

# Strategies in Discrimination

The influence of social identity on coping with and reporting of discrimination amongst Dutch Moroccan men and women on the labour market

**Yvette Engbers (4074734)**  
**Master thesis Human Geography**  
**International Migration, Globalization and**  
**Development**  
**Thesis supervisor: Dr. Pascal Beckers**  
**Ieder1Gelijk supervisor: Mr. Ralph Sluijs**  
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## **Preface**

In front of you lies my thesis, 'Strategies in Discrimination'. In this qualitative research, the relation between social identity and coping strategy is examined and to what extent these factors influence the decision (not) to file a complaint. In order to clarify the extent of the role that discrimination plays in an increasingly cultural diversified Dutch labour market, it is necessary to report confrontations with discrimination. Previous research has indicated that people in most cases chose not to report discrimination which makes it difficult to examine the extent of discrimination, its societal consequences and how people deal with it. Furthermore, current societal developments increase the importance of participating in society and being self-reliant.

This research was conducted by me, Yvette Engbers, as part of my master's curriculum and is written for the master Migration, Globalisation and Development, specialisation of the master Human Geography, at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. Firstly, I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Pascal Beckers, for his time, constructive comments and making sure I would not get lost in everything I wanted to examine. In addition, this thesis was partly on behalf of Ieder1Gelijk, Bureau for Equal Treatment in the region of Gelderland south. I would like to thank my supervisor at Ieder1Gelijk, Ralph Sluijs, for giving me a chance and offering new insights at times it was needed. In addition, I would like to thank everybody in the Ieder1Gelijk office for thinking along with me in order to help me find respondents and keeping my mind sharp. I would also like to thank all respondents who were kind enough to invite me to their homes and were willing to open up to me and share their experiences.

Finally, I would like to express special thanks to my sister Carola, who I recruited several times to learn from her insights. Somehow, she always made it possible to find time for me in her busy schedule. I would like to thank Jeroen for helping me practise my interviews, thinking along and staying patient with me whenever I got lost in theories and analyses. Lastly, I would like to thank my parents for their trust and support throughout my entire studies.

## Summary

The following thesis concerns the applied coping strategies of Dutch Moroccans when confronted with discrimination on the labour market and how this relates to social identity and report behaviour (filing a complaint). The research was focused on Dutch Moroccans of the second generation since previous research has shown that, Moroccans suffer most from prejudice in Dutch society and because unemployment is considerably high amongst youth. Discrimination still acts as a significant impediment on the labour market but it is unclear to what extent, since the number of reports of discrimination is low. This research was conducted in order to see what motivates people (not) to report experiences with discrimination and how this affects their lives. With a better understanding of the extent and consequences of this societal issue, institutions like *Ieder1Gelijk* are better able to address this issue. In addition, this research focused on possible gender differences since 97% of Moroccans in the Netherlands claim to be Muslim and Islamic religion is known for gender distinctions.

In order to examine the relation between social identity, coping strategies and report behaviour, a qualitative research was conducted. Interviews were conducted in order to find how respondents deal with discrimination, how it affects them and what motivates them. These interviews were conducted in a, for the respondent, comfortable environment. Former research pointed out that masculinity still plays an important role in Moroccan culture, causing shame when speaking of rejections, especially for men. In addition, men are more than women obligated in attendance at the Mosque resulting in a strong religious tie. This would lead to a more emotive-based strategy and less report behaviour among men. Furthermore, education was expected to play an important role in predicting report behaviour since higher education is often accompanied with a better understanding of societal and juridical rights.

Islam demonstrated to play a significant role in the decision making process and the way people chose to cope with discriminating experiences. The respondents indicated that they approached situations and made decisions firstly from an Islamic viewpoint. However, both men and women showed a considerably strong connection to Islam which therefore indicated no direct gender differences. Men showed as much as women to talk and express frustration within their social network. Interestingly, all respondents showed several coping strategies while dealing with a single discrimination experience. Overall, the respondents did not seem to lose motivation to keep searching for work, regardless of the frequency of rejections that were possibly caused by discrimination. Education came forward in this research as an important factor. Higher educated respondents involved in this research, demonstrated greater awareness of the societal interest of reporting. Additional research is necessary in order to understand how education influences report behaviour.

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# 1. Research description

## 1.1 Introduction

The work floor is a place where one can meet people from different ethnicities and it enables interaction between people with different cultural backgrounds. Expectations are shaped by the significant role of work within society and by the perception of who has access to labour and why (World Bank, 2013). Having a job in the Netherlands can thus function as a basis to get into contact with Dutch values. Job opportunities are however counteracted by the difficulties that migrants encounter in pursuing a job within the Netherlands. In relative terms, the number of migrants that have been successful in finding a job has not increased in the past decennium compared to autochthonous Dutch citizens. Migrants on the Dutch labour market suffer from a persistent and increasing disadvantage. In 2011, 4% of the autochthonous Dutch citizens were out of work while 13% of the migrant population were out of work. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP) (2012b) argue that the disadvantage of non-western migrants has also manifested itself within the second generation of migrants with an increasing number of unemployed youth and more flexible working contracts causing 29% of non-western migrant youth to be unemployed in 2012. These high unemployment numbers indicate difficulties with non-western migrant groups within job application procedures.

Migrants of Moroccan descent are part of one of the biggest non-western migrant groups in the Netherlands. Dutch Moroccans face considerable challenges pursuing a job. Employers mostly hold negative associations with Moroccan migrants since they are often associated with criminality and disloyalty (SCP, 2010). The SCP (2012b) indicated that unemployment numbers under 15 to 24 year old Moroccan men and women are highest and cause most problems. Furthermore, the most recent report on integration (SCP, 2014) shows that of the four biggest immigration groups, Dutch Moroccan girls work least in full time jobs and are the biggest group to drop out of education (prematurely). Since almost the entire population of Moroccans living in the Netherlands state to be Muslim (97%) it is of interest to be aware of possible differences between men and women since gender appears to create a virtual second culture within the Islamic culture, where gender effects may be especially large. In addition, stereotypes may contribute significantly to differential experiences of racial and ethnic discrimination for boys and girls (Green, Way & Pahl, 2006, p. 219)

The SCP (2012a) concluded again in 2012 that discrimination against Moroccans that is caused by negative associations, influence the disadvantaged position of non-western migrants on the Dutch labour market. Despite this conclusion, it remains a difficult phenomenon since discrimination is difficult to measure. Certain experiences might be perceived as discrimination while it is not in juridical terms and the other way around. How people subsequently deal with these experiences varies therefore. Scholars like Sellers and Shelton (2003) have focused on the role that one's ethnic identity plays in coping with these kinds of experiences. They describe people that are vigilant on being discriminated based on ethnic grounds and people that are less consciously focused on discriminating behaviour.

Partly, this has to do with to what extent an individual identifies him or herself with the ethnic group. The stronger this identification, the more sensitive they seem to be for stigmatization (Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1080). The way people believe they ought to behave within the group they belong to, help to determine how they psychologically respond to perceived ethnic discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1090). Consequences for those affected by discrimination are thus difficult to grasp. This holds especially true for the Moroccan society in the Netherlands since research has pointed out that they suffer most from prejudice and unemployment (SCP, 2012a).

What makes discrimination and its causes and consequences additionally difficult to measure is that just a small part of non-western migrants that are confronted with ethnic discrimination report their experiences. Reports of experiences with discrimination at organizations like Ieder1Gelijk (Bureau for Equal Treatment Gelderland South) can help fight discrimination and its negative outcomes. By means of collecting and registering reports of discrimination, Ieder1Gelijk is able to get a clearer picture of the developments around discrimination and racism. Ieder1Gelijk herewith contributes to measuring discrimination, which is a phenomenon that is often difficult to identify, causing problems to measure it and to conceptualize it in both societal and scientific sense (Pager & Shepherd, 2008). Several surveys however have pointed out that most people do not know these institutions exist or think reporting does not help (Coenders, Kik, Schaap, Silversmith & Schriemer, 2012). It is however not clear *why*. This research tries to clarify and put forward the more subtle differences among Dutch Moroccans, which are in the Dutch politics and media often considered and/or framed as a homogeneous community. In order for the Dutch Moroccans to reach out to Ieder1Gelijk, communication between Ieder1Gelijk and the Dutch Moroccans living in Gelderland South need to be enhanced.



## **1.2 Research goals and questions**

The following research looks into how Dutch Moroccan men and women in the region Gelderland South cope with ethnic discrimination in the job application procedure and how this relates to report behaviour and social identity. This research is focused on Gelderland South since this is the working area of Ieder1Gelijk. Since most problems stem from unemployment among youth, this research is focused on Moroccan migrants of the second generation. Citizens that are born in the Netherlands are considered migrants of the second generation if at least one of the parents was born outside of the Netherlands. The following research goal and research question have been formulated based on the previous outline of the current position of Dutch Moroccans within the Dutch labour market, considering the role that discrimination and social identity play in this context and the consequences it might involve. The aim of this study is:

*Gain insight by means of in-depth interviews in possible differences between Dutch Moroccan men and women in the region Gelderland South in how they cope with ethnic discrimination in the job application procedure and how this relates to report behaviour and social identity, in order to advice Ieder1Gelijk for future communication with Dutch Moroccan men and women.*

The following research question was formulated:

*What strategies are adopted by Dutch Moroccan men and women in coping with ethnic and/or religious discrimination during the job application procedure in the region Gelderland South and how does this relate to report behaviour and social identity?*

The following sub questions were formulated:

- 1. What labour market position do Dutch Moroccan men and women hold in Gelderland South and to what extent do they experience discrimination?*
- 2. What aspects of the social cultural background play a significant role in the social identity of Moroccan men and women in Gelderland South?*
- 3. What strategies can be identified in coping with ethnic or religious discrimination in the job application procedure amongst Dutch Moroccan men and women in this region?*
- 4. What are Dutch Moroccan men and women's motives (not) to report experiences with ethnic or religious discrimination in the job application procedure in this region with institutions like Ieder1Gelijk?*
- 5. How can Ieder1Gelijk be advised in order to enhance its communication with Dutch Moroccan men and women in the future in this region?*

This research has been conducted for my master thesis in Human Geography at the Radboud University Nijmegen and Ieder1Gelijk, Bureau for Equal Treatment for the region Gelderland South. Figure 1 provides an overview of the municipalities within this region.



Figure 1: Working area of Ieder1Gelijk (submitted of Ieder1Gelijk.nl)

### **1.3 Societal and scientific contribution**

This research will be conducted for my master thesis in Human Geography at the Radboud University Nijmegen and Ieder1Gelijk (Bureau for Equal Treatment for the region Gelderland South). As stated in the introduction, Ieder1Gelijk is able to get a clearer picture of the developments around discrimination and racism by means of collecting and registering reports of discrimination. Since Ieder1Gelijk is able to increase its societal influence when more people report experiences with discrimination, it is important that as many people report those experiences. Even though most reports concern unequal treatment based on ethnicity, only a small part of non-western migrants actually report these kinds of experiences, while more than half of all Dutch Moroccan citizens state to have been confronted with discrimination (Ieder1Gelijk annual report, 2013). The expectation of this research is to gain more insight in motivations (not) to report ethnic or religious discrimination among Dutch Moroccan youth by means of conducting qualitative research. In the following chapters it will come to the fore that discrimination affects motivations and aspirations, which can interfere with finding a job (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002, p. 629). Extensive knowledge on motivations not to report experiences is currently missing. Gaining knowledge on the *why* on this matter would enable Ieder1Gelijk to proactively act upon how Dutch Moroccan men and women in this region cope with discrimination and how current assistance offered by Ieder1Gelijk might differ from desired assistance. By focusing on these coping processes and how this relates to why they (not) choose to report, we are able to gain a more comprehensive view of what motivates them and possibly how to act on this by Ieder1Gelijk.

In most societies across the world, having a job functions as a fundamental source of self-esteem and social identity. In the World Development Report (World Bank, 2013), it is argued that having a job provides people with a network in which they are connected to people with different backgrounds within society. The workplace is therefore a place where

one has a chance to meet people with different ethnicities and there can be an exchange of cultural practices and perspectives between cultures. Expectations and aspirations for the future are shaped based on the significant role of work within society and by the perception on whom have access to the labour market and why. Simultaneously, this shapes the feeling of contribution to society which influences someone's sense of justice. Societies flourish by the potential of the labour market: bringing together of people with different ethnicities and social backgrounds. This feeds a certain feeling of possibilities since having a job does not only influence the workforce but also the people around them through norms and values acquired in the workplace (World Bank, 2013). Work therefore influences how different groups live together side by side and how conflicts are managed within a certain society. The universal significance of having a job is then confronted with national and local challenges in the face of integration since this is a highly debated concept with different associations and expectations across the world. Even though the number of migrants that has been successful in finding a job in the Netherlands has increased the past decennia, it has not increased in relative sense compared to the native Dutch population. Next to ethnic and religious discrimination, play educative disadvantage and lower appreciation of educations acquired outside the Netherland a crucial role. This has to do with prejudice and ambiguities concerning a considerable number of degrees (De Koning, Gravesteijn-Ligthelm & Tanis, 2008).

Acting upon discrimination differs between individuals. More details on these motivations are necessary to specify the process of coping with discrimination and to identify the factors leading to different choices and actions (Kuo, 1995, p. 111). This research tries to clarify and put forward the more subtle differences among Dutch Moroccans. These details provide us with a better insight in how social-cultural backgrounds relate to strategies and report behaviour. Noh, Beiser, Kaspar, Hou & Rummens (1999) share this view and explain that the literature falls short in explaining the sources of individual variability in response to this stressor. Conner-Smith, Compas, Wadsworth, Harding Thomsen & Saltzman (2000) agree to this by stating the importance of considering stressors individually, based on their research results. The efficacy of coping responses may differ across stressors, resulting in no response being helpful or maladaptive in all situations (Conner-Smith et al., 2000, p. 986). The combination of both a study on these individual differences on coping strategies and on why people choose not to seek for help of Ieder1Gelijk, provides more insight in individual factors that influence this decision. This research therefore combines factors that have been proven to be of significance in previous studies and by having a qualitative character, leaves room for individual perceptions. By gaining more knowledge on the different interpretations that Dutch Moroccans have on the relation between coping strategies, social identity and report behaviour, we will gain a better understanding on the complexity of these matters. It is necessary to extract these different individual opinions in order to learn more about the different relations. In addition, religion developed along with the generations and is now developing in a more individualistic society in respect of which

can be argued that it needs a more individualistic focus (Roy, in Social and Cultural Plan Bureau, 2012c, p. 35).

#### **1.4 Content overview**

In the upcoming second chapter you can find a critical review of the significant literature regarding the research subject. The second chapter includes an elaboration on the aspects of coping strategy, social identity, report behaviour and gender and will go further into the expected and previously found underlying relations. Based on the formulated expectations as derived from the literary framework, the research expectations are formulated.

The third chapter covers the methodological section of this research. In this chapter, the decisions made regarding the methodology and the data analysis are discussed. The choice for conducting in-depth interviews is explained and how the transcriptions of these interviews are analysed. Furthermore, this section will explain how the different sub questions will be answered throughout the thesis.

The fourth chapter discusses by means of a document analysis Dutch perspectives on integration of migrants and the position that Dutch Moroccans hold within Dutch society. Secondly, it will describe the context of the Dutch labour market and the position of Dutch Moroccans on the labour market, now and in the past decennium. Furthermore, we will look into the position of Dutch Moroccans on the labour market in the region Gelderland South and provide an overview of the extent of discrimination in a regional context. This chapter provides an answer to the first sub question.

The fifth chapter concerns the analysis and results of the interviews. This chapter will discuss the significant dimensions of social identity, coping strategies and report behaviour separately. Next to these dimensions, it will elaborate on the role gender plays throughout the interviews. This chapter provides an analysis of the relations between the different aspects that have been distinguished. In addition, there will be a critical analysis of the findings and the expected findings based on the literature. The fifth chapter will provide an answer to the second up to fourth sub questions that cover the distinguished dimensions.

The sixth and final chapter concerns a conclusion of this research. You can find an elaboration on the sub questions, followed by an answer to the research question. Furthermore, it will provide advice concerning *ieder1Gelijk* in order to enhance communication with Dutch Moroccans in the region Gelderland South. Lastly, it will discuss the shortcomings and factors that have played a role and are necessary to mention and take into account. Finally, it will discuss the scientific and societal contribution of this research, the research limitations and suggestions for future research.

## 2. Theoretical framework

The following chapter will discuss relevant theories on discrimination, gender and the dimensions of social identity, coping strategy and report behaviour. The different relations between the dimensions as discussed in this research result in a considerable complex structure. The conceptual model is therefore presented in the beginning of this chapter. The paragraphs are structured and elaborated on according to figure 2.1. Discrimination is a complex phenomenon and can be differently interpreted by individuals. Varying dimensions influence how people cope with discrimination and why they ultimately decide (not) to report discrimination. By means of looking at how social identity influence coping strategy and report behaviour, this research examines what motivates people to make certain decisions. Since this research cannot take into account all different dimensions, the most relevant dimensions and their interrelations are discussed, as presented in the literature. The numbers in figure 2.1 refer to the associated paragraphs.

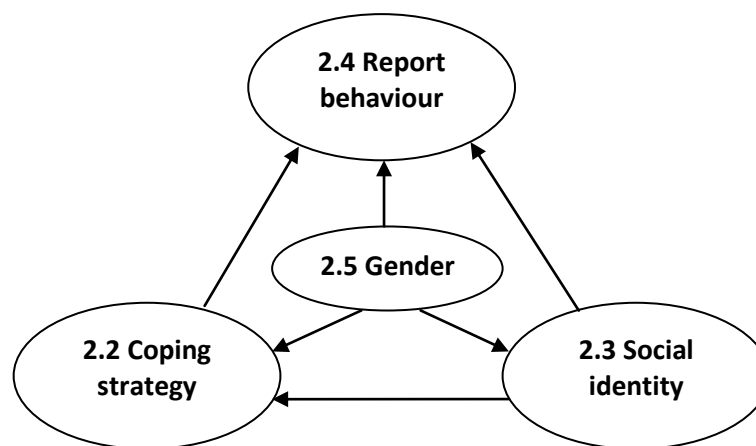


Figure 2.1: Conceptual model of this research. The following dimensions will be examined in this thesis.

First, discrimination and different views concerning the concept of discrimination will be critically discussed. An elaboration will follow on the dimensions of coping strategy, social identity and report behaviour. Finally, (expectations of) the interrelations of these dimensions are discussed.

### 2.1 Discrimination

Discrimination in Article 1 of the Dutch constitution is described as follows:

*'All people living in the Netherlands are in equal cases equally treated. Discrimination based on religion, beliefs, political preferences, race, gender or any other ground is not permitted'* (Article 1 Constitution)

Pager and Shepherd (2008, p. 2) from the University of Princeton describe in their literary study on the sociology of discrimination that one of the more simple definitions of ethnic discrimination explains that it is a phenomenon that refers to unequal treatment of a person

of a group based on race or ethnicity. Racial discrimination is however a concept that can be explained in different ways and conceals different types. Karlsen and Nazroo (2002) explain that depending on how discrimination is expressed, by and towards whom, it varies in shape. Discrimination can occur in all aspects of life and it basically can be divided into two main but not excluding types. First of all, we can speak of *interpersonal discrimination*, which includes discriminating interactions between individuals. Authors like Chakraborty and McKenzie (2002) distinguish interpersonal discrimination from *direct attacks*; unlike Karlsen and Nazroo (2002). These kind of 'attacks' are confrontations like harassing someone on the street. Chakraborty and McKenzie (2002) remain unclear however on what they do consider interpersonal discrimination in their article on the relation between racial discrimination and mental illness. Utsey, Ponterotto, Reynolds and Cancelli (2000) are clear on this point and consistent with Karlsen and Nazroo (2002). They define *individual racism* as the experience of racial discrimination on a personal level. According to Utsey et al. (2000) we can speak of individual racism if, for example, a security guard targets an African American and follows this individual because of safety threats. To what extent we can consider this as a 'direct' attack remains difficult to determine, there is however no 'third party' involved. The second type that can be distinguished is *institutional discrimination*, which includes discriminating policy or discriminating practices that are embedded in organizational structures (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002). The organizational structure is thus propagating unequal treatment. In that case, there is a preference concerning a certain group within the policy resulting in individuals still being disadvantaged based on their ethnicity (Pager & Shepherd, 2009).

Utsey et al. (2000) add a third kind of discrimination to the previous two. According to Utsey et al. (2000), *cultural discrimination* occurs when cultural practices of a certain dominant group within society and its institutions are generally considered superior to other cultural practices. When we look back at the explanation that Karlsen and Nazroo (2002) provided on institutional discrimination, we can argue that cultural discrimination and institutional discrimination are considerably overlapping concepts since institutions are always shaped and build within a certain culture and are consequently not independent of cultural influences. In the case of cultural discrimination, discriminating behaviour can be considered more indirect, since people are judged based on practices that are considered to be part of a certain race or ethnic group.

