Ethnic Inequality in Employment?
Family Background and Human Capital Effects on Labor Market Outcomes of Moroccan and Turkish Second-Generation Migrants in the Netherlands

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Abstract

We use the 2009/10 Wave of the 'Netherlands Longitudinal Life-Course Study' to analyze how Moroccan and Turkish second-generation migrants fare in the Dutch labor market. Unlike in the majority of related studies, we consider in the analyses a rich variety of measures of family background and skills. Results show strong ethnic inequalities in employment participation. Among men, these inequalities persist when controlling for family background, education, and skills, while for women such ethnic inequalities are explained by family background and linguistic proficiency, but not by education. We find much weaker ethnic inequalities in occupational status. Men's occupational status is substantially low only among Turkish second-generation migrants, which is explained by contextual factors. Women's occupational status does not differ across ethnic groups, and ethnic minorities actually achieve a higher occupational status than women from Dutch origins with similar characteristics. Implications for understanding ethnic stratification in the labor market are discussed.

Keywords: *Second-Generation Migrants; Ethnic Stratification; Labor Market Outcomes; Ethnic Penalties; Family Background; Human Capital.*

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1. Introduction

The study of how 'Second-Generation Migrants' (SGM) perform in the labor market is essential to understand ethnic stratification in contemporary societies[1]. In Western countries, SGM are today increasingly entering into the labor force, and this raises the important question of whether SGM differ from individuals with native-born parents in their employment chances (Heath et al., 2008). SGM, unlike first-generation migrants, were educated in the same country than children with native-born parents. This implies that analyzing how SGM perform in the labor market, not only provides key evidence on ethnic equality, but also on the *equality of opportunities* across ethnic groups raised and educated in the same national context. Given that individuals' labor market performance is a central indicator of their social position and wellbeing (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992), studying whether SGM access employment under conditions of equality has critical academic and public policy implications.

Previous studies have offered increasing evidence on how SGM perform in the labor market. Studies on several Western countries generally found that SGM have exceeded the first generation of migrants in the labor market (Algan et al., 2010; Crul & Vermeulen, 2003; Farley & Alba, 2002; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008; Portes & Zhou, 1993; Van Tubergen, 2004). However, these studies suggest that SGM remain significantly disadvantaged in the employment structure. The existence of these ethnic inequalities clearly motivates the examination of which factors affect the employment performance of SGM.

Two main explanations have been elaborated to explain the employment disadvantage of SGM. One focuses on *contextual factors*. This approach suggests that SGM achieve poor labor market outcomes due to their socioeconomic attributes, like their disadvantaged social origins and levels of education (Heath & Cheung, 2007; Kalter et al., 2007; Zuccotti, 2014). The second refers to *ethnic penalties*. From this perspective, ethnic inequalities in employment remain, even after considering compositional variables, like social origins, human capital, and demographic factors, implying that ethnic or racial attributes partially explain ethnic disparities in employment (Heath et al., 2008; Kalter & Kogan, 2006). This literature, however, has provided inconclusive evidence. Some studies suggest that the employment outcomes of SGM are driven by their

[1] In the whole article we will refer to Second-Generation Migrants using the abbreviation SGM.

schooling levels, but other studies found strong support for the ethnic penalty explanation (Heath et al., 2008). These mixed findings motivate further research in this direction.

Yet, studies on SGM have so far paid very little attention to two classical predictors of labor market outcomes: family background (Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992) and skills (Becker, 1964). *Family background* might affect the employment outcomes of SGM, either 'indirectly' (Heath & Cheung, 2007) or 'directly' (Zuccotti, 2014). The fact that SGM are typically raised in families with disadvantaged cultural and socioeconomic resources might reduce their schooling chances, which in turn might have negative effects on their labor market success. Also, family background might directly reduce the employment chances of SGM. For example, the frequent distance of SGM from 'middle-class circles' might in some way directly signal not being the 'right' job candidates, having negative effects on their employment outcomes.

The role of *skills* in explaining possible ethnic inequalities in employment has been stressed in previous studies (Jonsson, 2007). Yet, this question has received very little empirical attention, and restricted to first-generation migrants (Chiswick, 1991). For example, linguistic proficiency can be an important determinant of how SGM perform in the labor market. The lack of exposure to the main language of the country at home would reduce the linguistic proficiency of SGM. This fact could affect their academic disadvantage, but might also have long-term direct effects on their labor market disadvantage, net of schooling, especially in high-ranked occupations (Chiswick, 1991). Altogether, skills, as well as family background, need further empirical consideration to better understand the labor market outcomes of SGM.

In this study, we use data from the 2009/10 Wave of the *Netherlands Longitudinal Life-Course Study* (NELLS) to analyze the employment participation and occupational status of Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands. The NELLS offers excellent data for our study. This survey contains an oversampled subgroup of Moroccan and Turkish SGM, allowing us to compare their employment outcomes with those of individuals from Dutch origins (De Graaf et al., 2010). More important, unlike related surveys, the NELLS provides rich information on our variables of interest, including *family background* (i.e., parental education, cultural socialization) and *skills* (i.e., linguistic/numeracy proficiency). These data clearly allow us to offer new relevant evidence on the labor market outcomes of SGM.

We make three major contributions to the existing literature. First, unlike most previous studies, we analyze how family background affects the employment chances of SGM (for an exception, see Zuccotti, 2014). Second, we investigate how skills, in particular linguistic proficiency and numeracy abilities, affect the labor market performance of SGM, allowing us to offer new evidence on which factors influence the employment chances of SGM. Third, we investigate ethnic differences in both employment participation and occupational status, two important measures of employment outcomes with distinct implications on individuals' wellbeing and social position. These main contributions arguably offer compelling and detailed evidence on the labor market conditions of SGM.

The study is framed within a relevant context for the ethnic stratification literature. Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands, as in other Western European countries, were found to be particularly disadvantaged in the schooling system and labor market (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Tesser & Dronkers, 2007). These two ethnic groups, unlike the other major immigrant groups of Antillean and Caribbean origins, were typically not exposed to the Dutch language at home, which arguably has negative effects on academic-related skills associated with labor market success (Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007). Altogether, our study addresses an important question for the ethnic stratification literature by focusing on two relevant ethnic groups within an interesting case of study.

2. The Dutch Context

In the Netherlands, like in other Western European countries, Moroccan and Turkish SGM are today increasingly entering into the labor force, raising the key question of how these two groups perform in the labor market (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Migration to the Netherlands from Morocco and Turkey started in the 1960s, as for (temporary) employment in low-skilled jobs in the agriculture and industry. These first-generation migrant groups typically had basic levels of education, had low fluency in Dutch language for a long period after their arrival to the country, and were identified with a culture and religion (the Muslim) that differs radically from the cultural and religious background of the Dutch majority (Crul & Doomernik, 2003; Tesser & Dronkers, 2007). This socioeconomic and cultural background needs to be considered when analyzing Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands.

Previous studies suggest that Moroccan and Turkish SGM are disadvantaged in the Dutch labor market. Tesser and Dronkers' (2007) study with data from the *Social Position and Facilities Use of Ethnic Minorities* (SPVA) for 1988-1998 is (to our knowledge) the only study using representative data on this question. The authors found that 22% of second-generation Turkish men and 29% of men from Moroccan ancestries are unemployed, with figures of 32% and 41% for, respectively, second-generation Turkish and Moroccan women. In contrast, unemployment rates was found to be much lower for individuals with Dutch-born parents (8% for men; 15% for women). Further, they found that 38% of men and 31% of women with parents born in the Netherlands work in professional or managerial occupations, while only 10% of men and 11% of women from Turkish origins work in these occupations, with even lower figures among second-generation Turkish men (8%) and women (5%). Tesser and Dronkers (op. cit.) found that Moroccan and Turkish SGM are disadvantaged in their access to employment and occupational class, even when educational differences are taken into account. In this sense, Tesser and Dronkers' (op. cit.) study suggests that pervasive ethnic penalties affect the labor market outcomes of Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands.

