanized					-0.330 (0.141)*	0.719
Antillean * high urbanized					-0.566 (0.115)***	0.568
Antillean * very high urbanized					-0.616 (0.111)***	0.540
Constant	-3.089 (0.007)***		-3.336 (0.009)***		-3.348 (0.010)***	
R-squared	0.010		0.016		0.016	

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

The probability of men dropping out is higher compared to women. In line with the bivariate findings and the first hypothesis, men were more likely to drop out of school than women. Moreover, students with a migration background were more likely to drop out of secondary education than students without a migration background. This supported hypothesis 2a for secondary education. However,

hypothesis 2b on the difference between children of colonial immigrants and those of guest worker immigrants, was not supported. Frankly, the situation seemed to be the inverse of H2b. When compared to students without a migration background, students with an Antillean or a Surinamese migration background had a higher probability to drop out of secondary education. Moreover, these students had a higher probability of dropping out than children of Turkish and Surinamese immigrants.

Younger cohorts were less likely to drop out of secondary school than the older cohort. These effects remained the same, even when the degree of urbanization was added, as can be seen in model 2. However, the effect of migration background in particular became smaller in Model 2. This indicated that some of these effects were associated with a difference in the residential environment. School dropout increased as urbanization increased. An additional model was estimated in which the interaction between migration background and degree of urbanization was explored. In the third model, I examined whether the influence of urbanization is the same for students with different migration backgrounds. The general pattern was that the probability of dropping out was higher for students living in a more urban context than in more rural contexts. This provided support for the fourth hypothesis when it comes to secondary education.

School dropout rates in adult secondary education

A similar analysis was conducted for students in adult secondary education, see Table 6.5.2. For the most part, the findings were similar to the multivariate analysis on secondary education. In adult secondary education, men were more likely to drop out than women. Students with a migration background were also more likely to drop out of adult secondary education than their peers without a migration background. Contrasted with students without a migration background, students with a Surinamese migration background had the highest probability of dropping out, whereas students with an Antillean migration background had the lowest probability of dropping out of adult secondary education. The younger cohort born between 1995 and 1998 had a lower probability of dropping out of adult secondary education.

A clear independent effect of urbanization was found. The probability of dropping out increased with urbanization. The influence of migration background on school dropout decreased when the degree of urbanization was added in Model 2. Hence, the influence of migration background on dropping out of adult secondary education decreased when urbanization came into the picture. However, migration background still had a significant impact, i.e., students with a migration background had a higher probability of dropping out than peers without a migration background, even

when the urbanization was included. This suggests that school dropout for migrant youth is related to the degree of urbanization. Hence, in the third model, the interaction terms between migration background and urbanization were added. The findings were that the degree of urbanization was associated with a pattern of higher rates of dropout in all origin groups.

Table 6.5.2

Logistic regression for dropouts out of adult secondary education (N = 1 497 235)

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)
Men	0.397 (0.022) ***	1.487	0.400 (0.022) ***	1.492	0.400 (0.022)***	1.491
Moroccan migration background (*ref. non-migrant*)	0.803 (0.045)***	2.232	0.477 (0.047)***	1.611	0.820 (0.232)***	2.271
Turkish migration background	0.714 (0.044)***	2.041	0.427 (0.046)***	1.532	0.977 (0.182)***	2.657
Surinamese migration background	0.914 (0.047)***	2.494	0.594 (0.049)***	1.812	0.969 (0.232)***	2.636
Antillean migration background	0.665 (0.089)***	1.944	0.436 (0.091)***	1.547	0.740 (0.318)***	2.095
Cohort 1995 -1998 (*ref. cohort 1990-1994)*	-0.680 (0.024)***	0.506	-0.680 (0.024)***	0.507	-0.679 (0.024)***	0.507
Moderately urbanized (*ref. not urbanized*)			0.401 (0.036) ***	1.493	0.385 (0.038) ***	1.469
High urbanized			0.669 (0.031)***	1.952	0.686 (0.032)***	1.985
Very high urbanized			0.899 (0.034)***	2.457	0.962 (0.036)***	2.616
Moroccan * moderately urbanized					0.118 (0.272)	1.125
Moroccan * high urbanized					-0.226 (0.246)	0.798
Moroccan * very high urbanized					-0.522 (0.241)*	0.593
Turkish * moderately urbanized					-0.391 (0.231)	0.677
Turkish * high urbanized					-0.530 (0.198)**	0.589
Turkish * very high urbanized					-0.675 (0.193)***	0.509
Surinamese * moderately urbanized					-0.011 (0.283)	0.989
Surinamese * high urbanized					-0.567 (0.253)*	0.567
Surinamese * very high urbanized					-0.407 (0.240)	0.665
Antillean * moderately urbanized					0.091 (0.407)	1.095
Antillean * high urbanized					-0.364 (0.355)	0.695
Antillean * very high urbanized					-0.429 (0.345)	0.651
Constant	-5.257 (0.019)***		-5.708 (0.029)***		-5.724 (0.029)***	
R-squared	0.019		0.027		0.028	

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

School dropout rates in vocational tertiary education

The pattern of dropping out of vocational tertiary education was shown in Table 6.5.3 and was alike to school dropouts in secondary education. Men and students with a migrant background had a higher probability of dropping out of vocational tertiary education than women and students without a migrant background. Remarkably, students with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background had a higher probability of dropping out than students with a Surinamese or Antillean migration background. Contrary to the findings for secondary education and adult secondary education, hypothesis 2b was thus supported for vocational tertiary education. The younger birth cohort was less likely to drop out of school than the older cohort. The likelihood of dropping out of vocational tertiary education was also related to the degree of urbanization. Students in more urban vicinities had a higher probability of dropping out; this was in line with the fourth hypothesis.

When studying dropout rates from vocational tertiary education, the probability of dropping out, once again decreased for the students with migration backgrounds when the level of urbanization was included. Students with these four migration backgrounds still had a higher probability of dropping out than peers without a migration background, even when the factor urbanization was considered. Additional analyses in which the interaction terms between migration background and urbanization were added – see Model 3 - showed that this applied to all groups, but that the influence of a high and very high degree of urbanization on the probability of dropping out of vocational tertiary education was especially larger for students with an Antillean migration background than for the other groups. This while the effect of urbanization for the other groups remained intact but was somewhat smaller than for young people without a migration background.

Table 6.5.3

Logistic regression with coefficients, standard errors, significance levels, and odds ratios for dropouts out of vocational tertiary education (N = 1 497 235)

	(1)		(2)		(3)	
	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)
Men	0.461 (0.006)***	1.585	0.462 (0.006)***	1.587	0.462 (0.006)***	1.587
Moroccan migration background (*ref. non-migrant*)	0.967 (0.012)***	2.630	0.814 (0.013)***	2.257	1.075 (0.052)***	2.931
Turkish migration background	0.846 (0.012)***	2.332	0.708 (0.012)***	2.030	0.913 (0.047)***	2.493
Surinamese migration background	0.746 (0.014)***	2.109	0.586 (0.015)***	1.797	0.697 (0.064)***	2.009
Antillean migration background	0.840 (0.024)***	2.316	0.706 (0.024)***	2.026	0.386 (0.088)***	1.471
Cohort 1995 -1998 (*ref. cohort 1990-1994)*	-0.746 (0.006)***	0.474	-0.746 (0.006)***	0.474	-0.746 (0.006)***	0.474
Moderately urbanized (*ref. not urbanized*)			0.113 (0.009) ***	1.119	0.106 (0.009)***	1.112
High urbanized			0.305 (0.008)***	1.356	0.313 (0.008)***	1.368
Very high urbanized			0.399 (0.009)***	1.490	0.419 (0.010)***	1.520
Moroccan * moderately urbanized					-0.142 (0.067)*	0.868
Moroccan * high urbanized					-0.215 (0.057)***	0.806
Moroccan * very high urbanized					-0.341 (0.055)***	0.711
Turkish * moderately urbanized					-0.024 (0.059)	0.977
Turkish * high urbanized					-0.284 (0.051)***	0.753
Turkish * very high urbanized					-0.232 (0.050)***	0.793
Surinamese * moderately urbanized					0.034 (0.081)	1.035
Surinamese * high urbanized					-0.134 (0.069)	0.874
Surinamese * very high urbanized					-0.144 (0.067)*	0.866
Antillean * moderately urbanized					0.108 (0.120)	1.114
Antillean * high urbanized					0.272 (0.097)**	1.312
Antillean * very high urbanized					0.448 (0.095)***	1.565
Constant	-2.419 (0.005)***		-2.593 (0.007)***		-2.598 (0.007)***	
R-squared	0.047		0.051		0.051	

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05

Discussion

In sum, men, students with a migration background, the older cohort, and students living in more urban vicinities had a higher probability of dropping out than women, students without a migration background, the younger cohort, and those living in non-urban vicinities. These results were found for the three types of education: secondary education, adult secondary education, and vocational tertiary education. Thus, hypotheses 1, 2a, and 4 were supported in the case of these three different types of education. The expected difference between students with a Surinamese and Antillean migration background and students with a Turkish and Moroccan migration background was only found in vocational tertiary education. Students with a Surinamese and Antillean migration background had a higher probability of dropping out than peers with a Turkish or Moroccan migration background. Moreover, the role of migration background was reduced when the degree of urbanization is added. The probability of dropping out decreased for the students with a migration background when urbanization was included, even though these students still had a higher probability of dropping out than peers without a migration background. This was the case with secondary education, adult secondary education, and vocational tertiary education.

The indicators of drop-out, i.e., migration background, age, gender, and degree of urbanization, were relatively stable in predicting probabilities of dropping out across secondary education, adult secondary education, and vocational tertiary education. Students dropped out most often from vocational tertiary education. This was the case across students with different migration backgrounds and for both girls and boys alike. Vocational tertiary education is tertiary education for students who completed vocational tracks in secondary school (VMBO). Secondary school degrees from the other two tracks, i.e., HAVO and VWO, qualify as a starting qualification. Therefore, students with diplomas in these two tracks are not followed in tertiary education when it comes to monitoring and gathering data on dropouts. The Dutch education system is relatively stratified, and it seems to segregate students from a young age into three different tracks with vastly different outlooks in their further educational trajectory. The students in the VMBO-MBO trajectory seem to be more prone to drop out, even when differentiated by gender and migration background, than peers in HAVO-HBO or VWO-university trajectories. More specifically, dropouts among students in the VMBO-MBO trajectory are more likely to be observed in data on dropping out than their peers in HAVO-HBO and VWO-university trajectories. Two slightly contradicting explanations can be found for this gap. On the one hand, students in HBO and university are not registered in dropout data. So, students who drop out of these types of education simply are not included in the data on dropouts. Meanwhile, students with a VMBO diploma who enter tertiary education, i.e., vocational tertiary education (MBO), are still monitored in dropout data. This seems rather arbitrary as the cut-off point for registering dropouts is

drawn along the line of starting qualifications. On the other hand, most students who start secondary education start a vocational track (VMBO). Since a VMBO diploma is not a start qualification, these students enter vocational tertiary education. Hence, more students end up in vocational tertiary education than in higher tertiary education (HBO or WO). These conclusions on the dropout rates and different types and trajectories of education are remarkably poignant as students with a migration background are overrepresented in the VMBO-MBO trajectory (Hartgers, Kuipers & in (Mooij et al., 2018).