It is argued that experiences with interpersonal discrimination relate to health. Multiple studies within the US show that interpersonal discrimination relates directly to a higher blood pressure, increasing stress levels, depression and a lower valuation of one's own health (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002, p. 624). This is argued by additional scholars, like Sellers and Shelton (2003) and Noh et al. (1999). This emphasizes the necessity to study the causes and consequences of (racial) discrimination. However, these arguments are not supported by scholars like Chakraborty and McKenzie (2002) who argue that there has been little rigorous scientific work to support research that link racial discrimination to mental illness in the UK. In addition, they state that there are no longitudinal studies that support findings of an association between perceived racial discrimination and depression in ethnic

minority groups. Considering that these conflicting findings were conducted in different societal contexts (namely the US and the UK), already shows the significance of the specific contexts in which discrimination occurs, which will be elaborated on in the upcoming section. Even though we might argue that the situation in the Netherlands is more comparable to that in the UK than to that in the US, Chakraborty and McKenzie (2002) do not deny the serious and negative consequences of racial discrimination. Considering the extensive amount of research on health implications caused by racial discrimination, it is safe to argue that consequences of discrimination can be poignant. To what extent someone suffers mentally from discrimination is for a great deal dependent of how somebody copes with discrimination. This research will not look extensively into possible mental consequences of perceived discrimination. Though, it will elaborate on coping with discrimination in the upcoming sections, which depends on varying factors and is related to mental health.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a legal theory which is designed to uncover how race and racism operates in law and in society (Parker & Lynn, 2002, p. 7). Several CRT pioneers like Derrick Bell (1988) argue that racism is an endemic part of American life and it can and should therefore not be viewed as acts of individual prejudice that can simply be eradicated. This might even put into question whether we can even speak of *interpersonal discrimination* as a separate type. It might be seen as a product or result of *cultural discrimination*. Racism is thus deeply ingrained through historical consciousness and ideological choices about race. The US legal system and the way people think about the law, racial categories and privilege has been directly shaped by racism through the centuries (Parker & Lynn, 2002, p. 7). This shows the difficulties in the division between the different types of discrimination since it can be deeply rooted in society. The Netherlands know a different history than that of the US but shares simultaneously significant historical times since it knows a great colonial history. Despite the type of nature, this research deals with perceived discrimination. As came forward in the first chapter, perceived discrimination is difficult to measure. In particular, because not everybody reports their experiences. Measuring perceived racism is complicated by its possible overlap with paranoid ideation and an external locus of control (Parker & Lynn, 2002). However, even if people can be considered paranoid, in their experience they are still dealing with discrimination and they somehow need to cope with that. Since people can be rejected for jobs for various reasons and in various manners (telephone/email/letter), the expectation is that participants within this research have possibly dealt with varying types of discrimination. In addition, it might not always be possible to precisely define what kind of discrimination someone dealt with. Certain experiences might also indicate that both processes of discrimination are at work. However, this research is interested in gaining knowledge in how different individuals deal with discrimination on the labour market. It is therefore of less significance that there was discrimination in juridical sense as long as they experienced and processed the experience as discrimination.

## ***2.2 Coping with discrimination***

When somebody is exposed to discrimination, this individual will go through a certain coping process. Coping is then seen as a process in which external or internal demands are required that might go beyond the possibilities and capabilities of the individual. He or she then tries to answer to these demands by means of cognitive and behavioural efforts (Utsey et al., 2000, p. 73). The first phase of this process is of evaluative nature and is referred to as the primary appraisal. The individual estimates whether he or she experiences the occurred as a threat (potentially leading to disadvantage or losing of something), as irrelevant/innocent, or as a possible challenge. When it is determined that the situation is seen as stressful (either a threat, disadvantage, loss or challenge) the individual proceeds to the second part of the process, in which he or she determines whether they possess the necessary resources to deal with the situation and to decrease the threat (Lazarus & Folkman, in Utsey et al., 2000, p. 73).

Kuo (1995) formulated two different strategies men can apply when dealing with discrimination. Firstly, he describes the emotive-based (emotion-focused) strategy, which includes emotional reactions to discrimination like fantasizing and increasingly being engaged with the self. Noh et al. (1999) added that this strategy is one of tolerance and that it is an attempt to regulate emotions. On the other hand there is the problem-based strategy, which entails actions that possibly solve the problem. These actions can entail a cognitive reorganization or an attempt to minimize the effects of the problem (Kuo, 1995, p. 115-116). Strategies for coping with discrimination that are based and focused on the problem (or confrontation) serve to minimize the possible damaging effects by an attempt to control the situation (Noh et al., 1999). These strategies are extensively discussed in the literature by additional scholars like Conner-Smith, Compas, Wadsworth, Harding Thomsen and Saltzman (2000) and Noh et al. (1999). However, Conner-Smith et al. (2000) are reasonably critical about this rather simplistic division in their view. In their research on responses to stress in adolescence, they argue that measures have failed to capture the full range and diversity of responses to stress in children and adolescents. Therefore, studies seem to rely on overly simplistic dichotomies, like in this case the problem- and emotion-focused strategies. Conner-Smith et al. (2000) deal in their research with both adolescence and children, which makes an appropriate research method more difficult. In addition, they seem to base their critics on previously conducted quantitative research. For this research it is most useful to use the division between the emotive-based strategy and the problem-based strategy as a guidance considering time and resources. Since this is a qualitative research, it will expend and critically reflect on these two strategies. In order to have the most complete image of these strategies the additions of Conner-Smith et al. (2000) are used. The two strategies can be complemented by the division between primary control coping responses and secondary control coping responses, which are both part of the problem-focused strategy. Primary responses are directly aimed at altering objective conditions (like problem solving and emotional regulation) and secondary control responses



are focused on adaptation to the problem (like acceptance and cognitive restructuring) (Conner-Smith, Compas, Wadsworth, Harding Thomsen & Saltzman, 2000, p. 977).

Conner-Smith et al. (2000) explain that coping refers to responses that are experienced as voluntary, which is under the individual's control and involves conscious effort (Lazarus & Folkman, in Conner-Smith et al. 2000, p. 977). Voluntary coping efforts are oriented toward regulating one's behavioural, emotional or physiological responses to a stressor like discrimination and are within conscious awareness. Involuntary responses however may or may not be within conscious awareness and are not under volitional control, this can include emotional and psychological arousal and emotional numbing. Voluntary behaviour is by Conner-Smith et al. (2000) and by Miller and Kaiser (2001) explained by the same model and can be divided into engagement coping (problem-focused) and disengagement coping (emotion-based). This model is displayed in figure 2.2. Engagement coping in this regard can be seen as similar to the problem-focused strategy, since it is defined as responses that are directed toward a stressor or one's reactions to the stressor. Disengagement, on the other hand, can be seen as similar to the emotive-based strategy, since these responses are oriented away from a stressor or one's reactions and include avoidance responses. Since not everything a person does in response to stress constitutes coping and because this research is interested in the voluntary choices participants make in order to cope with discrimination, the research focus is on voluntary behaviour (Miller & Kaiser, 2001).

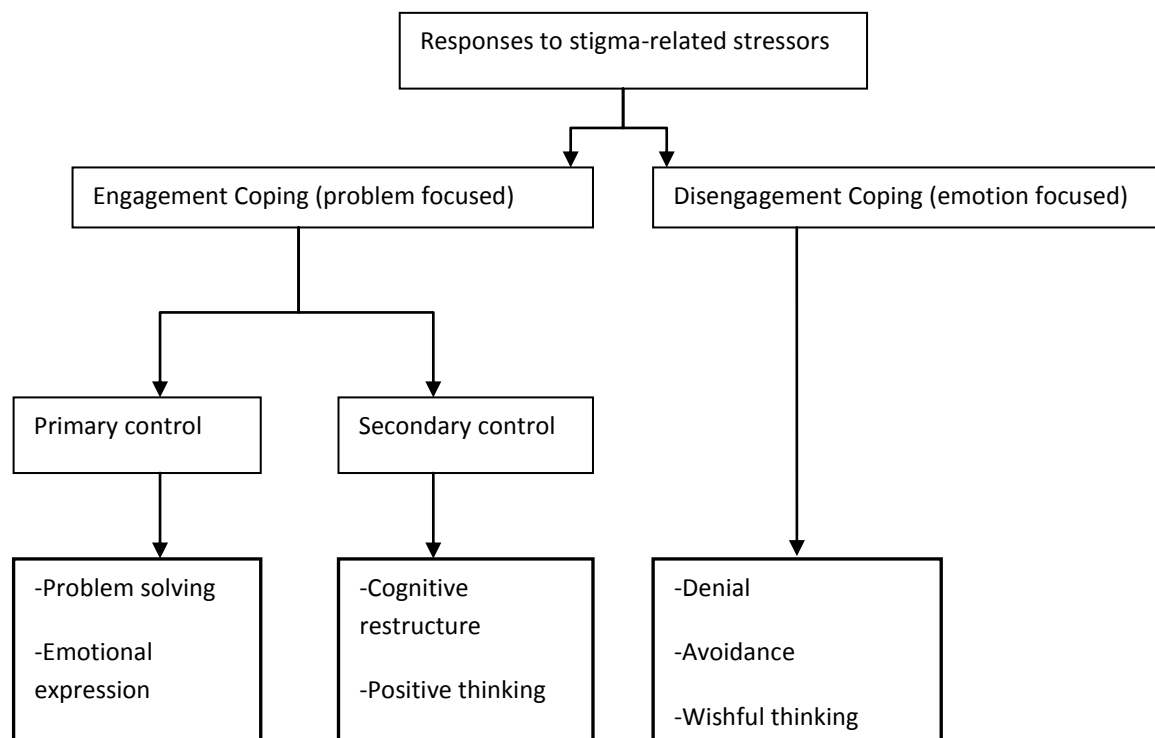


Figure 2.2: Model of voluntary coping responses to stress factors, derived from Miller & Kaiser (2001)

Lastly, multiple sources like Karlsen and Nazroo (2002) and Chakraborty and McKenzie (2002) indicated that reactions to a negative experience are situation specific. Many situations in which African Americans are faced with discrimination, teach us that the majority of African Americans decides to retreat since a confrontation is seen as too much time and energy consuming. This decision is made after evaluation of the situation and varies by time and place. For how long and how often somebody is faced with discrimination is of significance in the decision making. If time and frequency increase, the more an individual's confidence and aspirations are prone to being damaged (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002). Furthermore, an individual is able to apply different strategies to different situations.

### **2.3 Social identity**

There is not just one simple definition of social identity. The SCP (2006) explains that conclusions on social-cultural integration are drawn based on research on language proficiency, identification with the ethnic group, religious perceptions and the nature and extent of the diversity of the social network (SCP, 2006, p. 8). How somebody experiences discrimination and estimates a certain situation is partly influenced by how this individual defines himself in relation to the ethnic group. In their research on African Americans, Sellers and Shelton (2003) define racial identity as the meaning and qualitative value given by an individual to being black. They then make a distinction in this meaning between ethnic centrality and ideology. The valuation component of ethnic identity is associated with ethnic centrality. Kuo (1995) agrees that the social-cultural backgrounds relates to coping with discrimination. Kuo's (1995) study shows us that cultural values are directly related to emotive-based strategies or 'passive coping'. In this research they have looked at Asian American subcultures in America that stress the importance of obedience to law and authorities, ambition and responsibility. These findings show us the significance of the social-cultural background, which in this case leads to Asian Americans applying an emotive-based strategy because they look for the problem and salvation at themselves (Kuo, 1995, p. 116). In addition, he shows that Asian Americans with a stronger sense of having a disadvantaged position are more inclined to an emotive-based strategy. Utsey et al. (2000) discuss similar results in their study on African Americans. They argue that African Americans act evasively in confrontations, causing them to choose in most cases for a passive strategy such as resignation, since this cost less time and energy. This is probably caused by the extent of the humiliation of such a personal experience (Utsey et al., 2000, p. 79). Noh et al. (1999) add to this that cultural values and norms serve as an important conceptual bridge in learning to understand the relation between the way people cope with discrimination and mental health. Strategies that are focused on the problem are valued in a task oriented Western society and are considered as an adaptive strategy. However, problem-based strategies do not have to be considered as 'successfully dealing with' in other societies and cultures (Noh et al., 1999, p. 201).

Living in a multicultural society enables people to be part of various groups and to draw from different cultural resources that belong to these groups (Buitelaar, 2007). This

seems however a more theoretical optimistic point, instead of working this way in reality. It is argued that a considerable share of migrants from Moroccan descent are double tied between staying loyal to parents that are responsible for giving them these opportunities, and making the most of what the Netherlands have to offer. In ambivalent feelings on belonging, ethnic or religious backgrounds appears to play a less significant role than climbing up the social ladder does (Buitelaar, 2007, p. 21). Buitelaar (2007) argues that this is something that can especially be argued about migrant daughters. She states in the same study on the contextual meanings of personal autonomy in the life stories of (highly educated) women of Moroccan descent, that obtaining a degree and proving through this to both the self and to others that they have a lot to offer, is of significant importance. She found that in her study the wish to 'prove' oneself among highly educated Moroccan women in the Netherlands, is a common theme (Buitelaar, 2007, p. 7).

### *2.3.1 Moroccan Muslims in the Netherlands*

Even though the Islamic religion plays a significant role in Moroccan culture, these two aspects of social identity need to be distinguished from each other and not to be mistaken for the same thing since they are not synonymous. However, the majority of the population in Morocco is Muslim, including Moroccan migrants currently residing in countries outside of Morocco, like the Netherlands (SCP, 2012c). Of the population in the Netherlands that is of Moroccan decent, 97% call themselves Muslim. Still, there is great diversity in how these individuals practice their religion, which makes it difficult to say something about 'all' Muslims. A growing number of Muslims of the second generation visit at least one time per week a Mosque. This number has increased from 1998 to 2011 from 9% to 33% among Dutch Moroccan Muslims. A great majority of Moroccan Muslims, namely 97%, in the Netherlands indicates that religion is an important aspect of their identity. In addition, 73% of Dutch Moroccan Muslims state that Muslims should live their lives according to the rules of the Islam. In general it is true for most groups that people have less religious beliefs if they are higher educated. Moroccans are the exception to this notion, since a considerable part of this (young) higher educated group is very conscious in practicing their religion (SCP, 2012c, p. 15).

Concepts of citizenship are challenged in Muslim-majority contexts like Morocco by the presence of religious, ethnic and other minorities. In addition, nearly a third of all Muslims living as minorities throughout the world face challenges on a daily basis in an attempt to maintain their Islamic identity while negotiating their immediate socio-political context (Browers, 2014). Muslims as minorities, as in the Netherlands, experience attempts to grapple with other minorities and with the Dutch majority. These attempts are connected by various transnational networks of communication and new thinking on the part of prominent intellectuals. The lived experiences of Muslims has diversified because of the spread and scattering of Muslims across the globe. Translocal forces between Muslims across the world, has resulted in a wider Muslim public sphere (Browers, 2014, p. 212-213). This public sphere can experience a discouraging context if we look at current dominant

perceptions within the Dutch society, fuelled by Dutch politicians like Wilders. Transnational Islam changes in practice across the world. Sisler (in Browsers, 2014, p. 213) argues that the European Islam emphasizes the role of the Self. Religion is less seen as an inherited cultural legacy. Faith is privatized and there is an increasing insistence on religion as a system of values and ethics. The individualization of religious beliefs has become a common theme among research on Islam in Europe (Peter, in Browsers, 2014, p. 213) and turns into a rather difficult argument if we look back at the argument of Buitelaar (2007), who stated that Moroccans are double tied between opportunities within society and parental expectations. This might be caused by the faith of the first generation that does not develop together simultaneously with the second generation. Even though 73% of Dutch Moroccan Muslims claim that Muslims should live according to Islamic rules, each might interpret these rules differently, especially in an individualistic society. On the one hand we expect the second generation to become more individualistic but it seems that the first generation still has a great impact on their norms and values.

#### **2.4 Report behaviour**

Reporting discriminating experiences is a primary control engagement (problem-based) coping strategy. *Problem solving* is one of the behavioural forms of primary control engagement and can be further distinguished by *compensation* and *collective action*. Within this research, there will be a focus on filing complaints by individuals directly to the employer or organization involved or at independent institutions: Ieder1Gelijk or the police. In this research, a specific focus lies on Ieder1Gelijk since they need to increase accessibility to and within the Dutch Moroccan target group.

Research on perceived discrimination has flourished in the past several years in order to better understand its impact on racial and ethnic health inequalities. The degree on how an individual perceives discrimination is influenced by his or her unique circumstances. According to Cardarelli, Cardarelli & Chiapa (2007), it is therefore important to understand how varying factors, such as education, modify the reporting of perceived discrimination. Their study's results show that Hispanics of higher education and income status in America, compared to non-Hispanics, have higher odds of reporting perceived discrimination compared to those that are lower educated and have lower income. These differences between reports of perceived discrimination between higher and lower educated may be explained by one's awareness of social inequalities. Higher educational attainment in this theory, may involve greater awareness of inequalities of available resources which might cause a greater propensity to report past experiences of discrimination (Cardarelli et al., 2007, p. 405). These results indicate that when researching reporting of perceived discrimination, social-demographic factors like education and income are important aspects to consider. In the section on social demographic factors, the role that education might play is further elaborated on.

Former research has shown that members of stigmatized groups in many cases are unlikely to report that negative events occurring to them are due to discrimination. Even if

this is a valid attribution, they are commonly reluctant to report these events (Stangor, Swim, Van Allen & Sechrist, 2002). Research of Ruggiero and Taylor (in Stangor et al., 2002) showed that women and Asian and African American participants did not attribute their failure to discrimination if there was any ambiguity about the cause of the event. They were likely to minimize the likelihood to have been targets of discrimination, accepting foremost their own inability at the task as a more preferred explanation for failure than discrimination. Only in case the negative outcome was almost certainly the result of discrimination, did minorities accept this explanation (Stangor et al., 2002). Making attributions to discrimination is psychologically costly and it may threaten one's belief in a just world and it requires acknowledging that others do not like or accept you (Tyler & Lydon, in Stangor et al., 2002). In addition, acknowledging discrimination might force the individual to relinquish his or her sense of control over outcomes (Ruggiero & Taylor, in Stangor et al., 2002). Although members of a stigmatized group may perceive a particular event as discrimination, they may nevertheless not report this publicly (for instance to an experimenter) because of the possible social costs of doing so. The social context is likely to influence in these events, the extent to which individuals report discrimination (Stangor et al., 2002). Reporting discrimination in public is likely to have several social costs. Individuals who report discriminatory experiences publicly are perceived negatively by others, regardless whether discrimination was the clear cause of the event. People who report discrimination in public, risk being seen as hypersensitive, emotional, complaining and in general unpleasant people (Crosby, in Stangor et al., 2002). Claiming discrimination challenges the perpetrator (possibly in public) and might therefore cause embarrassment for the victim of discrimination. In addition, it could be viewed negatively that one feels like he or she has been treated unfairly. Stigmatized people, like Moroccan migrants in the Netherlands, suffer in general from a lower status in society. This may itself make it more difficult for individuals to report discrimination since high-status individuals (like native Dutch), have in general more freedom in public interaction. In addition, low-status individuals may be more concerned about self-presentation to high status others. These factors reduce the possibility of individuals to claim discrimination in these situations (Stangor et al., 2002).

The social context, if involved with members of the same social category, could provide social support. This social support might buffer individuals from social costs related to public responding. This is because the other person is of equal status, rather than higher status. The other person is thereby more likely to provide social support. Stangor et al. (2002) expected members of a stigmatized social group to be less willing to report discrimination in the presence of a non stigmatized group member, than when they reported privately or with a member of a stigmatized group. The social costs involved, would be higher in the former condition (Stangor et al., 2002).

## **2.5 Gender**

In many cultures, differences are embedded between men and women in norms, values and behaviour (Stevens, Vollebergh, Pels & Crijnen, 2007). These differences may result in different processes associated with psychological functioning. However, it can be difficult to find a satisfactory balance between autonomy and communion in terms of differences between the individualistic Dutch society and collectivistic values of the Moroccan or Islamic culture (Buitelaar, 2007, p. 21). Gender appears to create a virtual second culture within the Islamic culture, where gender effects may be especially large. The majority of the Moroccan (Islamic) families in the Netherlands uphold a traditional gender role division in line with Islamic notions. Traditionally, girls are expected to support their future husband in his position of family authority and to be the primary caretaker. Girls are therefore more restricted in their freedom, need to obey to more rules and are more tied to home than boys (Stevens et al., 2007, p. 311). This is however in conflict with Buitelaars (2007) argument on girls being highly motivated and dedicated to obtaining a degree and thereby proving they have a lot to offer. This shows the influence on Moroccan girls of the educational and labour opportunities that the Netherlands have to offer.

In the past decennium, a considerable share of the second generation of the four biggest immigration groups in the Netherlands (including Dutch Moroccans), have reached young adulthood (SCP, 2014). It is often believed that these young adults, like the first generation, uphold more traditional notions of relationships and families compared to the native Dutch population (De Valk, in SCP 2014, p. 97). In addition, the relationship between the private sphere and the pursuit of a career is much stronger for women than for men, partly because of traditional gender labor division (SCP, 2014, p. 97). Next to this, men tend to seek more strongly to attain autonomy while women focus more on communion. Buitelaar (2007) argues that this is a universal trend. However, once acquiring middle age, western men tend to become less achievement-oriented and start to value upon personal relationships more. This illustrates that choices people make concerning their life course (like education or work), are less voluntary or noncommittal than some postmodern theorists believe (Buitelaar, 2007, p. 6).

Various studies have shown significant differences between men and women in coping with discrimination. Kuo's (1995) results indicated that coping strategies were related to nationality and sex. Asian American women tended to adopt a problem-focused strategy in response to discrimination, while Asian American men tended to adopt an emotion-focused strategy. Furthermore, several studies such as that of Sellers and Shelton (2003) argue that men declare to be faced with discrimination on a more frequent level than women do. In addition, King (in Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1088) argues that the stereotyping of African Americans is biased as well and is mainly focused on men. There have also been clear differences pointed out between how men and women cope with discrimination. African American women tend to look more often for social help than African American men, which is in line with Kuo's findings. Preliminary data analyses of Utsey et al. (2000) indicate the same argument. These findings indicated that African American women

tend to seek social support coping behaviours (problem-focused) significantly more than African American men. However, their current study's findings indicated that avoidance coping (emotion focused) strategies were preferred by African American women and this was done significantly more than problem-focused strategies (like seeking social support).

