The influence of acculturation on political trust amongst Moroccan and Turkish migrants in the Netherlands.

Master thesis

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Abstract

This research aims to explain to what extent acculturation affects the political trust of Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands and to what extent this differs across education groups. A large-scale dataset was used which analyzed social cohesion, inequality, and norms and values of Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. This paper analyzes acculturation in the form of adaptation and withdrawal. Adaptation refers to the adaptation of migrants towards the host country. This is analyzed through self-identification with Dutch culture, language proficiency and social contacts with Dutch individuals. Withdrawal refers to migrants not feeling connected to the host country, but rather maintaining their separate ethnic identity and culture. Withdrawal is analyzed through discrimination, and self-identification with ethnic groups. This paper further analyzes to what extent these relationships between withdrawal and political trust differ across education groups, which is referred to as the integration paradox. It is thus examined to what extent adaptation and withdrawal can be associated with political trust among higher and lower educated Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. The findings indicate that the experience with discrimination has a negative effect on political trust. This was found to be the largest effect of acculturation on political trust. Secondly, the effect of self-identification with Dutch culture is found to be positively correlated with political trust. However, there were no effects found of language proficiency, social contacts, and self-identification with ethnic groups on political. Moreover, the integration paradox in relation to political trust was not supported by this paper. All in all, only discrimination, and self-identification with Dutch culture of acculturation are found to influence the political trust of Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands.

Keywords: *Acculturation; Adaptation; Withdrawal; Integration paradox; Political trust.*

Chapter 1: Introduction

Despite high levels of globalization and migration in the world, it is often assumed that the sense of belonging leads to more political trust and this is irrespective of migrant groups (Berg & Hjerm, 2010; Alesina & Ferrara, 2002). Exploring the role of political trust amongst migrant groups has large implications for societal and political debate (Vroome et al., 2013). John Stuart Mill has stated that trust is the precondition for a functional society (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). Earlier research has shown that societies with high levels of political trust are able to provide a better quality of life for their citizens. Political trust provides legitimacy to political institutions and is therefore considered an important democratic resource (Andre, 2013; Putnam, 2007; Mishler & Rose, 2001; Fennema & Tillie, 1999). Michelson (2003) argues that political trust results in a warmer feeling for the political representatives and institutions, which provides leaders with more leeway to work and govern more effectively. Political distrust, on the other hand, reduces the likelihood of voting and creates an environment in which it is difficult for civil servants to operate and implement policies efficiently (Andre, 2013; Fennema & Tillie, 1999). Thus, societies with high levels of political trust are characterized by more effective and legitimate political systems (Vroome et al., 2013; Alesina & La Ferrara, 2002). Political trust has another layer of importance for migrants (Andre, 2013; Michelson, 2003). Among migrants, political trust is often understood as a signal of the political integration in their host country. In other words, it is argued that to become a full member of their host country society, migrants should have feelings of integration such as belonging, identification, and commitment to the home country, which are strongly related and considered a precondition for political trust (Andre, 2013; de Vroome et al., 2013; Berg & Hjerm, 2010; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002).

Political trust of migrants is thus related to how they relate to the host society, also known as the process of acculturation. According to Gibson (2001, p.19), acculturation is understood as the changes in culture and adaptation when individuals come into fist-hand contact with dissimilar cultures (Schwartz et al., 2010; Ward, 2008; Michelson, 2003; Berry 1980). This paper focuses on two major strands of acculturation, which include adaptation to and withdrawal from the host culture (Vroome et al., 2013; Michelson, 2003). Both theories predict the growing fusion or familiarity with the native culture, which has consequences for the levels of political trust observed amongst these migrant groups. Michelson (2003) argues that through adaptation, migrants adapt to the dominant culture and therefore align their political opinions to those of the natives. In the case of the United States, citizens are predominantly cynical towards the government, and migrants who adapt also adopt the attitudes of being cynical towards the government. On the other hand, migrants can also withdraw from the host society due to experiences of racism and discrimination, and therfore prefer to mainly socialize within their migrant communities. In this case, their distrust derives from feelings of not belonging and their unfavorable feelings towards the society (Michelson, 2003; Alesina & Ferrara, 2002).

However, research has indicated that the process of withdrawal works differently amongst higher educated migrants, which is referred to as the integration paradox. Higher educated migrants are more aware of their position in society and are more exposed to the realities thereof. They thus experience higher levels of discrimination and self-identification with their ethnic group, which leads to lower levels of political trust compared to lower educated migrants (Lajevardi et al., 2019; Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009). Although, the integration paradox has not been explored in relation to political trust. Therefore, this paper will provide insight into how the integration paradox relates to political trust.

Previous research has found that migrants have lower levels of trust than natives in their host country (Michelson, 2003). This study will focus on Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. Turkish and Moroccan migrants are the two largest non-western groups in the Netherlands, making up 14,1 % of the national population (Dutch Statistics, 2021). Therefore, analyzing the role of acculturation in political trust amongst Turkish and Moroccan migrants is crucial in understanding how the withdrawal and adaptation of migrants affects the political trust in the Netherlands.

Earlier research on acculturation of migrants has been limited to the American context and marginally to the Canadian contexts, and therefore has not been fully explored in the Western European context (Wenzel, 2006; Michelson, 2003; Gibson, 2001; Berry, 1980). Yet, Western Europe differs from the United States in various ways, but especially in its historic relations with minorities (Schwartz et al., 2010: Berg & Hjerm, 2010). More specifically, according to Vroome et al., (2013), Turkish and Moroccan minorities in comparison to natives showed no observed differences in political trust. However, the study further presents that immigrants have significantly lower levels of political trust in comparison to natives when socioeconomic status, civic and social participation are taken into account, indicating that different factors play a role in shaping the political trust amongst Turkish and Moroccan migrants in comparison to natives. Vroome et al. (2013) suggest further research to investigate the experiences from these migrant groups, such as experience with discrimination. This study will address this gap in the literature by investigating the role of discrimination in the level of political trust amongst Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. By testing the theories of adaptation and withdrawal, this paper will provide more understanding into the processes of acculturation and how it affects political trust in the Western European context.

Additionally, there has been political debate on whether or not immigrants in Western Europe are integrated successfully. By studying political trust, it will be possible to indirectly answer this question, as it indicates feelings of belonging, commitment, and identification (Vroome et al., 2013)**.** The question of whether immigrant minorities acculturate to the trust levels of host societies is thus relevant for societal and political debates on immigrant integration. Given the importance of political trust, the positive consequences thereof, it can be considered valuable to investigate what creates and dismantles trust

amongst minority groups in the Netherlands through the lens of adaptation and withdrawal (Vroome et al., 2013; Dinesen, 2009; Ward; 2008). Therefore, this paper will aim to answer the following research question: *"To what extent does the adaptation and withdrawal of Turkish and Moroccan migrants affect political trust in the Netherlands?"* and, *"To what extent this relationship differs across different educational groups"*. In order to investigate this research question, this paper will make use of the NELLS (2009) data, which is a national and large-scale panel study that focuses on the social dynamics of Dutch, Turkish, and Moroccan individuals (Tolsma et al., 2014).