In recent years, school dropout rates have decreased steadily. The percentage of students who left vocational tertiary education early and without a starting qualification was 7.3 percent in 2010/2011 (Nederlands Jeugdinstituut, 2022) and shrank to 5.4 in 2018-2019. For students in secondary education, a similar pattern occurred: 1.1 percent left secondary school in 2010-2011. This was only 0.5 percent in 2018-2019 (Nederlands Jeugdinstituut, 2022). Among students with a migration background dropout rates also decreased. For example, among 22-year-old students in vocational tertiary education, 15 percent of those with a Turkish migration background dropped out in 2004-2005, as compared to 8 percent in 2018-2019. A similar decrease in dropout has been found for students with other migration backgrounds between 2004-2005 and 2018-2019. The dropout rate among students without a migration background also decreased between 2004-2005 and 2018-2019: from 9.4 percent to 5 percent. The findings that younger cohorts have lower probabilities of dropping out of secondary, adult secondary, and vocational tertiary education correspond with these trends. Against the backdrop of these decreasing dropout rates, the findings that students with a migration background have a higher probability of dropout than peers without a migration background point out a differential by migration background, or lack thereof, whereas these figures should be considered in the overall decreasing trend of school dropouts among students of all migration backgrounds. Over the last decades, the Dutch government designed specific policies to combat school dropout. So far, it looks like the current decreasing dropout rates could be the fruits of these policies.

Living in a more urbanized vicinity increases the probability of dropping out for all students. Potential explanations for this are twofold. First, cities might provide more opportunities to escape from the buffering effects of social control and surveillance. On the one hand, students might be less likely to be noticed when not in school by family, friends, elders, neighbors, and others. On the other hand, other diversions or pastimes besides school might be more plentiful in cities. Moreover, the interplay between migration background and degree of urbanization stands out in this chapter. Students with a migration background have a higher probability of dropping out across all types of education than students without a migration background. However, when urbanization comes into

the picture, the probability of dropping out decreases for students of all migration backgrounds. Urbanization, therefore, seems to account for some of the initial chances of dropping out among students with a migration background. This comes as no surprise since we know that students with migration backgrounds drop out more frequently and that students with a migration background more frequently live in higher urbanized vicinities. Given the changing demographics in Dutch cities, through which former minorities, i.e. people with a migration background, become the majority population (Crul, 2016), these findings are more remarkable and once more point out that migration background as such is not the sole inferential culprit of lower education levels, performance, and higher dropout rates among student populations with a migration background. However, from other research, we know that educational performances between co-ethnic boys and girls can be rather divergent so the interaction between gender and migration background – as well as including urbanization deserve attention in future research.

Secondly, the impact of the lower socio-economic standing of migrant families in big cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam have historically been ominous: social housing in small and older accommodation and social and residential segregation. These circumstances are part of the interplay of migration background and urbanization. Inferences about the socio-economic background of migrant communities are made in the hypotheses yet not explicitly tested in this chapter. The idea that certain migrant communities and families could have more capital at their disposal than other communities could be examined more specifically in future research.

This research suffers from a few limitations. The first limitation concerns the inclusion of various groups of students with a migration background, and its definition. This study included students with second-generation Turkish, Moroccan and Surinamese, and Antillean. These groups are widely studied in the Netherlands. To examine whether similar patterns are found for another group, second-generation students with a Chinese migration background were included as well. This is an especially interesting group to include as national and international research has shown that children of Chinese immigrants have high achievement levels in education (Portes & Hao, 2004). However, the group of students with a second-generation Chinese migration background was too limited in size to be included in the inferential analyses. This hampered purposeful comparison between these various second-generation groups. Examining school dropout among students with a migration background could be expanded to other backgrounds in future research, for example for children of refugees from Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Somalia. Additionally, migration background is defined – in line with the CBS definition – by the country of birth of the research person and their parents. This definition fails to notice self-identification and intragroup differences. For example, students who are in the Netherlands may not regard themselves as having a migration background and may not be attached

to or feel like they belong to the immigrant community they are assigned to in this definition based upon country of birth. Subgroups exist in these overarching definitions of migration background. For example, people with a Turkish migration background may self-identify as Turkish, Assyrian, or Kurdish. People with a Surinamese migration background may self-identify as Hindustani, Afro-Surinamese, specifically Creoles and Maroons, Javanese, or Chinese which could potentially function as separate communities with buffering effects that are overlooked here.

Secondly, the data on dropout is bounded by the definition of starting qualification. Students in education that ought to result in a starting qualification, i.e., HAVO and VWO in secondary education and adult secondary education, vocational tertiary education in case of students who received a VMBO diploma, are included in the data. However, the students who received a starting qualification and proceeded with education are not included in the data. For example, a student may drop out of university. Since this student already obtained a VWO diploma in secondary school, they are not included in the data on school dropout.

Thirdly, this study included students born between 1990 and 1998 as later cohorts still have to finish their education. However, students born in 1990 are more likely to have finished their education path by 2017 than those students born in 1998. Moreover, this study only examined dropout patterns and does not provide insight into the educational trajectories. Whether these students re-enter education or whether they obtain a diploma in higher education is beyond the scope of this study. However, future research could map the full school careers so the critical stages for the risk of dropping out are contextualized.

Chapter 7 – Discussion

Educational inequities: context and questions

The debate on the inequity of opportunities – and of educational inequities specifically – has regained attention in the Netherlands. The documentary series *Klassen* (NPO, 2020) portrayed how children and their parents in Amsterdam-Noord navigated the pivotal moment of the transition from the final grade in primary school to the first grade of secondary education. In the slipstream of this successful documentary, the leader of the Amsterdam social-democratic party (PvdA), Marjolein Moorman, won the 2022 municipal elections in the capital with a campaign centered around educational equality. Pondering track placement advice and school choice is not the exclusive prerogative of these families in this Amsterdam borough, nor is the surge of equity of opportunities on the political agenda of various political parties in the Netherlands at the local and national level. These considerations and choices on education and inequality apply to students and their families across the Netherlands, both with and without a migration background.

The central research questions of my dissertation were: (1) how the educational trajectories of children of immigrants developed over the last forty years; (2) how the explanations of these trajectories shifted and (3) how migration background interacted with other student characteristics in affecting these trajectories. To substantiate this, the educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands between 1980 and 2020 are examined in this research. I showed that over time the general trend is that children of immigrants in the Netherlands - and more specifically over subsequent generations and birth cohorts - obtain higher educational levels. In this upward trend, the family context in which a child grows up is of great importance in shaping their educational paths. Specifically for children of immigrants, the interplay between migration background and the socio-economic position of the family plays an important role in their educational trajectories – similar to their peers without a migration background. However, an underlying notion is that socio-economic position works differently for children with and without a migration background. For the latter, education is assumed to be a reproduction of the socio-economic status of the family - i.e., little upward social mobility in education – whereas for children of immigrants socio-economic background potentially interacts with their migration background in striving for upward social mobility in education – i.e., migrant parents with lower SES standing may encourage their children in their educational endeavors to choose ambitiously and to study ardently and ‘make it’ in the land of arrival. Hence, children of immigrants may realize more upward social mobility through education than their non-migrant peers as for them sizeable upward intergenerational mobility through education had

already been realized in the decades preceding the scope of this dissertation and thus limiting further upward mobility.

The Netherlands has had a history of implementing policy for emancipation of disadvantaged groups through education. Before the focus on children of immigrants, the support programs and policies of the Dutch education system in the 1960s and 1970s aimed at raising and emancipating (in Dutch: "*verheffen*") working-class children through education. Emancipating in this context meant creating equal opportunities and ameliorating the position of disadvantaged groups in society. Hence, the issues and subsequent policies are not new, even if the groups are. Although these were initially aimed at Dutch children from lower social classes, from 1980 onwards the focus shifted to children of immigrants who entered education in these years. This was due to fast rising immigration rates through family reunification, and the substantial immigration of Surinamese just before and during the declaration of independence of this former colony in 1975, whose children entered the Dutch school system upon arrival. The year 1980 is therefore a good starting point to study the educational trajectories of children of immigrants. The data in recent years originate from large-scale population studies – sometimes even national register data, yet the further back to the 1980s the scarcer and more limited the data became. This does not mean – however – that these scattered data are useless for long-term analysis, only that they should be approached more cautiously. Combined, these data provide an overarching picture over time of the educational trajectories and developments of children of immigrants in the Netherlands – as elaborated in Chapter 3 – rather than an in-depth examination of the underlying mechanisms – as elaborated in the subsequent chapters. Although social scientists commonly use shorter time frames, they do provide important insights by comparing birth cohorts and generations as examined strictly – which is important because integration per definition is a long-term intergenerational process (Alba & Nee, 2003). A wealth of studies on the education of children of immigrants in the Netherlands has been conducted across disciplines varying from sociology, economics, and education sciences to social and economic history. The social science research that investigates educational inequality and the educational trajectories of children of immigrants, however, tends to analyze a relatively contemporary scope of a couple of years (see for exceptions the work of van de Werfhorst and van Tubergen for example), and hence a limited time frame. Moreover, studies that trace the trends in educational trajectories of children of immigrants before the early 2000s are scarce. This dissertation is uniquely situated at an intersection between social science and social history by incorporating insights, methods, and time frames from both disciplines.

Back to the questions at hand in this dissertation, and the principal research question of this dissertation, as formulated: how did the educational attainment of children of immigrants evolve

between 1980 and 2020 and how did the perspectives on this change? The three sub-questions were (1) how the educational trajectories of children of immigrants developed over the last forty years; (2) how the explanations of these trajectories shifted and (3) how migration background interacted with other student characteristics in affecting these trajectories.

The bottom line: education, family and context

This dissertation takes an aggregated approach by examining trends in education such as track placement and attendance among children of immigrants over time generally and has tried to uncover mechanisms that affect the educational trajectories of children of immigrants in the Netherlands in particular. This has amounted to three main conclusions.