## **2.6 Social demographic factors**

Next to one's social-cultural background and gender, variables such as age and education are additional factors in considering coping with discrimination. The study of Broman, Mavaddat and Hsu (2000) show us that younger people seem to perceive more discrimination than older people. This was concluded after researching experiences of discrimination within different situations like looking for a job or within the workplace. 77% of the younger respondents reported discrimination, while only 24% of the elder group of respondents reported discrimination (Broman et al., 2000).

Lack of sufficient 'human capital', knowledge and know-how that is important in recruiting a spot within the labour market, are often displayed as the most significant factor for unemployment rates. Educational disadvantage and lower valuations of educational degrees achieved outside the Netherlands play an additional significant role (De Koning, Gravesteijn-Ligthelm & Tanis, 2008). Migrants also indicate that a lack of knowledge and specific skills would play a more significant role than their ethnic background, in keeping them from finding a job. In addition, chances of unemployment are in general bigger amongst low educated and youth. The migrant population consists of relatively more youth and of lower educated. This indicates that research on the extent of discrimination continues to be a challenge. One might perceive something as discrimination when it is not (in juridical terms) or the other way around.

The theory on human capital can be questioned when we take a look at studies on the *integration paradox*, a term introduced by Buijs, Demant and Handy (2006). This term is defined '*as someone is increasingly focused on integration into the autochthonous society, he or she will be more sensitive for culture conflicts and signs of exclusion*' (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 202). From qualitative research on experiences with discrimination amongst Moroccans and Turks in the Netherlands, we have learned that when ethnic minorities are focused on Dutch society, they are more sensitive to discrimination. This is because of a higher value attached to being acknowledged and accepted within the Dutch society. Because higher educated migrants in general value upon this acceptance, they are supposed to be more sensitive for discrimination. When somebody is supposed to be well integrated and working in the Netherlands, this individual should be experiencing less discrimination. Research of Gijsberts and Vervoort (2009) show that high educated individuals that belong to an ethnic minority on the one hand feel more often at home in the Netherlands and well integrated than low educated migrants do. On the other hand, they feel less accepted than lower educated migrants because they perceive more discrimination (Gijsberts & Vervoort, 2009).

Chakraborty and McKenzie (2002) add another factor that influences the impact of discrimination and has not been mentioned in the rest of the literature. They state that skin

colour is an additional factor that influences the impact of discrimination, along with context, socio-economic status and the extent of integration within an area. However, this argument misses further reasoning since it's logic does not derive from the article and a statement like this asks for a clear explanation.

### ***2.7 Relations and expectations***

In this chapter, the significant literature regarding the research dimensions was extensively discussed and criticised. The following paragraph elaborates on the expected relations between the different factors while remaining a focus on (possible) differences and similarities between men and women.

Social identity plays a significant role in how people cope with discrimination. Coping strategies are influenced by an individual's norms and values, beliefs, (position within a) social network and expectations of society. Within varying Moroccan social groups, we can detect a culture of masculinity, in which honour is easily damaged by means of insulting or challenging (Pels, 2003). Whoever comes forward as a coward can turn into a victim of mockery. Thus, you do not want to lose face in order to get or remain respect from the group (Pels, 2003). Since there is less pressure on women, the expectation is formulated that women talk more about possible setbacks (like job rejections) than men. Therefore, they would apply more often a problem-based strategy. Additionally, it is explained that the Islamic religion is differently experienced by women and men and Islamic notions become increasingly individualistic in the Dutch context. These differences (and developments) can result in different processes associated with psychological functioning. Since women are less obligated than men to visit the Mosque, the expectation is that women feel less strong ties to the Islamic religion, considering the Dutch context. Since stronger ties to social-cultural background are related to a stronger impulse to apply an emotive-based strategy, this strengthens the expectation that men apply more often than women an emotive-based strategy.

Whether somebody actually decided to report (report behaviour) an experience with discrimination with *Ieder1Gelijk* (or another institution) depends directly of the strategy that is applied. Report behaviour is an act of the problem-based strategy. Education is expected to play a significant factor in determining report behaviour. As stated before, higher educated citizens have greater awareness of inequalities of available resources which might cause a great propensity to report experiences with discrimination. Generally, higher educated are well informed on institutions and what they can mean for them. In addition, higher educated migrants tend to be more sensitive to discrimination since they attach a higher value to being acknowledged. Indirectly, there is an expectation that respondents who are higher educated will more often adapt a problem-focused strategy. However, based on the literature there is an expected difference between men and women. Since it is argued that Moroccan women often feel pressure to prove themselves, they might restrict themselves from taking action on negative experiences that keep them from their goals, like reporting these experiences. Report behaviour is furthermore influenced by social identity.



Members of stigmatized groups are in many cases unlikely to report negative events. Since Moroccan migrants suffer in general from a lower status in society, this might contribute to a decision not to report experiences with discrimination. Of both men and women it is therefore expected that how they think society looks upon them is related to the decision (not) to report experiences.

### **3. Methodology**

In this chapter the data collection and the data analysis are discussed. Furthermore, an explanation is provided for how respondents who fit the research profile were reached. Finally, the used methods regarding the analysis of the interviews will be discussed.

#### ***3.1 Methodological approach***

This research deals with perceived discrimination and individual experiences. These are highly subjective phenomena that impact one's life and create meanings in different ways. Since discrimination is a concept which can be differently explained and experienced, we deal with something that holds true in the mind of the individual but might not count for someone else (Pontoretto, 2005). This research aims to find out how these different individuals explain and give meaning to their social identity. This too varies among individuals, since everybody seeks understanding of the world in which they live and work (Creswell, 2003, p. 8). In order to bring hidden meaning to the surface through deep reflection, this research makes use of in-depth interviews, since this enables to create an interactive researcher-participant dialogue. Within this research, effort was put into taking a relativist position which enables me as a researcher to process multiple and equally valid realities (Pontoretto, 2005, p. 129). This interaction ensures the possibility to uncover deeper meaning. Pontoretto (2005) describes that the researcher and his or her participants jointly create findings from these dialogues and interpretations. My research is therefore based in a (social) constructivist paradigm (Pontoretto, 2005).

As argued by Baez (2002), qualitative research like this involves some difficulties with confidentiality which can harm the relativist position that is aspired. Baez (2002) explains that qualitative researchers believe that in order to avoid harming respondents, they must promise confidentiality and that they need fully-informed consent before continuing their research. This holds especially true for this research, since it involves a sensitive and possibly difficult subject to talk about. Participants in this research were therefore offered to remain anonymous. This anonymity might be problematic. If published material could harm the participants or if information is withheld in order to protect participants, this could harm the accuracy of the study (Baez, 2002). For this research however, chances of possible harm after publication are practically none since respondents participated anonymously and no personal information was given through which they might be traced. In addition, no information was given that could harm others who were discussed in the interviews but are not involved directly within this research. This research is thus still in line with Baez's argument: qualitative research should serve emancipatory efforts to resist oppression (Baez, 2002). In this case, for the position of Moroccans in Dutch society. An individual's experiences develop into subjective meanings which are directed toward certain objects or things. Since these meanings are varied and multiple, even within a certain group, we can speak of a complexity of views. All people uphold different explanations regarding their ethnic group and will go through certain experiences differently and will act upon those in various ways. These subjective meanings are often negotiated socially and historically and

are therefore formed through interactions with others and through historical and cultural norms that operate in individual' lives, which is different for everybody. In order to bring forward these different perceptions and to learn from these meanings, a profound and qualitative research is necessary in which the respondents are provided with the necessary space to discuss their interpretations. This research is bound to a limit in time and resources, which therefore necessitates semi-structured interviews. This structure was built on the significant dimensions derived from the literature, which will be discussed in the following section. Furthermore, this research is adjusted to the Dutch context while maintaining an idiographic character.

As argued by Greene, Way and Pahl (2006, p. 221), quantitative research has yet to determine the effect of ethnicity on the association between perceived discrimination and adjustment and this is only one of the relations that are discussed in this research. This shows that quantitative research is less suitable for examining relations. This research thus cannot and does not aspire to be of a generalizing nature. It serves as an exploratory research aiming at a more idiographic focus on experiences with discrimination on the labour market in the region of Gelderland South and the differences between men and women. In addition, for a quantitative method like a survey, it would be difficult to attract ample responses considering the sensibility of the topic and the distance between myself as a researcher and the target group. Especially when taking into account the limited number of time and resources.

### **3.2 Reliability and validity**

Boeije, 't Hart and Hox (2009) address several possible difficulties that need to be considered while conducting qualitative research regarding reliability and validity. In order to achieve maximum reliability and validity it was thus necessary to keep in mind several aspects. The reliability of a research deals with accidental errors. Through measuring the reliability we can verify whether the findings are a stroke of luck (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 148). It is therefore needed to make sure that as little as possible accidental mistakes are made throughout the research. The first necessary step taken in this research in order to achieve maximum reliability is a (semi-) structured topic-list that serves as a guide throughout the interviews. This is a standardised method of data collection and is expected to be a more reliable measuring instrument (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 274). In addition, all transcriptions were linked back to the participants (*member checks*). All participants have thus received their written interviews afterwards, which all have been verified. This was done, in order to monitor the accuracy of the recorded data (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 275).

Next to reliability, it was necessary to take the validity of this research into account. One of the most important aspects of a valid qualitative research is continuous reflection throughout the research. As a researcher, I needed to be fully aware of my background, my relation regarding the participants and possible prejudice. Researchers cannot possibly be free of values. However, in order to achieve maximum validity I have tried not to judge or

express possible preferences (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 279). In addition, I will fully elaborate on my position as a researcher within this study and the difficulties related to qualitative research in the concluding chapter (chapter 6). The second thing that needs to be taken into account regarding validity, is the possibility that participants can be tempted to give socially accepted answers. This might especially count for this research since it deals with a considerably sensitive issue. The phenomenon that participants withhold information or try to make a certain situation look better, is known as *reactivity* (Boeije, 't Hart, & Hox, 2009, p. 279). This effect is minimized by making clear that all interviews are conducted anonymously. In addition, at the beginning of each interview it was made clear there are no incorrect answers.

### **3.3 Data collection**

All respondents that participated in this research live in the region Gelderland South, since *Ieder1Gelijk* is acquired to provide assistance for everybody living in this area and not necessarily working. As stated in the introduction, this research is written partially on behalf of *Ieder1Gelijk* and it is thus meant to give advice on enhancing communication with the target group within this specific region. This research focused on the second (and third) generation since we can assume that this takes away certain problems the first generation struggled with in pursuing a job. In general, the second (and third) generation received an education in the Netherlands, has excellent proficiency of the Dutch language and is considerably more familiar with Dutch customs in daily life and regulations in and outside the work space (SCP, 2010). By focusing on the second generation, the possibility that participants were rejected for jobs due to lack of skills or knowhow were diminished, since we may assume that these unmeasured characteristics play a less significant role for the second generation while looking at unemployment (SCP, 2010, p. 13). In addition, nine out of ten respondents considered themselves to be Muslim. Even though this was not a 'necessary' characteristic, it corresponds well with the total number of Islamic Dutch Moroccans. As came to the fore in the second chapter, 97% of Dutch Moroccan considers him or herself Muslim, however varying in practicing their faith. As a final inclusive criterion, all respondents stated to have dealt with or were dealing with racial discrimination in the pursuit of getting a job or internship and were willing to tell me about their experiences.

In order to reach out to the target group the network of *Ieder1Gelijk* was used, including institutions, organizations and individuals. A network method and snowball method are considered most suitable in order to find sufficient cooperating participants. This, because of the experience of *Ieder1Gelijk* that the Dutch Moroccan community in this region is poorly organized and therefore difficult to reach without this network. Regarding the sensitivity of the research, it was assumed that people might be reluctant to talk about rejection and discrimination. This was an additional difficulty for finding participants that were willing to talk about their experiences (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 263-264). Potential participants are however considered to be more willing to participate if approached by either an institution or individual he or she is familiar with. Taken into

account these difficulties of acquiring participants, it took considerable time in order to find a sufficient number of respondents who met the inclusive criteria and who were willing to talk to me. Reaching out to all potential participants, acquiring appointments and the interviews took up to three months. In order to avoid scaring or discouraging people by an overload of information on the phone, all possible participants received an email with information about the subject of research and a polite request to make a phone call. Only after sending a reminder or after announcing a phone call, they respondents were contacted over the telephone, which accelerated cooperation and the making of arrangements for interviews. People were slightly reluctant at first but were ultimately very helpful and offered to reach out to acquaintances. While arranging an appointment for the interview, it was required that there was a place to sit quietly and privately. In addition, it would be somewhere the respondent felt comfortable. Respondents were therefore mostly met at work spaces and homes.

### **3.4 Data analysis**

The data of this research consists of ten in depth interviews. For the analysis of my data, all interviews were recorded and transcribed afterwards. In order to go through all interviews in a structural manner, significant categories extracted from the literature were formulated. For the analysis of the data both an inductive and a deductive analysis method was used (Boeije, 't Hart & Hox, 2009, p. 263-264). For the deductive analysis, formulated codes functioned as guidelines. These codes can be divided into five main categories: *social identity*, *coping strategy*, *report behavior*, *gender* and *social demographic factors*. All interviews were thus in a deductive manner thoroughly analyzed and all possibly significant statements concerning the categories were marked. The analysis concerning the possible similarities and differences between men and women has been carried out last, in order to take in all significant aspects of the interviews. The defined categories and key words are mostly based on the significant literature and will afterwards be linked back to the literature in order to compare literary statements and the statements made by the respondents. This will function as a manner through which we can see whether the findings of the research match the findings of the literature.

This research has simultaneously left space to preserve meanings and interpretations of the respondents which they have expressed in words and might differ from the formulated codes. Next to making use of these categories, this study thus focused on statements of respondents that have not come to the fore in the literature but might be of considerable importance. This inductive analysis thus already starts while still obtaining data. Already in between conducting the interviews, the interviews have been largely analyzed and possibly distinctive statements that were possibly important to consider in upcoming interviews were marked. This means that key words which have not been considered based on the literature, were added based on its apparent and expected significance of the statements of the respondent(s). Thus, while conducting the interviews and after conducting

all interviews, respondents will constantly be compared to each other, which made it possible to detect patterns in the categories and in the relations between the categories.

In order to answer the first sub question (*what labour market position do Dutch Moroccan men and women hold in this region and to what extent do they experience discrimination*) a document analysis was conducted. This analysis involves a study on significant national and region figures regarding the position of Dutch Moroccans and the conditions of the labour market. In addition, it contains an overview of discriminatory reports on both a national and regional level. This analysis can be found in chapter 4. The following sub questions all elaborate individually on the significant aspects within this research:

2. *What aspects of the social cultural background play a significant role in the social identity of Moroccan men and women in Gelderland South?*
3. *What strategies can be identified in coping with ethnic or religious discrimination in the job application procedure amongst Dutch Moroccan men and women in this region?*
4. *What are Dutch Moroccan men and women's motives (not) to report experiences with ethnic or religious discrimination in the job application procedure in this region with institutions like Ieder1Gelijk?*

In order to answer these distinctive sub questions, ten Dutch Moroccan citizens were interviewed. By making use of a semi structured interview guide, each aspect (*social identity, coping strategies and report behaviour*) was discussed. Through this, it was possible to pose questions about aspects that were extracted from the literature, while allowing for own input. Lastly, the sixth and final sub question (*How can Ieder1Gelijk be advised in order to enhance its communication with Dutch Moroccan men and women in the future in this region*), is answered by analysing the answers in the interviews on the questions about report behaviour. In order to answer the research question (*What strategies are adopted by Dutch Moroccan men and women in coping with ethnic and/or religious discrimination during the job application procedure in the region Gelderland South and how does this relate to report behaviour and social identity*), the relations between the dimensions discussed in the first four sub questions will be examined.

## **4. National and regional conditions**

As explained in the previous chapter, this chapter answers what labour market position Dutch Moroccan men and women hold in Gelderland South and to what extent experiences with discrimination are reported. First, you will find a delineation of the shifts in the integration paradigm in the Netherlands. It is important to elaborate on integration perspectives since this determines to a great deal the societal attitude towards migrants. This is followed by a paragraph on the developments of the labour market in general and specifically in the region Gelderland South. Furthermore, the position of Dutch Moroccans on the labour market is discussed, both in a national and regional context. Finally, an overview is provided of discrimination reports throughout the Netherlands and within the region of Gelderland South.

### ***4.1 Integration in Dutch perspective***

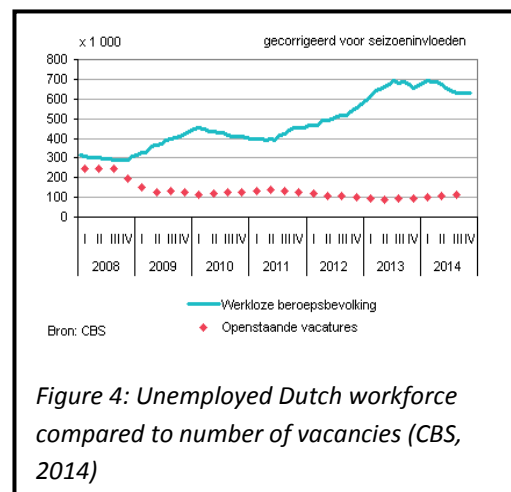
Since the sixties and seventies, labour immigration in the Netherlands increased. The temporary nature of these migrants was a reason for an integration policy based on preservation of cultures (Commission Blok, 2004). In the eighties became clear that the temporary nature of migrants involved a more long term, or even permanent nature. Families were reunited in the Netherlands and migrant children were born who started to attend school in the Netherlands. This changing character of migrants living in the Netherlands, resulted in the first report of the Scientific Council for Government policy (WRR) in 1983. This report was aimed at ethnic minorities in the Netherlands. This report put emphasis on reducing the social and economic gap of ethnic minorities and on creating conditions to improve participation in Dutch society (Ghorashi, 2006: Commission Blok, 2004). Several international events, like the Rusdhië affair which put additional pressure on Islamic religion, signified the importance of religion for immigration policies during this time. To this day, religion is a much debated topic in the Netherlands. The Party for Freedom, a right winged Dutch political party (PVV), is currently arguing to ban mosques and the Islamic religion from the Netherlands. Ultimately, the immigration policy shifted in the nineties, to focusing on integration, with social economic integration as a central item (Shadid, 2005). The switch to a less welcoming attitude towards migrants, is confirmed in the research results, that will be discussed in the fifth chapter. Respondents indicate that their parents have felt welcome in the Netherlands in the sixties but that this open attitude has changed. Especially in light of current events of violence in name of Islam, Muslims are increasingly criticised in public. The next chapter will elaborate on the general feeling of respondents to prove themselves within Dutch society.

As stated in the first chapter, current perspectives on integration of the Dutch government emphasize on acquiring Dutch values and norms. This 'moralization' of citizenship involves a certain loyalty to the Dutch society in which acculturation precedes the structural (social-economic) assimilation of the nineties (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). Next to a moralization of citizenship, there is a second process going on: a responsabilization of citizenship. Migrants are increasingly expected to be responsible for their own integration.

This makes an interesting and quite complicated case, since both processes can be seen as being previous to the other (Schinkel & Van Houdt, 2010). In the most recent report of the SCP (2014) on integration of migrants within the Netherlands, integration is characterized as increasing participation and as acquiring high status positions within society (SCP, 2014, p. 7). Around 50% of the entire Moroccan population within the Netherlands exists of second generation migrants. From a social-economic viewpoint, they have earned a better position compared to the first generation. The second generation is generally higher educated and less likely to depend on governmental benefits (financial assistance). Nonetheless, they represent a rather vulnerable group on the labour market since they are relatively young and the younger workforce often suffer more from economic fluctuations. Especially unemployment rates of non western migrants have increased in the last couple of years due to the economic crisis (SCP, 2014, p. 3). The second generation generally succeeded in acquiring Dutch values and norms because they grew up here. They are still however denied a change on the labour market. Current integration perspective as it is supported by the government seems misleading therefore.

#### 4.2 Dutch Moroccans in a national context

As clarified in the previous chapter, the number of migrants that have been successful on the Dutch labour market increased in absolute numbers. However, this number has not increased in relative terms, compared to autochthonous Dutch citizens in the past decennium. In 2011, 4% of the autochthonous Dutch citizens were out of work while 13% of the migrant citizens were out of work. This disadvantage of non-western migrants has also manifested itself within the second generation of migrants with an increasing number of unemployed youth and more flexible working contracts causing 29% of non-western migrant youth to be unemployed in 2012 (SCP, 2012b). As mentioned in the introduction, employers mostly hold negative associations with Moroccan migrants, since they are often associated with criminality and disloyalty (SCP, 2010). The SCP (2012b) indicated that unemployment numbers in the age of 15 to 24 year old Moroccan men and women are highest and cause most problems. In addition, the most recent report on integration (SCP, 2014) shows that of the four biggest migrant groups, Dutch Moroccan girls work least in full time jobs and are the biggest group to drop out of education (prematurely). In addition, there is a considerable difference in the number of native Dutch women and migrant women in combining family life and part time work. Around 35% of women of Moroccan descent combine family life with part time work, where as nearly 60% of native Dutch women combine these two (SCP, 2014, p. 111). There is no significant difference in unemployment rates between non





western men and women migrants. According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS) (2014) 18,8% of the non western male working population in the workforce was unemployed in 2013 and 18,3% of the non western female working population.