The study of Tesser and Dronkers (2007), however, leaves two important inconclusive questions for the literature. First, Tesser and Dronkers' (op. cit.) study was based on old data (1988-1998), raising the question of whether their findings apply to the youngest cohorts, who have recently made an important progress in schooling (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Second, and more important for the international literature, Tesser and Dronkers' (op. cit.) study, like in general other studies, did not analyze how family background and skills, net of education, affect the labor market outcomes of SGM. These gaps motivate the study of how Moroccan and Turkish SGM perform today in the Dutch labor market.

3. Theoretical Framework: Family Background, Human Capital, or Ethnic Penalty?

Our theoretical framework includes three main explanatory variables of how SGM perform in the labor market: (i) family background; (ii) education; (iii) skills. Figure 1 summarizes the conceptual framework with our key variables of interest.

[Figure 1, around here]

3.1. Family Background

Scholars argued that *family background* strongly affects individuals' labor market outcomes (Erikson & Goldthrope, 1992). Privileged parents, as opposed to disadvantaged parents, have high human capital and material resources associated with children's education (Erikson & Jonsson, 1996) and occupational success (Morgan et al., 2006). Parents from privileged social backgrounds often engage children in cultural activities that foster their 'cognitive' abilities (i.e., visiting museums, reading) and access to the 'status culture' (i.e., classical concerts, theatre plays) (Bourdieu, 1984; De Graaf, De Graaf & Kraaykamp, 2000). Social origins are argued to have both 'indirect' and 'direct' effects on occupational outcomes. Some studies suggest that family background essentially affects individuals' labor market outcomes through the mediation of education (Morgan et al., 2006). Studies on social mobility, however, found direct effects of family background on individuals' occupational class, net of academic qualifications (Breen, 2004; Ganzeboom & Luijkx, 2004). Therefore, the social stratification literature suggests that family background influences individuals' labor market outcomes, while this can happen through direct or indirect mechanisms.

Family background might explain potential labor market disadvantages of SGM, since SGM are disproportionally raised in families with poor socioeconomic resources (Heath et al., 2008). Previous related studies, however, often omitted social background from their analyses, even if research on educational outcomes has shown that much of the ethnic differences in schooling outcomes are due to social class differences (Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen 2007; Kristen & Granato 2007). There are two general mechanisms through which family background can affect the employment chances of SGM. One implies that social background has *indirect effects*, and therefore its effects are mediated by schooling. From this perspective, the disadvantaged social background of SGM reduces their schooling chances, which in turn has negative effects on their employment chances (Heath and Cheung, 2007; Kalter et al., 2007).

The second perspective holds that family background has *direct effects* on the employment outcomes of SGM. Some exceptional studies, using data from England and Wales, suggest that parental background has a direct impact on the occupational status of SGM, at least in some ethnic groups (Platt, 2005; Zuccotti, 2014). Three different factors might explain the direct

effects of social background on the employment chances of SGM. One is *cultural socialization*. The fact that SGM are often raised in contexts with poor access to the legitimated 'middle-class culture' might give employers a signal of not having the 'right' characteristics towards their job demands, especially in high-ranked occupations. Second, *social contacts* might also explain such direct effects of family background. Given that SGM typically come from low socioeconomic origins, their parents might have infrequent contact with people from privileged social positions, which in turn might directly reduce their networks to access to privileged occupations. Third, *economic resources* could play a role as well. The high propensity of having parents with low material resources might deprive SGM from receiving financial support for their job search or work internships, and this would contribute to their employment disadvantage, as compared to (more privileged) children of native origins. Altogether, the *family background hypothesis* suggests that social origins has, either through direct or indirect means, an important influence on the labor market outcomes of SGM.

> *Family Background Hypothesis (H-1):* The disadvantage of SGM in the labor market is explained by family background.

3.2. Human Capital

Human capital theory posits that individuals' education, abilities, and job experience determine their labor market outcomes (Becker, 1964). From this theoretical perspective, employers rationally choose the job candidates with the highest levels of human capital, without following 'normative' or 'ideological' prejudices (Heath & Cheung, 2007). In this sense, ethnic differences in employment are argued to be 'purely' explained by human capital.

Human capital can be divided into two components. The first is *education*, one critical indicator of individuals' labor market outcomes (Becker, 1964). The empirical literature, however, has provided mixed evidence on how education affects ethnic differences in employment. Some studies found that SGM achieve similar occupational outcomes than individuals of native origins with similar education, but others found that ethnic inequalities remain after controlling for education (Heath & Cheung, 2007; Heath et al., 2008). Now, scholars often treated education as a proxy of different analytical categories, like family background and skills, without actually considering the effects of education net of social origins and skills. The *education hypothesis*

holds that ethnic inequalities in the labor market are driven by educational differences, even after accounting for other variables, like family background and skills.

> *Education Hypothesis (H-2):* The employment disadvantage of SGM is explained by differences in schooling attainment.

The second key component of human capital is *skills*. Skills have been found to be highly rewarded in the labor market (Barone & Van de Werfhorst, 2011; Chiswick & Miller, 1999). However, the way skills affect the labor market outcomes of SGM has been largely understudied. One important indicator of skills to consider here is *linguistic proficiency*. SGM often have low linguistic abilities in the official national language, due to their lack of exposure to this language in their family of origin (Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007). These differences are reduced with schooling, but might persist even when education is considered, which in turn would have direct negative consequences on how SGM perform in the labor market (see Chiswick & Miller, 1999; Leslie & Lindsey, 2001).

An additional relevant measure of skills is *numeracy abilities* (Chiswick, Lee, & Miller, 2003). SGM might have similar numeracy skills than children with native-born individuals, after accounting for family background and education. However, it could be the case that SGM, even after considering social origins and education, have particularly low numeracy skills. This could be due to the low linguistic abilities of SGM, which could lead them to face difficulties in learning mathematics at primary school, but also to teachers' prejudices or negative expectations on their performance, independent of their real skills. This, altogether, might directly reduce the life-long numeracy abilities of SGM with employment implications. Overall, the *skills hypothesis* holds that ethnic disadvantage in the labor market is (partly) explained by skills, measured separately as linguistic and numeracy abilities.

> *Skills Hypothesis (H-3):* The employment disadvantage of SGM is explained by skills differences.

3.3. Ethnic Penalties

Scholars conceptualize *ethnic penalties* as those processes in which employers do not value their job candidates by their human capital, but for their ethnic attributes (Heath et al., 2008; Kalter & Kogan, 2006). From this approach, if SGM have similar family background, education, and skills

as children of native origins, any observed disadvantage in their labor market outcomes should be explained by ethnic or racial reasons. This might imply discrimination towards ethnic minorities, due to religious beliefs or cultural attributes, which might eventually differ from the 'majority' population (Heath et al., 2008). As argued by Jonsson (2007), however, it is important not to equate ethnic penalties to discrimination, unless one can directly measure the latter. One recent experiment (Blommaert, Van Tubergen, & Coenders, 2013) suggests that ethnic discrimination towards Moroccan and Turkish SGM can explain their disadvantage in the Dutch labor market. Most surveys, however, do not allow to directly observe ethnic discrimination. Even if we cannot directly analyze ethnic discrimination, we can provide a more refined test of ethnic penalties in employment than in previous related studies, because we explicitly consider family background, education, and skills, while most studies only controlled for education. The *ethnic penalty hypothesis* holds that SGM are disadvantaged in the labor market, even after controlling for family background, education, and skills.

> *Ethnic Penalty Hypothesis (H-4):* The disadvantage of SGM in their employment outcomes is not (fully) explained by family background, education, or skills.

4. Method

4.1. Data

We use data from the 2009/10 Wave of the *Netherlands Longitudinal Life-course Study* (NELLS) (De Graaf et al., 2010). The NELLS contains by design an oversampled group of Moroccan and Turkish SGM (De Graaf et al., 2010b); other groups of SGM, like Indonesian or Surinamese, cannot be studied with these data, due to sample-seize restrictions. The NELLS, unlike related surveys, provides rich information on all our variables of interest, including measures of 'family background' (cultural capital socialization, parental education) and 'skills' (linguistic proficiency, numeracy abilities). Overall, the NELLS offers highly suitable and unique data for our empirical purposes.