First: overall, with time children of immigrants perform better in school. There is an ongoing upward trend in the educational level of children of immigrants from Turkey, Morocco, Suriname, and the Antilles, with those born more recently, overwhelmingly the second generation, doing better – as shown in the time series in chapter 3 – and drop-out less frequently – as found in chapter 6. This upward trend seems to be driven especially by girls with an immigrant background. They have on average higher educational attainment and lower dropout rates than their male peers. This is not an immigrant-specific trend: in the majority population, girls drop out of school less frequently than boys do, as well as outperform them in general education levels (Traag & van der Velden, 2011). Regarding dropout rates, students with a migration background are overrepresented in dropout rates – as shown in chapter 6. This provides a caveat to an upward trend of education among children of immigrants: this does not apply to everyone, particularly sons of immigrants in VMBO and MBO tracks living in larger cities fall behind, since dropping out of school is shown to have long-term consequences (Beckers & Traag, 2005). This conclusion indicates - as an answer to the first sub question - that a general upward trend in the education of children of immigrants is observed, although a small group of sons of immigrants in particular is at risk of dropping out of school.

Secondly, socio-economic background is seen as a pivotal explanation of the educational trajectories of children of immigrants – as shown in chapter 4. Regarding the impact of economic capital, I can conclude from chapter 5 that this matters for educational attainment at secondary school as well as in adulthood. In particular, the fifth chapter showed how parental income affects the education level of children of immigrants in both the short – i.e., in secondary school - and long run - in adulthood. Yet, this association was found to be slightly weaker among the second generation with a Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese migration background than among Antillean and Indonesian

families. This means that parental income positively influences education in secondary school and adulthood for children of all migration backgrounds, yet more so in Antillean and Indonesian families than in Turkish, Moroccan, or Surinamese families. Third, the living environment impacts the educational position of children of immigrants considerably. This particularly pertains to youth that is already at risk of a disrupted educational career: boys who grow up in more urbanized neighborhoods are more likely to drop out of school – as shown in chapter 6.

Contextualization of the findings

The conclusion of a general upward trend since the 1980s for the educational position of children of immigrants is a firm rebuke of the pessimistic outlook in public debates on the positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands as described by Lucassen and Lucassen (2015). Moreover, it defies the "immigrant paradox" in the Dutch context. The immigrant paradox postulates that recent immigrants and less integrated people with a migration background often outperform those who are part of second and further generations, who seem to lose the drive and aspirations of the initial migrants (Garcia Coll et al., 2012). In the United States especially, this would have given way to downward assimilation as one of the paths. Furthermore, the idea of the Dutch educational system as meritocratic seems to be a myth: family background – both regarding migration history and socioeconomic features - affects the educational trajectories of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. One's talent, achievement, and effort are important but do not automatically prevail over socio-economic standing, as also recently concluded by the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (2023).

Although not explicitly studied here, the slightly optimistic conclusions on the educational positions of children of immigrants cannot be seen separately from discrimination. Discrimination in education can hamper the educational outcomes of children of immigrants, as seen for example in discrimination in track recommendation advice, or school access. However, given that children of immigrants may face discrimination in their educational trajectories, the conclusions in this dissertation are further underpinned. Imagine what their educational positions would look like if these institutional or discriminatory barriers and practices would diminish or no longer exist. The upward trend in the educational positions of children of immigrants discussed here could therefore be an underestimation of their potential. Again, imagine what the educational trajectories of children of immigrants would look like without institutional discriminatory hindrances.

The groups of immigrants and their descendants that are commonly included in migration studies in the Netherlands are of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese, and Antillean descent. The children of immigrants from these four countries constitute the main migrant population in this dissertation as well as among the largest migrant groups in the country at large. Two additional groups are included: children of Indonesian immigrants (chapter 5) and children of Chinese immigrants (chapter 6). These two groups are chosen for specific reasons. Children with an Indonesian background constitute a very diverse group; from children with Moluccan roots, mixed heritage (the large majority), *spijtoptanten, to the offspring of* former Dutch bureaucrats, officials and higher skilled staff in the Dutch Indies. Remarkably, Indonesians were long seen as "Westers" (Western) in previous categorizations of Statistics Netherlands, whereas people immigrating from Suriname, or the Dutch Antilles were seen as "niet-Westers" (non-Western). Despite their diverse roots, and the varying timing of their immigration, including children of Indonesian immigrants provides insights through the comparisons with other post-colonial groups such as Surinamese and Antilleans and offers an opportunity to examine whether explanatory mechanisms like the colonial bonus or malus (Oostindie, 2011) hold for multiple post-colonial groups in education. Chapter five offered insights into the comparable impact of income on educational outcomes within both Indonesian migrant families and non-migrant families. This conclusion tentatively indicates the absence of a discernible colonial advantage or disadvantage. The children of Chinese immigrants are included because they perform remarkably well academically (Gijsberts et al., 2011). In the sixth chapter, some bivariate indication substantiated this as considerably fewer children of Indonesian background dropped out of school. Because the academic and occupational successes of East Asian and Southeast Asian immigrants and their children often are attributed to hard work, assumed cultural values such as discipline and determination, are often contrasted to less successful migrant or ethnic groups, notwithstanding harsh criticism on this rather stereotypical concept and its ramifications in the American context (Kiang et al., 2017; Kiang & Chan, 2009; Wong & Halgin, 2006; Yi & Museu, 2016).

The groups studied in this research are based upon a categorization dating back to the 1980s and 1990s, in which parental origin is an influential determinant. In this light, it should be noted that during the period this dissertation was written, these labels and categorizations at Statistics Netherlands changed: from a more parental heritage-based perspective to an emphasis on the country of birth of the individual and their parents. These six groups considered in this dissertation – however – do not represent the totality of children of immigrants in the Netherlands. For further research, it would be interesting to include children of refugees from Iran, Iraq, and Vietnam, who arrived in the 1980s and 1990s, especially since earlier research showed that children of Iranian and Iraqi refugee parents perform above average in education (Maliepaard et al., 2017). There are more

recent refugee groups, like those from Syria and Eritrea whose socio-cultural positions show mixed results in the first studies focusing on these groups as shown by (Damen, Huijnk, et al., 2022; Damen, Van der Linden et al., 2022). Research into the educational trajectories of children of these refugees should be structurally compared with educational endeavors of children of other immigrants. Even more recently, refugees from Ukraine and Afghanistan are seeking refuge in the Netherlands, although it should be noted that seeking refuge from the latter country is rather renewed or continual than recent. In both primary and secondary education, *schakelklassen* have been reintroduced to swiftly facilitate Dutch language learning of refugee children, most recently Ukrainians, to let them enroll in regular classes and schools as soon as possible. The Ukrainian children in schools are an especially interesting group for impending research as Ukrainian families did not have to go through the asylum procedure.

Another avenue for further research might be children with one parent born in the Netherlands and one parent born abroad. Next to their parent who is born abroad, these children have a parent without a migration background, or, a parent with a second-generation migration background – born in the Netherlands but with a migration background. Mixed parental heritage plays a role in the educational trajectories of children of immigrants as the parent without a migration background could offer more Dutch context-specific cultural capital, knowledge of the educational system, and the Dutch language than foreign-born parents, which would foster the educational outcomes of these children. Kalmijn (2015) concluded that in the Netherlands children of such mixed marriages – i.e., with one Dutch parent and a migrant parent - are often 'halfway' between group-level educational outcomes of immigrant children and children without a migration background. In addition, he explained how intermarriage and socio-economic position are interconnected: the positive effect of intermarriage was even more substantial as the family had a higher socio-economic status.

Although education is an important part of the integration of immigrant families, an upward trend in the educational positions of children of immigrants does not unequivocally equate a successful path of integration as integration is multifarious - it also includes life course outcomes such as employment, health, and family formation. Education can be a predictor or proxy for these other life course outcomes, as shown in non-migrant populations: higher education levels are associated with higher wages, stable employment, and better health. For children of immigrants, two provisos should be considered. First, school-to-work transitions are shown to be complicated among children of immigrants. Stark disparities in labor market outcomes as demonstrated in previous research indicate a gap between education levels and employment for children of immigrants and other ethnic and racial minorities (Alba & Foner, 2015; Drouhot and Nee, 2019; Heath et al. 2008; Van Tubergen et al.

2004). Research into hiring practices by Thijssen (2020) showed that discriminatory tendencies in the labor market vary across countries – in which the Netherlands stands out with higher levels of discrimination than other European countries such as Germany or Spain.

Secondly, research into "the integration paradox" showed that certain people with a migration background who are socio-economically more integrated may socio-psychologically avert from the host society (Verkuyten, 2016). Feelings of relative deprivation and perceived discrimination among higher-educated people with a migration background are suggested as reasons for this integration paradox both for the first and the second generation (Dagevos et al., 2022; de Vroome et al., 2014; Verkuyten, 2016). Hence, the upward trend in the educational trajectories of children of immigrants does not guarantee a smooth transition into a job, and obtaining higher education positions as a part of socio-economic integration does not unequivocally result in integration within multiple domains. This is in stark contrast with classical immigration theories that postulate that structural integration will result in integration in other domains.

Yet, higher education levels do not unequivocally result in integration into mainstream society. When studying educational positions, the conventional wisdom is "the higher, the better" as higher education positions are assumed to be associated with integration in domains outside structural socio-economic components in classical immigration theories. Despite the upward trend in educational positions of children of immigrants in the Netherlands observed in this dissertation, this adage of "higher is better" is ambiguous. On the one hand, higher education is often valued more than vocational education and employment. On the other hand, the assumption that "higher is better" does not imply that those who are lower educated or vocationally trained are not integrated. Vocational training is undoubtedly valued less in Dutch society, yet the skills and labor of the lower or vocationally trained may be more valuable with the growing demand in professions such as caretakers, nurses, public transport staff, and applied technicians.

These conclusions are reason to be mildly optimistic about the educational trajectories of children of immigrants. A steady upward trend since the 1980s is still going strong. Family background still matters: parents provide their children with capital to succeed in education. This is not only the case for children from non-migrant families, but children from immigrant families also benefit. However, the student's performance and attainment play a key role too. Therefore, the characteristics of immigrant families should not be studied in a vacuum. The rather stratified Dutch education system may hinder students with a migration background employ their potential from an early age onward as they are often attending lower tracks in secondary school. Hence, it is crucial to provide students

who might be disadvantaged in the early stages of their education with additional support and loopholes to obtain higher education.