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

2.1 Acculturation theory

According to JU (2015), the first acknowledgment of acculturation was in 1880. There are many ways to which acculturation can be defined, however, the widely accepted definition was defined is by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936) as *"acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either of both group"* (JU, 2015, p. 669; Gibson, 2001; Berry 1980). Acculturation is most often used to study individuals living in countries where they were not born, and individuals that are permanently settled in their new homeland. These individuals often include refugees, asylum seekers, and temporary migrants (Schwartz et al., 2010).

The Netherlands, along with most Western European societies has become very culturally diverse (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004). The Central Bureau of Statistics has established that in 2021 approximately 24,8 % of the Dutch population was of foreign origin (Dutch Statistics, 2021). This is a result of the Dutch colonial history in the Caribbean area, the recruitment of cheap labor from the Mediterranean region in the 1960s, and most recently, refugees coming from African, Eastern Europe, and the Middle east. These heterogeneous groups of people have taken permanent residence in the Netherlands. The groups of guest workers were encouraged to welcome their families and reside in the Netherlands permanently. Consequently, Turkish and Moroccan migrants became the two largest non-western groups in the Netherlands (Dutch Statistics, 2021; Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Crul & Doomernik, 2003;). Not surprisingly, the acculturation of these two groups and what this implies for society as a whole has become an important component of the public debate of migrants (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004). Especially since Turkish and Moroccan migrants may face the difficulty of relating one's heritage to the receiving country, which is in part determined by the similarity (actual or perceived) of these cultures (Schwartz et al., 2010; Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009).

2.2 Adaptation

Earlier research often depicted the idea that adaptation meant that immigrants' earlier cultural differences, poverty, and discrimination would influence the progressive learning of the new manners, economic advancement, and eventually, the acceptance of the dominant culture (Portes et al., 1980). However, recently, studies use a similar perspective but have attempted to identify the various distinct factors that determine the varying willingness of immigrants to adapt to the new and dominant identity. The focus of adapting lies with the culture and consensus-building between the dissimilar groups (Portes et al., 1980, p. 200).

Adaptation is understood as a one-dimensional process which focuses on adapting to the host country. This includes the extent to which a migrant adapts to the cultural practices, values, and identifications of the dominant group in society (Yoon, 2021; Michelson, 2013; Schwartz et al., 2010). Members of these minority groups progressively homogenize to the majority group as they overcome the cultural and structural barriers in place. This takes place through different practices, immigrants will start to adopt the dominant language, manners, social rituals, and the outward forms of the adopted country. The speed of this process depends on the immigrant's race, religion, and language. The more dissimilar the minority group is from the dominant group, the slower this process takes place (Michelson, 2003). Through the adaptation, the differences between the minority group and the dominant group slowly disappear. Migrants will thus adopt the attitudes of the majority and will cultivate similar ideas on issues. Previous research has suggested that adopting the attitudes of the dominant culture can also include political trust (Kunst et al., 2015; Michelson, 2003).

The Netherlands scores high on the level of trust in social and political institutions. Approximately 60 percent of the national population trust in their national parliament (Dutch Statistics, 2019). According to the theory discussed, one can argue that the more a migrant adapts to the dominant culture, the less distance will be present between the dominant group and the migrant group. In the case of the Netherlands, we can therefore expect that the migrant groups will develop similar political trust patterns, thus, high political trust (Michelson, 2003; Schwartz et al., 2010; Berry 1980).

Adaptation of Turkish and Moroccan migrant groups to the Netherlands takes place through a number of sociocultural processes. Sociocultural adaptation involves how migrants try to adopt on a daily basis, which can depend on the language ability and the amount of contact with the dominant culture. Moreover, this study will also investigate the self-identification of these migrant groups, thus focusing on three mechanisms: language proficiency, social interactions and self-identification (Michelson, 2003; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Firstly, language usage and proficiency are considered the most reliable and widely used measurements of migrants' adaptation. It is argued that the better the immigrants understand the dominant culture's language, the more they endorse their values (Wenzel, 2006; Michelson, 2003; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). As language proficiency increases, migrants are able to relate more to the dominant culture and climb the economic ladder, thus advancing their sociocultural adaptation. The social acceptance of the dominant group will also improve, and the perception of the host society will change in a favorable direction. As socio-cultural problems steadily decrease, more similarities between the migrant and dominant groups begin to appear. It can be argued that the differences in political trust between the migrant and dominant group slowly disappear (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004; Portes et al., 1980). That said, we can expect that an increase in Dutch language proficiency will indicate less distance to the host culture, and thus, more political trust.

Secondly, social interactions or social capital has mainly been used as a predictor of trust, however, other authors argue that trust and political trust are closely related (Michelson, 2003; Brehm & Rahn, 1997). The homophily principle indicates that similar people are more likely to interact with one another (Chen & Volker, 2015). According to Alsenia & Ferrara (2002), people tend to trust those with whom they have had more durable relations and more interactions with. Trust also increases when interactions are expected to repeat in the future. Social networks tend to form on the basis of the homophily principle. Older research, such as Berry (1980) refers to adaptation as the extent to which immigrants wish to have contact and participate in their host country. However, one may elaborate this notion by making a distinction between two domains. Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver (2004) find that there are two broad domains that can be distinguished: private (value-related, social-emotional) and public (functional, utilitarian). Previous studies have illustrated that the Dutch and young migrants prefer to maintain their ethnic culture in the private domain yet value the Dutch culture in the public domain (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004). Therefore, this paper will investigate social interactions in the private domain as well as the public domain. Based on this we can expect that the more one interacts with the dominant culture, the more similar they are to them, and thus exhibit high levels of political trust.

Furthermore, self-identification refers to the development of a sense of self in relation to the culture. According to the homogeneity theory, it is easier to trust those that are identical to oneself (Alesina & Ferrara, 2002). It is more challenging to trust others if they are dissimilar. Family members or members from the same racial, ethnic or social groups are generally more trusted than those dissimilar from oneself. As mentioned, the stronger the identification with the dominant group, the lower the socio-cultural difficulties and differences (Alesina & Ferrara, 2002; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999). Self-identification can therefore be seen as a feature of adaptation that focuses on the subjective sense of belonging towards the host country (Arends-Tóth & van de Vijver, 2004). Moreover, the common ground

among the cultural explanations of political trust tends to fall in line with what 'glues' people together in a society. By analyzing the self-identification with the dominant group, the 'we-feeling' is analyzed that serves as a precondition for political trust (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). Berg & Hjerm (2010) argue that this is a better representation of the gravity of the 'we-feeling' for political trust in comparison to interpersonal trust. National identity is able to bring people together which is believed to be necessary for making people accept the decisions of the majority in various political jurisdictions, and for improving the trust in the democratic institutions (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). When analyzing immigrant minorities, it can thus be expected that those who identify themselves strongly with the host country and culture, the more political trust can be expected (Vroome et al., 2013; Gijsberts, Van der Meer, and Dagevos, 2012; Alesina and La Ferrara, 2002). This brings me to the following hypotheses, which are also illustrated in the conceptual model in chapter 2.5.