The NELLS contains data on 5,312 respondents aged 14 to 49. We limit our sample to non-student individuals aged 23 to 49 (n = 2,138). This age range ensures that, for most respondents, the highest attained level is reported (PhD candidates are defined as employees in the Dutch

labor market). To establish clear ethnic distinctions, we excluded from the sample 33 cases where one parent was Dutch and the other Moroccan or Turkish, and 8 cases in which one parent came from Morocco and the other from Turkey. Analyses (not shown) considering parents' intermarriage within these demographic groups offered similar results to the ones presented here. We dropped 40 cases of individuals without socioeconomic or demographic information (n = 2,057), and 27 cases without information on the current job status (n = 2,030). Finally, to analyze occupational status we excluded 198 cases of unemployed people, and 31 of people without information on their current occupation (n = 1,801).

We unfortunately cannot differentiate between active and inactive individuals in the analyses. If we had excluded from our sample those individuals who were inactive at the moment of the interview, we would have faced sample-seize restrictions to conduct the empirical analyses. Non-employed individuals looking for a job can have a distinct employment profile than non-employed individuals who are not looking for a job. Nevertheless, labor market participation is, without any doubt, a critical indicator of employment outcomes.

4.2. Dependent Variables

We use two dependent variables. One is e*mployment participation*, a dummy measure of whether or not the respondent had a paid job at the moment of the interview. The other is *occupational status*, based on the 'International Socio-Economic Index' (ISEI) (Ganzenboom, De Graaf, & Treiman, 1992). The ISEI is a continuous occupational-based measure which offers a combined indicator of potential income and human capital, ranging from 16 (i.e., farm-hands workers) to 90 (i.e., judges). To construct the ISEI measure, we use the available information in the NELLS data from the 'International Standard Classification of Occupations' (ISCO-88) (see Ganzeboom & Treiman, 1996). Different analyses (not shown) with categorical dependent variables of occupational class showed similar results to the ones presented here.

4.3. Independent and Control Variables

The main independent variable, *ethnic group*, has three categories, defined by the country of origin of the two parents of the respondent: Dutch origins (*reference*), Moroccan SGM, and Turkish SGM. We use different measures of family background. *Parental education* has seven

categories for both the mother and the father: (1) ‘primary unfinished’ (*reference*); (2) ‘completed primary’; (3) ‘low secondary vocational’; (4) ‘upper secondary vocational’; (5) ‘upper secondary general’; (6) ‘college’; (7) ‘unknown/unclassified’. We use four dummy variables on the respondent’s *cultural capital* context when aged 12-14, separating cases with the answer ‘sometimes’ or ‘frequently’ from those where the answer given was ‘never’: (1) ‘classical events’; (2) ‘cultural exhibitions’; (3) ‘theatre plays’; (4) ‘parental reading’. Unfortunately, we did not have access to parental occupation measures.

We also include several measures of human capital. *Education* has five categories: (1) ‘primary or low secondary’ (*reference*); (2) ‘upper secondary vocational’; (3) ‘upper secondary academic’; (4) ‘tertiary vocational college’; (5) ‘university’. *Language proficiency* is constructed from respondents’ answer to nine questions with distinct difficulty levels in which they chose the most suitable word from five alternative options. *Numeracy skills* is assessed with five questions on logical numerical sequences with different difficulty levels. For these skill-related questions, we construct three categories in relation to the distribution of responses: low (*reference*), medium, and high (see Table A3, in Appendices). Finally, *age* is used as a control variable. Tables A1 and A2 (in Appendices) show the matrix correlation of variables, yet these tables are not discussed. Table 1 presents the description of variables.

[Table 1, around here]

4.4. Analytical Strategy

We apply ‘Binary Logistic’ (Logit) regressions for employment participation, and ‘Ordinary Least Squares’ (OLS) regressions for occupational status. We run several models in a multivariate statistical framework, consistent with our research questions. We first look at the raw effects of ethnicity, without any conditional effect (Model 1). Secondly, we add separately the factors of interest (parental education, cultural capital socialization, education, and skills), allowing us to observe the conditions under which ethnicity is explained by specific factors, without considering third variables (Models 2, 3, 4, & 5). Third, we control for age, to ensure that our results are not biased by age differences across ethnic groups (Model 6). Fourth, we include both social background and education in the same model, to investigate the direct and

indirect effects of these two variables (Model 7). Finally, we run the full model, which includes also skills (Model 8). The empirical analyses are ran separately for men and women, as in previous related studies (Heath & Cheung, 2007)[2].

5. Findings

5.1. Employment Participation

The Logit models for *employment participation* are presented in Table 2 (for men) and Table 3 (for women), and summarized also in Figure 2. For *men*, in Model 1, we see that ethnic minorities are highly disadvantaged in employment participation, with Odds Ratios of 0.20 for Moroccan SGM (p-value < 0.001) and 0.25 for Turkish SGM (p-value < 0.01), as compared to men from Dutch origins (Odds Ratio = 1) (see Table 2). These ethnic differences remain totally unchanged when education (Model 4) and numeracy skills (Model 5) are considered. Family background accounts for 20% of this ethnic gap, yet ethnic differences remain significant when social origins are taken into account. The multivariate analyses with different variables (Models 7 & 8) are consistent with the previous models. Such results for men's labor market participation show clear support for the *ethnic penalty hypothesis* (Hypothesis 4).

For *women*, pervasive ethnic inequalities are also visible in employment participation, but these differences are, unlike among men, explained by compositional factors (see Table 3). The basic model shows that women's employment participation is much lower among Moroccan SGM (Odds Ratio = 0.35; p-value < 0.01) and Turkish SGM (Odds Ratio = 0.40; (p-value < 0.01), as compared to women from Dutch origins. These ethnic inequalities, however, become statistically insignificant with parental education (Model 2), one variable that has direct effects on women's employment participation, net of education (Model 7). The effect of skills is even more salient, with a rise by 60% in the Odds Ratios for Moroccan SGM and by 80% for Turkish SGM (Model 5). On the contrary, education does not reduce the disadvantage of women from Moroccan and Turkish background (Model 4). In the full model (Model 8), we observe that linguistic

[2] As complementary analyses we ran logistic regressions for employment participation by using the Karlson-Holm-Breen (KHB) method (Karlson, Holm, & Breen, 2012). The KHB method allows the comparison of coefficients (or odds) of binary logistic models by subtracting the residuals of the variables that are added into the equation. This a suitable method when new variables are added into an original equation. Such analyses show results consistent with the ones presented here with the standard Logit Models.

proficiency has a significant effect on women's labor market participation, net of education and social origins. Overall, ethnic inequalities in women's labor market participation are explained by two compositional factors, namely *family background* (Hypothesis 1) and *skills* (Hypothesis 3), but are not driven by educational differences.

[Tables 2 & 3, around here]

5.2. Occupational Status

The OLS models for *occupational status* are presented in Table 4 (for men) and Table 5 (for women), summarized also in Figure 2. Among *men*, Turkish SGM are disadvantaged in their occupational status, with clear differences of 8 ISEI scores with men of Dutch origins (p-v < 0.001), but this is not the case of Moroccan SGM (see Table 4). Yet, the initial low occupational status of men from Turkish background turns into insignificant when only controlling for parental education (Model 2), cultural capital (Model 3), or skills (Model 5), but not for education (Model 4). We appreciate, however, that schooling completely mediates the general effect of social background on men's occupational status (Model 7). In the full model (Model 8), we observe that linguistic proficiency has direct positive effects on men's occupational status. These findings generally imply that ethnic differences in men's occupational status are driven by *family background* (Hypothesis 1) and *skills* (Hypothesis 3), whereas education mediates the general effects of social background on men's occupational status.