Despite the pessimistic turn the public debate on immigration and integration took around the turn of the century, it is important to acknowledge that educational attainment levels of children of immigrants have steadily increased over the last forty years. It is imperative that this provides a prospect for the younger generations. Charting a path forward, research and discourse should transcend beyond mere socio-economic or migration background and incorporate structural elements such as the stratified school system and consider agency such as tracking decisions. This way, a comprehensive understanding of educational inequality is fostered.

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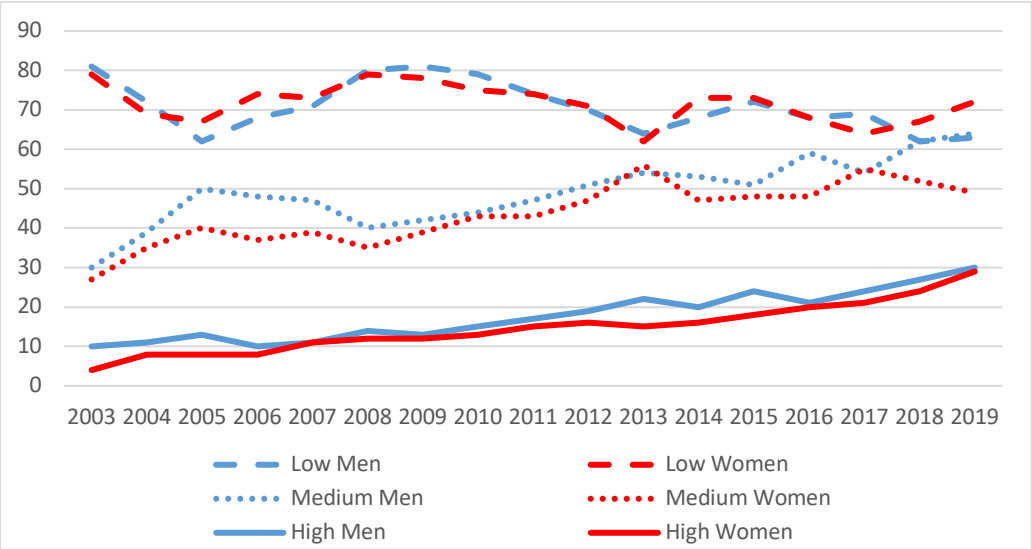
Zhou, M. (1997). Segmented assimilation: Issues, controversies, and recent research on the new second generation. *International Migration Review*, *31*(4), 975–1008. https://doi.org/10.1177/019791839703100408

Zhou, M., & Portes, A. (1993). The new second generation: Segmented assimilation and its variants. In *The New Immigration* (pp. 99–116). Routledge.

Appendix A - Chapter 3

Figure 3.1

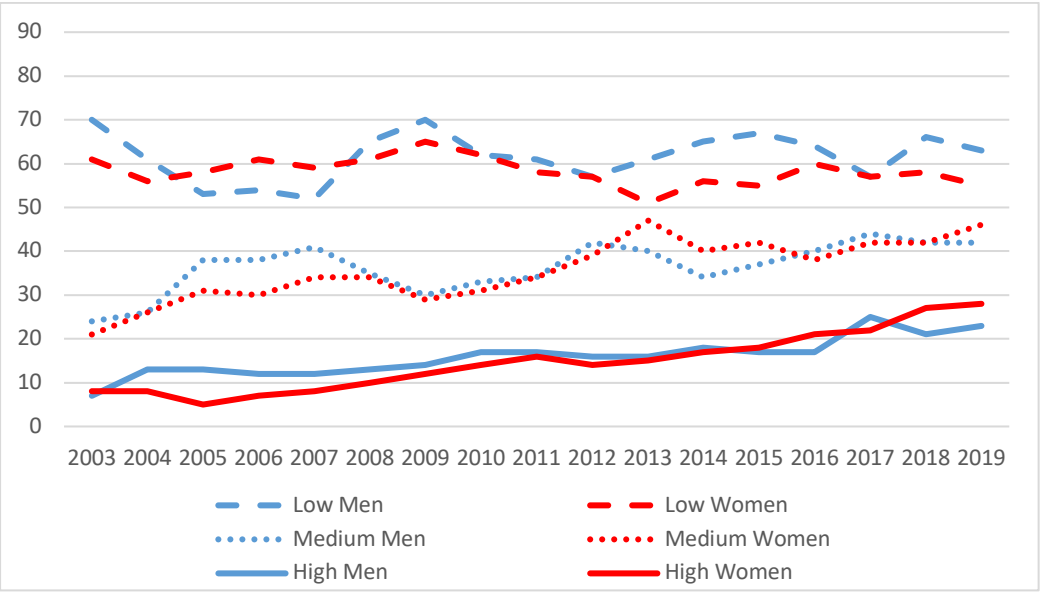
Time series on education level of women and men with a Turkish migration background in the Netherlands, above the age 15, all generations, in numbers, x 1 000, 2003-2020



Source: Statline.

Figure 3.2

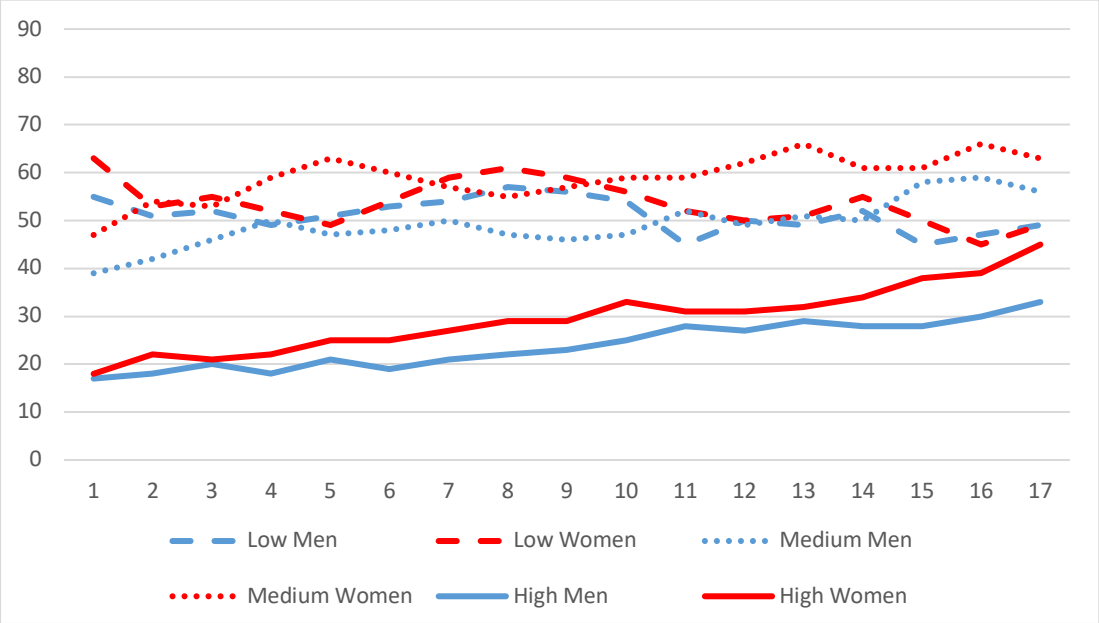
Time series on education level of women and men with a Moroccan migration background in the Netherlands, above the age 15, all generations, in numbers, x 1 000, 2003-2020



Source: Statline.

Figure 3.3

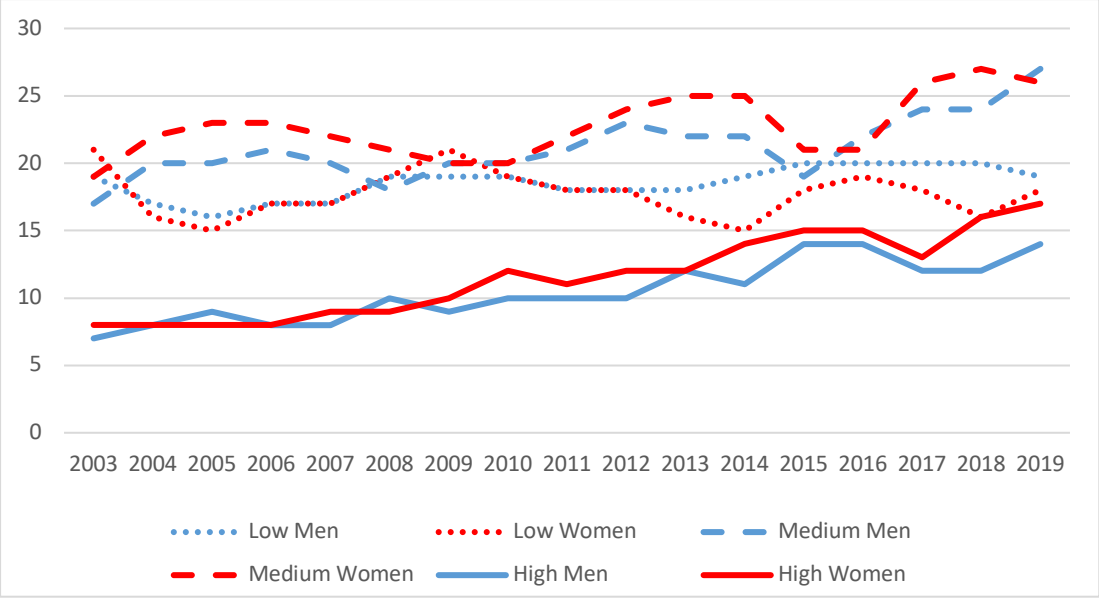
Time series on education level of women and men with a Surinamese migration background in the Netherlands, above the age 15, all generations, in numbers, x 1 000, 2003-2020



Source: Statline.

Figure 4

Time series on education level of women and men with a Antillean migration background in the Netherlands, above the age 15, all generations, in numbers, x 1 000, 2003-2020.



Source: Statline.