Hypothesis 1: _The higher the level of Dutch language proficiency, the higher the level of political trust._
Hypothesis 2: _The more social interactions with Dutch individuals, the higher the level of political trust._
Hypothesis 3: _The more one identifies himself as Dutch, the higher the level of political trust._

2.3 Withdrawal

Many may argue that there are reasons to believe that adaptation may not be appropriate to describe the acculturation of certain migrant groups due to various reasons. Firstly, the capacity of migrant groups to adjust is limited when it comes to external differences, such as the skin color of migrants. Park (1950) suggests that Asian and African Americans are greatly different from Anglos in the United States and therefore are unable to overcome these differences and adopt the American cultural practices. Similarly, Turkish and Moroccan migrants are greatly different from the Dutch population in comparison to other Western European migrants. Crul & Doomernik (2003) suggests that this is due to two major reasons. First, the Turkish and Moroccan originated in far more disadvantaged socioeconomic circumstances and do not share a common history and common language with the Dutch, in contrast to other migrants such as the colonial immigrants (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Secondly, the theory of adaptation assumes "continuous first-hand contact" between the migrant groups and the natives. However, during the time of guest workers, the integration of these migrants was not taken into account in policymaking, as the integration into the labor market was considered to be sufficient and integration in other aspects of society was considered redundant. This outlook drastically changed once it became apparent that no massive return to the country of origin took place, but rather more immigration. The new integration policies were built on the Dutch principles of social and political organization, which emphasized denominational pluralism (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Lijphart, 1977). The infrastructure allows and often encourages

immigrant groups to organize their communities and religion. This has led to the presence of hundreds of mosques, temples, and Islamic schools. Due to the high unemployment rates among these groups that followed, another shift took place in which the government emphasized citizenship and societal duties, such as learning the Dutch language (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). These migrant groups are thus greatly different from the host country which create barriers for adaptation and were unable to have "continuous first-hand contact" with the dominant group due to the infrastructures in place. It can be argued that adaptation does not capture the full extent to which acculturation takes place amongst Turkish and Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands. Therefore, we will introduce the process of withdrawal.

Withdrawal can be considered of importance for experiences of Turkish and Moroccan migrants (JU, 2015; Schwartz et al., 2010; Michelson, 2003; Berry, 1980). In this process, individuals do not feel connected to the host country, but rather maintain their separate ethnic identity, behavior, beliefs, practices, and values from their authentic culture (Kunst et al., 2015; Michelson, 2003). By withdrawing from the host culture, migrants avoid interacting with other groups while giving value to preserving their own culture (Yoon, 2021). This can be inspired by the historical barriers based on the hostility and hatred towards the minority culture (Kunst et al., 2015; Michelson, 2003). In the case of the Netherlands, the infrastructure relies on separate social and political organization, which can be viewed as a manner of maintaining their own separate ethnic identity (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Moreover, migrants have a perceived history of being treated unfairly. That said, this paper will investigate experience with discrimination and self-identification with ethnic groups.

Firstly, migrants that face experiences with discrimination are reminded of their role as a minority group member and reminded that they are unwanted, inferior, or unfairly stereotyped in the host country. Migrants, especially of color may therefore be confronted with the fact they are attempting to integrate into a society that may perhaps never accept them (Schwartz et al., 2010; Wenzel, 2006). According to Avery (2008), African Americans with perception of continued discrimination and racial inequality and dissatisfaction with the power of blacks' in government are less trusting than those who do not experience this. It can therefore also be argued that in 2009 there were no political parties in the Netherlands that mainly advocated for discrimination awareness and racial equality. This can give migrant groups the idea that they are not represented and protected by political parties, and thus are less trusting of them. That said, minority groups that experience discrimination are argued to have lower levels of political trust (Vroome et al., 2013; Alesina and Ferrara, 2002).

Secondly, Schwartz et al (2010) argue that the presence of a large and influential heritage-culture community may encourage migrants to maintain their ethnic language, values, and identity (Putnam, 2007; Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Fennema & Tillie (1999) argue that migrants in the Netherlands may self-identify themselves with other identities such as Turkish and Moroccan, however, they experience

this identity in the Dutch context. This identity, therefore, becomes subordinate to another national identity. In a country as multicultural as the Netherlands, this can lead to conflicting loyalties between the various national identities (Putnam, 2007; Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Fennema & Tillie, 1999). As mentioned, maintaining the ethnic culture can have a negative effect on the 'we-feeling' of the nation, which functions as a precondition for political trust (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Fennema & Tillie, 1999). Therefore, it can be expected that the more migrants identify with their ethnic background, the less political trust can be found. Therefore, the following hypotheses can be formed:

Hypothesis 4: *The more one feels discriminated against, (the more awareness of their position in society and thus), the less political trust.*
Hypothesis 5: *The more one identifies with their ethnic background, the less political trust.*

2.4 Integration paradox

This is mind, Portes et al., (1980) argue that withdrawal can also be referred to and understood as 'conflict and consciousness'. It is argued that on the individual level this theory argues the contrary of adaptation. Withdrawal suggests that the more acquainted immigrants are with the dominant culture and the greater the socio-economic success of migrants, the more accurate and realistic understanding is gained of the society (Vroome et al., 2013; Alesina and Ferrara, 2002). The inequalities and practices of discrimination are thus highlighted (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009). Portes et al., (1980, p. 220) write: *"the better immigrants understand the host country language and the more they endorse its values, the more skeptical they are of the realities of that society and of their actual condition within it"*. This is referred to as the integration paradox, in which the most integrated migrants (highly educated individuals) are most negative towards the natives, as they experience more discrimination and feel unwelcomed.

Previous research on the international level has indicated that the more educated one is, the less likely they will have a prejudice against other ethnic groups. Higher educated people are often believed to be more assured of their position in society and therefore exhibit more tolerant attitudes towards diversity and other ethnic groups. Moreover, they are expected to have learned to be more tolerant in their education through institutional learning (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009). Recently, more attention has been brought to how this theory applies to minority groups and the views of discrimination and prejudice amongst migrant groups. In the Netherlands, an opposite effect of education is found in comparison to the dominant group. The educated migrants experience more discrimination and feel less accepted by the dominant Dutch, and thus identify more with their ethnic culture. This relationship is understood as the integration paradox, as mentioned before, in which the more integrated and thus, higher educated, the

more negative they will judge the dominant culture and people (Lajevardi et al., 2019; Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009).