[Tables 4 & 5, around here]

For *women*, we observe -quite surprisingly- that occupational status does not differ by ethnic group (Model 1) (see Table 5). Further, the models with family background measures (Models 2 & 3) and skills (Model 5) show that women from Moroccan and Turkish origins achieve a higher occupational status than their counterparts from Dutch origins with equivalent attributes. Education does not modify the effects of ethnicity on women's occupational status (Model 3), but schooling partially explains the positive effects of cultural capital on women's occupational status (Model 7). In the full model (Model 8), we see that education captures the effect of skills on women's occupational status. Overall, these findings, against initial expectations, show that women's occupational status does not differ across ethnic groups, mirroring a clear positive

selection of ethnic minority women in the employment structure, but also that second-generation Moroccan and Turkish women achieve a higher occupational status than women of Dutch origins with similar contextual characteristics.

[Figure 2, around here]

6. Discussion

In this study, we have analyzed the employment participation and occupational status of Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands. These two groups of SGM are increasingly entering into the labor market of Western countries. Thus, it is of crucial interest to study the conditions under which these two SGM groups differ from the 'majority' groups in their employment outcomes (Heath et al., 2008). Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands, like in other Western countries, were found to be disadvantaged in the schooling system and labor market (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). In the Netherlands, these two ethnic groups are typically raised in families with low socioeconomic resources (Tesser & Dronkers, 2007), speaking another language than Dutch at home (Van de Werhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007), and they often attach to a cultural/religious background (the Muslim) that differs markedly from the culture/religion of the Dutch majority (Blommaert et al., 2012). These factors motivate well our case of study within the literature on ethnic stratification.

We have used an excellent and unique data set for our empirical goals. The 2009/10 Wave of the *Netherlands Longitudinal Life-Course Study* (NELLS) contains recent information on an oversampled group of Moroccan and Turkish SGM (De Graaf et al., 2010). The NELLS allows us to study how social background, education, and skills affect the employment participation and occupational status of SGM, including relevant measures, like cultural capital background, parental education, and linguistic proficiency. This permits us to make a novel contribution to the literature on the employment performance of SGM, given that most studies only considered education, omitting family background and skills from their analyses.

At a *general level*, we observe a strong labor market 'polarization' within ethnic groups. On the one hand, Moroccan and Turkish SGM are highly disadvantaged in their employment participation. On the other hand, ethnic inequalities in occupational status among employed

individuals are generally weak, and only visible for second-generation Turkish men. These results are consistent with previous studies (Heath et al., 2008), implying that SGM who enter into the labor force in Western Europe are often a positively selected group, while the opposite applies to a large number of SGM that is disproportionately excluded from employment. In line with Crul and Doomernik's (2003) study, our analyses suggest that Moroccan and Turkish SGM in the Netherlands markedly face 'diverging destinies' in the labor market. Indeed, the descriptive evidence of our study depicts a more optimistic picture regarding the occupational status of Moroccan and Turkish SGM, as compared to Tesser and Dronkers' (2007) study with older data. We do find, however, like in previous studies, that Moroccan and Turkish SGM face clear barriers when it comes to employment participation.

The *multivariate analyses* provide relevant insights into which factors affect ethnic differences in the labor market. For *employment participation*, results show important gender and contextual differences. For men, our results clearly support the *ethnic penalty hypothesis* (Hypothesis 4). We find that family background, and especially education and skills, do not explain the disadvantage of second-generation Moroccan and Turkish men in employment participation. In contrast, women from ethnic minorities are disadvantaged in employment participation due to their family background, consistent with the *family background hypothesis* (Hypothesis 1), but also to their linguistic proficiency, in line with the *skills hypothesis* (Hypothesis 3). This implies that, only for women, clearly not for men, the ethnic gap in employment participation can be attributed to social origins and linguistic skills.

Regarding *occupational status*, the multivariate analyses show a very different picture to the one for employment participation. For men, the low occupational status of second-generation Turks is explained by skills and social origins, even if education mediates entirely the general effects of family background. For women, second-generation Moroccans and Turks not only achieve a similar occupational status than women with Dutch-born parents, but are actually advantaged after holding constant family background and human capital. This shows, unequivocally, that second-generation women from these two ethnic groups are not disadvantaged in their occupational attainment in the Netherlands, while the observed ethnic inequalities in men's occupational status are explained by *contextual factors*.

Three main conclusions can be derived from our study. First, *family background* is more relevant in explaining the employment outcomes of SGM than it has been often (theoretically) assumed. In line with Zuccotti's (2014) study, we find that social origins affects the disadvantage of SGM in the labor market. To be sure, social background has indirect general effects on occupational status, being mediated by human capital measures; only for women's employment participation has family background general independent effects from education. Now, family background clearly reduces ethnic disadvantage in employment, and to a higher extent than education, one fact that generally applies to all the analyses. This suggests that the material and non-material disadvantage of Moroccan and Turkish SGM in their family of origin plays a fundamental role in explaining their employment disadvantage. In this sense, more socioeconomic equality in family origins between ethnic minorities and the majority Dutch population could have equalizing effects in employment trajectories across ethnic groups.

Second, our findings show that *skills* affects individuals' labor market outcomes (Barone & Van de Werfhorst, 2011), but partly also ethnic inequalities in employment (Chiswick, 1991). Linguistic proficiency partly explains the disadvantage of Moroccan and Turkish SGM in employment, except for men's labor market participation. Thus, this distance from Dutch language among second-generation Moroccan and Turks seems to directly affect the reproduction of ethnic inequalities. Numeracy skills did not have any relevant influence in the observed ethnic inequalities in employment, one fact that can be attributed -among other reasons- to the lower ethnic differences in numeracy abilities, especially among men (see Tables A1 & A2). The relevance of linguistic skills in influencing ethnic stratification seems particularly relevant in today's post-industrial labor markets, with an important demand of these sorts of skills in the service sector, and especially in high-skilled occupations. These findings have therefore general implications to understand ethnic inequalities.

Third, we find evidence for some forms of *ethnic penalties* in the Dutch labor market. This is in part consistent with older studies (Tesser & Dronkers, 2007), yet we have included richer variables than in most previous research, like family background and skills. One clear evidence for the ethnic penalty thesis is found in men's employment participation. Along similar lines, education has much weaker effects in affecting the employment chances of ethnic minorities

than it has been hypothesized from a human capital approach, reflecting in some way ethnic penalties in school-work transitions. These findings bring us to the speculation that Moroccan and Turkish SGM are in part discriminated in the Dutch labor market, as suggested in a recent study (Blommaert et al., 2013). Such ethnic penalties might partly reflect the Muslim background (or cultural attributes) of Moroccan and Turkish SGM, one fact that is derived from some recent studies offering evidence for the 'Muslim penalty' in different Western countries (see Connor & Koenig, 2014; Wright et al., 2014). Future studies, however, should further investigate how ethnic discrimination operates in the labor market.

From a *public policy* perspective, our study has arguably provided important evidence. The study suggests that one channel to reduce ethnic inequalities in employment is through human capital acquisition (i.e., equalizing linguistic skills). Now, an equalization of human capital may not be sufficient. Given that part of the observed ethnic differences are explained by social origins, it might take several generations before the family background of minorities from Moroccan and Turkish origins matches the one from the 'Dutch majority'. Thus, improving the family conditions of ethnic minorities might have long-term positive effects on the life chances of ethnic minorities, not only in schooling (Van de Werfhorst & Van Tubergen, 2007), but also in the labor market. Now, this is not merely a human capital or social class problem. The clear persistence of ethnic penalties in (men's) labor market participation, after accounting for some of the most robust measures in the field, implies that cultural-related factors are important predictors of employment disadvantage among Moroccan and Turkish SGM. These several conclusions have undoubtedly public policy implications.