Appendix B - Chapter 4

Protocol and flow chart

Databases and queries

The highlighted terminology (in green) are the final search terms used.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE SEARCH TERMS			
Family background	**Education**	**Migrant group**	**the Netherlands**
family background	education	immigrants	the Netherlands
socio-economic class	education level	immigrant groups	Dutch
socio-economic position	educational level	immigrant status	Holland
socio-economic status	educational attainment	migrants	
socio-economic background	educational position	migrant group	
socioeconomic class	educational performance	migrant status	
socioeconomic position	educational outcome	migration group	
socioeconomic status	educational achievement	migration background	
socioeconomic background	academic achievement	ethnicity	
social class	academic performance	ethnic minority	
social position	school	ethnic minorities	
social status	schooling	minority	
social background	scholastic	minorities	
education	studies	second generation	

education level		second-generation immigrants	
educational level	education*	children of immigrants	
educational attainment	academic*	immigrants' children	
occupation	school*	children of migrants	
occupational level	scholastic*	migrants' children	
occupational status	studies	Turkish children	
occupational position		Turkish youth	
occupational class		Turkish pupils	
income		Turkisch students	
capital		Moroccan children	
support		Morrocan youth	
investment		Morrocan pupils	
mobility		Moroccan students	
		Surinamese children	
		Surinamese youth	
family*		Surinamese pupils	
socio-economic*		Surinamese students	
socioeconomic*		Antillean children	
social*		Antillean youth	
education*		Antillean pupils	
occupation*		Antillean students	
income*			
capital*		immigrant*	
support*		migrant*	
investment*		migration*	
mobility*		ethnic*	
		second generation*	
		second-generation*	

		Turk*	
		Morocc*	
		Surinam*	
		Antill*	

DUTCH LANGUAGE SEARCH TERMS			
Family background	**Education**	**Migrant group**	**the Netherlands**
familie*	onderwijs*	immigrant*	Nederland*
socio-economisch*	opleiding*	migrant*	
socioeconomisch*	academi*	migratie*	
social*	school*	etnisch*	
onderwijs*	educatie*	tweede generatie*	
Opleiding*	studie*	second-generation*	
Beroep*		Turk*	
Inkomen*		Marokk*	
kapitaal*		Surina*	
mobiliteit*		Antill*	

These options per concepts resulted into three main keyword field entries (including " * " for autofill):

- socio-economic* OR socioeconomic* OR social* OR family* OR education* OR occupation* OR income* OR capital* OR support* OR investment* OR mobility*
- immigrant* OR migrant* OR migration* OR ethnic* OR second generation* OR second-generation* OR Turk* OR Morocc* OR Surinam* OR Antill*
- education* OR academic* OR school* OR scholastic* OR studies
- Netherlands* OR Dutch* OR Holland*.

Or in Dutch:

- familie* OR socio-economisch* OR socioeconomisch* OR social* OR onderwijs* OR opleiding* OR beroep* OR inkomen* OR kapitaal* OR mobiliteit*
- onderwijs* OR opleiding* OR academi* OR school* OR educatie* OR studie*
- immigrant* OR migrant* OR migratie* OR etnisch* OR tweede generatie* OR second-generation* OR Turk* OR Marokk* OR Surina* OR Antill*
- Nederland*.

Databases

I have searched three databases. First, **ERIC**, which stands for Education Resources Information Center and is funded by the U.S. Department for Education, was searched with the keyword field entries as described above.

In ERIC, I first searched via EBSCOHOST on February 26, 2020 with:

[Alltext] socio-economic* OR socioeconomic* OR social* OR family* OR education* OR occupation* OR income* OR capital* OR support* OR investment* OR mobility*

AND

[Abstract] immigrant* OR migrant* OR migration* OR ethnic* OR second generation* OR second-generation* OR Turk* OR Morocc* OR Surinam* OR Antill*

AND

[Abstract] education* OR academic* OR school* OR scholastic* OR studies

AND

[Abstract] Netherlands* OR Dutch* OR Holland*.

The same strategy was applied using the Dutch keywords. This yielded 554 results in total.

Second, **PsychInfo** (by the American Psychological Association, via EBSCOHOST) was searched on February 26, 2020. Similar to the search in ERIC, I searched with these four entries, first in English and then in Dutch. The third entry regarding education was targeted at the title, to search for papers that concerned education as main theme instead of other psychological topics. This yielded 365 results. The exact queries used were:

[Alltext] socio-economic* OR socioeconomic* OR social* OR family* OR education* OR occupation* OR income* OR capital* OR support* OR investment* OR mobility*

AND

[Abstract] immigrant* OR migrant* OR migration* OR ethnic* OR second generation* OR second-generation* OR Turk* OR Morocc* OR Surinam* OR Antill*

AND

[Title] education* OR academic* OR school* OR scholastic* OR studies

AND

[Abstract] Netherlands* OR Dutch* OR Holland*

The same strategy was applied using the Dutch keywords.

Third, **Sociological Abstracts** was searched on March 2, 2020, again with the four entries in both English and Dutch. The first entry regarding family background was targeted at the title, to search for papers that concerned social and family background as the main theme instead of other sociological topics that are researched in relation to education. This search yielded 374 records. The four entries were:

[Title] socio-economic* OR socioeconomic* OR social* OR family* OR education* OR occupation* OR income* OR capital* OR support* OR investment* OR mobility*

AND

[Abstract] immigrant* OR migrant* OR migration* OR ethnic* OR second generation* OR second-generation* OR Turk* OR Morocc* OR Surinam* OR Antill*

AND

[Abstract] education* OR academic* OR school* OR scholastic* OR studies

AND

[Abstract] Netherlands* OR Dutch* OR Holland*.

The same strategy was applied using the Dutch keywords.

In addition, as a more detailed search, the specific relevant English-language journals were searched on February 27 and 28, 2020. These outlets were searched with the same queries as search in ERIC. The journals were researched in groups based upon their publisher.

Journals published by Elsevier are:

- Advances in Life Course Research
- Research in Social Stratification and Mobility
- Social Science Research
- Studies in Educational Evaluation

Journals published by Routlegde are:

- Educational Research and Evaluation
- Ethnic and Racial Studies

- European Journal of Higher Education
- Paedagogica Historica
- Journal of Education Policy
- Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies
- Oxford Review of Education
- Race, Ethnicity and Education

Journals published by SAGE are:

Acta Sociologica

American Sociological Review

- Educational Policy
- Ethnicities
- European Educational Research Journal
- International Migration Review
- Review of Educational Research
- Sociology of Education
- Sociology of Race and Ethnicity.

The following journal were separately searched:

- Annual Review of Sociology (Annual Reviews publisher)
- Journal of Migration History (Brill)

Various Dutch journals were also searched with the Dutch version of the search terms:

- Pedagogische Studiën
- Migrantenstudies

- Tijdschrift voor Sociologie
- Mens en Maatschappij
- Pedagogisch Tijdschrift
- Tijdschrift voor Onderwijswetenschappen
- Sociologische Gids
- Tijdschrift voor Onderwijsresearch

This provided me with 1499 records. Duplicate records (N = 191) were removed. This resulted in 1308 records. These records were screened for eligibility and inclusion.

Study selection and inclusion

The eligibility criteria for inclusion are listed below. For the first round of study selection, I read the title and abstract of the articles and chapters and included the studies that preliminary met the following criteria:

1. Theme: education in primary, secondary and tertiary stage of children of immigrants and how family background relates to this
2. Population: children of immigrants (1.5 or second generation in education) with Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese or Antillean or other migration backgrounds.
3. Research context: the Netherlands, with data between 1980 and 2020
4. Language of study: English or Dutch
5. Academically published studies: either quantitative, qualitative or review studies.

A total of 994 records were removed because they did not meet these criteria. This resulted in 314 studies of which 65 were included after full-text assessment.

Appendix C – Chapter 5

Table 5.1

Regressions analyses for highest attained educational level, 1988 – 1993

	Model 1 (N = 906674) Education level, age 15		Model 2 (N = 993261) Education level, adulthood	
	B(SE)	Exp(B)	B(SE)	Exp(B)
Threshold (1)	0.75 (0.010)***		-1.774(0.012)***	
Threshold (2)	2.005 (0.011)***		1.513(0.011)***	
Threshold (3)	3.135 (0.011)***			
Turkish migration background (*ref. non-migrant*)	-0.728(0.028)***	0.483	-0.116(0.026)***	0.890
Moroccan migration background	-0.712(0.032)***	0.491	-0.050(0.030)	0.951
Surinamese migration background	-0.778(0.026)***	0.459	-0.094(0.026)***	0.910
Antillean migration background	-1.152(0.050) ***	0.316	-0.518(0.047)***	0.596
Indonesian migration background	0.136(0.041)**	1.146	0.357(0.044)***	1.429
Equalized household income *(ref. non-migrant)*	0.017(0.086)***	1.017	0.018(0.000)***	1.018
Household income * Turkish	-0.007(0.001)***	1.01	-0.008(0.001)***	0.992
Household income * Moroccan	-0.005(0.001)***	1.012	-0.007(0.001)***	0.993
Household income * Surinamese	-0.001(0.001)	1.016	-0.004(0.001)***	0.996
Household income * Antillean	0.008(0.001)***	1.025	0.004(0.001)***	1.004
Household income * Indonesian	0.001(0.001)	1.018	-0.003(0.001)***	0.997
Male	-0.262(0.004)***	0.769	-0.326(0.004)***	0.722
Year of birth, 1989	0.042(0.007)***	1.043	0.000(0.007)	1.000
Year of birth, 1990	0.014(0.007)*	1.014	0.023(0.007)**	1.023
Year of birth, 1991	0.055(0.007)***	1.057	0.030(0.007)***	1.030
Year of birth, 1992	0.038(0.007)***	1.038	0.025(0.007)***	1.025
Year of birth, 1993	0.068(0.007)***	1.071	0.016(0.007)*	1.016
Intact family *(ref. non-migrant)*	0.411(0.005)***	1.508	0.494(0.006)***	1.639
Intact family * Turkish	-0.075(0.029)**	1.399	-0.036(0.027)	0.965
Intact family* Moroccan	-0.249(0.032)***	1.175	-0.159(0.030)***	0.853
Intact family* Surinamese	0.184(0.027)***	1.812	0.120 (0.028)***	1.127
Intact family* Antillean	0.458(0.052)***	2.383	0.257(0.054)***	1.293
Intact family* Indonesian	-0.042(0.038)	1.445	-0.024(0.041)	0.976
Very high urbanized (ref. not urbanized)	1.355(0.008)***	3.879	1.242(0.009)***	3.462
High	0.545(0.008)***	1.725	0.481(0.008)***	1.618
Moderate	0.243(0.008)***	1.276	0.204(0.009)***	1.226
Barely	0.075(0.008)***	1.078	0.075(0.009)***	1.078
R-squared	**0.161**		**0.119**	