There are two main reasons found for this relationship. Firstly, the more educated the migrants are, the more aware they become of their position in society and the ethnic inequalities in their society (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009; Portes et al., 1980). This leads to a more refined understanding of the dominant culture and host country, and thus, a more precise perception of discrimination and their minority position in society. In the American context, this often leads to what is referred to as race-consciousness (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009; Putnam, 2007). Secondly, education leads to a higher social-economic position in society. This higher socio-economic position is correlated to more contact with the dominant and white culture, and group. This exposes migrant groups to an environment in society where more discrimination can take place, compared to co-ethnic groups. Moreover, their improved position in society also advances this relation as they attempt to compete with domestic groups, which can lead to more discrimination and feeling of isolation of migrant groups. The higher educated migrant groups can thus lead to a greater experience of discrimination. It is precisely these (disproportionate) negative experiences that would lead to the higher self-identification with their ethnic group, as they feel isolated, unwelcomed and different from the group they most interact with, the dominant group (Lajevardi et al., 2019; Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009; Michelson, 2003; Portes et al., 1980). Based on this, the following hypothesis can be formed and are illustrated in the conceptual model.

Hypothesis 6: *The negative relationship between experience with discrimination and political trust is stronger amongst higher educated migrants.*

Hypothesis 7: *The negative relationship between self-identification with ethnic group and political trust is stronger amongst higher educated migrants.*

2.5 Conceptual model
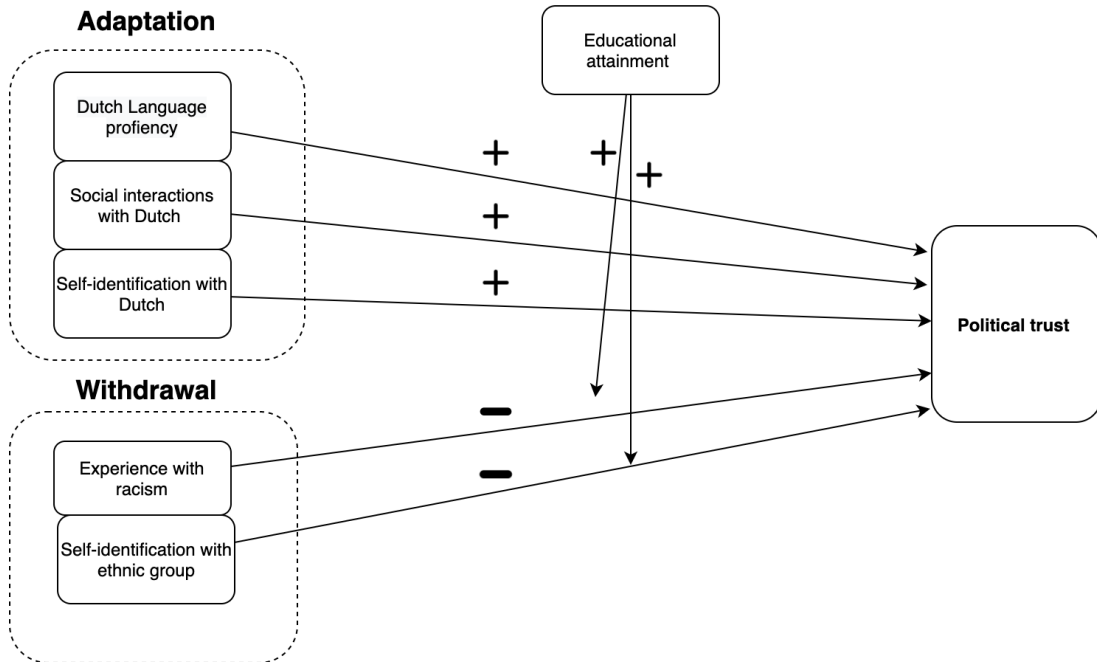
Chapter 3: Data and Methods

This study uses data from the first wave (2009) of NEtherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study, which is a continuous panel study. Turkish and Moroccan are central to this dataset, which is particularly interesting for this study. The NELLS data gathered detailed information on three central themes; social cohesion, inequality, and norms and values from a life-course perspective, with a clear emphasis on migrant groups (Tolsma et al., 2014, p.2). The data used a two-stage stratified sampling method. First, the data was collected through a random sample of 35 different municipalities, which were stratified by region and level of urbanization. Due to the large presence of minority groups in the large cities, the four largest cities in the Netherlands were also included: Utrecht, Rotterdam, Amsterdam, and The Hague. Secondly, the respondents were selected at random based on their age of 14-45, where they were born, and where their parents were born (Tolsma et al., 2014).

Tolsma et al., (2014) define "ethnic minorities" in accordance with the official definition of Statistics Netherlands. If the person and one or two parents are born outside of the Netherlands, then that person will be regarded as of first-generation foreign origin. On the other hand, if a person is born in the Netherlands and one or two parents are born outside of the Netherlands, then that person will be regarded as a second-generation foreign origin (Tolsma et al., 2014, p. 25).

NELLS conducted their research in Dutch using both face-to-face interviews, as well as a self-completion questionnaire. In order to improve the response rate, a reward was given to those that participated. Overall, there was a 52% response rate amongst all respondents, which is regarded as average for a survey in the Netherlands. However, the response rate amongst the migrant groups was moderately lower in comparison to the natives (56%). There was a 50% response rate amongst the Turkish and a 46% response rate amongst the Moroccans. The reason for this difference between natives and minorities is the fact that minorities are harder to reach and less willing to participate. Furthermore, minorities often also were unable to respond due to Dutch language proficiency. The fact that NELLS was conducted in Dutch has resulted in a limitation in the sample of ethnic minorities, and therefore not largely representative of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands (Tolsma et al., 2014, p. 25).

3.1 Sample

This analysis is limited to Turkish and Moroccan migrants. The respondents were asked of their ethnic background and grouped according to the official definition of Statistics Netherlands. The respondents belonging to first or second-generation Turkish and Moroccan were included in this analysis, and the rest were excluded. Moreover, a large percentage (approximately 15%) had missing values. If a respondent had missing values for more than two variables of the six main independent variables, then they were excluded from the analysis. Once these were excluded, the missing values reduced to approximately 1%

for all variables, excluding 'public social interaction'. Those with one or two missing values, were replaced with the mean of the variable. All in all, this analysis includes 1785 respondents.

3.2 Dependent Variables.

Political trust is measured with the following question: "Could you indicate how much trust you have in the following institutions: politics". The respondents are able to answer this question through a 4-point-scale ranging from "a lot of trust" to "very little trust". This was then re-coded reversely from "very little trust" to "a lot of trust".

3.3 Independent Variables

A wide range of independent variables were used in order to evaluate the migrants' acculturation. To test the level adaptation, three variables were created: language, social interactions, and self-identification. For the independent variables of language proficiency, self-identification with Dutch, self-identification with ethnic groups, and discrimination, a mean-score was constructed.