Of the national workforce, 14,2% of the non-western migrants were unemployed in 2013, opposed to 6,7% unemployed native Dutch. Furthermore, the workforce consists of 198 000 unemployed lower educated, which is 12,5% of the total number of the lower educated work force. 5,1% Of the higher educated labour force was unemployed in 2013. On a national level, most Dutch Moroccans only finished high school and those who finish higher education represent the smallest group. Of the total Dutch Moroccan population between the ages of 15 to 75, 110 000 finished lower education whereas 27 000 finished higher education (CBS, 2014). 46% Of Dutch Moroccans that follow an education on level 4 (MBO), choose for a career in the economic sector and 35% chooses a career in the care sector. Regarding higher education, a great majority chooses for an education in economics and law (SCP, 2014).

#### ***4.3 Dutch Moroccans in a regional context***

The region of Gelderland South was home to 538 493 citizens in 2013 (CBS, 2014). In the region Gelderland South, the Moroccan population is the second biggest migrant group. Divided amongst the 18 municipalities, this region is home to 9 491 citizens of Moroccan descent, against 452 174 native Dutch citizens (CBS, 2013). In most of the smaller municipalities within this region, like Heumen (25), Lingewaal (100) and Neerijnen (101), the number of Moroccans living there is relatively low, in comparison to the bigger municipalities like Nijmegen (3513) and Tiel (2007) (CBS, 2012). In most of the smaller municipalities there is thus (almost) no labour force among the migrant population. In the municipalities of Culemborg (2900 migrants as part of the labour force in 2011-2012) and Nijmegen (18 300 migrants as part of the labour force in 2011-2012) live most migrants that are part of the labour force. Tiel (5100), Wijchen (2100) and Zaltbommel (1800) are smaller municipalities but are still home to a considerable number of migrants who are part of the labour force (CBS, 2014). However, only the municipality of Nijmegen is home to unemployed labour force, between 2011 and 2013 (CBS, 2014). Between 2000 and 2002, 3900 citizens of the municipality of Nijmegen that were part of the labour force were unemployed. This number has grown to 6 700 citizens between 2011 and 2013. This number includes both the native population as the migrant population. Even though there are no more specific figures available for Dutch Moroccans, these numbers already provide quite a good impression of the demography of the (working) population in this region.

#### ***4.4 Employment in Gelderland South***

Employment in the region of Gelderland South is quite diverse. The region of Nijmegen and Arnhem is also known as 'Health Valley'. As the name implies, there is relatively much work in the health sector. In 2012, 125 410 citizens of the region Gelderland South were working in health care, welfare sector and for the government. In addition, there is a relatively large

amount of people working for non-commercial services, with 85 870 people working in this sector (CBS, 2014). On the other hand there are some sectors in which there is little employment. The figures of the CBS (2014) indicate that not many people are working in industry (19 520), rental and commercial property (1 680) or culture, sport and recreation (3 350). Based on these figures and the general study preferences of the Dutch Moroccan population, the expectation was to find most respondents working in or looking for a job in the commercial sector or in health care or welfare. Partly because the network of Ieder1Gelijk was used (which stand in connection to most welfare organizations) in order to find respondents, this expectation was confirmed. The participants and their characteristics will be further discussed in the following chapter.

#### ***4.5 Discrimination on the labour market***

A growing number of studies on discrimination on the labour market are conducted in the past decennia. A considerable number of these researches looks into changes and experiences of discrimination concerning a particular year. In a report of the SCP on discrimination (SCP, 2010), several analyzes have been conducted on the differences in opportunities on the labour market between native Dutch and migrants between 2000 and 2008, that are most probably caused by, among other reasons, discrimination. In the year 2000, native Dutch had a chance of 4,5% of being unemployed, while the chance to be unemployed for a non western migrant was nearly 14%. Each year, non western migrants have a greater chance of being unemployed, compared to native Dutch. Chances vary per year, following economic tides. In times of economic boom, chances are relatively lower for both groups, while in times of recession, chances are higher. This effect is usually stronger for non western migrants than for native Dutch. This inequality of opportunities, while taking into account similar characteristics, offers an indication of the extent of discrimination on the labour market. Even though not all characteristics were taken into account, they observe a difference in the degree of discrimination between 2000 and 2008 (SCP, 2010). The differences observed have most likely to do with both unmeasured characteristics and discrimination. Mere on the basis of name and/or place of birth, non western migrants had 16% less chance to be invited for a job interview, compared to equally qualified native Dutch applicants. However, unmeasured characteristics should be considered, like Dutch language proficiency and the extent of someone's network (SCP, 2010). By far most of the reports registered at Ieder1Gelijk concern discrimination on racial or religious ground, together 112 of a total of 304 reports in 2013. In addition, most of the reports of discrimination concern discriminatory experiences regarding the labour market, 127 of a total of 304 reports in 2013 (Ieder1Gelijk annual report, 2013).

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

People with different social cultural backgrounds like Dutch Moroccans, are suffering from a rather negative societal perspective on migrants. Despite that they grew up in the Netherlands and are familiar with Dutch customs and language, they are still hampered by discrimination to enter the labour market. The societal attitude is reinforced through current international events, like violent acts of IS. Changing labour market conditions has also influenced this perspective on integration and migrants. A negative attitude goes along with prejudice and increases the role of discrimination against these migrants. National and regional statistics confirm that migrants are affected by this discrimination and are more often unemployed. Looking at the figures of Ieder1Gelijk's annual report (2013), it is assumed that only a small amount of people file a complaint if they face discrimination.

This chapter elaborated on the national and regional conditions migrants deal with in Dutch society. This document analysis was necessary in order to have a clearer picture of the national and regional context respondents live in. However difficult to determine precisely, discrimination plays an important role in unemployment rates among migrants. In the next chapter the research results of the interviews are discussed. In the sixth chapter, the relations between all different dimensions are related to each other.

## 5. Research results

In this chapter the research results are discussed. The paragraphs in this chapter will elaborate on the dimensions as they were distinguished in the literary framework. This chapter is structured by the distinguished dimensions as they were mentioned in the second chapter. While analysing the results, the importance of the additional social demographic factors (education and age) came forward (next to gender). Therefore, this chapter will start with an elaboration of the *social demographic characteristics* of the respondents involved in this research. After this, there will be a paragraph on *coping strategy*, divided into behaviour identified as emotive-based coping strategy (*engagement coping*) and problem-based coping strategy (*disengagement coping*). This paragraph is then followed by *social identity* and *report behaviour* subdivided into the most important aspects as derived from the research results. Throughout each of the different paragraphs, existing or non-existing relations with the literature and the formulated expectations will be discussed. Finally, the relations between the dimensions will be discussed which includes (possible) relations to the social demographic factors. In order to ensure anonymity, each respondent was provided with a number and the respondents will be addressed accordingly (R1, R2 etc.). A small overview of the features of the respondents are illustrated in Figure 5.1.

	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Education</u>
<u>R1</u>	Male	26	MBO level 4 social community services
<u>R2</u>	Male	33	MBO level 4 Security
<u>R3</u>	Male	33	HBO Hotel Management
<u>R4</u>	Male	21	Scientific education Medicine
<u>R5</u>	Female	34	MBO level 4 Secretary
<u>R6</u>	Female	33	MBO level 4 Retail
<u>R7</u>	Female	21	MBO level 4 Social care
<u>R8</u>	Female	24	MBO level 4 Airline services
<u>R9</u>	Male	30	Scientific education Business administration, anthropology and organizational sciences
<u>R10</u>	Female	28	MBO level 4 Bank Insurance

Figure 5.1: Overview of the main characteristics of the respondents involved in this research. In order to ensure anonymity, each respondent was assigned a number, which they are referred to in this research.

### **5.1 Social demographic factors**

In the following paragraph, the dimensions of gender, education and age are discussed. All respondents were differently educated and they are working within different fields. Since all respondents are part of the second (or third) generation of Dutch Moroccans, they are reasonably young (between the ages of 21 to 33). In addition, interesting points have been made by respondents concerning the influence of education and age. In figure 5.1 above, you can find a short overview of the main characteristics of the respondents involved in this research.

#### **5.1.1 Gender**

A main focus of this research lies in the differences and similarities between men and women in coping with discrimination. Therefore, an equal number of men and women (both five) were included in this research. Several differences were expected between men and women, mainly based on studies like Buitelaar (2007), Pels (2003) and Green, Way and Pahl (2006), as described in the second chapter. These differences were mainly based on gender divisions as observed and expected in Moroccan culture and Islamic religion. According to several respondents, Moroccan men and women are differently treated in Dutch society and are also dealing with discrimination differently. According to one of the female respondents, boys are suffering more from prejudice than women do:

*I don't know why, but it is just because of the societal image that is created of Moroccan boys, that cause them to have difficulty finding an internship. Us girls, we can still use our charms. We talk easily. Moroccan boys are often more tuff, they have a certain pride and they have difficulties to set that pride aside. A part of our culture comes forward in that. Plus, the media is already after Moroccan boys, so people don't feel like hiring them, which means it is not easy for them to get a job. (R6, p. 14)*

Another female respondent indicated another difference she observed between men and women:

*I think that female, well, women in my generation in general have a more positive attitude towards the labour market than boys, because boys are rejected more often. But I think that in general, this generation is more positive than our parents, we think more often 'it is not because I am Moroccan, this rejection might be caused by other factors'. (R10, p. 11)*

She thus explains that women in her generation (the second generation) have a more positive attitude towards the labour market. This might be a result of the negative imaging of Moroccan boys, as indicated prior to this argument. Even though the societal perspective observed by these girls seem to match societal perspective, most respondents do not specifically indicate this gender difference.

### 5.1.2 Education

All respondents that participated in this research are or were educated in the Netherlands and mostly in the city of Nijmegen. All respondents had a different education and are mostly working within different sectors. A considerable share of six respondents have not found work within the sector they were trained to work in. Two respondents are still studying (R4 and R7) and one respondent has not been able to find a job since she graduated (R8). Five respondents have found a job within a different sector (R2, R3, R5, R6 and R10). As described in the first paragraph, half of all of these respondents indicated to physically avoid their sector of education since they experienced they were withheld due to discrimination. In addition, an economic educated woman (R10) chose to avoid the sector she was educated for as well but explained that the banking sector was in a lot of trouble which made it difficult for anyone to find a job. Some of them indicated that they have an ambition to do another study. Two of the respondents (R3 and R9) explain that they have the possibility to follow different courses within the organization that they work for and they argue for the importance of professional development by means of education. Interestingly, two female respondents (R5 and R8) state that due to their experiences with discrimination they now regret their previous choices and wished they would have chosen something else to study:

*I would have liked to end up in health care, so looking back yes, I would have liked to study something different. But yeah, I did not made that decision at the time. And still you could do it, but now I feel like, then you would need to start studying all over again....I do not see myself doing that all over again. Working, studying, raising children. I do not have enough time for that now, definitely not, I'm already short of time. (R5, p. 6)*

All female and two male respondents finished a secondary vocational degree (*middelbaar beroepsonderwijs*). Three of the male respondents in this research are higher educated. R3 has a higher vocational degree (*hoger beroepsonderwijs*), R4 is still studying at the Radboud University and R9 finished three academic masters. The relation between education in regard to coping strategy and report behaviour will be discussed in the sixth chapter.

### 5.1.3 Age

Respondents involved in this research are relatively young, between the ages of 20 to 30. Five respondents explicitly indicate the importance of age while dealing with discrimination. One of the female respondents indicate that it is not just her age that matters in how she copes with discrimination but also the age of the person(s) involved. She stated that when she was rejected to do an internship in a clothing store it involved a relatively old men. Because of his age, she did not expected any better of him and decided therefore not to cause any problems by confronting him with discrimination:

*I just felt like, you are a foolish old man, ignorant. Never mind. I'm not going to cause you any problems, you are old. I think it's the advanced age or something, I don't know....But*

*at the shoe store are a lot of younger people and that hurts me the most. They are still young and they are suppose to know how a person can feel....If an old lady would call me names I would think never mind. But if a young woman would call me names, I would say why would you say that? The old lady has just been looking too much television but the young woman should know how to deal with migrants. (R7, p. 11-12)*

R10 and R1 indicated that they feel like they matured since their experiences with discrimination and know better how to handle a situation and how to stay calm. The female respondent who is still studying (R7) indicates on the other hand that she has become more impulsive and says anything that comes into her mind. This difference in development might be explained by the differences in age. Even though there is not a significant age difference between these three respondents, there is a considerable difference in life experience. R10 and R1 and both graduated and have both gone through a period of unemployment, whereas R7 is not yet looking for a full-time job but for a part-time job next to her studies. In addition, it is interesting to note that R1 indicates that when he was dealing with discriminating experiences he was not as seriously involved in the Islamic religion as he is now. He says this has really helped him:

*I was really young back at that time and not so serious with my religion as I am now. Also, I have more responsibilities now....It has something to do with age too. The older I became the more I matured and the more I personally developed and thus started to realize that not everybody is like that. (R1, p. 8-9)*

Another female respondent, who is still looking for a job (R8), indicates the same thing and explains that she often called people names or was talking about people behind their backs. Lessons on Islam and because she grew older made her realize that it is better not to do this and so she feels like she matured a lot.

Both male and female respondents indicated the importance of age when dealing with discrimination. A more advanced age seems to equal a more considered and responsible way of dealing with discrimination. Several respondents also indicated the importance of religion in the maturing process. They argue that the more serious people become with their religion the more serious they will be in other aspects of life. In addition, religion can help people finding a suitable way of dealing with discrimination.

## **5.2 Coping strategy**

The following paragraph looks into how the respondents coped with the specific situations. As discussed in the second chapter, this research focused on *voluntary* coping strategies since we want to gain knowledge in how and by what people are motivated to act in a certain way. This paragraph elaborates firstly on behaviour identified as related to problem-based strategies. Problem-based strategies (or engagement coping) can be divided into primary control coping and secondary control coping. Primary control coping behaviour is

directly aimed at altering objective conditions to enhance a sense of personal control over the environment and one's reactions, while secondary control responses are focused on adaptation to the problem (Miller & Kaiser, 2001). This paragraph is followed by an elaboration on behaviour identified as related to the emotive-based strategy (or disengagement coping). The model illustrated in figure 5.2, as derived from Miller and Kaiser (2001) was used, in order to clarify the different types of behaviour that have been demonstrated in the interviews for a clear overview.

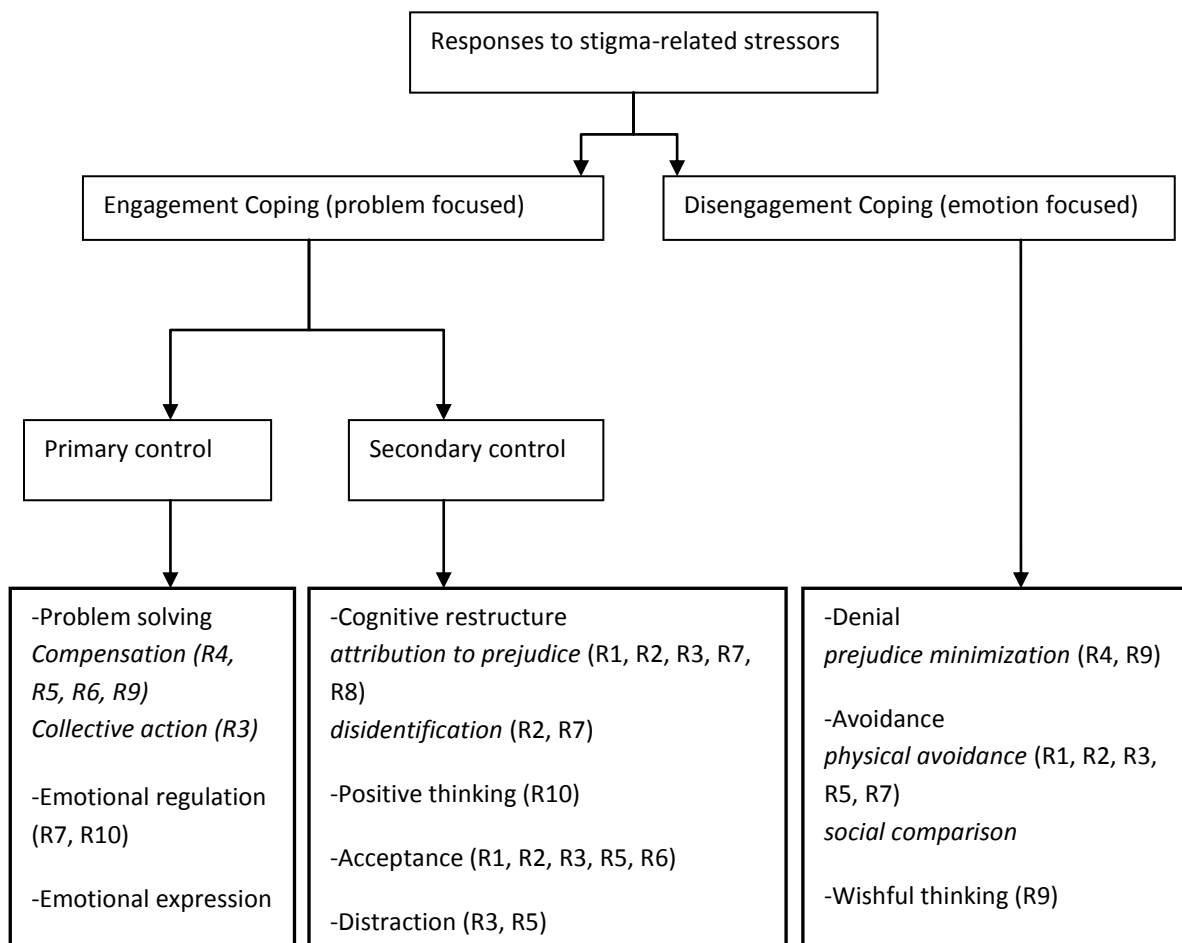


Figure 5.2: Model of voluntary coping responses to stress factors, derived from Miller and Kaiser (2001), completed according to research results.

### 5.2.1 Problem-based strategy

A profound analysis of the interviews made clear that a considerable share of respondents show both kinds of strategies, often while dealing with a singular discriminatory situation. Even though it is difficult to identify and distinguish between phases that respondents go through, these different kinds of strategies demonstrate separate phases the respondents went through. Often, the first phase respondents go through shows behaviour of the problem-based strategy. Half of all respondents demonstrated *cognitive restructuring* behaviour during the interviews. In this strategy, the meaning of threatening and stressful events is generally redefined (Miller & Kaiser, 2001, p. 81). The most identified act of this



kind of behaviour is the *attribution to prejudice*. One of the male respondents stated that it is hard to explain but that he knew most of the times that his background was the actual problem whenever he was rejected:

*Yes, you are angry, but actually I dealt with it really quickly because I am kind of used to it. It might be hard to explain but to you, you know what is really going on, even if it not confirmed by anyone....You just know that you are being discriminated, even if you do not have the facts. (R1, p. 6)*

In this statement, the respondent already shows different kinds of coping. Firstly, he addresses the situation to prejudice, which shows secondary control engagement coping. Secondly, he states that he tries to get over it quickly since he is used to it. This shows a kind of *acceptance*, which is another kind of secondary control engagement coping. The same respondent however, indicates later on in the interview, that he experienced his situation as tiresome and unalterable, which caused him to stop searching for a job for a certain period of time. He thus estimated the situation as a threat for which he does not possess the necessary recourses to decrease it, as argued by Lazarus and Folkman (in Utsey et al. 2000, p. 73). This decision caused him to proceed to an act of disengagement coping, which will be further discussed in the following section on emotive-based strategy since it is an act of voluntary avoidance. R9 shows similar avoidance behaviour (discussed in the following paragraph) but states additionally that his religion teaches him that what you are meant to become, you will become. Therefore, he has always had a positive attitude towards his pursuit for a job. This kind of *positive thinking* is part of the problem-based strategy.

These two men are not the only respondents that demonstrate behaviour of different strategies. One of the female respondents (R7) shows an equivalent phrasing as the previous discussed male respondents. The respondent had dealt with two different experiences with discrimination on the labour market and coped with both in a similar way. She firstly indicated to attribute the problem to prejudice, which can be seen as a secondary control coping since she is adapting to the problem (Miller & Kaiser, 2001). Secondly, she indicated that because she was a Muslim, she believed that what 'goes around comes back around', similar to R3. She too believed that each person would ultimately get what they deserved and so would she. Even though this is a kind of positive thinking she demonstrates simultaneously signs of *disidentification*, which is an attempt to devalue the importance of a stereotyped domain. Through this kind of behaviour, victims of social stigma aim at protecting their self-esteem in the face of poor outcomes in that domain (Miller & Kaiser, 2001, p. 82). In her statement, we can identify a third and additional type of coping strategy, namely physical avoidance since she explains to be determined not to apply for a job in the same shop again. The respondent stated the following:

*I just talked about it and that was it. I am not going to worry about something....That is not important, they are not worth it....Yes, I was bothered....Yes, I was really angry at him, I*

*thought it was really, really hypocritical behavior of him. But I am not setting any foot in your store again and I also do not need to start any conversation, it is oke....I am not going to spend anymore energy in someone that is hypocritical. (R7, p. 6-7)*

The respondent indicated in several statements that the occurred made her feel angry and hurt but that it at the same time made her feel extra motivated and strengthened. She was thus able to regulate her anger in order to keep a sense of control over the situation and to keep searching. This can be identified as primary control coping (Miller & Kaiser, 2001). This kind of behaviour can also be identified with another female respondent (R10), who indicated that she had felt angry for a short week after her first experience with discrimination but was able to regulate these feelings since she needed to find an internship if not to delay her studies. She too indicated that it made her feel extra motivated to find something else. Both women however, went through different phases. R7 firstly showed signs of *disidentification* and was thus able to regulate her anger. R10 however, did not regulate her anger by means of a secondary control coping act or emotive-based strategy but was also able to think positive afterwards. This shows the difficulty with identifying different phases and distinguishing between different behaviour. It is a fine line between the different acts of coping and they tend to overlap in certain cases.