*** p < 0.001; ** p < 0.01; * p < 0.05.

Appendix D - Chapter 6

Figure 6.1

School dropout rates among study population by background, December 31, 2016

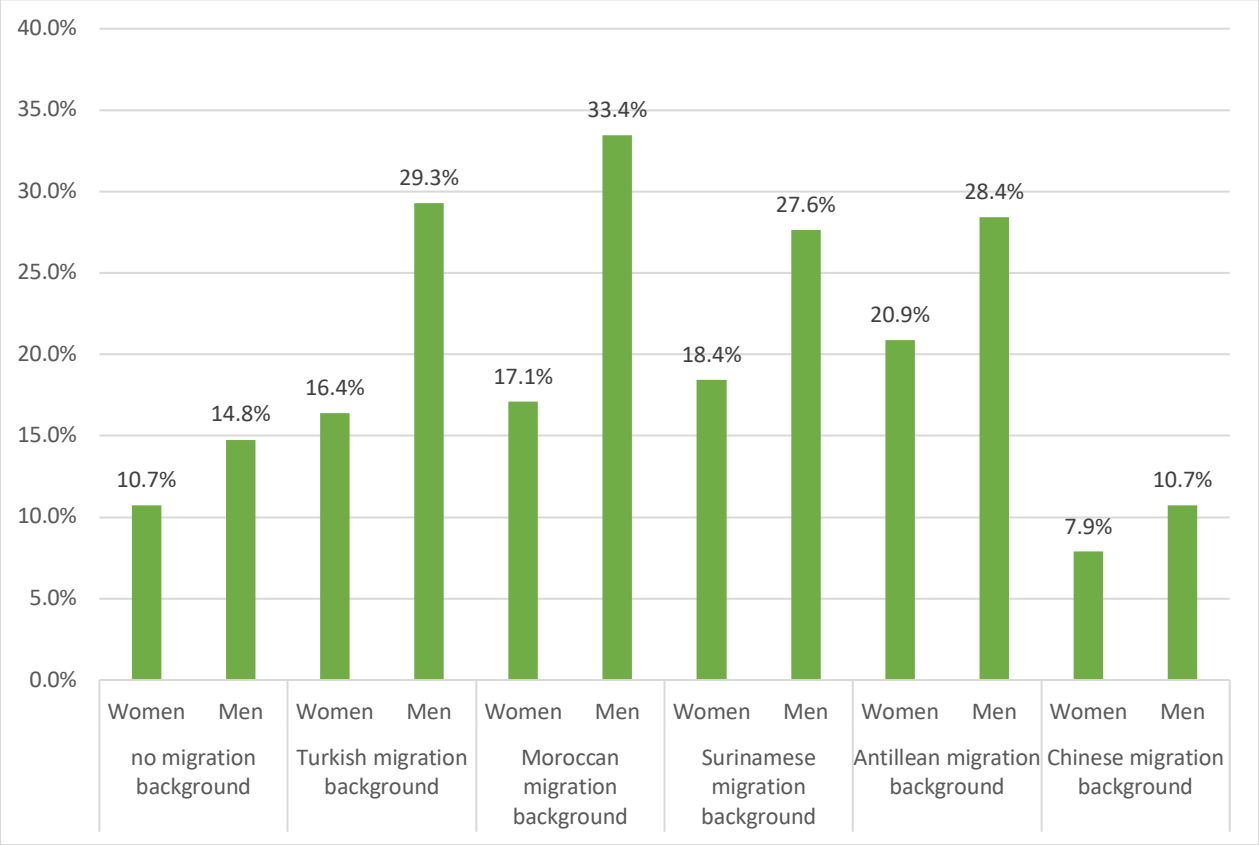


Table 6.1

Relative and absolute distribution of the study population on the degree of urbanity of the residential environment by background, N x 1000

	Migration background											
	none		Turkish		Moroccan		Surinamese		Antillean		Chinese	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
not to barely urbanized	512158	38.3	3688	6.8	2632	5.5	2273	5.8	1492	11.6	766	20.0
moderately urbanized	266142	19.9	6284	11.6	4461	9.3	3356	8.5	1513	11.8	533	13.9
high urbanized	390242	29.2	18356	33.9	14247	29.6	11191	28.3	4595	35.7	1254	32.8
very high urbanized	169840	12.7	25743	47.6	26844	55.7	22690	57.4	5254	40.9	1276	33.3

Figure 6.2

Number of times school dropout among study population for youth with school dropout by background and gender (N = 209 035)

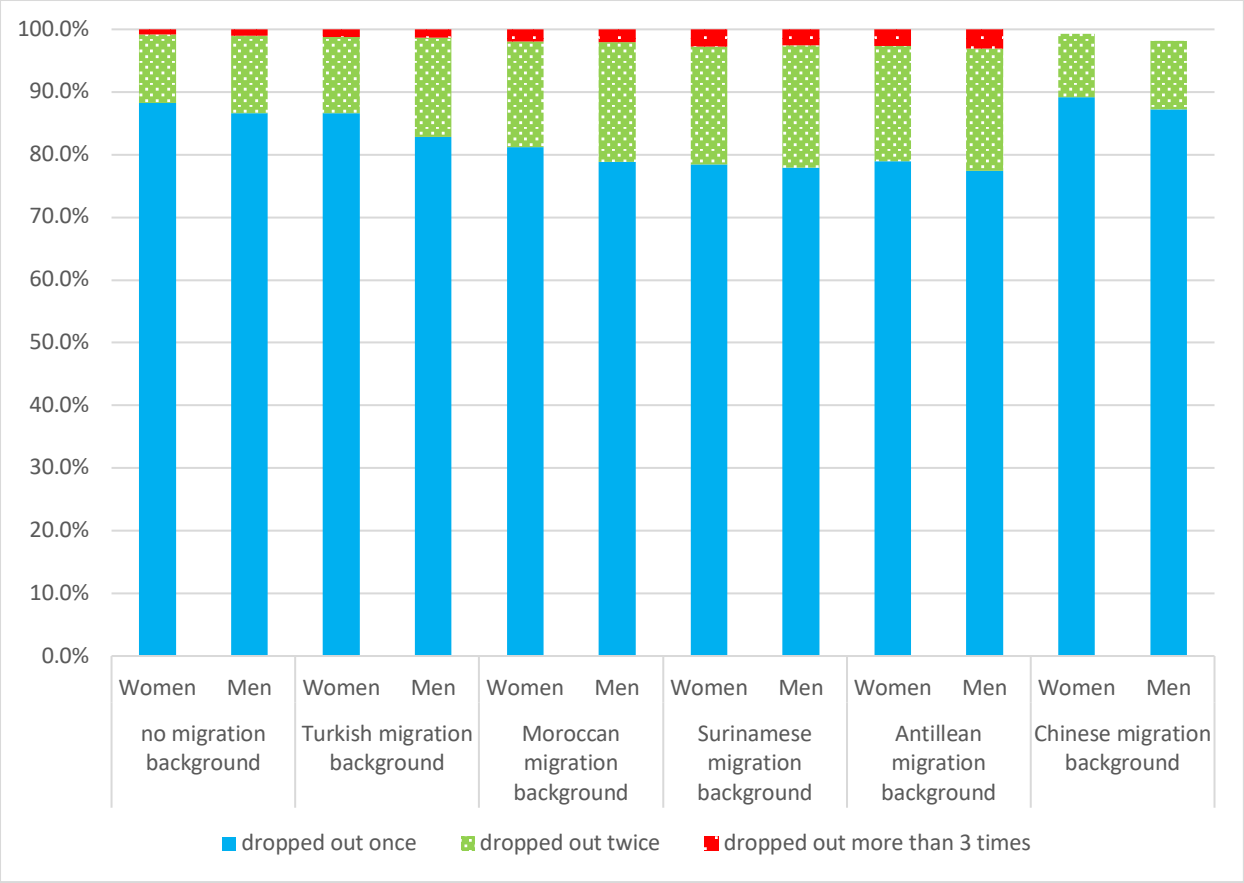


Figure 6.3

Average age at first-time school dropout by gender and background

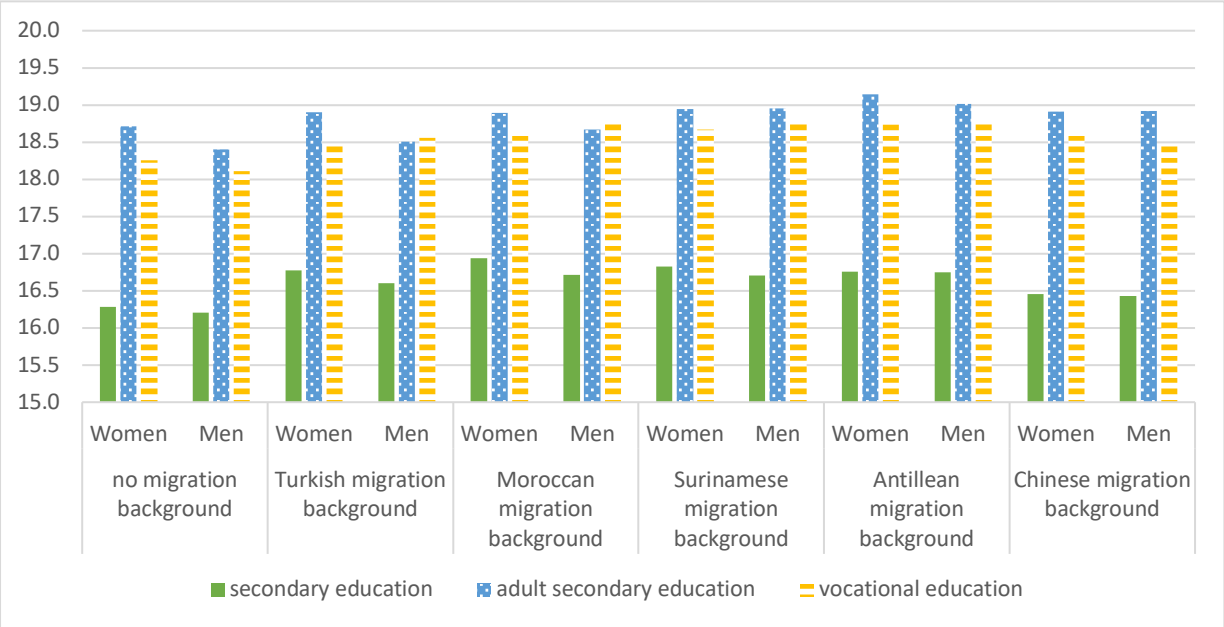


Figure 6.4

Youth with school dropouts who are not in education and/or have not obtained a starting qualification by gender and migration background on December 31, 2016