Language proficiency. "Language" combines four measures of Dutch proficiency. This was measured by the following question: *'How good can you understand Dutch?'*, *'How good can you speak Dutch?'* *'How good can you read Dutch?'*, *'How good can you write Dutch?'*. The respondents were able to answer these questions through a 5-point scale ranging from 'very good' to 'not'. The 5-point scale was re-coded from 'not' to 'very good'. These items resulted in a very reliable scale, with a Cronbach's alpha value of 0.963.

Social interactions. Moreover, "social interactions" will be analyzed on the private and public domains. The private domain will be measured by analyzing the; *'Do you have one or more good friends with a Dutch background?'*. The respondents answered this question with *(1) no* and *(2) Yes*. Furthermore, the public domain will be analyzed by the following question: *'How often do you have personal contact with people of a Dutch background at work and/or at school?'*. The differentiation between these two can indicate whether or not there is a difference in absorption of the host culture on different domains. Respondents answered this question with a 7-point scale, ranging from 'almost everyday' to 'never'. This was re-coded from 'never' to 'almost everyday', as a higher score indicates more contact with people of a Dutch background.

Self-identification; Host culture. Lastly, adaptation will also be measured through self-identification, which will include four statements indicating the attachments to the Dutch and host culture. These statements include: *'I feel at home in the Netherlands', 'I strongly identify with the Netherlands', 'I really feel connected to the Netherlands', 'Dutch identity is an important aspect of myself'*. The respondents were able to indicate their opinion on statements through a 5-point scale, from

'completely agree' to 'completely disagree', which was re-coded to 'completely disagree' to 'completely agree. These items produced a very reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha=0.863).

Experience discrimination. In order to test the withdrawal of the ethnic minorities, the level of experienced racism/discrimination will be analyzed with the following questions: '*Have you in the following situations ever experienced discrimination*?'. These situations included: *application for a job/internshi*p; *in the workplace, at school/in class*; *in the streets/shops/public transport; organizations/clubs/sports; nightlife/nightclubs*. The respondents were able to answer this question with a 3-point scale; (1) no, never, (2) yes, a few times, (3) yes, often. These items also produced a reliable scale (Cronbach alpha= 0.813).

Self-identification; Ethnic culture. Furthermore, retention to the ethnic group will also be analyzed by asking the respondents to respond to the following statements: '*I am proud of my ethnic background*', '*I strongly identify with my ethnic group*', '*I really feel connected to my ethnic group*', '*My ethnic group is an important aspect of myself* . This was also answered with a 5-point scale, ranging from completely agree to completely disagree, which was reversely re-coded from 'completely disagree' to 'completely agree'. These items formed a very reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha =0.915).

Educational attainment. Respondents were asked about their highest level of completed educational attainment. NELLS- data differentiate between education obtained in the Netherlands and outside of the Netherlands. Education obtained outside of the Netherlands will be compared to the Dutch educational system. This will be categorized into four groups; (1) *no education*, (2)*bao/mavo*, (3)*mbo/havo/vwo*, (4) *hbo/wo*.

3.4 Control variables

This paper will make use of various control variables based on previous literature. According to Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) demographic variables can affect levels of trust, and therefore have influence on the level of political trust, these include: *Age, Gender* (0=men, 1=women) *and Partner* (0= no partner, 1= partner). These items were chosen for various reasons. Firstly, according to Alesina & La Ferra (2002), trust increases with age, and therefore will be controlled for. Moreover, women are considered to be more trusting than men, and marital status is also believed to have a positive influence on trust.

3.5 Descriptive statistics.

In table 2, the frequency (listwise), range, the mean and standard deviation of independent, dependent variables, and control variables are presented. Table 2 illustrates that the average respondent has 'good' language proficiency and that most respondents also strongly identify with their ethnic group.

Table 2: Descriptive statistics, N=1785.

Variables	N	Range	Mean	Std. deviation
Political trust	1785	1-4	2.0118	.730
Adaptation				
- Language proficiency	1785	1-5	4.1987	.968
- Social interactions				
- Private	1785	0-1	.7669	
- Public	1785	1-7	6.6594	.836
- Self-identification: Dutch	1785	1-5	3.7187	.727
Withdrawal				
- Experience discrimination	1785	1-3	1.3290	.402
- Self-identification: Ethnic group	1785	1-5	4.1668	.762
Educational attainment	1785	0-3	1.7849	.768
Age	1785	14-49	30.69	9.003
Sex	1785	0-1	1.55	
Partner	1785	0-1	0.5927	

3.5 Methods.

This research will make use of a linear regression analysis in order to analyze the hypotheses. This will be done by making use of three different models. The first model will include the variables of both adaptation and withdrawal. These include language, social interactions (private & public), self-identification (with Dutch), discrimination, and self-identification (with the ethnic group). Model two will also include the control variables. These control variables will include: age, sex, and marital partner. Lastly, model three will add the interaction effect of educational attainment on discrimination experience & political trust and, identification and political trust. Moreover, the standardized effect will be analyzed, in order to compare the size of the effects.

Chapter 4: Results.

In this section, a linear regression analysis will be discussed. Model 1 presents the independent variables, Model 2 presents the independent variables and control variables, and Model 3 presents the independent variables, control variables, and interaction terms. In Table 3, we find that an *adjusted R square* of 0.032 for Model 1, 0.044 for Model 2, and 0.043 for Model 3. This indicates that 3,2% of the variance found in political trust can be predicted by the independent variables for the population. This increases to 4,4%

when controlling for sex, age, partner, and education, and decreased to 4,3% when the interaction terms were added.

Table 3: Linear regression analysis, N=1785.

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3		
	ß	Beta	SE	ß	B eta	SE	ß	B eta	S E
Language proficiency	.022	.030	.019	-.007	-.010	.022	-.005	-.007	.022
Private	.031		.043	.031		.042	.033		.043
Public	-.027	-.031	.021	-.030	-.035	.021	-.030	-.035	.021
Identity Dutch	.083	.083	.024***	.091	.091	.024***	.091	.091	.024***
Discrimination	-.274	-.151	.043***	-.251	-.138	.044***	-.365	-.201	.111**
Identity Ethnic group	-.036	-.037	.022	-.040	-.041	.022	-.048	-.050	.058
Age				-.005	-.065	.002*	-.005	-.065	.002**
Sex				.029		.035	.028		.035
Partner				-.102		.043*	-.101		.043*
Education				-.009	-.010	.024	-.111	.017	.138
Discrimination*Education							.063	.114	.057
Identity Ethnic group*Education							.004	.021	.028
Constant	2.277		.196***	2.603		.221***	2.776		.330***
Adjusted R square	.032			.044			.043		

Note: ***: p< 0.001, **:p< 0.01, *=p<0.05
Source: NELLS (2009).

4.1 Direct effects.

Hypothesis 1 states that the higher the level of Dutch proficiency, the higher the level of political trust. Model 1 indicates a positive yet non-significant link between language and political trust (b=0.022, P>

0.05). However, when the control variables are added, we see a decline in the unstandardized coefficient, which also becomes negative (b=-0.007). Thus, we see a non-significant relationship between language proficiency and political trust, therefore rejecting H1.