Besides these two women, several other respondents showed primary control behaviour while dealing with discrimination on the labour market. Their actions were identified as *problem solving* coping which they each demonstrated in varying ways. Both female respondents were dealing with a situation in which they were confronted with wearing the Islamic headscarf. Interestingly, one of them (R6) demonstrates two different kinds of *problem solving* behaviour while dealing with the situation. Firstly, she indicates to dress appropriately in order to make a good impression, in order to convince she is not like the stereotype Moroccan girl:

*So I was thinking, all right, I wear a head scarf, so I am going to match it really cute with my other clothes so they will not make a problem about it. So I dressed properly, I had put on a dress. And I remember that I combined a black dress with a red head scarf so it would look trendy. (R6, p. 9)*

This indicates *compensation* behaviour, by means of attempting to achieve a goal despite the existence of prejudice by behaving in a stereotype-disconfirming fashion (Miller & Kaiser, 2003, p. 83). She later explains that she was welcome to start working there, if she would take off her head scarf. Since she was not convinced this was a rule throughout all offices in the Netherlands, she went to Amsterdam to see whether the girls working over there were not wearing scarves either. Since this was not the case, she confronted the manager:

*They told me that this was protocol for all offices all over the country, you always had to take it off. So I asked them one time why that was and they told me, 'well, it is because otherwise you might provoke aggression in people that are not employed but see you work. That did not make any sense. So I took the train to Amsterdam once, I just wanted to visit another office to see if they also were not wearing head scarves. Really, so many receptionists who were wearing a heads carve....serious discrimination is that....Yes, I did tell them. (R6, p. 11)*

One of the male respondents (R9) showed similar behaviour, he too confronted his manager with his sense of being discriminated. The other female respondent (R5) explained that in case of a job interview she always 'warned' the company that she was wearing a head scarf in case it would be a problem. If it would be, she does not want to find out until the interview. The youngest respondent (R4) indicated that having been confronted with discrimination in the application procedure, made him change his strategy in finding a job. He indicated that especially with his background, it was important for him and possible employers to see him in person and not just his name on an application form. Therefore, he now always comes by at the office in order to be seen by employers and/or employees. This is an act of adapting one's social interaction strategies in an attempt to achieve goals despite the existence of prejudice (Miller & Kaiser, 2001, p. 83).

This paragraph indicates the difficulty in distinguishing between different acts of behaviour. Except for one respondent (R8), all respondents demonstrated to have adapted two or more strategies within the same or within different experiences. This counts for both men and women, who demonstrate in most cases both primary control and secondary control behaviour. So far, there are no clear differences between men and women. Women involved in this research have shown a similar attachment to their faith, so clear behavioural differences based on religious motivation cannot be identified.

Different kinds of behaviour are often directly related to the different phases respondents go through. In most cases, respondents move from a secondary control coping strategy to another secondary control coping strategy, to a primary control coping strategy or to the emotive-based strategy. A considerable share of the respondents appears to estimate their situation firstly as a threat or possible challenge. Most situations are thus observed as (possibly) stressful. Since, most respondents moved on to another problem-based strategy, they tend to determine that they possess the necessary resources to deal with the situation and to decrease the threat (Lazarus & Folkman, in Utsey et al., 2000, p. 73). This might have something to do with the Moroccan culture, as indicated by one of the female respondents (R6). She states that she does not feel inclined to look for help of varying institutions since she is used within the Moroccan community that Moroccans take care of their own problems. In some cases however, the situation was estimated as a threat, for which the respondent did not believe to be in possession of the necessary resources to

deal with the situation. In these cases, the respondents would move to an emotion-based strategy. In the following paragraph is discussed what these kinds of behaviour entail.

### 5.2.2 Emotive-based strategy

Throughout the interviews, several acts and feelings were identified as part of the emotive-based strategy (or disengagement coping). All varying acts of disengagement coping as identified by Miller and Kaiser (2001) have been demonstrated by multiple respondents. One of the most found acts of disengagement coping, was voluntary (*physical*) *avoidance*. Voluntary avoidance can be explained as deliberately avoiding situations in which stigma may be a problem (Miller & Kaiser, 2001, p. 79). The most extreme case of physical avoidance is described by one of the male respondents (R1) who after multiple occurrences with discrimination on the labour market eventually felt dispirited and tired in such a way, that he explained to have given up at that time because of a hampering disbelief of ever finding a job:

*....And you just got more and more despondent and despondent....Yes, at a certain point I just quit searching yes....When I was about seventeen of eighteen years old. Basically, I just stopped looking, I just figured, screw you. I don't feel like it anymore, I'll figure it out how I get my money. That was more or less my attitude back then. (R1, p. 7)*

In the previous paragraph became clear that this respondent attributed his experiences to prejudice. Eventually, he thus determined not to possess the necessary resources to deal with his stressful situations, which caused him to stop trying and thus to avoid any more discriminating situations. As argued by Karlsen and Nazroo (2002), if time and frequency increase, the more an individual's confidence and aspirations are prone to being damaged. This situation of R1 is a clear example of someone who is damaged in such an extent that he gives up. A clear example of this can also be shown with one of the female respondents (R5). She explains that she was educated to be a secretary but stopped looking for a job as secretary since the application forms needed to be provided with a picture and she foresaw to be judged negatively on her head scarf:

*I have been looking for it but I never really sent an application, because I thought to myself, they would never hire me because they always ask you to send a picture and if they see a picture of me wearing a head scarf, I'll know for sure that they will judge me upon that....Yeah, in that case I do not even bother anymore. I do not even want to send a letter. (R5, p. 4-6)*

The respondent expects to be judged upon and discriminated because of her head scarf and therefore decided to avoid these applications since she did not have any confidence in a beneficial outcome. A male respondent (R3) demonstrates similar behaviour. He was

educated in economics but felt forced to stop looking for a job in the economic/banking sector since he estimated that his ethnic background obstructed him from finding a job:

*But anyway, since I was not able to work in the same sector anymore, I shifted into other directions. That was actually a forced direction....I have to admit that I send many applications in my life, and I received a lot of rejections. I thought to myself, well I guess it's part of the deal. But I have always kept in mind that my cultural background could be playing a role and that it is probably a significant role, but I will not let them get me down, I will push through. (R3, p. 9)*

He started to focus on different sectors since he expected not to be able to find a job in the economic sector again due to his cultural and ethnic background. The other two respondents (R2 and R7) both indicated to have lost their trust in a certain company and to have decided therefore not to apply for an offered position again. They mentioned this since they both found out that the company concerned was still looking or was looking again later on for employees.

Only two respondents demonstrated behaviour that indicated denial and wishful thinking. Within both of each male respondent (R4 and R9) we can identify behaviour that can be seen as *prejudice minimization*. Both of them have also demonstrated behaviour identified as problem-based coping. However, they both firstly show disengagement coping behaviour. They have indicated to be reluctant at first to attribute a particular rejection on the labour market to prejudice and therefore try to diminish the influence of discrimination in their situations. They demonstrate a certain denial of the possibly significant role that discrimination might have played in their particular cases, even though they indicated later on during the interview that they have considered discrimination as a possible factor. R9 clearly indicates that he tends to trust on the idea that he is judged within application procedures on his qualifications, since this is how society should work and works in his perspective. He explains that this is not a conscious choice but a mere believe in society that he is rejected based on his qualifications and only at a later point would he consider discrimination as an influencing factor. This final statement is an example of *prejudice minimization* but also of wishful thinking. The respondent exclaims his view of and strong belief in how society should work, even considering his experiences with rejections on the labour market. R4 does not specifically minimize the possibility of prejudice but shows throughout the interview a considerable reluctance to attribute his experience to prejudice. Even though he does consider discrimination, it is clear in his statement that he is reluctant to do so. He does not want to believe that anyone would think less of him than of any other native Dutch citizen: *"Yeah, it is kind a strange feeling, it's just, why? I'm a good guy. I am really friendly, I would hurt nobody. I am just the same as everybody. (R4, p. 7)*

### 5.2.3 Social support

It has already been argued that it is often difficult to distinguish between certain types of behaviour since a particular response can simultaneously serve multiple roles (Miller & Kaiser, 2001, p. 87). Social support is difficult to pin to a single function and being part of one specific coping strategy. Therefore, it will be discussed separately. Within this research, social support is addressed by all respondents, in varying ways. There are many different outcomes of accessing social support by stigmatized people. Within this research, social support mainly served for expressing frustration, sharing experiences and for distraction. Everybody indicated to be able to talk easily about discrimination on the labour market but also about discrimination in other domains. None of the respondents indicated to feel ashamed or to consider it as a taboo, nor did their social network. They indicated additionally that their social network was easily to talk to and everybody had a place or person to share their feelings and experiences. Only two respondents (R5 & R9) indicated not to have shared their experiences with discrimination. Both explain that their experiences did not worry or bother them. Additionally, both respondents state that since it wasn't bothering them, they did not feel the need to share it with others. It is difficult to clarify the influences of the social surroundings on the concerning respondents. R1 indicated to share his experiences with his friends and when he did there was mostly quite a lot of scolding out of frustration and sympathy. He explained his social network mostly consisted of Dutch Moroccans. The reason he eventually lost his motivation and stopped looking for a job, might have something to do with his social network. This, because stigmatized people are less likely to use *denial* to cope with discrimination and more likely to make *attributions to prejudice* when they have social support from other stigmatized people (Miller & Kaiser, 2001, p. 87). Being mostly surrounded by other Dutch Moroccan presumably made him especially sensitive for discrimination and increased his discouragement to look for a job.

Both men and women involved in this research indicated not to feel ashamed about their experiences with discrimination and to be able to talk easily about this subject. This is not in line with the previously formulated expectation of men not to talk easily about their experiences with discrimination. Coping strategies are influenced by varying factors, including one's social network. Since there can be a culture of masculinity detected within varying Moroccan social groups, honour is easily damaged. In order not to lose face you need to get or remain respect from the group (Pels, 2003). Admitting that one has failed to get a job might harm an individual's honour considerably, therefore risking to lose respect of the group. This has however not been the case among the included respondents who all indicated to share their experiences without a feeling of it being a taboo. This might have something to do with the generation of the respondents. Since all respondents grew up in the Netherlands, they are all familiar with Dutch culture and customs and feel part of this too. Respondents are thus balancing between different cultures.

#### 5.2.4 Context

Between respondents, contexts varied extremely. All Dutch Moroccans involved had different kinds of experiences with discrimination. Most of the respondents indicated they were looking for a steady job, two were looking for an internship and three were looking for a part-time job. To what extent people estimated their situation as urgent varied. Two female respondents (R7 and R10) claimed that their situation was urgent since they had to find an internship if they did not want to be delayed in their studies. Both of them applied a primary control coping strategy by means of emotional regulation. In both cases the addressed company for a possible internship clearly expressed a preference for a native Dutch intern. Another female respondent (R6) explained that her situation was quite urgent. Her initial plan was to continue studying but had to look for a job since she was in debt. She went through quite some trouble finding work and she eventually accepted to take off her head scarf in order to be offered a job. She indicated that she felt forced to take this job because of her outstanding payment but regretted this now because she would have preferred to still be wearing a head scarf:

*So I went to work, but I was sorry afterwards....Otherwise I would have worn a head scarf for years. It is difficult if you have to take it off and on, you see.... Maybe I should have waited longer, maybe I would have found something where I would not have to take it off. (R6, p. 10)*

The respondents who experienced one or more incidents with discrimination on the labour market showed little difference between coping strategies however the contexts differed considerably. R7 had an experience with discrimination while looking for a part-time job and while looking for an internship. With the first, she had submitted an application form but was not invited for an interview. For the internship it was already agreed upon that she would fill the position but was rejected after an introductory meeting. Even though the context differs substantially, she did not demonstrate a different kind of coping strategy.

Only one respondent (R2) indicated to have been discriminated within the application procedure in a direct attack by the employer. He explained to have been refused the job since he looked too much like Osama Bin Laden. He would then provoke fear and aggression within the security branch. Several respondents indicated that they would respond more anticipatory if they would be confronted with discrimination in a more direct manner, compared to being faced with a rejection by an 'automatic response'. The respective respondent however, does not demonstrate different behaviour when dealing with this incident in comparison to his other, more impersonal rejection. Furthermore, several respondents indicated to find it worse, if they were being confronted with discrimination in a direct manner. However, R2 demonstrated again in this regard, divergent behaviour. He explained to be less bothered by the employer who refused to give him a job on account of his similar appearance to Osama Bin Laden. He indicated that he appreciated the employer for being honest with him and that he could understand his argumentation. It

was thus a personal decision not to shave his beard at that time. When comparing the coping strategy applied by R1 with respondents that experienced less direct discriminating replies, there are no specific differences to be found. On the contrary, the respondent demonstrates similar coping strategies to R1, R3 and R5 who all indicated not to have been directly attacked.

It is difficult to indicate the exact role that the contextual aspects play in coping strategies. The respondents involved in this research, do not show clear relations between specific situational factors and behaviour. There are also no clear differences or similarities between men and women, only that women tend to describe their situation more often as urgent. Even though all male respondents, except for R4 who is still studying, were looking for a steady job, they did not describe their situation as urgent. Only the two female respondents who were looking for an internship described their situation as urgent. This is remarkable, since one might consider finding a steady job to be of greater urgency than finding an internship. However, an explanation might be found in factors that are not thoroughly investigated in this research. For instance, how individuals cope with stress in general and the exact financial situation individuals are in.

#### *5.2.5 Conclusion*

Respondents involved in this research have demonstrated engagement coping strategy behaviour (problem-based) and disengagement coping strategy behaviour (emotive-based). Looking at problem-based strategy behaviour, mostly secondary control behaviour has been identified. Except for one, all respondents demonstrated two or more different kinds of behaviour. A considerable share of respondents even showed both problem-based strategy behaviour as well as emotive-based strategy behaviour. Interestingly, different behaviours are applied when dealing with a specific discriminating situation, often with a problem-based strategy at first, followed by an emotive-based strategy. At forehand, this research took into account that individuals could apply different strategies for different situation but not particularly for a singular situation. This might be the result of a fine line between the different coping behaviours.

Men and women demonstrated similar behaviour during the interviews and no significant gender differences were identified. The expectation of women showing more problem-based strategy behaviour is partly true. They show more primary control coping behaviour but not significantly more secondary control behaviour. Women were expected to demonstrate more often a problem-based strategy since they would consult social support easier whereas men would be reluctant to do this in order to keep or get respect within the Moroccan culture. However, this final expectation did not come out, since men showed to use social support in a similar way as women did. In addition, none of the men indicated that they felt ashamed for being discriminated or embarrassed talking about their experiences.

Some of the respondents indicated what the literature argues as well: men would be more harmed by discrimination than women because stereotyping is mainly focused on men (Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1088). Interestingly, only two respondents demonstrated



behaviour that denied the significance of prejudice and tried to minimize its possible influence in their experiences. Both respondents were men (R4 and R9). Notable, only these two respondents have a university education. Lastly, it is assumed that increased time and frequency would cause an individual's confidence and aspiration to be damaged (Karlsen & Nazroo, 2002). This however, only held true for one of the respondents (R1). Almost all respondents indicated to have been confronted with discrimination more than once, but indicated to only feel increasingly motivated and strengthened by their experiences. They did not lose energy to look for a job. This might be a result of the fact that most respondents indicated to have accepted prejudice in Dutch society and the feeling they need to prove themselves as Dutch Moroccans on the labour market. Only R1 indicated to be very reluctant to prove himself since he strongly disagrees with this societal attitude.

### ***5.3 Social identity***

As explained in previous chapters, social identity plays a significant role in coping with discrimination. Whether someone is more or less consciously focused on discriminating behaviour is related to the extent an individual identifies him or herself with the ethnic group. The way people believe they ought to behave within the group they belong to, help to determine how they psychologically respond to perceived ethnic discrimination (Sellers & Shelton, 2003, p. 1090). Reflecting on the literature, this part of the research focused on language proficiency, religiosity, social networks, culture and one's perception of society. These aspects will be analyzed in that sequence.

#### ***5.3.1 Language***

All interviews were conducted in Dutch since all respondents were native or excellent Dutch speakers. With the exception of one, all respondents indicated to have good to excellent proficiency of either the Arabic or Berber language. In most cases, this was the language that was taught at home. Nine of the ten Moroccans learned to speak either the Arabic or Berber language from their parents and indicate not or barely to speak Dutch with their parents. In some cases this was due to a minimal proficiency of Dutch of the parents. This happened in other cases either automatically because the parents had no or poor proficiency of Dutch language or it was 'just the way it is'. Several respondents indicated that their parents never learned to speak appropriate Dutch since their stay in the Netherlands was supposed to be temporary. Others however indicate that it was a conscious decision of their parents to make sure that their children spoke their native language at home and would learn the Dutch language outside the house, mostly at school. Thus, a 33 year old male indicates that his parents taught him it was important to maintain certain aspects of your culture, like the language. His parents therefore made a conscious decision to allow only the Arabic language inside the house:

*At home, we usually speak Arabic. I have always learned it that way, I was raised to speak Arabic at home, my parents thought it was important, a part of the culture that we were able to keep alive....But naturally we had to do our best outside the house, at school, with friends, in order to create a good living for ourselves, because this is our country. (R3, p. 1)*

In addition, a 33 year old female stated that she was raised with the Moroccan language at home since her father was afraid that they would otherwise not learn the language their entire family spoke:

*At home Moroccan, but that is how my dad raised us. So we were able to speak Moroccan from an early age at home. We had to, we were not allowed to speak Dutch inside the house. Because he was afraid that otherwise, we would not learn the Moroccan language sufficiently. And that is true you know, if you don't speak it at home, it is really difficult. (R6, p. 1)*

The same respondent additionally said that she found it important to adjust to the Dutch context, while maintaining certain aspects of her ethnic group, since that is where your roots lie. She believes that it is therefore important to teach your children Moroccan in order for them to be able to communicate with family.

All respondents indicated that they have more (extended) family living in the Netherlands. It varies however per family and within families to what extent the Arabic or Dutch language is spoken. Each respondent explained that it is not always possible to speak Moroccan to family or friends since there are various differences in the languages Moroccans speak. A considerable share of Moroccans in the Netherlands comes from the Berber region and this region has their own language which differs from Moroccan Arabic. In addition, there exist multiple dialects within Moroccan Arabic which forces Moroccans in the Netherlands to speak Dutch to each other if they originate from different regions. Most respondents prefer to speak Dutch outside their family home, for varying reasons. Several Moroccans indicate that they are better able to express themselves emotionally in Dutch or simply have better proficiency in Dutch than that they do in Moroccan. One of the respondents came to the Netherlands when he was 16 and had to learn Dutch later in life than the other respondents. He too indicates to prefer to speak Dutch. He explains that the more Dutch he is able to speak; the better it is for him. Through this, he aims at reducing his linguistic disadvantage:

*Yes, the more I speak Dutch, the better it is for me....My Dutch can always be improved because I came to the Netherlands too late. Yes, you do have a disadvantage and you want to catch up. (R2, p. 1)*

Of nine respondents, both parents were of Moroccan descent. One male respondent (R4) had only one parent of Moroccan descent. He indicated to have poor proficiency of the Arabic language since both his parents talked Dutch at home. His father is originally Moroccan but speaks fluently Dutch and did not put much emphasis on the Arabic language throughout his childhood. He thus also indicates to prefer the Dutch language. In general, all respondents that had a job spoke at work Dutch. For some it worked in certain cases as an advantage to speak Moroccan, if working with a Moroccan target group.

In general we can conclude that being able to speak Arabic or a Moroccan dialect (usually both are referred to as Moroccan language) is considered quite important. Men and women indicated equally the significance of the ability to speak the Moroccan language. Three of the respondents indicated the desire to pass on the Moroccan language to their (future) children. It is additionally important for visits paid to family in Morocco. A majority of the respondents stated to visit Morocco at least annually and want to be able to communicate with family. Overall, the Moroccan language was believed to be an important aspect to pass through, however, possibly in most cases also necessary and inevitable since parents did not speak adequately Dutch while raising their children. As indicated in the first chapter, significance attached to holding on to one's mother language is related to stronger ties to one's ethnic group.

### *5.3.2 Religion*

As previously indicated, 97% of the Dutch Moroccans state to be Muslim (SCP, 2014). The one respondent (R4) that did not indicate to be a Muslim was not raised with religion. His father is Muslim and was raised with Islamic notions and his mother is a Protestant and was raised with Christian notions. His parents made a conscious decision not to raise him religiously but he does indicate to have learned certain religious norms and values throughout his childhood, like respect for the elderly. In addition, he has learned not to eat pork meat which is common for Muslims.

Nine out of ten respondents in this research indicated to consider themselves to be Muslim. All nine respondents were raised within an Islamic family and were initially taught by their parents. Each respondent practiced their religion in different ways and explained in different ways how and why it was important to them. In all cases however, religion was said to play an important role in their lives. Several respondents indicated that the Islam for them is a way of life. It provides them with a certain guidance through life and choices are as often as possible made from an Islamic viewpoint. Half of those interviewed said to pray five times a day.