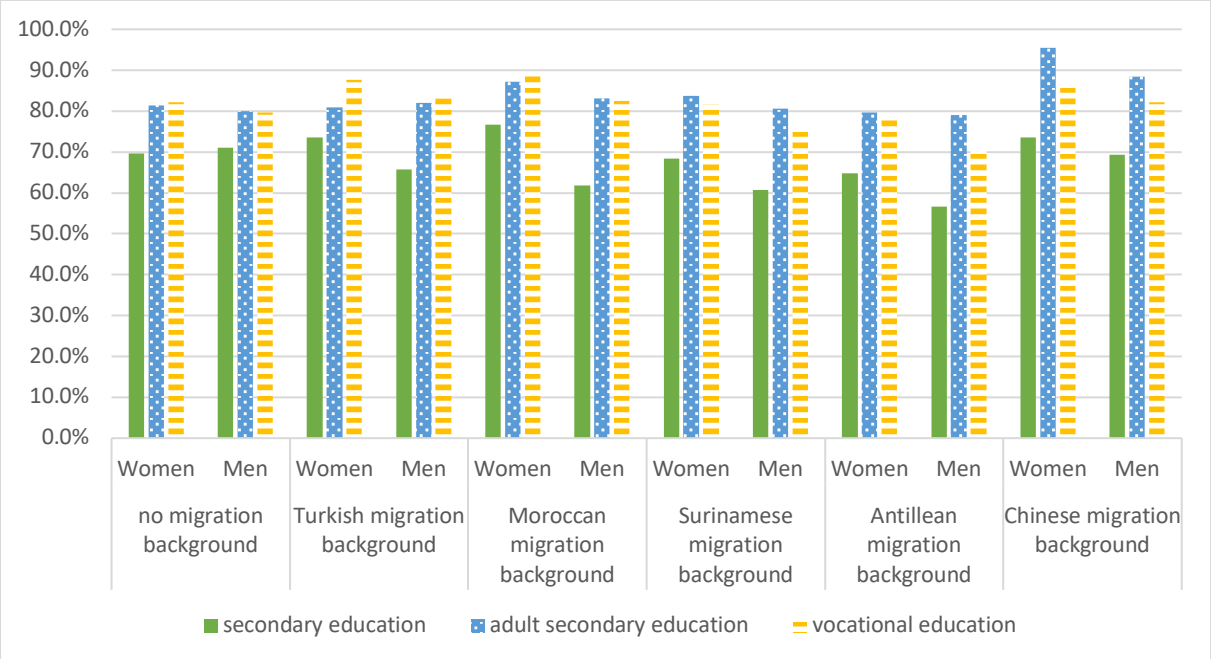


Figure 6.5

1990 birth cohort with school dropouts who are not in education and/or have not obtained a starting qualification by background and gender as of December 31, 2016

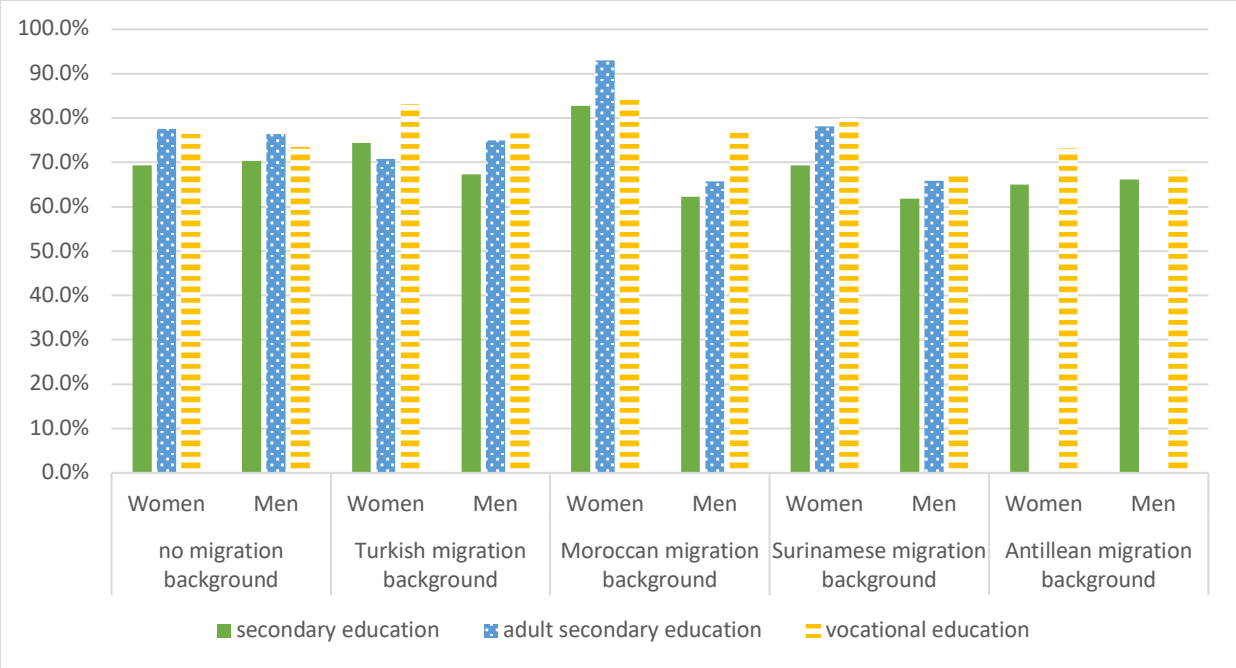


Figure 6.6

1998 birth cohort with school dropout who are not in education and/or have not obtained a starting qualification by background and gender as of December 31, 2016

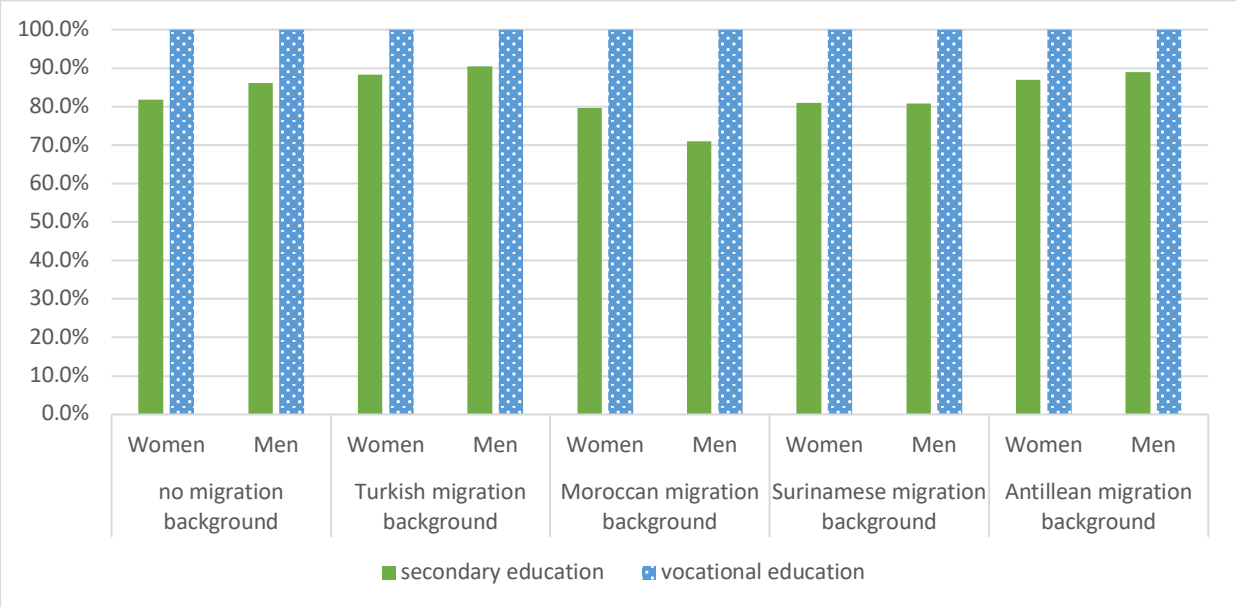


Table 6.2

Mean age and standard deviations for school dropout rates for men and women by migration background

		VO		VAVO		MBO	
		Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
no migration background	Men	16.28	2.1	18.71	1.43	18.25	1.53
	Women	16.2	1.85	18.41	1.35	18.11	1.49
Turkish	Men	16.77	2.04	18.9	1.35	18.47	1.49
	Women	16.6	1.96	18.5	1.33	18.56	1.56
Moroccan	Men	16.94	2.23	18.89	1.33	18.64	1.57
	Women	16.72	2.25	18.67	1.34	18.8	1.67
Surinamese	Men	16.83	2.42	18.95	1.44	18.67	1.71
	Women	16.71	2.27	18.96	1.4	18.76	1.79
Antillean	Men	16.75	2.39	19.14	1.53	18.74	1.81
	Women	16.75	2.36	19.01	1.34	18.77	1.93
Chinese	Men	16.46	2.03	18.91	1.11	18.64	1.65
	Women	16.43	1.98	18.92	1.09	18.45	1.49

Nederlandse samenvatting

Kansenongelijkheid en ongelijkheid in het onderwijs in het bijzonder staan volop in de belangstelling in Nederland. De documentaireserie Klassen uit 2020 liet zien hoe verschillende kinderen en hun ouders in Amsterdam-Noord omgaan met een van de belangrijke scharniermomenten in het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem, de stap van basis- naar middelbaar onderwijs. Twee jaar later won in de hoofdstad Marjolein Moorman - de leider van de lokale Partij van de Arbeid - de gemeenteraadsverkiezingen van 2022 met een campagne met als thema onderwijsongelijkheid. Overwegingen en keuzes over het niveau-advies en de schoolkeus zijn echter niet voorbehouden aan gezinnen in Amsterdam, maar zijn ook belang voor kinderen en ouders met verschillende sociaaleconomische en migratieachtergronden in Nederland.

In dit proefschrift worden de onderwijsloopbanen van kinderen van migranten in Nederland tussen 1980 en 2020 onderzocht. Enerzijds gaat mijn proefschrift in op de vraag hoe de onderwijstrajecten van kinderen van migranten zich ontwikkelden tussen 1980 en 2020 en hoe deze trajecten beïnvloed worden door migratieachtergrond en context-kenmerken, zoals de sociaaleconomische positie van het gezin (specifiek inkomen) en verstedelijking. Anderzijds worden de wetenschappelijke verklaringen voor verschillen in onderwijsuitkomsten en -keuzes in deze veertig jaar bestudeerd. Dit onderzoek maakt gebruik van bronmateriaal uit rapportages over onderwijsposities van kinderen van migranten (zoals in hoofdstuk 3) en van registerdata van het Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (in hoofdstuk 5 en 6).