Hypothesis 2 indicates that the more social interaction with Dutch individuals takes place, the higher the level of political trust. Social interactions were separated by public interactions and private interactions. Both private and public interactions with Dutch individuals do not result in a significant relationship with political trust (p >0.05). An increase in 1 unit of private social interactions results in a 0.031-point increase for political trust, when other variables are kept constant (b=-0.031). On the other hand, an increase of 1 unit of public social interactions results in a 0.027 decline in political trust, this negative b-value increases to 0.030 when controlling for partner, sex, and gender. The relationships of both social interaction domains and political trust are deemed non-significant, therefore rejecting H2.

Hypothesis 3 indicates that the more Turkish and Moroccan migrants identify themselves with the dominant Dutch identity, the higher the political trust. Table 3 indicates a positive and significant relationship between self-identification with Dutch and political trust (b=0.091, p<0.001). With every unit increase in self-identification with Dutch, political trust increases by 0.091 units, which falls in line with the theorizing (Alesina & Ferrara, 2002; Gijsberts, Van der Meer and Dagevos,2012). Dutch self-identification ranges from 1 to 5, meaning that the difference in score between the minimum and maximum of self-identification on the political trust minimum and the maximum is (5*0.091=) 0.455, which can be considered a moderate effect. That said, the predictor of self-identification with Dutch significantly and positively predicted the political trust of Turkish and Moroccan migrants, thus, accepting hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 4 states that the more one feels discriminated against in their host country, the less political trust one will have. Table 3 indicates a negative and significant relationship between perceived discrimination and political trust (b=-0.251, p<0.001) when controlling for sex, partner, education, and age. With every unit increase in perceived discrimination, political trust decreases by 0.251 units. The difference in score between the discrimination minimum and maximum (1-3) on political trust minimum and the maximum is (3* -0.251=-0.753) -0.753, which indicates a relatively moderate effect of discrimination on political trust. That said, the predictor of perceived discrimination significantly and negatively predicts the political trust of Turkish and Moroccan migrants, and therefore accepting H4.

Hypothesis 5 indicates that the more one identifies themselves with their ethnic background, the less political trust will be present. Table 3 indicates a negative relationship yet non-significant relationship. With every unit increase of self-identification with ethnic background, political trust decreases by -0.040 units, when controlling for sex, partner, education, and age. Notably, we see that self-identification with Dutch from adaptation resulted in a positive and significant relationship with

political trust. As theorized, the opposite takes place between self-identification with ethnic groups and political trust. We can therefore assume that the theorizing of self-identification and political trust is of importance, although self-identification with ethnic groups non-significantly predicts political trust. That said, H5 is rejected.

4.3 Standardized effect.

The standardized beta coefficients compare the strength of the effect of each individual variable to the dependent variable, the higher the value, the higher the effect. The strongest independent predictor of political trust in Model 2 is perceived discrimination, with a beta-value of -0.138, which indicates that an increase in the standard deviation of perceived discrimination results in a -0.138 standard deviation decrease in political trust. The second strongest independent predictor of political trust in this model is self-identification with the Dutch, which is also significant (beta-value=0.091). This implies that one increase in the standard deviation of self-identification with Dutch results in a 0.092 standard deviation increase in political trust (H3). Thirdly, age illustrates a weak, yet significant relationship with political trust (beta-value= -.065), this indicates that one increase of standard deviation of age results in a -.065 decrease in the standard deviation of political trust.

4.4 Integration paradox.

Table 3 illustrates that both interaction terms are deemed non-significant, and the coefficient of determination does not increase when the interaction terms are added to the model. We can thereby conclude that the integration paradox does not affect political trust. The non-significance indicates that the political trust you derive from discrimination and self-identification with ethnic groups does not depend on education.

Table 3 illustrates that the interaction term of education and discrimination is positively, yet non-significantly linked to political trust (b=0.063, p>0.05). According to hypothesis 6, the higher educated experience a stronger negative relationship of discrimination with political trust. Model 3 indicates a b-value of -.365 for discrimination, meaning that political trust decreases with 0.363 when education is zero, which in this case is no education. The interaction between education and discrimination is positive with a value of 0.063, meaning that with every increase of education, the effect of discrimination and political trust becomes less negative with 0.063. This reveals that the more educated migrants do not experience a stronger negative relationship between discrimination and political trust in contrast to lower educated migrants, as hypothesized. Therefore, rejecting hypothesis 6.

According to hypothesis 7, the relationship between self-identification with ethnic groups and political trust becomes stronger as education increases. Model 3 indicates a b-value of -.048 for

self-identification with ethnic groups on political trust when education is zero, meaning no education. The interaction of self-identification with ethnic groups and education is positive with a b-value of 0.004, meaning that with every increase of education, the effect of self-identification with ethnic groups and political trust becomes less negative with 0.004. This implies that the higher educated migrants do not experience a stronger negative relationship between self-identification with ethnic groups and political trust in comparison to the lower educated. This contradicts the hypothesis, therefore rejecting hypothesis 7.

Table 4: Regression for Turkish & Moroccan.

|	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3	
	ß Turkish	ß Moroccan	ß Turkish	ß Moroccan	ß Turkish	ß Moroccan
Language proficiency	.054*	-.019	.031	-.060 (*)	.033	-.057
Private	-.018	.081	-.014	.072	-.014	.077
Public	-.010	-.044	-.013	-.048	-.014	-.047
Identity Dutch	.094**	.060	.099**	.075*	.098**	.074*
Discrimination	-.248***	-.290***	-.222***	-.282***	-.328*	-.371*
Identity Ethnic group	-.010	-.031	-.046	-.036	.016	-.095
Age			-.003	-.008**	-.003	-.008*
Sex			.037	.007	.036	.006
Partner			-.105	-.101	-.101	-.101
Education			.002	-.010	-.012	-.204
Discrimination interaction					.060	.047
Identity Ethnic group interaction					-.016	.031
Constant	2.003***	2.652***	2.203***	3.126***	2.226***	3.469***
Adjusted R square	.037	.040	.046	.060	.046	.061

Note: ***: p< 0.001, **:p< 0.01, *=p<0.05
Source: NELLS (2009).

4.5 Turkish and Moroccan differences.

Table 4 illustrates the regression results for both Turkish and Moroccan migrant groups separately. There are a few notable differences between these groups and how the relationships between the variables differ depending on the group. Firstly, Turkish migrants illustrate a positive and significant relationship between language proficiency and political trust in model 1. On the contrary, Moroccan migrants illustrate a negative relationship between language proficiency and political trust. Thus, when Turkish migrants' language proficiency increases by 1 unit, their political trust also increases by 0.054 units. However, when Moroccan migrants' language proficiency increases by 1 unit, their political trust decreases with -0.019 unit points, although this is deemed non-significant.