Overall, we believe that our article makes a relevant contribution to the literatures on ethnicity and social stratification. This study, however, has not covered some important theoretical or empirical questions, and therefore leaves room for new lines of research. For example, future research is needed to further examine a hypothesized gendered ethnic (dis)advantage in the labor market, especially in light of the substantial gender differences that we find in our study, as in related studies with data from other national contexts (Heath & Cheung, 2007). Moreover, new studies would not only benefit from having access to measures of skills that we consider here (i.e., linguistic proficiency), but should also include variables of cultural beliefs or religious

background. Finally, scholars should pay more attention to the heterogeneous impact of family resources and human capital on distinct ethnic groups, one question that is clearly related to the general scope of the present study. These research approaches will arguably improve our knowledge on how ethnic stratification operates in the labor market. We hope that our study has provided a useful analytical and empirical framework to better understand a critical question for the ethnicity and social stratification literatures.

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Figure 1. Conceptual Framework

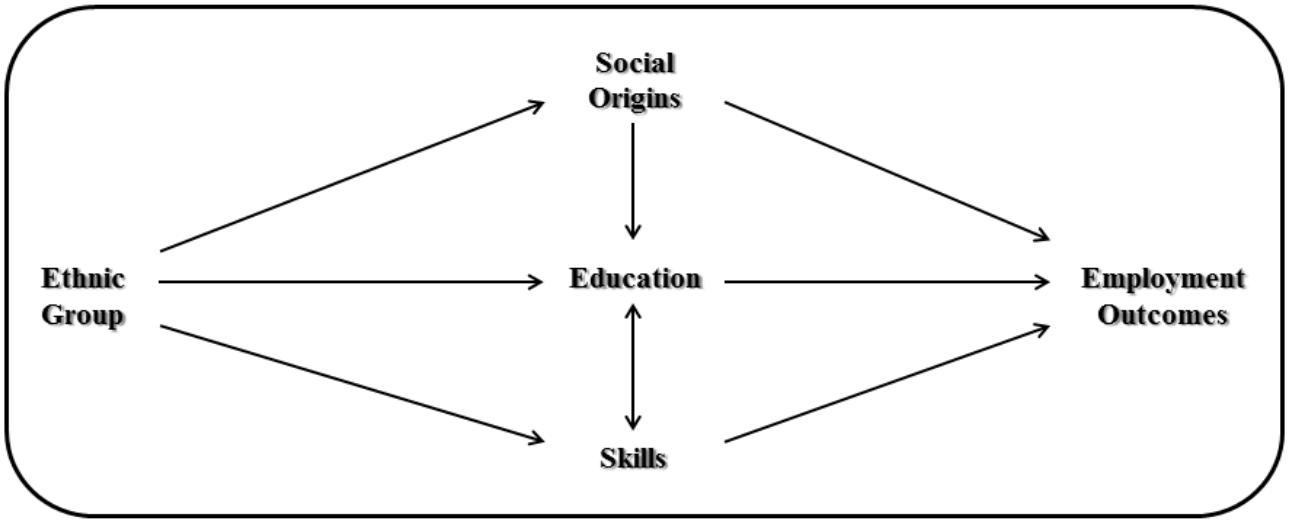


Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	Men				Women			
	All sample		Employed		All sample		Employed	
	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.	Mean	s.d.
Employment Participation	0.94	0.24	n.a.	n.a.	0.87	0.33	n.a.	n.a.
ISEI	n.a.	n.a.	49.1	16.4	n.a.	n.a.	47.38	15.4
Moroccan SGM	0.06		0.05		0.05		0.04	
Turkish SGM	0.07		0.06		0.08		0.07	
Dutch origins	0.87		0.89		0.86		0.88	
Father's Primary Unfinished	0.05		0.04		0.04		0.03	
Father's Primary Completed	0.14		0.14		0.16		0.15	
Father's Lower Secondary Vocational (vmbo)	0.33		0.34		0.29		0.30	
Father's Upper Secondary Vocational (mbo)	0.16		0.16		0.17		0.18	
Father's Upper Secondary General (havo/ vwo)	0.04		0.04		0.03		0.03	
Father's Tertiary Education (hbo / wo)	0.20		0.21		0.20		0.22	
Father's Unknown	0.08		0.07		0.10		0.09	
Mother's Primary Unfinished	0.07		0.06		0.07		0.07	
Mother's Primary Completed	0.16		0.16		0.20		0.19	
Mother's Lower Secondary Vocational (vmbo)	0.43		0.43		0.40		0.41	
Mother's Upper Secondary Vocational (mbo)	0.14		0.14		0.15		0.15	
Mother's Upper Secondary General (havo/ vwo)	0.03		0.04		0.03		0.03	
Mother's Tertiary Education (hbo / wo)	0.09		0.09		0.08		0.09	
Mother's Unknown	0.09		0.08		0.07		0.06	
Museum visit (sometimes or frequent)	0.49		0.50		0.42		0.44	
Theatre visit (sometimes or frequent)	0.31		0.32		0.31		0.33	
Classical concert (sometimes or frequent)	0.19		0.20		0.16		0.16	
Parent’s reading (sometimes or frequent)	0.67		0.68		0.64		0.65	
Primary Education	0.18		0.16		0.16		0.13	
Lower Secondary Vocational (vmbo)	0.34		0.34		0.36		0.36	
Upper Secondary General (mbo)	0.06		0.06		0.09		0.09	
Tertiary Vocational (havo/ vwo)	0.27		0.28		0.28		0.31	
Tertiary Academic (hbo / wo)	0.15		0.16		0.11		0.12	
Numeracy (low)	0.09		0.08		0.15		0.13	
Numeracy (intermediate)	0.21		0.22		0.24		0.23	
Numeracy (high)	0.69		0.70		0.61		0.64	
Language (low)	0.11		0.10		0.11		0.09	
Language (intermediate)	0.33		0.33		0.35		0.35	
Language (high)	0.56		0.58		0.54		0.57	
Age	35.21	6.39	35.33	6.37	34.94	6.39	34.90	6.39
N.	922		849		1, 109		952	

Table 2. Logistic Regressions (Odds Ratios). Men's Employment Participation

	M-1		M-2		M-3		M-4		M-5		M-6		M-7		M-8	
	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e
Ethnicity																
Moroccan Origins	.20***	.08	.24**	.12	.25**	.12	.22***	.09	.19***	.08	.21***	.09	0.24*	0.14	.18**	.11
Turkish Origins	.25**	.10	.30*	.15	.30*	.16	.25**	.10	.27**	.13	.26**	.11	0.26*	0.15	.20**	.12
Father's education																
Primary completed			1.16	.77									1.33	0.90	1.34	.95
Lower sec. Vocational (vmbo)			.98	.53									1.10	0.62	1.11	.63
Upper sec. Vocational (mbo)			1.79	1.15									1.88	1.23	1.80	1.19
Upper sec. General (havo/ vwo)			2.54	2.54									2.53	2.69	2.44	2.56
College (hbo / wo)			2.71	1.97									2.36	1.78	2.20	1.66
Unknown/Unclassified			.26*	.16									0.34	0.21	.36	.23
Mother's education																
Primary completed			2.05	1.23									1.63	0.96	1.31	.79
Lower sec. vocational (vmbo)			1.08	.57									0.80	0.44	.64	.38
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)			1.23	.88									0.85	0.57	.70	.47
Upper sec. general (havo/ vwo)			1.36	1.43									0.85	0.97	.68	.72
College (hbo / wo)			.51	.35									0.36	0.23	.30	.20
Unknown/Unclassified			1.42	.86									1.14	0.73	.98	.62
Cultural capital																
Museum visits					.74	.27							0.58	0.21	.51	.20
Theatre visits					1.04	.41							0.95	0.40	1.04	.45
Classical events					2.18	1.36							2.15	1.35	2.27	1.46
Parents' reading					1.67	.54							1.42	0.48	1.52	.53
Education																
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)							4.8***	1.82					4.28***	1.75	4.20***	1.75
Upper sec. general (havo)							1.75	.94					1.68	0.88	1.74	.86
Tertiary vocational (hbo)							3.34**	1.42					2.77*	1.12	2.69*	1.13
University (wo)							3.74*	1.95					2.70	1.74	2.87	2.00
Numeracy skills																
Medium									3.66**	1.66					3.70**	1.81
High									3.31**	1.26					2.78**	1.06
Linguistic skills																
Medium									1.09	.47					.96	.41
High									1.11	.51					.73	.35
Age											1.01	.03	1.00	0.03	.99	.03
Pseudo R^2 (n = 922)	.05		.11		.07		.10		.08		.05		0.15		0.18	

*p< 0.05, **p< 0.01, ***p< 0.001; Robust Standard Errors.