Kinderen van migranten betreffen in dit onderzoek de kinderen geboren uit migranten ouders en die zelf in Nederland geboren zijn of die het buitenland zijn geboren maar in Nederland lager en middelbaar onderwijs hebben genoten. In de Nederlandse context worden de migrantengroepen met een Marokkaanse, Turkse, Surinaamse of Antilliaanse migratieachtergronden veelal bestudeerd in migratiestudies. Dit zijn ook de belangrijkste groepen die in dit onderzoek worden onderzocht, alsmede kinderen van Indonesische immigranten (in hoofdstuk 5) en kinderen van Chinese immigranten (in hoofdstuk 6). Deze groepen zijn om specifieke redenen gekozen. Voor de Indonesische groep geldt dat zij weliswaar een verleden van Nederlandse koloniale overheersing hebben, net zoals Suriname en de Nederlandse Antillen, maar dat mensen met Indonesische roots onder de oude CBS-definitie onder de ‘Westerse’ migrantengroep vielen. Ondanks de uiteenlopende wortels en timing van migratie van ouders geboren in Indonesië, levert het bestuderen van kinderen van Indonesische immigranten inzichten op die van belang zijn in vergelijking met andere (post-)koloniale groepen uit Suriname of de Nederlandse Antillen en hun nakomelingen. Zo bood dit de mogelijkheid om te onderzoeken of verklaringen als de koloniale bonus of malus gelden voor

verscheidende (post)koloniale groepen. De kinderen van Chinese immigranten zijn meegenomen in het onderzoek, omdat eerder onderzoek aantoonde dat dat deze kinderen bijzonder succesvolle onderwijsloopbanen doorlopen. Dit succes wordt veelal gecontrasteerd met minder succesvolle migrantengroepen.

Hoofdstuk 1 en 2 introduceren het theoretisch kader en de Nederlandse onderzoekscontext aangaande migrantengroepen en onderwijsongelijkheid. In het eerste hoofdstuk wordt toegelicht hoe de intergenerationele overdracht van sociaaleconomische positie en sociale mobiliteit in migranten en niet-migranten gezinnen verband houden met onderwijsuitkomsten en onderwijskeuzes. De gezinscontext beïnvloedt onderwijsuitkomsten en -keuzes op twee manieren: (1) waarden en voorkeuren worden overgedragen door de socialisatieprocessen in het gezin en (2) ouders zetten hun kapitaal- en hulpbronnen (economisch kapitaal, sociaal kapitaal, menselijk kapitaal en cultureel kapitaal) in voor hun kinderen en hun onderwijsloopbanen. Hoe meer kapitaal- en hulpbronnen ouders hebben, des te hoger de onderwijsuitkomsten van de kinderen. Voor gezinnen zonder migratieachtergrond zorgt dit voor reproductie-effect in het onderwijs. In migrantengezinnen komt een zwakkere intergenerationele overdracht van kapitaal- en hulpbronnen vaker voor. De kinderen weten beter hun weg te vinden in het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem geholpen door hun cultureel en sociaal kapitaal, en spreken de taal mogelijk beter. Tegelijkertijd kunnen migrantenouders hun kinderen aanmoedigen om verder te studeren en ambitieuze keuzes te maken (aangaande schooltype, niveau of opleiding). Onderwijs biedt immers de mogelijkheid tot sociale stijging (*family mobilization theory*). Hoofdstuk 2 zet de geschiedenis van migrantengroepen met Marokkaanse, Turkse, Surinaamse en Antilliaanse wortels uiteen. Tevens wordt het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem en de beleidsinterventies aangaande de onderwijsposities van migrantenkinderen geschetst.

De algemene trend, zoals blijkt uit hoofdstuk 3 op basis van tijdsreeksen geconstrueerd uit data uit onderzoeksrapporten tussen 1993 en 2022, toont dat kinderen van migranten steeds hoger opgeleid zijn. Dit geldt specifiek degenen die recenter geboren zijn – voor het overgrote deel de tweede generatie – doen het beter op school en stoppen minder vaak voortijdig hun opleiding dan voorgaande generaties en cohorten. Vooral meisjes en vrouwelijke studenten met een migratieachtergrond springen eruit: zij hebben een gemiddeld hoger opleidingsniveau en verlaten school minder vaak zonder diploma in vergelijking met hun mannelijke leeftijdsgenoten. Er moet echter een kanttekening gemaakt worden bij de opwaartse trend van opleidingsniveau van kinderen van migranten. Voor jongens met een migratieachtergrond die een VMBO- en mbo-opleiding volgen en die in de grotere steden wonen verlopen onderwijsloopbanen – gemiddeld – minder rooskleurig: zij hebben een gemiddeld lager opleidingsniveau en verlaten hun opleiding vaker zonder diploma dan vrouwelijke leeftijdsgenoten en leeftijdsgenoten zonder migratieachtergrond.

In hoofdstuk 4 wordt een gestructureerd literatuurreview gepresenteerd van onderzoek naar onderwijsposities van de kinderen van migranten tussen 1980 en 2020. Enerzijds schetsten de retrospectieve interviews van succesvolle kinderen van migranten in het hoger onderwijs een hoopvol verhaal. Met steun van hun ouders, broers en zussen, leerkrachten en andere rolmodellen realiseerden zij opwaartse mobiliteit. Dit is echter maar een deel van het verhaal. Aan de andere kant bleven kinderen van immigranten namelijk oververtegenwoordigd op het VMBO en het MBO en hebben ze hogere uitvalpercentages – vooral naar mate de studies verder teruggaan in de tijd. Gezinsachtergrond (zowel sociaaleconomisch als migratieachtergrond) is niet de enige verklaring die aangedragen wordt. De rol van inzet, discriminatie, evenals het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem dat sterk op niveaus is ingericht, wordt benadrukt in studies die vooral naar basis- en middelbaar onderwijs kijken. Sociaaleconomische achtergrond en migratieachtergrond blijken veelal samen te hangen; het is niet het een of het ander. Bovendien verschillen deze verklaringen sterk naar migratieachtergrond. Taalgerelateerde studies die onderwijsuitkomsten in het basisonderwijs verklaren richten zich bijvoorbeeld vaak op Turkse en Marokkaanse gezinnen en niet op Surinaamse of Antilliaanse omdat zij, vanwege de (post)koloniale geschiedenis, vaak Nederlands spreken.

Het gezin waarin een kind in geboren wordt en opgroeit, kan van grote invloed zijn op de onderwijsuitkomsten. In hoofdstuk 5 kan op basis van grootschalige CBS-registerdata over de opleiding van kinderen en economische positie van hun ouders worden geconcludeerd dat de sociaaleconomische positie van het gezin van belang is, zowel op de korte als de lange termijn. In het bijzonder, hoe hoger het ouderlijk inkomen (huishoudinkomen), des te hoger het opleidingsniveau op vijftienjarige leeftijd en hoe hoger het opleidingsniveau van de vervolgopleiding. Dit bleek het geval in gezinnen van verschillende achtergrond, maar met een sterker effect in Antilliaanse en Indonesische gezinnen dan in Turkse, Marokkaanse of Surinaamse gezinnen. Uit hoofdstuk 6 blijkt dat de onderwijsposities van kinderen van migranten tevens worden beïnvloed door de leefomgeving waarin de kinderen opgroeien. Dit is onderzocht met behulp van CBS-registerdata over onderwijsloopbanen en woonomgeving. Er is een specifieke groep die een groter risico loopt op een onderbroken schoolloopbaan: jongens met een migratieachtergrond die opgroeien in verstedelijkte buurten hebben een grotere kans op voortijdige school te verlaten dan vrouwelijke en niet-migranten leeftijdsgenoten.

De conclusie in dit proefschrift is dus voorzichtig optimistisch: kinderen van migranten zijn steeds hoger opgeleid. De verwachting van opwaartse mobiliteit in het onderwijs lijkt voor vele kinderen van migranten gerealiseerd te worden. Wel zijn er drie belangrijke kanttekeningen. Ten eerste bestaan er aanzienlijke verschillen, enerzijds tussen jongens en meisjes, waarbij de laatsten het veel beter doen in het onderwijs (zoals te zien in hoofdstuk 6), en tussen migrantengroepen. Zo was

in het vijfde hoofdstuk te zien dat er weinig verschillen zijn tussen de niet-migranten gezinnen en gezinnen met Indonesische roots. Tegelijkertijd had economisch kapitaal van de ouders een minder sterke invloed op onderwijsuitkomsten in de Surinaamse, Turkse of Marokkaanse gezinnen. Dit bleek ook uit hoofdstuk 3, waar kinderen met een Surinaamse of Antilliaanse migratieachtergrond met het verstrijken van de tijd steeds vaker hoger opgeleid zijn, zeker in vergelijking met leeftijdsgenoten met een Marokkaanse en Turkse migratieachtergrond. Ten tweede is er - ondanks de algemene opwaartse trend - een groep van jongens met een migratieachtergrond in grotere steden waarvoor de onderwijsuitkomsten achterblijven: zij verlaten vaker voortijdig hun opleiding zonder diploma. Ten derde: de onderwijsposities van kinderen van migranten kunnen niet losgezien worden van discriminatie. Discriminatie kan de onderwijsuitkomsten beïnvloeden, zoals blijkt uit het niveau-advies in groep 8, uiteengezet in literatuurreview in hoofdstuk 4. Het effect van discriminatie is niet direct getest in dit onderzoek. Kinderen van migranten zijn steeds hoger opgeleid – ondanks discriminatie en institutionele barrières in het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem die kinderen van migranten onevenredig hard raken. Deze opwaartse trend van onderwijsposities van de kinderen van migranten toont dus dat het werkelijke potentieel van deze leerlingen groter is en het verdient dan ook aanbeveling om in vervolgonderzoek de factor discriminatie mee te laten wegen.

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Curriculum Vitae

Eva van der Heijden was born on May 12, 1994 in Maastricht. After obtaining her VWO diploma in 2012 at KSG De Breul in Zeist, she enrolled in the Political Science programme at the University of Amsterdam. In 2012, she completed her Bachelor of Science degree. She pursued further studies at Utrecht University, specifically the research master Migration, Ethnic Relations, and Multiculturalism from which she graduated in 2017.

In September 2017, Eva started her PhD project at the International Institute of Social History (IISG) in Amsterdam. Her PhD project was part of the research project "*Het multiculturele drama: 40 jaar levenslopen in perspectief*", funded by the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, and was supervised by prof. dr. Leo Lucassen and prof. dr. Helga de Valk. She held a position as a lecturer at Leiden University in 2021-2022. Currently, she works as a post-doc researcher at Utrecht University on the research project *Historical Income Panel for the Netherlands*. She is an associate editor for the journal of *Historical Life Course Studies*.