Furthermore, self-identification is significant for both Turkish and Moroccan migrants in model 2, however, a stronger effect can be seen for Turkish (b=0.099) compared to Moroccan (b= 0.072). Thus, when the self-identification of Turkish migrants increases by 1 unit, their political trust also increases by 0.099 in contrast to 0.072 of Moroccans. Moreover, table 4 illustrates that the relationship between discrimination and political trust is stronger amongst Moroccan migrants (b=.282) compared to Turkish migrants (b=.222). This indicates that when Moroccan migrants' discrimination increases by 1 unit, their political trust also increases by 0.282 compared to 0.222 of Turkish migrants. In addition, the older Moroccan migrants become, the less political trust can be found (b=-0.008). Table 3 illustrated that significance was found for the relationship between age and political trust. However, based on Table 4, this is only the case for Moroccan migrants. Lastly, we find a difference in the Adjusted R square between Turkish and Moroccan migrants. This indicates that 4,0 % of the variance found in political trust can be predicted by the independent variable for the Moroccan population compared to 3,7% for the Turkish population. This increases to 4,6% when controlling for sex, age, and partner for Turkish compared to 6% for Moroccan migrants.

4.4 Conceptual model
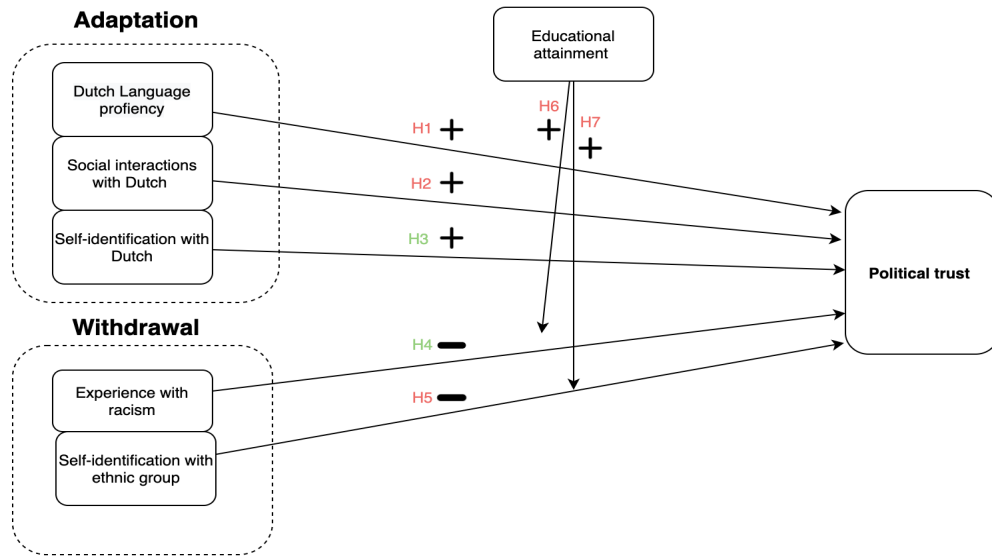
Chapter 5: Conclusion

This research attempts to answer the question: "*To what extent does the adaptation and withdrawal of Turkish and Moroccan migrants affect political trust in the Netherlands*?" and, "To what extent this relationship differs across different educational groups?". In order to answer these research questions, wave one of the NELLS dataset (2009) was analyzed. The findings indicate that the largest effect on political trust is the extent to which Turkish and Moroccan migrants experience discrimination. The second largest effect on political trust is self-identification of Turkish and Moroccan migrants with the dominant Dutch group. This was positively and significantly correlated with political trust.

Firstly, the experience of discrimination is understood as an element of withdrawal. The literature of withdrawal suggests that migrant groups maintain their separate ethnic identity, behavior, beliefs, practices and values from their authentic culture and thus, do not feel connected to the host country (Kunst et al., 2015; Michelson, 2003). Withdrawal was operationalized with self-identification with ethnic groups and, experience of discrimination. This study illustrated that self-identification with ethnic groups does not significantly predict political trust. However, the results do indicate that the more Turkish and Moroccan migrants experience discrimination, the lower the political trust of these groups in the Netherlands. According to the theory, migrant groups are confronted with the realities of discrimination, they are reminded that they are unwanted, inferior, or unfairly stereotyped in the Netherlands (Schwartz et al., 2010; Wenzel, 2006). This has a negative influence on the trust of migrants in their host country. Consequently, fracturing the 'we-feeling' that is necessary and considered to be a precondition for the political trust of an individual (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). Moreover, it can be argued that Turkish and Moroccan migrants that experience discrimination don't trust politicians because they feel as though they do not respond to the discrimination taking place or perhaps even legitimizing the practices of discrimination in certain political campaigns.

Secondly, self-identification with the dominant group was also found to influence the political trust of Turkish and Moroccan migrants, which belongs to the theory of adaptation. The literature of adaptation suggests that the more migrants advance their language, interact with the dominant culture and feel connected to the dominant culture, the fewer differences between the dominant and minority groups can be observed. This leads to more similarities, and thus similar political trust patterns. This study finds support for adaptation when it comes to the self-identification of Turkish and Moroccan migrants with the dominant culture and group. The more Turkish and Moroccan migrants identify with the Dutch culture, the more political trust can be expected. This refers to the sense of self in affiliation to the Dutch culture and group. According to this theory, it is considered easier to trust those similar to you. As migrant groups identify themselves more with the Dutch culture, the more their socio-cultural differences fade, thus improving the 'we-feeling' that is considered to be a precondition for political trust. However, the

results of this paper illustrate no support for language or social contacts with dominant groups and political trust.

Although the contemporary environment of globalization and migration has had an important role in society, the relation of acculturation and, especially national identity and political trust has been assumed and little attention has been paid to this relationship on the individual level of migrants. This is especially important as migrant groups have different relationships with political trust, as it signals political integration (Vroome et al., 2013). This study presented contributions to the gap in the existing literature for various reasons. Firstly, this study has illustrated the importance of experience with discrimination on political trust. This illustrates the importance of differentiating between migrant groups and dominant groups, and between different migrant groups when analyzing political trust (Vroome et al., 2013). This is of great importance for the political and societal debate concerning political trust and the role of discrimination in the Dutch society. Moreover, the study of acculturation on political trust was analyzed in a European context. This study illustrated that not all aspects of adaptation and withdrawal are of importance for predicting political trust in the Netherlands.

Chapter 6: Discussion

According to the results, the relationship between sense of belonging and political trust is of great importance. The results indicate that self-identification with the Dutch culture has a positive relationship with political trust and, experience with discrimination illustrates a negative relationship with political trust. Both these relationships relate to the sense of belonging. Self-identification relates to the subjective sense of belonging to the dominant Dutch culture. On the contrary, experience with discrimination relates to the feeling of not belonging, the feeling of being inferior and unwanted. These findings illustrate that although the sense of belonging has been assumed in previous research concerning political trust, it can yet be considered of great importance from the perspective of acculturation. The results support the theory that the 'we-feeling' that glues people together is indeed important and can be viewed as a pre-condition for political trust (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). It must however be noted that self-identification with ethnic groups did not result in a significant relationship with political trust. It can therefore be concluded that maintaining one's own authentic ethnic culture does not insinuate the opposite effect for political trust.