Table 3. Logistic Regressions (Odds Ratios). Women's Employment Participation

	M-1		M-2		M-3		M-4		M-5		M-6		M-7		M-8	
	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e	Odds	s.e
Ethnicity																
Moroccan Origins	.35**	.12	.48	.20	.46*	.16	.29***	.10	.56	.19	.32**	.11	.41	.19	.49	.22
Turkish Origins	.40**	.12	.55	.19	.50*	.15	.43**	.14	.73	.24	.37**	.11	.55	.21	.73	.29
Father's education																
Primary completed			1.99	1.04									2.26	1.26	2.22	1.27
Lower sec. Vocational (vmbo)			2.92*	1.50									2.96*	1.57	3.03*	1.68
Upper sec. Vocational (mbo)			3.76*	2.16									3.45*	2.07	3.39	2.12
Upper sec. General (havo/ vwo)			1.92	1.34									1.44	1.04	1.38	1.03
College (hbo / wo)			4.43*	2.59									3.38*	2.09	3.38	2.14
Unknown/Unclassified			2.16	1.24									2.52	1.56	2.71	1.73
Mother's education																
Primary completed			.66	.31									.60	.29	.63	.32
Lower sec. vocational (vmbo)			.64	.31									.56	.28	.51	.26
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)			1.20	.70									.92	.57	.97	.60
Upper sec. general (havo/ vwo)			.50	.35									.328	.24	.32	.24
College (hbo / wo)			1.61	1.19									.93	.73	.86	.68
Unknown/Unclassified			.37	.22									.38	.23	.38	.23
Cultural capital																
Museum visits					1.77*	.42							1.29	.34	1.25	.34
Theatre visits					1.45	.43							1.24	.38	1.24	.38
Classical events					.77	.25							.69	.25	.67	.24
Parents' reading					1.09	.23							.98	.22	.84	.19
Education																
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)							2.56***	.64					2.27**	.63	1.85*	.54
Upper sec. general (havo)							1.58	.58					1.36	.50	.97	.37
Tertiary vocational (hbo)							6.29***	2.08					5.12***	1.86	3.26**	1.24
University (wo)							4.81***	2.05					3.58**	1.66	1.99	.99
Numeracy skills																
Medium									1.00	.29					.88	.26
High									1.48	.42					1.19	.35
Linguistic skills																
Medium									2.25**	.65					2.21*	.67
High									4.07***	1.24					3.46***	1.16
Age											.98	.02	1.01	.02	.99	.02
Pseudo R^2 (n =1,109)	.02		.06		.04		.08		.08		.02		.10		.13	

*p< 0.05, **p< 0.01, ***p< 0.001; Robust Standard Errors.

Table 4. OLS Regressions. Men's Occupational Status (ISEI Scores)

	M-1		M-2		M-3		M-4		M-5		M-6		M-7		M-8	
	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e
Ethnicity																
Moroccan Origins	-2.71	2.51	3.51	3.14	1.82	2.64	-.88	1.83	2.07	2.11	-2.08	2.61	2.47	2.55	2.59	2.35
Turkish Origins	-7.56***	2.16	-1.76	2.54	-3.28	2.23	-5.29**	1.92	.05	2.30	-7.02**	2.25	-1.87	2.30	-0.28	2.36
Father's education																
Primary completed			-1.57	3.08									-1.46	2.53	-1.82	2.37
Lower sec. Vocational (vmbo)			.18	2.98									-0.78	2.51	-1.60	2.33
Upper sec. Vocational (mbo)			2.28	3.16									-0.74	2.65	-1.27	2.50
Upper sec. General (havo/ vwo)			7.59*	3.59									2.80	3.04	1.95	2.93
College (hbo / wo)			9.53**	3.06									0.59	2.68	-0.32	2.54
Unknown/Unclassified			1.27	3.91									0.81	3.11	0.51	2.93
Mother's education																
Primary completed			4.61	3.32									1.80	2.50	0.74	2.30
Lower sec. vocational (vmbo)			5.80	3.26									3.57	2.48	2.42	2.32
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)			9.30**	3.35									2.95	2.61	1.77	2.43
Upper sec. general (havo/ vwo)			6.81	3.99									-1.18	3.35	-2.02	3.22
College (hbo / wo)			11.43**	3.60									2.38	2.86	1.15	2.70
Unknown/Unclassified			1.29	3.91									1.45	2.99	1.15	2.82
Cultural capital																
Museum visits					4.74**	1.40							0.80	1.18	0.54	1.17
Theatre visits					3.59*	1.45							0.81	1.21	0.77	1.19
Classical events					3.57*	1.63							-0.48	1.39	-0.33	1.38
Parents' reading					1.29	1.37							1.43	1.11	1.34	1.07
Education																
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)							5.58***	1.53					4.82**	1.58	4.10**	1.54
Upper sec. general (havo)							9.60**	2.79					8.50**	2.85	7.17*	2.79
Tertiary vocational (hbo)							20.96***	1.53					19.93***	1.65	17.85***	1.75
University (wo)							29.02***	1.71					27.62***	1.89	24.91***	2.02
Numeracy skills																
Medium									-2.60	2.36					-0.51	2.15
High									5.13*	2.27					1.89	2.05
Linguistic skills																
Medium									6.58***	1.82					3.70*	1.63
High									15.27***	1.88					6.37***	1.88
Age											.11	.10	.12	.08	.05	.08
Intercept	50.01***	.65	40.59***	3.45	44.33***	1.37	36.72***	1.33	35.42***	2.00	46.31***	3.60	29.26***	4.43	28.53***	4.56
Adj. R^2 (n =849)	.01		.13		.08		.41		.18		.02		.40		.41	

*p< 0.05, **p< 0.01, ***p< 0.001

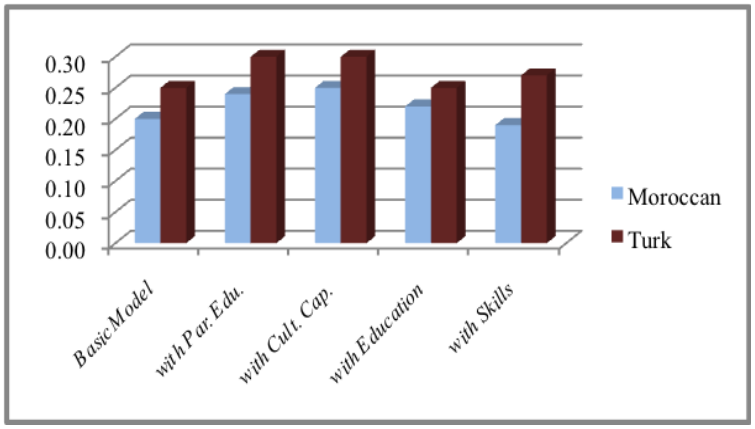
Table 5. OLS Regressions. Women's Occupational Status (ISEI Scores)

