

## **A Cosmopolitan Explanation of the Integration Paradox: A Mixed-Methods Approach**

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To belong or not to belong – *that* is the cosmopolitan question (Beck 2003, p.454)

Recent studies have found that higher-educated migrants experience less belonging towards the destination country than lower-educated migrants, which has been dubbed the integration paradox (Verkuyten 2016). This finding has been considered counterintuitive, as it opposes the assumption of migrants' linear assimilation process (Alba and Nee 1997). It therefore spurred the exploration of various explanations (Van Doorn, Scheepers, and Dagevos 2013, Tolsma, Lubbers, and Gijsberts 2012). Previous research has not resulted in clear-cut answers on the presence of this paradox, and accordingly the need for underlying mechanisms is stressed (Verkuyten 2016).

This paper zooms in on the role of cosmopolitanism in the integration paradox. It builds on the suggestion made by Ten Teije, Coenders, and Verkuyten (2013) that higher-educated migrants have a more open and cosmopolitan worldview than lower-educated migrants resulting in a lower sense of belonging to the destination country. This possible answer to the paradox is however left untheorized and not tested empirically before.

One of the groups for which this paradox is often found is Turkish migrants (Geurts, Lubbers, and Spierings 2019). Particularly for them, and more generally migrants from Muslim-majority countries, a lack of belonging is problematized in debates on migrants' loyalty and used to address issues of social cohesion (Norris and Inglehart 2012). In Western-European countries, such as the Netherlands, the need of a shared sense of belonging within the population of the nation state is often debated (De Vroome, Verkuyten, and Martinovic 2014). A recurring notion in that debate is that a lack of belonging among migrants is often equated to a sense of belonging to another nation-state (Snel, Engbersen, and Leerkes 2006). Recently, the literature of cosmopolitanism suggests that not only loyalty to another nation-state can be a source of identity that hampers migrants' belonging to a new country, but that identification with a supra-national entity, such as the world, could challenge this as well (Helbling and Teney 2015, Norris and Inglehart 2009).

This debate takes place in the context where cosmopolitan identities seem more prominent as sustaining and developing linkages across nations is made easier in times of globalization (Castles 2002, Nedelcu 2012). As a result, more and more migrants develop a cosmopolitan consciousness that transcends national borders (Norris and Inglehart 2009). Identities and belonging thus become increasingly de-territorialized (Appadurai 1996).

While it has been suggested before that a cosmopolitan identity is likely to affect one's sense of national belonging (Ten Teije, Coenders, and Verkuyten 2013), it is unclear how this association between cosmopolitan and national belonging works exactly. It is argued that cosmopolitans have no exclusive loyalty to a specific territory but rather identify with the world as a whole (Castles 2002, Norris and Inglehart 2009, Geurts, Davids & Spierings, n.d.), which would mean a low sense of belonging to specific nation states. A lack of national belonging is even used as indicator of cosmopolitanism (Roudometof 2005). Put simply, it is assumed that cosmopolitans do not identify with a nation state.

Drawing on previous work, we study the assumption that higher-educated individuals experience less national attachment and are less inclined to nationalistic feelings due to being more open-minded and ‘worldly’ (Coenders and Scheepers 2003, Norris and Inglehart 2009, Ten Teije, Coenders, and Verkuyten 2013, Bekhuis, Lubbers, and Verkuyten 2014). We explore to what extent this line of reasoning applies to the case of recent Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, and in doing so forms an explanation of the previously found integration paradox. We answer the following research question: *To what extent do higher-educated Turkish migrants experience less belonging to the Netherlands due to being more cosmopolitan (than lower-educated migrants)?*

We set out to answer this question using a mixed-methods triangulation approach. First, we study to what extent the previously found negative effect of educational level is (partially) explained by having a cosmopolitan identity using survey data of the New Immigrants Survey (NIS2NL, Lubbers et al. 2018) among Turkish migrants (N=201). Our measurements are in line with previous research on the integration paradox (Geurts, Lubbers, and Spierings 2019). Preliminary results based on multivariate linear regression analyses suggest that whilst higher-educated migrants indeed are more likely to feel like a world citizen (as indicator of cosmopolitan identity), this does not explain why higher-educated migrants experiences less belonging to the Netherlands than lower-educated migrants. A cosmopolitan identity thus does not have the supposed negative effect on migrants’ sense of belonging to the receiving country, which opposes the dominant assumption in previous studies (Roudometof 2005, Norris and Inglehart 2009). Initial results of the linear models can be found in table 1 presented below.

**Table 1:** Linear regression analysis on sense of belonging to the Netherlands (N=201)

	Model 1		Model 2		S.E.	S.E.
	B	S.E.	B	S.E.		
Intercept	1.84	***	0.41	1.73	***	0.42
<i>Highest obtained educational level</i> (0=less than primary, 8=doctoral or equivalent)	-0.06	~	0.03	-0.07	*	0.03
<i>Feeling like a world citizen</i> (0=completely disagree, 4=completely agree)			0.06			0.05
<b>Control variables</b>						
Duration of stay (ref.= <12 months)						
12-18 months	-0.02		0.19	-0.02		0.19
> 18 months	0.26	~	0.14	0.25	~	0.14
Missing	0.05		0.20	0.07		0.20
Intention to stay (ref.=Temporary)						
Circular	0.78	***	0.15	0.74	***	0.18
Permanent	0.85	***	0.18	0.80	***	0.16
Migration motive (ref.=Economic)						
Family	-0.04		0.18	-0.01		0.18
Education	0.06		0.25	0.04		0.25
Other or no specific	0.11		0.27	0.12		0.27
Sex (0=man, 1=woman)	0.04		0.12	0.05		0.12
Age at migration	0.01		0.01	0.01		0.01

**Source:** NIS2NL Wave 4

Subsequently, we use in-depth interviews to understand the found results and study whether these results match migrants' realities. We draw from in-depth life history interviews with 32 highly-educated recent Turkish migrants in the Netherlands which were conducted by the first author. We purposefully sampled from the New Immigrants Survey which allows for rich data that reflect both highly-educated migrants who, according to the survey, do not feel belonging to the Netherlands (N=15) and highly-educated migrants who do experience belonging to the Netherlands (N=17). Of these highly-educated migrants, 70 per cent felt like a world citizen. Our analyses provide empirical evidence with respect to the interrelation between and underlying mechanisms of cosmopolitan and national belonging, called for by Castles (2002). Preliminary, results based on narrative and textual analyses suggest that, in line with the survey results, being a world citizen does not have to hamper a sense of belonging in the Netherlands. Some argue that is relatively easy to feel at home in the Netherlands as it is a country that is inviting to world citizens:

*“So I think it’s nice to be a world citizen. And I, I also feel I think, that Netherlands, also invite this. That you know, people should feel like you know, what they want to do. It’s a vibe, you know.”*

At the same time, we do find some evidence in line with the dominant assumption that the interrelationship between cosmopolitan and national identity is negative, as some migrants argued that as a world citizen, there is less need to belong to a specific nation:

*“I’m not Dutch, I think, not yet, I don’t. But it doesn’t matter. I mean, I, I don’t see a point why people are so interested in describing themselves even eh, in the eh, limits of ethnic identity or national identity. It’s so outdated, I guess.”*

By taking a mixed-methods approach, we offer a thorough test of whether cosmopolitanism can provide an explanation of the integration paradox. Moreover, we provide new insights in the interrelationship between cosmopolitan and national belonging, informing the dominant literature according to which this association is deemed to be negative.

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