Additionally, this 'we-feeling' may be challenged by the increase of super-diversity in Dutch cities in the Netherlands. Cities such as Rotterdam are no longer majority native, but majority 'minority', meaning that more than half of the population has a migration background This challenges the ideas of withdrawal and adaptation. The results of this study can thus differ depending on the local context, national context, and institutional arrangements in place that impact the functioning of society and acculturation (Crul, 2015).

Alesina and La Ferrara (2002) and, Michelson (2003) have indicated the importance of discrimination on political trust. However, Vroome et al., (2013) was unable to analyze this in the context of the Netherlands. This study is able to confirm that discrimination does play an important role on the political trust of migrants, similarly to the American context. Moreover, this study also proves that this relationship plays a role in the Netherlands amongst Turkish and Moroccan migrants. These results are of great significance for addressing the differences in levels of political trust between natives and minority groups, as it can be assumed that natives do not experience discrimination, based on color. Meaning that the development of political trust differs across groups. That said, the studies show that Moroccan migrants experience a stronger relationship between discrimination and political trust compared to the Turkish migrants. Politicians can incorporate the findings of this paper in attempting to improve the political trust amongst migrant groups.

Moreover, it has become apparent by this study that migrants who identify more with the Dutch culture are more trusting of politics. This influences the strength of the common ground which is often understood as what glues people together in a society (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). The self-identification with

the dominant group also emphasizes the importance of fewer socio-cultural difficulties and differences in relation to political trust (Alesina & Ferrara, 2002; Ward & Rana-Deuba, 1999).

Furthermore, the integration paradox was not supported by this study. According to Hooghe et al., (2012), higher educated individuals have been found to have a positive relationship with political trust compared to lower educated. This is associated with intermediary mechanisms such as cognitive ability and the occupation prestige that is associated with education. This can indicate that although the higher educated individuals may experience more discrimination and self-identification with ethnic group, this does not automatically imply a stronger negative effect on political trust. One can argue that higher educated may experience higher levels of political trust due to their cognitive ability and occupation prestige. However, due to their disproportionate experience with discrimination and self-identification with ethnic groups, it may result in similar levels of political trust compared to lower educated (Hooghe et al., 2012).

However, this study was unable to address various aspects of the relationship between acculturation and political trust. Firstly, this study does not examine the extent to which 'passing as white' has influence on the amount of discrimination experienced for Turkish and Moroccan migrants (Berg & Hjerm, 2010). This study can therefore not conclude that those that look more different, experience more discrimination. Moreover, due to the super-diversity in Dutch cities, more multiracial families are present, which can perhaps demonstrate acculturation in different ways, as they are inherently majority (native) and minority (Turkish and Moroccan). Thus, the processes of acculturation may differ across diverse families (Yoon, 2021; Crul, 2015).

It must be noted that there are some other limitations to this study. Most notably, this study makes use of the NELLS dataset (2009), which only collected data in the Dutch language (Tolsma et al., 2014). This indicates that migrants with insufficient Dutch language proficiency were not included in this study. This does not allow us to generalize the results to the wide minority groups of Turkish and Moroccan migrants, especially those with lower language proficiency. Moreover, the dataset is cross-sectional in nature, and therefore does not take into account the level of political trust before migrating to the Netherlands, this is however only relevant for the first-generation. As previously mentioned, the dataset used in this research was conducted in 2009. Since 2009, political parties have since been established that bring awareness to the issues of discrimination of minority groups in the Netherlands, especially amongst the Turkish and Moroccan groups. Political parties such as DENK established in 2014, NIDA established in 2013 and Bij1 which was established in 2016, have focused on raising awareness of the discrimination taking place in the Netherlands as well as fighting for an equal society. The establishment of these parties illustrate the improved responsiveness from political parties to minority citizens. Therefore, the results of this study could be altered due to the awareness gathered by these new parties. Minority citizens can

perhaps experience discrimination and yet, not loose political trust, as they know that parties are in power that respond to their needs of more equality.

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Appendix .

CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: The influence of acculturation on political trust amongst Moroccan and Turkish Migrants in the Netherlands.

Name, email of student: Tess Martina, 446623tm@eur.nl

Name, email of supervisor: Gijs Custers, custers@essb.eur.nl

Start date and duration: Feb 2021- July 4th 2021.

Is the research study conducted within DPAS   **YES** - NO

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?
     (e.g. internship organization)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1.   Does your research involve human participants.   YES - **NO**

     If 'NO': skip to part V.

     If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research?   YES - **NO**
     Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act ([WMO](#)) must first be submitted to [an accredited medical research ethics committee](#) or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects ([CCMO](#)).

2.   Does your research involve field observations without manipulations
     that will not involve identification of participants.   **YES**- NO

     If 'YES': skip to part IV.

3.   Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary
data that has been anonymized by someone else).   **YES** - NO

     If 'YES': skip to part IV.

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what
    participants can expect during the study be withheld from them?   YES - NO
2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written
    'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study?   YES - NO

3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation
    at any time be withheld from participants?   YES - NO

4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants?   YES - NO
    Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to
    think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study
    is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they
    harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).

5. Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or
    negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by
    participants?   `   YES - NO

6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined
    by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or
    philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric
    data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning
    mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual
    orientation)?
    YES - NO

7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or
    other groups that cannot give consent?

    YES - NO

8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study?   YES - NO

9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the
    confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured?   YES - NO

10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study?   YES - NO

    If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below
why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

_____

_____

_____
_____

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

_____
_____
_____
_____

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

_____
_____
_____
_____

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Continue to part IV.
PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse study -Nells panel wave 1 (2009) and wave 2 (2013)- versie 1.2

Tolsma, Dr. J. (Radboud University Nijmegen); Kraaykamp, Prof. dr. G.L.M. (Radboud University Nijmegen); Graaf, Prof. dr. P.M. de (Universiteit Tilburg); Kalmijn, Prof. dr. M. (Universiteit van Amsterdam); Monden, dr. C.M. (Oxford University) (2014): *Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study - NELLS Panel Wave 1 2009 and Wave 2 2013 - versie 1.2*. DANS. https://doi.org/10.17026/dans-25n-2xjv

_____
_____
___

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

Size of sample: 1785

_____
_____

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

Approximately 800.000 Turkish and Moroccans lived in the Netherlands in 2009.

_____

_____

Continue to part V.

Part V: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

I already obtained the data and it is stored on my personal laptop and will remain there.

_____

_____

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?
Only me.

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?
When edits are made, I saved the data in a different file name. These were also backed up on a separate disk for protection.

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?
Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

PART VI: SIGNATURE
Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Tess Martina
Custers

Name (EUR) supervisor: Gijs

Date: 4th of July, 2021

Date: 19-03-2021