	M-1		M-2		M-3		M-4		M-5		M-6		M-7		M-8	
	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e	b	s.e
Ethnicity																
Moroccan Origins	1.76	2.10	6.61**	2.25	5.08*	2.19	1.52	2.12	4.66*	1.99	1.30	2.19	5.48*	2.40	6.07*	2.39
Turkish Origins	1.17	2.19	7.40**	2.27	4.02	2.23	4.24*	1.94	6.24**	2.29	.74	2.30	8.16***	2.21	9.24***	2.28
Father's education																
Primary completed			-1.65	3.79									-1.52	3.03	-1.94	2.94
Lower sec. Vocational (vmbo)			.16	3.60									0.28	2.91	-0.07	2.82
Upper sec. Vocational (mbo)			4.66	3.72									3.35	3.05	2.95	3.00
Upper sec. General (havo/ vwo)			4.53	4.91									-0.66	4.22	-1.05	4.19
College (hbo / wo)			7.59*	3.84									1.67	3.16	1.35	3.08
Unknown/Unclassified			.99	3.94									1.54	3.22	1.53	3.14
Mother's education																
Primary completed			2.33	3.31									2.48	2.59	2.93	2.54
Lower sec. vocational (vmbo)			5.96	3.20									4.79	2.53	4.84	2.49
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)			5.78	3.46									2.49	2.86	3.07	2.80
Upper sec. general (havo/ vwo)			9.48*	4.65									3.72	3.86	3.89	3.90
College (hbo / wo)			9.28*	3.68									2.04	3.03	2.17	2.98
Unknown/Unclassified			.12	3.70									-0.60	3.96	-0.40	3.02
Cultural capital																
Museum visits					3.75**	1.25							0.93	1.11	0.88	1.11
Theatre visits					3.37*	1.32							1.82	1.18	1.79	1.18
Classical events					5.74***	1.64							2.95*	1.45	2.93*	1.47
Parents' reading					.71	1.18							-0.45	1.06	-0.70	1.05
Education																
Upper sec. vocational (mbo)							4.82**	1.63					3.61*	1.63	2.91	1.68
Upper sec. general (havo)							10.74***	1.99					8.88***	1.97	7.62***	2.05
Tertiary vocational (hbo)							17.49***	1.65					15.63***	1.73	14.19***	1.86
University (wo)							25.29***	1.96					22.67***	2.03	20.73***	2.17
Numeracy skills																
Medium									1.76	1.95					0.46	1.80
High									6.06**	1.79					1.91	1.71
Linguistic skills																
Medium									4.19	2.50					1.82	2.15
High									9.93***	2.49					3.13	2.13
Age											-.08	.09	.06	.08	.03	.08
Intercept	48.05***	.61	39.59***	3.08	43.30***	1.10	36.44***	1.37	36.13***	3.13	51.01***	3.40	30.08***	4.43	28.63***	4.92
Adj. R^2 (n =952)	.01		.10		.08		.27		.09		.01		.31		.31	

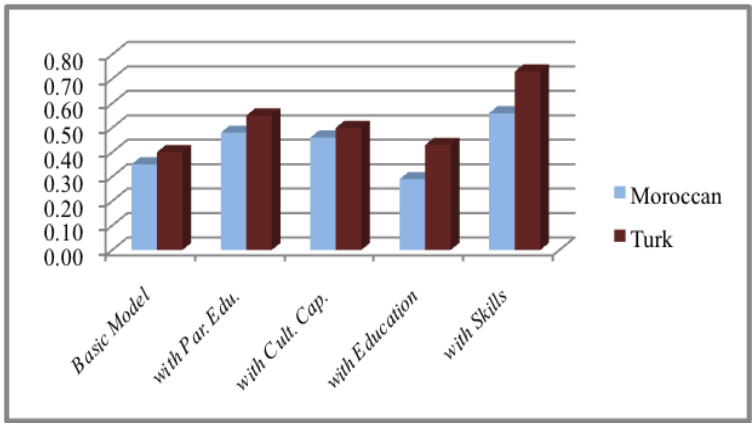
*p< 0.05, **p< 0.01, ***p< 0.001

Figure 2. Ethnic Background Effects Conditional on Selected Independent Variables

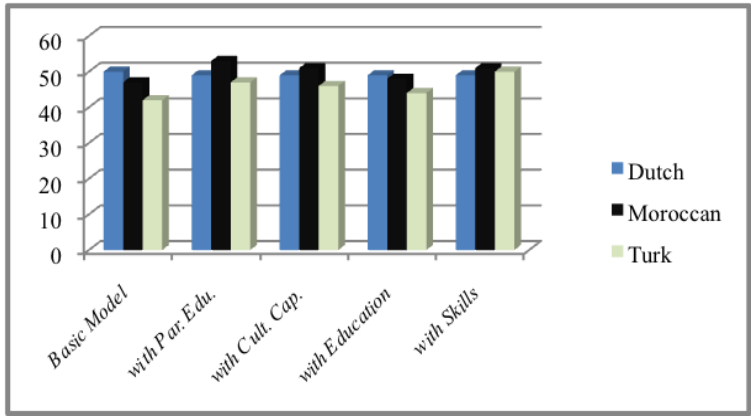
Odds Ratios. Men's Employment Participation (1)



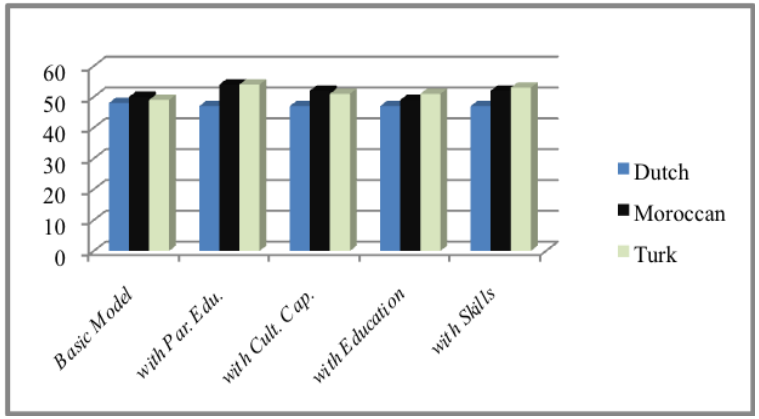
Odds Ratios. Women's Employment Participation (2)



Predicted Values. Men's Occupational Status (ISEI) (3)



Predicted Values. Women's Occupational Status (ISEI) (4)



1. Graphical version of Models 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 of Table 2.
3. Predicted Values of Models 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 in Table 4.

2. Graphical version of Models 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 of Table 3.
4. Predicted Values of Models 1, 2, 3, 4, & 5 in Table 5.

Appendices. A.

Table A1. Matrix of Bivariate Correlations. Men

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Moroccan SGM	1																			
2. Turkish SGM	n.a.	1																		
3. Dutch origins	n.a.	n.a.	1																	
4. Father's Primary Unfinished	**0.43**	**0.17**	**-0.43**	1																
5. Father's Tertiary	**-0.09**	**-0.13**	**0.16**	**-0.12**	1															
6.Mother's Primary Unfinished	**0.41**	**0.31**	**-0.53**	**0.58**	**-0.12**	1														
7. Mother's Tertiary	-0.06	-0.05	0.08	-0.05	**0.33**	**-0.09**	1													
8. Museum visit	**-0.19**	**-0.21**	**0.29**	**-0.18**	**0.31**	**-0.21**	**0.2**	1												
9. Theatre visit	**-0.14**	**-0.10**	**0.17**	**-0.10**	**0.28**	**-0.15**	**0.19**	**0.43**	1											
10. Classical concert visit	**-0.11**	**-0.10**	**0.15**	**-0.09**	**0.33**	**-0.14**	**0.24**	**0.39**	**0.45**	1										
11. Parent's reading	**-0.22**	**-0.23**	**0.33**	**-0.19**	**0.19**	**-0.30**	**0.12**	**0.24**	**0.19**	**0.19**	1									
12. Primary Education	0.04	0.02	-0.05	0.07	**-0.22**	**0.10**	**-0.12**	**-0.26**	**-0.18**	**-0.16**	**-0.18**	1								
13. University	-0.05	-0.06	0.08	-0.04	**0.28**	-0.06	**0.18**	**0.20**	**0.21**	**0.26**	**0.09**	**-0.20**	1							
14. Numeracy *(low)*	0.00	0.06	-0.04	0.06	-0.07	**0.10**	-0.03	**-0.10**	-0.06	-0.03	-0.03	**0.17**	-0.08	1						
15. Numeracy *(intermediate)*	0.03	0.04	-0.05	0.05	**-0.13**	0.07	-0.06	**-0.09**	-0.06	-0.08	-0.05	**0.13**	**-0.18**	n.a.	1					
16. Numeracy *(high)*	-0.02	-0.07	0.07	-0.08	**0.16**	**-0.12**	0.07	**0.14**	**0.09**	**0.09**	0.06	**-0.22**	**0.21**	n.a.	n.a.	1				
17. Language *(low)*	**0.15**	**0.26**	**-0.31**	**0.19**	**-0.14**	**0.23**	**-0.09**	**-0.19**	**-0.12**	-0.08	**-0.15**	**0.23**	**-0.13**	**0.25**	0.06	**-0.21**	1			
18. Language *(intermediate)*	0.07	0.05	**-0.09**	0.04	**-0.12**	0.06	**-0.11**	**-0.17**	**-0.14**	**-0.16**	**-0.11**	**0.14**	**-0.21**	0.07	**0.14**	**-0.16**	n.a.	1		
19. Language *(high)*	**-0.16**	**-0.21**	**0.27**	**-0.15**	**0.21**	**-0.20**	**0.16**	**0.28**	**0.20**	**0.20**	**0.19**	**-0.27**	**0.28**	**-0.22**	**-0.17**	**0.29**	n.a.	n.a.	1	
20. Age	**-0.22**	**-0.18**	**0.29**	**-0.13**	-0.02	**-0.10**	-0.08	0.08	-0.01	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.02	-0.08	-0.02	0.07	**-0.16**	**-0.13**	**0.22**	1