As previously stated by Sisler (in Browers, 2014), is religion less seen as an inherited cultural legacy but more and more seen as privatized with an increasing insistence on religion as a system of values and ethics. This individualization cannot be distinctly found back within this research. Two out of nine religious respondents claimed not to share their religion with others. Both respondents have other Muslims in their network but practice

their religion in their own way. One of the male respondents (R9, p.1) indicated that religion for him is something individual. Since everybody explains a religion in their own way, he does not share it with others in that sense. He argues additionally that it depends on the society, living environment and (work) surrounding of an individual, for how he gives meaning to his or her faith. This corresponds to Sislars argument (in Browsers, 2014), who stated that transnational Islam changes in practice across the world. European Islam is argued to emphasize the role of the Self and encouraged a more privatized religion (Browsers, 2014). A 33 year old women (R5) indicates additionally that she practices her religion for herself and not for others:

*Well sharing, no, it is just everybody for himself I think....I would not tell the neighbour lady to go and do this and this, you know? I am doing it for me, it is not like I share it with others. (R5, p. 2)*

Three of the religious respondents indicate to share their religion, with either family or friends. A 21 year old female (R7) points out that it is important for her to share her religion, however she does not need to share the same religion. This shows that she interprets the possibility of sharing in a different manner, since people are able to share different views of different religions with each other in her explanation:

*Actually, it does not matter to me whether they are Muslims, Christians or Catholics. It is about what kind of person you are. That is what is important to me. (R7, p. 2)*

What additionally indicates a more individualistic view of Islamic religion is how female respondents explain (not) to wear a head scarf. One of the women is currently wearing a head scarf (R5) and one of the women (R6) explains that she wore it several years ago but had to take it off for a job. The other three women indicate to consider wearing a scarf in the future but have personal reasons not to wear it just yet. They all describe these decisions as their own:

*Yes, I am just not ready for that yet. I still like to wear tight jeans and to do my hair and if you are wearing a head scarf, certain rules come with that....And I am still going on holidays to warm climates, where I really would like to lay on the beach and that would be really difficult then. (R10, p. 1)*

As explained by Browsers (2014), Islamic minorities face challenges within a European context. Three respondents state to encounter practical difficulties in practising their faith here in the Netherlands, due to working conditions and societal perceptions. The third respondent (male, 34) declares the wish to pray more and visit the Mosque more often, but is virtually not in the possibility to do this due to work. His work place is not adapted to and does not take the Islamic religion into account. One of the female respondents (R6)

encounters the same problem but argues that one needs to have discipline. If there is no time to go somewhere, she prays in her car and washes herself at a petrol station. Another male respondent (R2), indicates that it is difficult for him to strictly follow the rules of the Islam in the Netherlands since it can be interpreted as rude within the Dutch society:

*For example, I am not allowed to shake a woman's hand....But with some people, if you do not do that, you are rude, and in my job I should always shake someone's hand....And that is difficult sometimes....You have to be able to deal with that, and you have to find a clever way in handling it. (R2, p. 6)*

This statement is in line with Browsers (2014), who argues that nearly a third of all Muslims living as minorities throughout the world face challenges on a daily basis in an attempt to maintain their Islamic identity while negotiating their immediate socio-political context (R2). Even though several respondents indicated practical difficulties, none of the others indicated difficulties involving people around them and faced difficulties that only concerned them. Furthermore, mostly male respondents indicate the wish to be able to visit the Mosque more often, but are prevented mostly through work.

Concerning gender, several differences and similarities are found between men and women. Several female respondents indicated that as girls, they were not raised with visits to the Mosque. One of them (R6) states that even though society has a totally different perception, she feels like women uphold an advantaged position within the Islam and are treated with luxury since they are not obliged to pray at the Mosque, while men are expected to do this. This is not in line with the argument of Buitelaar (2007) who states that Moroccan Islamic families in the Netherlands uphold a traditional gender role division and that girls are therefore more restricted in their freedom. None of the interviewed girls indicated to feel disadvantaged or restricted and they were all either working, studying or looking for a job. Noteworthy, all women state to pray five times a day while none of the men state to do this. Three of the women are working but have (created) the conditions to pray during work. One of them is unemployed (R8) and one is still studying (R7). All the religious men are working but indicate not to have the necessary conditions at work to be able to pray five times a day or did not mention the wish to do this. Considering the expectations formulated at the end of the second chapter, the female respondents participating in this research do not show less strong ties to the Islamic religion than the male respondents.

For all of the respondents, the Islamic religion played a more or less significant role in their lives. Only one respondent indicated not to be a Muslim and he is the only one with a Dutch parent and not raised with the Islamic religions. Within the lives of the others, the Islamic religion played a significant role, explained in different ways. Buitelaar (2007) argued that young Moroccans are double tied between opportunities within society and parental expectations, possibly caused by the faith of the previous generation that did not develop simultaneously with the second and third generation. Still 73% of the Moroccan population

feel however that Muslims should live according to the rules of the Islam, suggesting that the ideas of the first generation are still highly valued (Buitelaar, 2007). This can also be traced back throughout the interviews. None of the religious respondents indicate certain expectations in practising their faith, other than from themselves. Practising of faith seems to have become more individualized but the Islamic religion served as a guidance and goal throughout all religious respondents.

### 5.3.3 Culture and social network

In regard to cultural aspects within the lives of the respondents, it proved to be difficult to distinguish between the Islamic religion and the Moroccan culture. One of the female respondents (R5) indicates that religion plays a more significant role in her social relations than her ethnic and cultural background. She struggles however in explaining the difference. Another male respondent (R9) explains that his ethnicity does not play a role in his social relations and in his identity whatsoever. He states that it is difficult to estimate to what extent the Islam is part of his Moroccan background and that these are often confused for being the same thing. Even though he feels like his religion plays a more important role in his relations, he believes that the most important thing for productive social relations is a certain connection with someone. This is true for all respondents who claim to have a diverse network, consisting of several ethnic identities and religious preferences. One of the female respondents explains that she enjoys having people around her of different backgrounds (R6). She argues additionally that people of specific cultural backgrounds will always pull towards each other since it is appreciated to share certain aspects of your culture, which is confirmed by a majority of the respondents, especially considering life partners. Most of the respondents indicate that they prefer somebody with a similar background to share their life with. They note that they easier feel connected with somebody with a similar background. This has both to do with religion and with cultural background. One of the men indicates that he prefers somebody with the same cultural background (R3), while one of the women (R1) indicates that it is important to her that her husband is a Muslim. A preference for a life partner with the same background is more clearly indicated by the women participating in this research. This might have to do with parents who might not approve of a non-Muslim or non-Moroccan partner. This is explained by one of the girls:

*But for women it is like, your surname will be the same as your husbands and not the other way around. Honour is still quite important in our culture....I guess I find that important, maybe because we were raised that way, that certain things are tasks of the man and he has to provide for the family. It is a bit of experience of my family. (R7, p. 4)*

Some of the respondents explicitly stated that when comparing Dutch and Moroccan cultural aspects and traditions, they prefer Moroccan. Especially the female participants indicate that certain cultural aspects like food, music and parties are highly valued and often

preferred over Dutch cultural aspects. It is explained as that it would be 'dull' to be Dutch, since Moroccan traditions are more exuberant:

*I mean, I do not mean it in a bad way, but being Dutch really looks boring. It is just that so much is always happening in the Moroccan community that the Dutch community seems really quite....They are really more fun and wear beautiful dresses....It is just more spectacular than a Dutch wedding. (R8, p. 4)*

In regard to feelings of involvement within the Dutch Moroccan community, respondents generally struggled. Most of the respondents indicate that they feel addressed if other Moroccans negatively come into view. Even though they have nothing to do with the specific individuals they do experience a certain shame since they are Moroccans too. Several explain they feel like it is a pity, since not all Moroccans are the same and they do not want not be viewed as such. However, they get this feeling through negative publicity and reactions of people around them. A couple of them indicate that they are often asked specifically about how they feel about certain societal issues like IS. They point out that it feels like people expect them to think differently about these topics even though they do not:

*And I mean at some occasions, for instance something happens with two Moroccans....like the jewellery in Deurne that was robbed....In those cases, they approach me differently when they ask how I look upon those things. They specifically ask me about my perspective on those cases. (R4, p. 3)*

In addition, most respondent indicate that they feel most addressed if other Dutch Moroccans are viewed negatively, and less if they come into view positively. However, two respondents indicate that they can also feel proud if they hear or see other Moroccans that are successful in Dutch society. A couple of respondents state not to feel addressed and connected with the Dutch Moroccan community. However, they do indicate that they think that it is a shame when Moroccans are viewed in a certain way, since they are part of the group, whether they would like it or not. To greater or lesser extent, all participants seem to feel part of the Dutch Moroccan community and feel more or less addressed if they come into view either negative or positive.

As argued by Buitelaar (2007), a considerable share of migrants from Moroccan descent are said to be double tied between staying loyal to parents and making the most of what the Netherlands have to offer. In ambivalent feelings on belonging, ethnic or religious backgrounds would appear to play a less significant role than climbing up the social ladder does. None of the respondents however, have indicated that they have felt in a greater or lesser extent encumbered or discouraged by their parents, considering their educational or professional ambitions. All respondents indicated to have a good relation with their families as well are having a career or pursuing one, without implying a negative relation between

these two aspects. In addition, Buitelaar (2007) argued that the wish to prove oneself within the Dutch society would especially be visible with girls. Even though all female participants talked about their careers and ambitions, this research does not verify the specific relation between ambitions and girls. Men participating in this research seemed to be just as motivated to pursue a certain professional status. Additionally, both male and female respondents participated in Dutch society, while still being part of a Moroccan/Islamic network.

#### *5.3.4 Perception of society*

The way respondents feel about Dutch society varies. In general, respondents indicate that they feel like they need to prove themselves because of their ethnicity. As a Dutch Moroccan, they feel like they need to be or perform better than native Dutch, in order to have an equal chance at getting a job. One of the male respondents claims that this counts more for boys than for girls (R2). Another respondent explains this by saying that his father taught him that he always needed to work harder since you start with a disadvantage:

*You just need to try your hardest because you started out at minus 1 in this country, it is as simple as that. And although I was born here, I too need to work twice as hard to alter this image (R3, p. 10)*

One of the other male respondents (R4) claims that he recognizes the feeling of proving oneself, but does not feel like this applies to him. To his opinion, studying at a university is enough proof of him being equally qualified as any other native Dutch contestant. Additionally, almost all respondents feel like migrants and certainly Moroccans are judged upon in Dutch society. In addition, he says that he simultaneously understands this societal paradigm since there have been too much individuals that have caused this prejudice (R4). Two respondents indicate specifically that they feel like society has become more hostile. Especially migrants with a low social economic position are victimized. On the other hand, several respondents indicate that the Netherlands is a country with great opportunities. Even though there appears to be mixed feelings about Dutch society simultaneously in progress, all respondents are willing to work for participation in society and do not want to leave the Netherlands. Several respondents have expressed that their place in Moroccan society would be similar to the Netherlands. One of the female respondents indicates that she could never return permanently to Morocco:

*If you look at the Netherlands and you would compare it to Morocco, you have many more rights here in this country and everything is better organised....If I would have to go back to Morocco, I really would not be able to make it. I have once worked there for seven months and I just got anxious at the end when I had to go back. (R6, p. 2)*



For male as well as female respondents participating in this research counts that they felt or feel in a greater or lesser extent that they need to proof themselves within Dutch society. Some of the respondents indicate that they (have) struggle(d) in the past with this feeling. Others however state that they can understand this societal attitude. They explain that they see where the negativity and distrust comes from. Several respondents already touched upon the importance of social demographic factors in this case. It is mentioned several times that respondents feel that low educated Dutch citizens and older people are often more prejudiced considering Moroccans:

*It also has to do with where you have grown up....People from villages with a 'village mentality' where really only native Dutch live and where they retrieve their information only of the news. Or low educated people, who think that they are unemployed or do not have the job they desire because we are here. Those are the kind of things you hear or read on internet or television now and then. (R6, p. 12)*

Three other female respondents indicate that they observe that multicultural attitudes vary throughout different provinces of the Netherlands. Native Dutch citizens in cities like Amsterdam and Utrecht are considered to have a more accepting and respectful attitude towards Moroccans and other migrants since it is a more multicultural place. Bad experiences with discrimination would thus be happening mostly here in the province of Gelderland, according to one of the female respondents (R7, p. 9). Additionally, one of them mentioned that she is thinking about moving to Amsterdam, since she believes that it would increase her chances of getting a job (R8). One of the other female respondents recently moved to Amsterdam and has an opposite view on this matter. She states that it is even more difficult for migrants to find a job in the West since there are living so many migrants that have caused trouble (R10).

#### *5.3.5 Conclusion*

Considering social identity, several aspects came forward as playing an important role when looking at coping strategies and report behaviour. Overall, there was little difference found between men and women in their perception on society. In general, the respondents have to deal with certain negativity but are willing to do this since they see opportunities and want to participate within Dutch society. As it was often difficult for respondents to indicate the importance of certain aspects in their lives, it turned out to be difficult to indicate exactly to what extents aspect played a role. Unless certain difficulties to what extent religion was important and how this is revealed, the Islamic religion seems to play a significant role in the individual lives of the respondents. Not only in relation to coping strategy and report behaviour but also within others aspects of their lives. Respondents explain that Islam plays a significant role in how choices are made, considering different possibilities first from an Islamic viewpoint.

Next to religion, perception of society and social network came forward as important aspects of social identity. All respondents have indicated a more or less strong sense of being unequally treated, which causes a more negative perception of society. Furthermore, all respondents indicated as well to have a considerably varying social network, consisting of Moroccan as well as native Dutch friends, colleagues and acquaintances. Even though respondents uphold a relatively negative perception of society, they do not want to be solely part of a Moroccan community. In addition, all respondents indicated to be able to talk about their experiences within their social network and that this is often part of a coping strategy.

#### **5.4 Report behaviour**

As explained in the second chapter, report behaviour involves specific actions that someone consciously pursues. If there is no sign of report behaviour, this can be both a conscious and unconscious act. Since it is a kind of behaviour that falls within the problem-based strategy, this section stands in direct relation to a primary control coping strategy. Furthermore, this paragraph will discuss the extent of stigmatization as experienced by the respondents and the reasons indicated not to have reported their experiences at Ieder1Gelijk (or a similar institution).

By means of reporting experiences with discrimination, individuals try to enhance a sense of personal control over the environment and one's reactions (Miller & Kaiser, 2001). By means of reporting, individuals try to solve the problem and to change the situation. Reporting experiences at Ieder1Gelijk or another government institution can result in helping the individual in varying ways and it can increase possible communal action. Within this research, reporting behaviour covers notifying directly the employer, the police and/or (and within this research with a focus on) Ieder1Gelijk.

##### **5.4.1 Argumentation**

None of the respondents involved in this research have reported their experiences with discrimination within the application procedure on the labour market at Ieder1Gelijk or an institution with a similar service. Two respondents indicated to have filed a complaint at Ieder1Gelijk or at the police concerning another discriminating experience. R4 indicated he was discriminated in two different public sphere settings, for which he had informed the company involved and the police. R3 indicated that he had approached Ieder1Gelijk for, and together with, his sister. Even though reasoning to file a complaint varies, several arguments emerged a considerable number of time. Firstly, a majority argues they do not see the point of filing a complaint if they do not have sufficient evidence to support their statement. Most of them state that they do not have any confidence that reporting their experiences would benefit them in any way and they express the expectation not be taken seriously:

*What could they mean to me, because you do not feel taken seriously most of the time....I wonder if really something happens with my complaint but I don't think so. I do not*

*have a lot of faith in it....Because I have never seen or heard something of others that such an institution really acted upon it, you know. (R6, p. 15)*

*But if you would consider for instance to file a complaint for discrimination, it is the same story all over again, it is really hard to prove. How are you going to prove that they reject you because of the colour of your skin or because of your background. So I won't even try....The result is almost zero. And if there is no result it is not worth to try and waist your energy.... No proof so cased closed. (R1, p. 10)*

The respondents indicating not to file a complaint without evidence of having been discriminated are mostly concerned about individual interests. R2 argues additionally that he was concerned with getting a job and not with suing people and he therefore did not had the time and energy to report his experience:

*For me there was no use in trying to take it to court. It would take a lot of my time, and it would cost a lot of energy. I did not feel like it. I did not had the time to do that, I was busy finding a job. I was not busy trying to retain or attack someone. I could have done it though. (R2, p. 13)*

Three respondents indicate that needing to have evidence is not necessarily relevant if wanting to file a complaint. R4 and R9 indicate that it is not (just) about individual interests, but about societal interests. They argue that people need to feel responsible to report their experiences in order to make a difference in time in society. R5 indicate that having evidence in order to file a complaint is not necessary, she argues that if that was the case it would barely be possible anymore to report discrimination. She states that she personally did not file a complaint at *Ieder1Gelijk* because she was not aware of their existence. Apart from not feeling inclined to file a complaint, a considerable share of respondents indicated that they had never heard of *Ieder1Gelijk* while dealing with their specific situations on the labour market. As indicated before, R7 and R3 expressed their believe in that 'what goes around comes back around'. Therefore, people around them who do them wrong will eventually 'get what they deserve'. This motivated R7 not to file a complaint.

Arguments (not) to report show the importance of the context and the people involved. It has been argued before that direct personal encounters with discrimination, for example if an individual is being called names or assaulted on the street, would cause more damage. There has been only one respondent (R2) who was confronted with a direct attack and he chose not to file a complaint. He stated that he respected and appreciated that the concerning employer was honest to him:

*And it was this and that and eventually he said sorry, I cannot hire you. So I asked him what is wrong, and he said to me you look like Bin Laden, just like that. But actually I had to laugh about it because someone is honest to you. I could have taken it to court but at least*

*he was honest to me. So I told him 'alright, I can understand that' and that was it....Because he told me the truth, he was honest, and that is where I draw the line. (R2, p. 11 & p. 13)*

R7 indicated that she did not feel inclined to file a complaint since the potential employer was an old man. Due to his advanced age, she felt like it was not worth the time and energy to bring him into trouble. She mentioned that it would be different and more painful if it would have concerned a younger person, since she expects them to be able to work and live with migrants:

*...Then, I was just like, you are just a silly old man, ignorant. Never mind. I will not cost you any more trouble, you are already old. I think it is the advanced age or something....But in that shop work a lot of young people. And that hurts the most. Because they are still young and they should know how a human being can feel. And with him I was just like, you are old, never mind, there is no point in starting an argument with you....People of age have just been watching the media, he had watched too much television. But I draw the line at the younger generation, that should not be tolerated. You are going to a school where migrants go too, so you should be able to deal with them. (R7, p. 11-12)*

Even if Ieder1Gelijk is unable to provide advice or juridical help in a particular case, they can always provide a reassuring service. However, most of the respondents indicate not to feel any need for this service or they give the impression not to need this. Three respondents mention in particular that they would appreciate someone at Ieder1Gelijk to reassure her and to listen to her, even if they would not be able to help. This appreciation was expressed by several female respondents (R5, R8 and R10): *"Yes....It is nice to talk to someone who knows a lot about it and to hear what their experiences with those kinds of occurrences are"* (R5, p. 9).

Three respondents indicated to have filed a complaint once or several times. These complaints were not related to (their own) experiences on the labour market. R4 indicated to have filed a complaint directly at the bus company when he encountered a discriminating bus driver. Secondly, he had a discriminating situation when he was out with his friends and was not allowed access to a bar. He then filed a complaint at the police office. He explains that these experiences had more impact on him than the job rejection since it felt more personal. R3 indicated to have filed a complaint at Ieder1Gelijk for his sister when she was confronted with discrimination in the application procedure. He explains to have quite an extensive background when it comes to empowerment of the position of Dutch Moroccans in Nijmegen and works within similar fields as Ieder1Gelijk. He therefore understands the importance of reporting and the involved individual and societal interests. R6 indicated to have confronted her own employer with what she considered as discrimination. In addition, she confronted the teacher and principal of her brother, who was treated unequally in class by his teacher. By means of confronting people directly she felt like being in the best position to change the situation. She gives the impression that filing a complaint at

Ieder1Gelijk or at the police does not feel like changing the situation, mostly due to her lack of faith in the possibilities of these institutions. She does not consider filing a complaint as dealing with and possibly solving the problem.

#### 5.4.2 Future behaviour

Each respondent indicated that he or she believed that reporting discrimination can be useful. This is notable, since no one actually reported their experiences with discrimination within the application procedure on the labour market. Most of the respondents however indicate that they would consider filing a complaint in the future. Three male respondents (R1, R4 and R9) indicate additionally that they believe everyone confronted with discrimination should report their experiences. This, in order to gain insight into the extent and content of the problem and in order to increase the power of Ieder1Gelijk to address the problem. However, a considerable share expressed their mistrust in the benefits of reporting discrimination. Two respondents (R1 and R10) mention that they would like to report discrimination in the future if it would occur again, however only in case they have evidence to support their complaint. For five respondents this was the dominant argument not to have reported their previous experiences, for a lack of evidence. They state that without evidence, they have no chance to be benefited by filing a complaint. This perspective on reporting experiences of discrimination is focused primarily on individual interests. Overall, the dominant motivation to file a complaint are individual interests even though a majority of six respondents indicate that everybody should report their experiences. Even though most of the respondents indicate the importance of collective reporting, they seem to need an incentive to report their experiences. If there is no realistic chance of individual benefit, they only want to file a complaint *if* everybody does so. R1 expresses that even if everybody would report, he still has doubts about a positive outcome:

*It is like I just said, if a company is discriminating dozens of times and everybody would file a complaint, then maybe they can do something about it and have an impact. But even then it is highly doubtful. (R1, p. 10)*

*I would file a complaint sooner if the experience did not only concern me. They will do it anyway, so if it is just me with my statement and experience with discrimination, then yeah, so? If it was just me that would go and file a complaint and I would have this piece of paper saying I experienced something that was discriminating, I would not do it. To my believe, they would not take me seriously. That is how I feel about it and how I have experienced it so far. (R7, p. 13 – 14)*

Some respondents indicate as well that a discriminating experience would need to happen more than once if they would chose to act upon it:

*If I would hear something, more often, it if would happen only once so to say, maybe it is a joke, since I would not know exactly how they express themselves. But if I would really hear it more often then, yes, I would definitely inform the employer. But if he doesn't do anything about it, I would report it. (R8, p. 11)*

*Yes, yes, I think it can be useful if it happens for multiple occasions and everybody would report it, maybe they can do something about it. But I have not experienced anything ever since, so I do not know whether it is still happening a lot. (R10, p. 12)*

R3 and R9 are the only respondents that argue explicitly for the societal interest of reporting. However, R9 also considered his own experience with discrimination not as important enough to report since he did not need any help and because he was not really disadvantaged by his experience.