Note: Correlations highlighted correspond to those at a significance level of $p < 0.01$.

Table A2. Matrix of Bivariate Correlations. Women

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
1. Moroccan SGM	1																			
2. Turkish SGM	n.a.	1																		
3. Dutch origins	n.a.	n.a.	1																	
4. Father's Primary Unfinished	**0.35**	**0.15**	**-0.35**	1																
5. Father's Tertiary	**-0.09**	**-0.12**	**0.15**	**-0.11**	1															
6.Mother's Primary Unfinished	**0.42**	**0.24**	**-0.47**	**0.56**	**-0.12**	1														
7. Mother's Tertiary	-0.02	-0.08	0.08	-0.06	**0.38**	**-0.08**	1													
8. Museum visit	**-0.16**	**-0.15**	**0.22**	**-0.15**	**0.33**	**-0.19**	**0.22**	1												
9. Theatre visit	**-0.10**	**-0.13**	**0.17**	**-0.11**	**0.28**	**-0.14**	**0.15**	**0.4**	1											
10. Classical concert visit	**-0.08**	**-0.09**	**0.13**	**-0.08**	**0.31**	**-0.10**	**0.23**	**0.36**	**0.4**	1										
11. Parent's reading	**-0.19**	**-0.16**	**0.26**	**-0.15**	**0.13**	**-0.19**	**0.10**	**0.23**	**0.21**	**0.16**	1									
12. Primary Education	-0.04	0.01	0.01	0.03	**-0.18**	0.05	**-0.11**	**-0.22**	**-0.16**	**-0.13**	**-0.09**	1								
13. University	-0.06	-0.03	0.07	-0.06	**0.26**	-0.05	**0.17**	**0.17**	**0.15**	**0.24**	**0.08**	**-0.16**	1							
14. Numeracy *(low)*	0.06	**0.10**	**-0.12**	**0.09**	**-0.09**	0.04	-0.05	**-0.12**	**-0.10**	**-0.11**	**-0.10**	**0.25**	**-0.12**	1						
15. Numeracy *(intermediate)*	**0.10**	0.04	**-0.09**	0.05	**-0.09**	0.03	-0.07	-0.05	-0.01	-0.04	-0.03	0.06	**-0.11**	n.a.	1					
16. Numeracy *(high)*	**-0.13**	**-0.10**	**0.17**	**-0.11**	**0.14**	-0.06	**0.10**	**0.13**	**0.09**	**0.11**	**0.10**	**-0.23**	**0.18**	n.a.	n.a.	1				
17. Language *(low)*	**0.16**	**0.31**	**-0.36**	**0.14**	**-0.09**	**0.17**	**-0.08**	**-0.17**	**-0.12**	**-0.11**	**-0.23**	**0.18**	**-0.12**	**0.22**	0.07	**-0.23**	1			
18. Language *(intermediate)*	0.00	0.01	-0.01	0.01	**-0.15**	0.01	**-0.12**	**-0.09**	**-0.09**	**-0.12**	0.01	**0.13**	**-0.16**	**0.13**	0.07	**-0.16**	n.a.	1		
19. Language *(high)*	**-0.10**	**-0.21**	**0.23**	**-0.09**	**0.2**	**-0.12**	**0.17**	**0.19**	**0.16**	**0.19**	**0.14**	**-0.24**	**0.24**	**-0.27**	**-0.11**	**0.29**	n.a.	n.a.	1	
20. Age	**-0.22**	**-0.25**	**0.35**	-0.06	-0.05	**-0.10**	**-0.08**	0.00	-0.07	0.05	0.05	**0.17**	0.00	-0.02	0.00	0.02	**-0.19**	**-0.10**	**0.22**	1

Note: Correlations highlighted correspond to those at a significance level of $p < 0.01$.

Table A3. Definition of Skills Measures

(1) Linguistic proficiency (in Dutch language):

After every word, there are five options given. Select the definition that best fits the word.

1. Well-off *Welgesteld*	a. strong *sterk*	b. rich *rijk*	c. satisfied *tevreden*	d. together *samen*	e. pauper *armlastig*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
2. Pure* *Zuiver*	a. milk *melk*	b. cloudy *troebel*	c. stingy *gierig*	d. pure *puur*	e. strange *vreemd*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
3. Industry *Vlijt*	a. arm *arm*	b. strong *sterk*	c. zeal *ijver*	d. rich *rijk*	e. tired *vermoeid*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
4. Barely *Amper*	a. flow *stroom*	b. medicine *geneesmiddel*	c. fruit *vrucht*	d. hardly *nauwelijks*	e. neatly *Netjes*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
5. Scanty* *Karig*	a. narrow *small*	b. bald *kaal*	c. cold *koud*	d. thin *dun*	e. economical *zuinig*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
6. Tiny *Miniem*	a. subtract *aftrekken*	b. loss *verlies*	c. difference *verschil*	d. mimicry *mimiek*	e. insignificant *onbeduidend*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
7. Abruptly *Abrupt*	a. heavy *zwaar*	b. separately *apart*	c. suddenly *plotseling*	d. vain *vergeefs*	e. insufficient *onvoldoende*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
8. Famous *Fameus*	a. famous *beroemd*	b. worthy *waardig*	c. known *bekend*	d. nice *aardig*	e. polite *beleefd*	f. Do not know *weet niet*
9. Bombast *Bombast*	a. disguise *vermomming*	b. peel *schil*	c. garnet *granaat*	d. pomposity *gezwollenheid*	e. tree species *boomsort*	f. Do not know *weet niet*

Note: (*) these are in principle the most difficult questions.

Low level = 0-3 correct answers; *Intermediate level* = 4-6 correct answers; *High level* = 7-9 correct answers.

(2) Numeracy skills:

We present to you five numbers in a sequence. What number follows the sequence logically?

1. Series: 0, 1, 3, 6, 10,?	a. 16	b. 15	c. 12	d. 6	e. do not know
2. Series: 1, 1, 2, 3, 5,?	a. 8	b. 7	c. 10	d. 3	e. do not know
3. Series: 21, 20, 18, 15, 11,?	a. 26	b. 17	c. 8	d. 6	e. do not know
4. Series: 1109, 1116, 1123,?	a. 1130	b. 1131	c. 1128	d. 2134	e. do not know
5. Series: 128, 64, 32,?	a. 22	b. 16	c. 8	d. 64	e. do not know

Low level = 0-1 correct answers; *Intermediate level* = 2-3 correct answers; *High level* = 4-5 correct answers.