#### *5.4.3 Conclusion*

Dutch Moroccans involved in this research show no to little willingness to report their experiences at an institution like *Ieder1Gelijk*. Most respondents demonstrated a reluctant attitude towards filing a complaint for varying reasons. People believe that it can be useful to report experiences with discrimination but for varying reasons chose nonetheless not to report these experiences. It seems that an intrinsic motivation and a feeling of responsibility to act on this are missing. In general, filing a complaint is considered useful but personal experiences are considered as not important enough. There is a lack of evidence or there is no time and energy so to act upon it. All these different reasons are motivated by a perspective on individual interests. If it is thought that nothing can be gained individually by filing a complaint, the societal interest is not motivation enough to file the complaint nonetheless. We might say therefore that there is a lack in sense of societal responsibility and future-oriented perspective that keeps people from reporting their experiences. Respondents that indicated to stand positive on reporting experiences with discrimination in the future, might therefore have given a socially accepted answer but would in the future still not act upon discriminating occurrences in the way of filing a complaint.

There are no clear differences to be found between men and women in reporting behaviour. Women tend to appreciate more the reassuring service of *Ieder1Gelijk* whether they are able to provide juridical help or not. All men involved in this research indicate that they receive enough reassurance within their own social network. Even though women indicated as well the benefits of their social support they tend to be more open to talk with someone they don't know about their experiences. Women also indicated more often the need of having evidence before being willing to file a complaint. This might have something to do with general characteristic differences between men and women. These findings are in line with the previously formulated expectation that women could be more reluctant to file their complaint due to a pressure to prove themselves. All women involved in this research were reasonably ambitious but did not state any wish to prove themselves as a women. Just

like the men involved in this research, they do feel the need to prove themselves as Moroccans but not as women in this society. These differences between men and women might then also be explained by the men involved in this research that are high educated and/or are professionally involved in these societal issues. R3, R4 and R9 are high educated and R3 and R9 are working within the welfare sector and are in close connection to leder1Gelijk.

### 5.5 Relations

In the second chapter several expectations were formulated regarding to the relations between the different dimensions. These dimensions will be discussed in the following paragraphs. As previously mentioned, during the analysis of the research results, it came forward that all considered social demographic factors (gender, age and education) play an important role in the relations between the discussed dimensions. Therefore, it was necessary to adjust the conceptual model to these findings, as illustrated below, in figure 5.3. The influence of all considered social demographic factors are addressed in the examination of the relations between the dimensions. First of all, the relation between coping strategy and social identity is discussed, followed by coping strategy and report behaviour after which the relationship between social identity and report behaviour is discussed. Lastly, the effect of social demographic factors are discussed. Each paragraph is supported by a schematic representation of the most significant relations that came out of the research results.

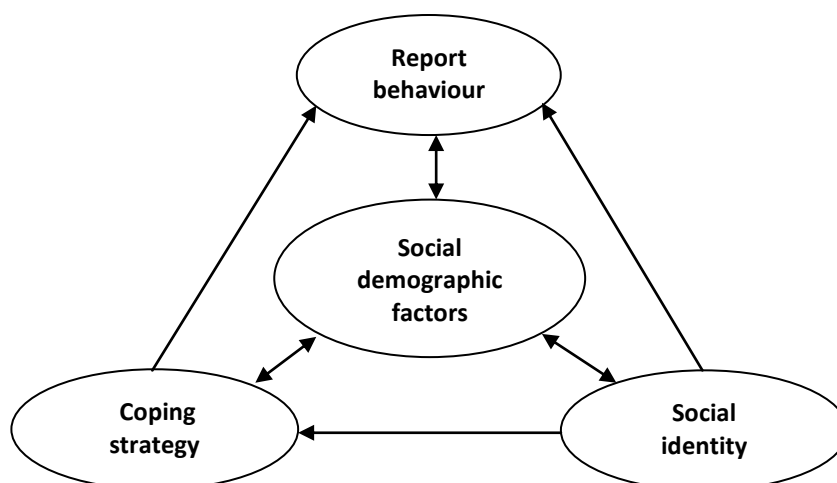


Figure 5.3: Adjusted conceptual model after analysis of the research results.

### 5.5.1 Coping strategy and social identity

In figure 5.4 you can find a schematic representation of the relation between social identity and coping strategy. Within this paragraph, the significant influence of religion, perception of society and social network will be discussed.

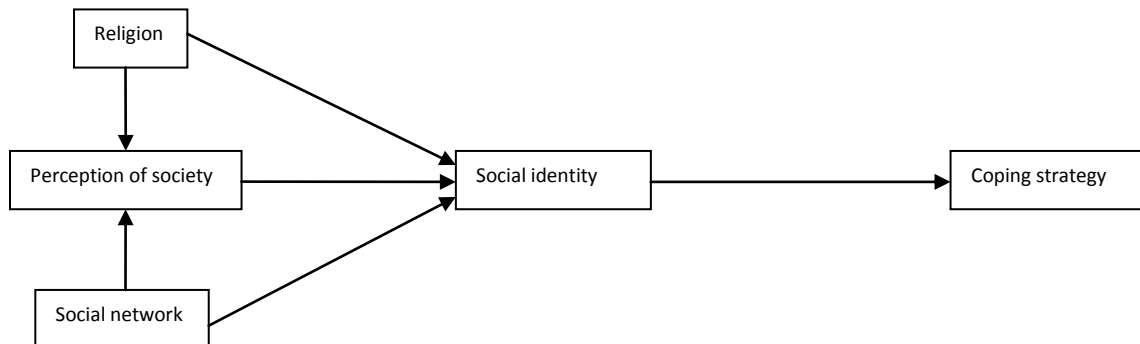


Figure 5.4 Schematic representation of the relation between coping strategy and social identity.

Social identity is a complex dimension that consists of different aspects that might vary in significant extent per person. Language, religion, network and perception of society, all have showed to play a role in the identities of the respondents involved in this research. As described before, there is a culture of masculinity within varying Moroccan social groups in which honour can easily be damaged (Pels, 2003). Coming forward as a coward while being part of a group can cause an individual to lose face and respect within the group. In addition, there would be more pressure on men compared to women, to perform and to be successful. All respondents have indicated however not to find it difficult to talk about discrimination and/or rejection. Both men and women state that it is not a problem to talk about this and everybody thus indicated to be able to talk about these subjects within their social network. The expectation that women would talk more easily about rejections on the labour market and therefore would apply more often a problem-focused strategy did not come true. Most probably, this can be explained by the outcome that men talk just as easily about rejection within their social networks as women do. In addition, men did not demonstrate significant differences in feelings of pressure compared to women and they emerge as being equally ambitious. Looking more closely at engagement coping, women did demonstrate more often a primary control coping strategy. Two female respondents were the only two involved in this research that showed emotional regulation behaviour. This might be explained by situational factors since these women were both looking for an internship and both stated that finding an internship was urgent for them. Most respondents were looking for a permanent job and did not indicate that their situation was urgent.

The Islamic religion is differently experienced by women and men and has increasingly become more individualistic within the Dutch context (Stevens et al., 2007, p. 311). Women are expected to feel less strong ties to the Islamic religion than men do, considering lesser obligations in regard to the Mosque and considering the Dutch context. Stronger ties to the social-religious background of Islamic men are related to a stronger



impulse to apply an emotive-based strategy. However, both men and women indicated to feel a strong commitment to their faith, whether they were or felt obligated or not. All respondents indicated to practice their faith differently but in general the Islam played a significant role for all Islamic respondents. Religion plays therefore no significant role in possible differences between how men and women cope with discrimination. The one respondent involved in this research that indicated not to be a Muslim is also the only one who has only one parent of Moroccan descent. Since his mother is Dutch and not Islamic, he was not raised as such. It was difficult for respondents to explain to what extent the Islamic religion was part of their Moroccan background. There was however no doubt as to the importance of the Islam in their lives. All Islamic respondents indicated that the Islam served as a guideline throughout their lives and that it is an important aspect of who they are. Choices are mostly made in consideration of Islam first. Several respondents indicated their belief in that things will turn out the way they should in the end because of their faith in Islam. This affected their applied strategies. Faith is therefore a significant dimension of social identity in influencing applied strategies when dealing with discrimination.

Except for one respondent who indicated to know mostly other Moroccans, all respondents indicated to have a diverse social network, in different extents. Sellers and Shelton (2003) indicated that a less diverse network relates to a stronger relation to the ethnic group which entails a direct relation to emotive-based coping strategies (Kuo, 1995). However, the research results do not indicate this outcome. The respondent with the least social network demonstrates both emotive-based coping behaviour as problem-based coping behaviour. In addition, respondents with quite a diverse network show similar strategies, including emotive-based strategies. The results of this research show that there are little to no feelings of shame about being discriminated and rejected which makes it easily negotiable to everyone involved in this research within their social networks, whether the social network is to a more or lesser extent diverse. The social network provides a platform where respondents can ventilate and express frustration for both men and women. It is therefore an important aspect of how respondents cope with discrimination on the labour market.

Finally, the perception of respondents on society is an important aspect of social identity. A clear majority of all the respondents indicated to feel like they need to prove themselves within the Dutch society because of their social-cultural background. Mostly male respondents indicated this pressure, which is in line with the theory of Sellers and Shelton (2003) who explain that stereotyping of African Americans is biased in America and is mainly focused on men. This is something we encounter in the Netherlands as well. Moroccans suffer most from prejudice and especially (young) men are often viewed negatively in Dutch media. This does however not seem to have a considerable influence on how people cope with discrimination. Respondents who indicated this pressure do not show significantly different behaviour compared to respondents who did not directly indicated this pressure. Notably, the (only) two female respondents that indicated this pressure were also the only respondents that demonstrated emotional regulation (primary control engagement

coping). This pressure to prove oneself might therefore encourage especially women to control their feelings in order to maintain looking for a job or internship. Additionally, it is important to notice that strategies are differently appreciated within different societies. Problem-based strategies do not have to be considered as ‘successfully dealing with’ in other societies and cultures, outside a task oriented Western society like the Netherlands. Considering the results of social identity in relation to coping strategies, we can conclude that this counts for (Dutch) Moroccan individuals. When adapting an emotive-based strategy like physical avoidance, respondents started looking for opportunities in other sectors in order to increase their chances on the labour market.

### 5.5.2 Coping strategy and Report behaviour

In figure 5.5, you can find a schematic representation of the relationship between coping strategy and report behaviour. In the following paragraph, the role of primary control engagement behaviour will be discussed, after which the influence of frequency will be discussed.

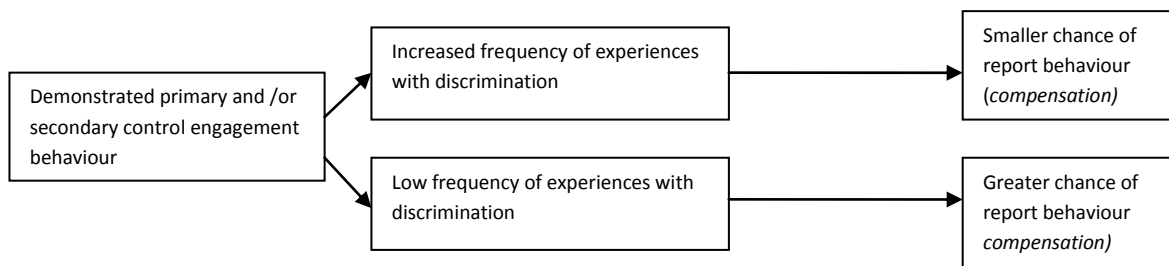


Figure 5.5: Schematic representation of the relation between coping strategy and social identity.

Reporting discriminating experiences is a primary control engagement (problem-based) coping strategy. *Problem solving* is one of the behavioural forms of primary control engagement and can be further distinguished by *compensation* and *collective action*. Within this research, there was a focus on filing complaints by individuals directly to the employer or organization involved or at (independent) institutions: Ieder1Gelijk or the police. In this research lay a specific focus on Ieder1Gelijk since they need to enhance communication to and within the Dutch Moroccan target group. *Compensation* as a coping strategy entails an individual who adapts one's social interaction strategies in an attempt to achieve goals despite the existence of prejudice by behaving in a socially skilful or stereotype-disconfirming fashion (Miller & Kaiser, 2003). By means of filing a complaint directly at the organization, at the police or at Ieder1Gelijk, an individual tries to change the situation even though prejudice exists within the specific situations that they are dealing with. Reporting behaviour is therefore directly linked to and a part of primary control coping strategy.

In order to find out why people are willing (or not) to report their complaints it is interesting to look at the differences between the respondents that demonstrated primary or secondary control coping behaviour and who among them filed a complaint and who did not. Herewith, we are able to look at the difference between people that have all

demonstrated behaviour focused on solving or adapting to the problem and did (not) decided to file a complaint. Only three respondents (R1, R2 and R8) demonstrated secondary and not primary control behaviour. When we look deeper into the similarities between these three respondents, it stands out that all three have been confronted with discrimination multiple times or for an unknown amount of times. This happened both on the labour market as within other spheres. In addition, four respondents demonstrated at least three types of behaviour while coping with discrimination, while R1, R2 and R8 demonstrated one of two behaviour types. The other three respondents that demonstrated no more than two behaviour types (R6, R9 and R10) are notably also three respondents that demonstrated primary control coping behaviour. It is probable that since they faced discrimination on multiple occasions, they lost confidence in the possibility to alter the problem and see no other choice than to adapt to it. R1 and R8 both show similar behaviour that confirm this cause and effect. R1 explained that he lost faith in ever finding a job and therefore quit looking for multiple years. R8 indicated that she terminated financial support of the government since she was not able to meet the requirements like replying to a specific number of applications every day.

Furthermore, of a total of seven respondents that demonstrated primary control coping behaviour, two respondents did not demonstrate *problem solving* but *emotional regulation* behaviour (R7 and R10). Based on coping strategy, there are no significant similarities or differences to be identified between these two respondents and the other respondents that indicated primary control coping behaviour. Additionally, no clear gender differences stand out when comparing respondents based on their applied coping strategies that did or did not file a complaint.

The expectation that education would play a significant role in determining report behaviour can be confirmed when we look at the research results. An interesting relation can be identified between education and coping strategy. There are three (male) respondents that are high educated (R3, R4 and R9). All three respondents demonstrated both disengagement coping behavior and primary control engagement coping. R4 and R9 are the only respondents that demonstrate *prejudice minimization* behaviour and all three demonstrate *problem solving* behaviour. It appears that the research results contradict the *integration paradox* as explained by Buijs, Demant and Handy (2006). This term is defined '*as someone is increasingly focused on integration into the autochthonous society, he or she will be more sensitive for culture conflicts and signs of exclusion*' (Buijs et al., 2006, p. 202). Because of a higher value attached to being acknowledged and accepted within the Dutch society, higher educated migrants would therefore be more sensitive to discrimination. However, the only respondents that minimize the influence of discrimination within their particular experiences are higher educated. Since they want to be treated like native Dutch, they tend not to acknowledge discriminating behaviour towards themselves. In addition, they are three of the five respondents that tried proactively to change the situation by means of both *compensation* as *collective action*. Being higher educated might entail in this case that they are more familiar with the possibilities when faced with unequal treatment.

Important to note here, is that two of these men (R3 and R9) are working in welfare and are both professionally involved with *Ieder1Gelijk* and their potential societal influence. In addition, all three male respondents indicated the societal responsibility of reporting discrimination. These three male respondents stand out because they are the only high educated respondents and show similar coping strategies. This stands in direct relation to report behaviour since all three male respondents indicated the societal responsibility of reporting discrimination. In addition, R4 and R9 have already reported discrimination, both directly within the concerning company. All three indicate the motivation to report possible experiences with discrimination in the future. The research results indicate the validity of the expectation of higher educated citizens of having greater awareness of inequalities and being well informed on institutions and what they can mean for them.

### 5.5.3 Social identity and Report behaviour

In figure 5.6 you can find the schematic representation of the relation between social identity and report behavior. This paragraph consists of an elaboration on the influence of religion, perception of society and social network upon report behavior.

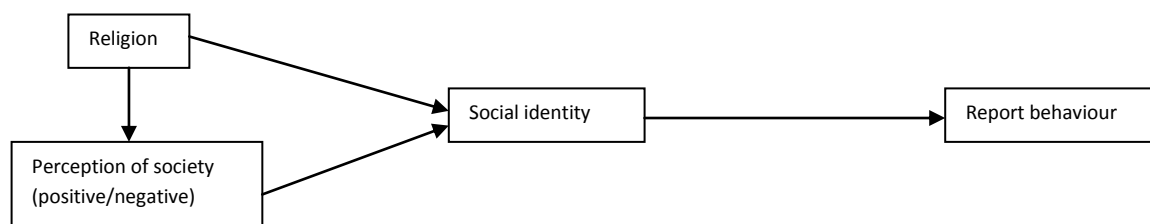


Figure 5.6: Schematic representation of the relation between social identity and report behaviour.

As formulated in the second chapter, the expectation of the relation between social identity and report behaviour is mainly based on the perception of society of the respondents. Members of stigmatized groups are in many cases unlikely to report negative events and Dutch Moroccans are considered to suffer from a lower status in Dutch society. This is likely to contribute to a decision not to report experiences with discrimination. This is however difficult to determine, since all respondents expressed in varying manners that they feel like they need to prove themselves as Moroccans in Dutch society and/or that Moroccans are suffering from a lower status in Dutch society. In general, respondents feel like they are increasingly negatively viewed by the media which effects the societal perspective upon Moroccans in the Netherlands. Since this is the dominating perspective among the respondents, it is difficult to determine to what extent it stands into relation with report behaviour, since there is no clear difference in perspective on society between those who filed a complaint and those that did not. Indicating this negative view upon society and the feeling of being negatively viewed upon within society is related to the dominant behaviour of accepting processes of discrimination and attribution to prejudice. This acknowledgment might force the individual to relinquish his or her sense of control over outcomes (Ruggiero & Taylor, in Stangor et al., 2002). This can also be found back within this

research. The three respondents that did not demonstrate primary control coping strategy (R1, R2 and R8) all demonstrated behaviour in which they attributed their experiences to prejudice and R1 and R2 indicated additionally that they have accepted the influence of discrimination upon their chances of finding a job. In addition, most respondents that have demonstrated primary control coping strategy have not directly indicated to attribute their experience to prejudice. Since they show less signs of acknowledging the influence of discrimination, they come forward as feeling stronger about their sense of control over the outcomes which can encourage problem-based behaviour like filing a complaint.

Except for one respondent, all participants indicated the importance of religion throughout their lives and life choices. When faced with difficult decisions or situations, respondents firstly tried to tackle the occurrence from an Islamic viewpoint. Since respondents struggled to indicate to what extent Islamic religion is part of their Moroccan background, it has also been difficult to indicate how Islam is used within these considerations. It is important to notice that not only Moroccans are quite often viewed considerably negative in Dutch media, but also, and perhaps especially, Muslims. This can reinforce a sense of unequal treatment which causes Dutch Moroccans to demonstrate more signs of acknowledging the influence of discrimination. This can decrease the feeling of not having a sense of control over the outcomes. This decreased sense of control on the situation can especially play an important role when facing discrimination on the labour market. On the labour market, being discriminated against means being rejected for a job. There is an identifiable loss within this situation caused by discrimination which they have no control over. This might discourage people even further not to file a complaint. This might explain why people have demonstrated more problem-based behavior in regard to discrimination in other fields than in regard to the labour market.

In the expectations formulated on the relation between social identity and report behaviour, there was a focus on the negative role that the social network could play when it comes to reporting behavior. This, since reporting discrimination in public is likely to have several social costs. People who report discrimination in public, risk being seen as hypersensitive, emotional, complaining and in general unpleasant (Crosby, in Stangor et al., 2002). Claiming discrimination impugns the potential perpetrator and might therefore cause embarrassment for the victim of discrimination. However, the expectation that masculinity and respect within the group would cause shame in regard to talking about discrimination has already been discarded. Additionally, several respondents indicated that their surroundings encouraged them to file a complaint after discussing their experiences within their social network which was still rejected by the respondents. Since shame does not play a role in any of the respondents lives, everybody was able to talk about their experiences within their social network. The absence of this expected 'taboo' entails a less significant negative relation between social network and report behaviour than was expected. All respondents indicated to have a diverse network that consists of both Dutch Moroccans as native Dutch. Stangor et al. (2002) argued that members of a stigmatized social group would be less willing to report discrimination in the presence of a non stigmatized group member,

then when they reported privately or with a member of a stigmatized group. Since there is no shame in regard to discrimination and therefore low social costs of reporting discrimination, the consistency of the network seems to be of less relevance.

There is no significant difference between men and women in the relation between social identity and report behaviour. There can only be one possible difference detected between men and women in the appreciation of the reassuring service that *Ieder1Gelijk* offers by means of listening to and trying to understand someone who is discriminated. None of the men but only several women indicated specifically to appreciate this service and to see it as an extra motivation to report experiences of discrimination in the future. This could be related to *emotional regulation* behaviour, which was only demonstrated within this research by female respondents. When looking at meanings and behaviour of men and women related to social network, religion or perception of society, no significant changes stand out. It is therefore more probable that this relates to common characteristic differences between men and women and that it is lesser extent connected to religion, social network or perception of society.

Since this research deals with relatively young Dutch Moroccans, the influence of age in regard to social identity has most likely to do with maturing. Several respondents indicated in the future not to react the same way as they did in the past. They have more responsibilities, are better aware of the effect of their behaviour and they are more serious when it comes to the Islamic religion. Furthermore, it is important to consider that all respondents belong to the second (or third) generation. Which means, as was indicated in general by the respondents, that they have greater knowledge of the Dutch language and customs than their parents do. Both male and female respondents indicated the importance of age when dealing with discrimination. A more mature age seems to equal a more considered and responsible way of dealing with discrimination. Interestingly, it is not just about the age of the Dutch Moroccans that are being discriminated. Research results indicate additionally that the age of the other person involved (who is discriminating), matters too. It is not clear to what extent this matters since not all respondents indicated this factor but it is interesting to consider. R7 indicates that she did not want to increase the problem by confronting the man that rejected her based on her background since this was an old man 'who did not know any better'. Younger people she believes, should on the other hand know better since they are growing up with migrants around them and because they are therefore less prone to be solely influenced by the media.

## 6. Conclusion

In this final chapter of the research, we will review the sub questions and the research question. Hereafter, policy advice concerning communication between Ieder1Gelijk and the Dutch Moroccan target group, is discussed. After all research questions have been answered, the scientific and societal contribution of this research will be discussed. Finally, the limitations of this research and suggested research topics for the future in order to increase knowledge how best to respond to people coping with discrimination on the labour market, will be given.

### 6.1 Answering the sub questions

In the following paragraph, we will look back at the sub questions in systematic order. The first four sub questions revolve around the dimensions of which the interrelations will be discussed in the answer to the research question. The fifth and final sub question concerns (policy) advice as derived from the research results for Ieder1Gelijk. Therefore, the final sub question is discussed separately. First sub question:

*What labour market position do Dutch Moroccan men and women hold in Gelderland South and to what extent do they experience discrimination?*

We have to look back at the fourth chapter ('National and regional conditions') in order to answer this question. Here, the societal context of both national and regional surroundings related to Dutch Moroccans was discussed. Several aspects prove to play an important role. Firstly, it is important to notice that the societal perspective on migrants changes over time. At first, migrants received a warm welcome. Unlike the 60's, there has not been a shortage of labour for over a century now. On the contrary, there has been an abundance of labour in the Netherlands. This resulted in a lot of unemployed Dutch citizens. Additionally, there is a considerable negative view on international migration. Dutch Moroccans suffer most of this prejudice in Dutch society. Unlike the first generation, the second and third generation are generally familiar with Dutch customs, language and followed and education. However, they still suffer most of economic fluctuations and the number that has been successful on the labour market did not increase in relative terms. Dutch Moroccan girls seem to particularly suffer from these facts. On a national level, 14,2% non-western migrants were unemployed in 2013, compared to 6,7% unemployed native Dutch. Regionally most Dutch Moroccans that are included within the labour force live in the bigger municipalities within Gelderland South, for example Nijmegen. The expectation was formulated that most respondents included in this research would be working in or looking for a job in the commercial sector or health care or welfare. This, because Nijmegen is part of the so-called 'Health Valley' and taking into account general study preferences of Dutch Moroccans. This expectation can be confirmed, since five respondents were working in welfare/health care, another respondent follows an education to work in welfare and two respondents were educated to work in the commercial sector.

As previous research has indicated, the differences in opportunities on the labour market between native Dutch and migrants between 2000 and 2008 can most probably be explained by the significant role of discrimination (SCP, 2010). Since 2000, chances of being unemployed for non western migrants increased compared to native Dutch. Mere on the basis of name and/or place of birth, non western migrants had 16% less chance to be invited for a job interview, compare to equally qualified native Dutch applicants (SCP, 2010). Of a total of 304 reports of discrimination in 2013, by far most complaints were in regard to racial or religious discrimination. Furthermore, most of the reports of discrimination concern discriminatory experiences regarding the labour market, namely 127 of a total of 304 reports in 2013 (Ieder1Gelijk annual report, 2013). Only a small part of non-western migrants that are confronted with ethnic discrimination report their experiences. Considering that there are 9 491 Moroccans living in this region, there is a gap of unknown proportion that is not reached. It is difficult to say anything about possible differences between men and women in regard to differences in unequal chances on the labour market. Firstly, because this is a qualitative research which focuses on specific experiences with discrimination and less on the extent of discrimination. Secondly, because all women included in this research are studying or have a degree and are therefore not part of the relatively big group of Dutch Moroccan girls that drop out of education prematurely. In addition, the figures of the CBS (2014) indicate that there is no significant difference in unemployment rates between western male and female migrants, which also comes forward in this research.

The next sub questions involve the significant dimensions in regard to coping with discrimination, of which the first covers social identity:

*What aspects of the social cultural background play a significant role in the social identity of Moroccan men and women in Gelderland South?*

In order to answer this question, several aspects were extracted from the literature that are related to social identity. Deriving from the studies of Kuo (1995) and Noh et al. (1999), social identity plays a significant role in how individuals cope with discrimination. Based on the research conducted by the SCP (2006), the research focus in regard to social identity was upon language, culture and social network, religion and perception of society. The research results indicate firstly that it can be difficult to indicate to what extent certain aspects play an important role. This counts especially for the Moroccan culture and to what extent the Islamic religion is part of this culture or can be seen as separate. However, throughout the interviews it has come to the fore that all respondents of who's both parents are of Moroccan descent, are raised with the Islamic religion and still add high value to the Islamic religion in their current lives. In addition, all respondents that know either the Arabic or Berber language add great value to the proficiency of their parents and family's native language. They also express the wish to pass this on to the next generation. Perception of society can be related to the social network since studies like that of Kuo (1995) and Utsey et al. (2000) indicated that a stronger sense of greater chances of being unequally treated



within a country is related to a stronger attachment to the ethnic identity. A stronger sense of being unequally treated causes a more negative perception of society, which is something all respondents indicated in general. However, all respondents indicated to a lesser or greater extent to have a considerably varying social network, consisting of Moroccan as well as native Dutch friends, colleagues and acquaintances. This indicates that even though respondents uphold a relatively negative perception of Dutch society, they do not want to be solely part of a Dutch Moroccan community. This comes forward in the maintenance of relations with native Dutch and the motivation to keep looking for a job.

Religion comes forward in this research as being one of the most important aspects of social identity. Religious respondents indicated generally that religion plays an important part within their life, whether they share it with others or not. Choices are often made in regard to and in perspective of the Islam. There are no clear differences found between men and women in regard to attached value to significant dimensions of social identity. Even though the study of Buitelaars (2007) argues that regardless of the individualistic direction of Islamic religion in western societies like the Netherlands, men would have a stronger attachment to the Islamic religion due to their obligations in regard to attendance in the Mosque. This is something that did not come forward within this research, in which female respondents demonstrated similar valuation of the Islamic religion as male respondents did. In addition, differences between perceptions of society among individual respondents could not be subscribed to gender.

The third sub question covers the strategies that can be applied when dealing with discrimination:

*What strategies can be identified in coping with ethnic discrimination in the job application procedure amongst Dutch Moroccan men and women in this region?*

The respondents demonstrated both kinds of strategies, problem-based coping behaviour (*primary and secondary control engagement coping*) and emotive-based coping behaviour (*disengagement coping*). With a closer look at these strategies, respondents demonstrated a wide range of behaviours that are either part of the problem-based or emotive-based coping strategy. Interestingly, respondents demonstrated in general different behaviours while coping with a singular discriminating experience. In most cases, respondents demonstrated a problem-based strategy at first, followed by an emotive-based strategy.

If we look back at the expected gender differences in coping strategies, they cannot be (entirely) confirmed. Even though men and women demonstrated similar behaviour during the interviews, nuanced gender differences can be identified within this research. Women show more primary control coping behaviour than men did but not significantly more secondary control behaviour, even though the expectation was that women would show more engagement coping in general. This can be explained by men showing no trouble to talk about their experiences because they do not feel any kind of shame or embarrassment. This is notable for another reason. Women were expected to demonstrate

more problem-based behaviour in general but less behaviour that can be related to report behaviour since it is argued by Buitelaar (2007) that is common for Moroccan girls to prove to themselves and their family that they are capable of being successful. Therefore, the expectation was set that they would restrict themselves from taking action on negative experiences that would interfere with their goals, since this could hamper their credibility. Even though women showed more primary control coping behaviour that was not related to report behaviour, they did not demonstrated behaviour that would indicated that they felt restricted by their surroundings, dignity or ambition to report experiences with discrimination.

Increased time of and frequency in facing discrimination did not seem to have an increasibly damaging effect on the respondents. This is in spite of this expectation based on the study of Karlsen and Nazroo (2002). In general, respondents indicated to have been confronted with discrimination more than once, but only felt increasingly motivated and strengthened by their experiences. This can be related to the dominant behaviour of the majority of respondents to accept prejudice and its consequences in Dutch society and the feeling of needing to prove themselves as Moroccans.

The penultimate sub question covers the motivation of the included respondents (not) to report their experiences with discrimination:

*What are Dutch Moroccan men and women's motives (not) to report experiences with ethnic or religious discrimination in the job application procedure in this region with institutions like Ieder1Gelijk?*

Since none of the respondents reported experiences with ethnic or religious discrimination in the application procedure at an institution like Ieder1Gelijk, most reasoning was based on why people did *not* report their experiences. Two respondents indicated that they directly confronted their supervisor or employer with (possible) discriminating behaviour. No one however filed a complaint at an independent organization like Ieder1Gelijk or the police. However in general, respondents indicated to understand the importance of filing a complaint, to appreciate the possibility of filing a complaint at institutions like Ieder1Gelijk and to find it important that people file their complaint. Respondents however tend to minimize and undervalue their own experiences and find them not impactful enough to report them at an institution like Ieder1Gelijk. In addition, concerning reporting experiences, respondents tend to relate reporting behaviour with possible individual interests. They understood the societal interests but except for the higher educated and professionally involved respondents, this has so far not been a motivation to file a complaint. That respondents were mostly engaged with their individual interests regarding reporting experiences, stems from the dominant argument not to report discrimination if there was no proof to support it. Furthermore, respondents seem to have little faith in institutions like Ieder1Gelijk, which partly explains the argument of needing to have proof because of a disbelieve that reporting is of any use without it. Lastly, there are no clear differences found

between men and women regarding reporting behaviour. A nuanced difference is that women tend to have more appreciation for the reassuring service of *Ieder1Gelijk* whether they are able to provide juridical help or not.

## 6.2 Answering the research question

The sub questions related to the research question have been answered. As a reminder and for a clear overview of these relations, the schematic representation of the research question is added below, in figure 6.1.

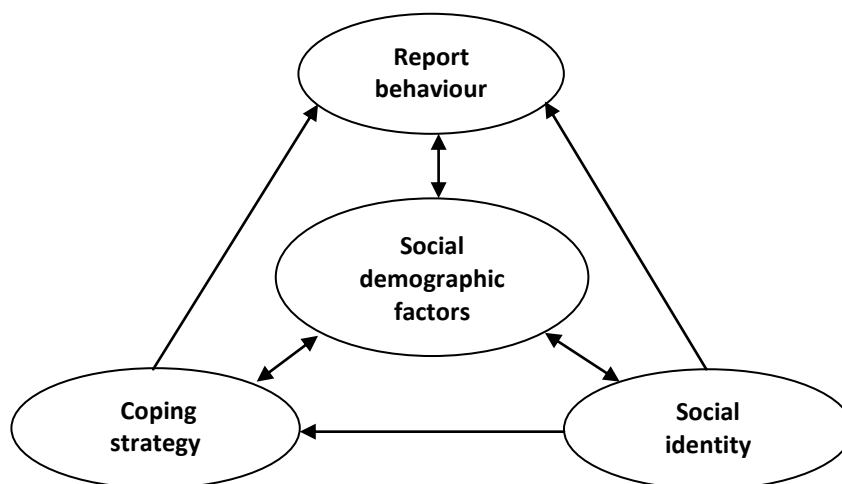


Figure 6.1: The following relations have been researched in this thesis by means of in depth interviews.

These relations were captured in the following research question:

*What strategies are adopted by Dutch Moroccan men and women in coping with ethnic and/or religious discrimination during the job application procedure in the region Gelderland South and how does this relate to report behaviour and social identity?*

Respondents have demonstrated both kinds of strategies. Problem-based coping behaviour (*primary and secondary control engagement coping*) and emotive-based coping behaviour (*disengagement coping*) were both identified within the conducted interviews. Most notably, respondents demonstrated in general different behaviours while coping with a single discriminating experience. In most cases, respondents demonstrated a problem-based strategy at first, followed by an emotive-based strategy. Dutch Moroccan men and women have demonstrated similar behaviour throughout the interviews. However, nuanced gender differences can be identified within this research. Women showed more primary control coping behaviour than men did. This can be related to an important aspect of Dutch Moroccan culture of which seems to be a misconception. Dutch Moroccan men show, similar to women, no trouble talking about their experiences. Additionally, they do not express any feelings of shame or embarrassment. This does not correspond with the expectation based on Pels (2003), who argues that Dutch Moroccan culture still revolves a

lot around masculinity and pride which can be damaged by talking about harmful discriminating experiences. This finding is most probably in line with another expectation that this research can confirm, namely the individualization of religious beliefs. Transnational Islam changes in practice across the world and a European Islam emphasizes the role of the Self. This individualization came forward in the interviews since several respondents did not (mention to) share their faith with others. Furthermore, all respondents explained their faith differently. Buitelaar (2007) stated that Moroccans are double tied between opportunities within society and parental expectations. However, this double tie did not come forward as obstructive for respondents. Respondents grew up with faith and this develops individually to an important aspect of their lives. This, while adapting to Dutch culture simultaneously in which masculinity plays a less significant role. The social network provides a platform where respondents can ventilate and express frustration and is therefore an important aspect of how respondents cope with discrimination on the labour market.

While shame plays no role in coping strategies, religion plays a significant role into how people cope with discrimination. This counts for both men and women. Even though men are bound to more obligatory attendance at the Mosque, no clear differences came forward between men and women in commitment to the Islam. Choices are made in consideration of Islam first. This might explain the general tendency of respondents to accept the role that prejudice plays. Respondents indicate to be used to being rejected based on their social-cultural background. Several respondents indicated their belief in that things will turn out the way they should in the end through Islam. This shows the general tendency of respondents showing little to no loss of faith in the labour market.

The perception of respondents on society has also demonstrated to play an important part of social identity. A clear majority of all the respondents indicated to feel like they need to prove themselves within the Dutch society because of their social-cultural background. Mostly male respondents indicated this pressure. This can be related to Sellers and Shelton (2003), who argue that stereotyping of African Americans is biased in America and is mainly focused on men. In Dutch society, Moroccans suffer most from prejudice and especially (young) men are often viewed negatively in Dutch media. This pressure was in general accompanied with a strengthened motivation to keep looking for a job. Men and women demonstrated behaviour of adjustment to discrimination or avoiding behaviour in order to continue looking for a job (possibly in other directions). This shows that strategies are differently appreciated within different societies. Problem-based strategies do not have to be considered as 'successfully dealing with' in other societies and cultures, outside a task oriented Western society like the Netherlands (Noh et al., 1999, p. 201). Considering the results of social identity in relation to coping strategies we can conclude that this counts for (Dutch) Moroccan individuals. When adapting an emotive-based strategy like physical avoidance, respondents started looking for opportunities in other sectors in order to increase their chances on the labour market.

Reporting behaviour stands in direct relation to coping strategies because it is a primary control engagement strategy. Within this research, there was a focus on filing

complaints by individuals directly at the employer or organization involved or at (independent) institutions: Ieder1Gelijk or the police. A specific focus has been on Ieder1Gelijk since they need to enhance communication with the Dutch Moroccan target group in order to increase their societal influence. How they can improve communication with this target group will be discussed in the next section. The necessity for this comes forward considering that none of the respondents filed a complaint at Ieder1Gelijk concerning ethnic or religious discrimination on the labour market, or within any other sphere for that matter. However, respondents indicated generally to understand the importance of filing a complaint and to appreciate the possibility of being able to file a complaint at an institution like Ieder1Gelijk. Respondents tend to minimize and undervalue their own experiences and to consider them as not impactful enough to report them. This stands in relation to adjustment behaviour or evasive behaviour. Such a behavioural tendency does not encourage reporting behaviour. Additionally, respondents are mostly engaged with individual interests regarding reporting experiences. This stems from the dominant argument not to report discrimination if there was no proof to support it. There are no clear differences found between men and women regarding reporting behaviour. A nuanced difference is that women tend to have more appreciation for the reassuring service of Ieder1Gelijk whether they are able to provide juridical help or not. Both men and women indicated that they felt a need to prove themselves within Dutch society and especially on the Dutch labour market. Since this feeling did not seem to affect the level of energy and motivation to stop looking for a job, this might reduce a possible need to report their experiences and to call for help from an independent institution. Furthermore, the social network of respondents seems to play an important role. Since shame and embarrassment do not demonstrate to play a significant role, respondents indicate to be able to talk about their experiences within their social groups without fearing to lose face (Stangor et al., 2002). Lack of faith in beneficial outcomes of reporting and finding support within the own social group, are probably additional factors of why respondents did not report their experiences. Furthermore, reporting experiences of discrimination does not seem to be considered by most respondents as proactively coping with the problem. Respondents showed a determination of finding a job and by means of continuing this search and through looking for chances in other sectors, they attempted to alter the problem. Concerning discrimination within the application procedure on the labour market, the research results indicate that respondents consider not having a job as being the most important problem that needs to be altered. Even though discrimination is an important cause, unemployed is the problem that needs to be solved first.

### **6.3 Research contribution**

Preparatory to conducting this research, several knowledge gaps were formulated. Scientifically, shortcomings were defined in how the literature falls short in explaining the sources of individual variability in response to the stressor caused by discrimination (Noh et al., 1999). Acting upon discrimination differs between individuals and therefore more details

on these motivations are necessary to specify the process of coping with discrimination and to identify the factors leading to different choices and actions (Kuo, 1995, p. 111). This research tried to clarify and put forward the more subtle differences among Dutch Moroccans. These details provide us with a closer look on how social-cultural backgrounds relate to coping strategies and report behaviour. What we can learn from this research is the significant role of the perception of society and of religion in coping with discrimination. Ongoing prejudice in Dutch society maintains a negative attitude towards Dutch Moroccans. Even though this hinders them in finding a job and affects their perspective on Dutch society, this generally does not seem to affect their motivation to keep looking for a job. This research is therefore not in line with the study of Karlsen and Nazroo (2002), who argued that if time and frequency increase, an individual's confidence and aspiration are prone to being damaged. Overall, this was overall not the case among the respondents involved in this research. Thus, feeling the need to prove oneself within Dutch society does not seem to hamper aspirations. Religion, Islam in this case, has also demonstrated to play a significant role in social identity and in the choices that people make concerning coping strategies. Gender differences are embedded in norms, values and behaviour in many cultures (Stevens et al., 2007). They may even create a virtual second culture within Islamic culture, where gender effects may be especially large (Buitelaar, 2007). Therefore, there was a reasonably high expectation of finding clear differences in coping with discrimination between men and women. However, apart from nuanced differences, Moroccan men and women demonstrated to cope with discrimination similarly. Apart from characteristic differences between men and women that cause nuanced differences visible in the research, education seems to play the most significant role in explaining differences in coping strategies. Through this research, we have gained a deeper insight in how people cope with discrimination and what leads up to those decisions.

A deeper insight into why people cope with discrimination in the application procedure provides as well a deeper insight into why people chose (not) to report discrimination. This is in particular important for *Ieder1Gelijk*, since they are able to increase their societal influence if more people would file a complaint. By means of gaining a deeper insight in these motivations, the expectation was that *Ieder1Gelijk* could be advised about how to improve communication with this target group. The fifth sub question, regarding how *Ieder1Gelijk* is able to enhance this communication, answers therefore the societal contribution of this research. This final sub question will be answered in the following paragraph. Based on the research results, we can confirm that people are usually not aware of the existence of *Ieder1Gelijk* or lack faith in what they can mean for them. This lack of faith is based upon limited opportunities of *Ieder1Gelijk* of being able to offer juridical help. However, taking juridical steps was often the reason for a potential report. This shows that people relate filing of a complaint with individual interests. It is therefore important awareness is raised on societal interests of filing complaints and on the existence of ADVs like *Ieder1Gelijk*. A national strategy and campaign would be most effective since this is not

only a regional problem, but Ieder1Gelijk can increase familiarity of their existence also on a regional level.

#### **6.4 Advice Ieder1Gelijk**

The fifth and final sub question concerns Ieder1Gelijk. Only a tip of the iceberg of people who are confronted with discrimination (on the labour market), files a complaint at an organization like Ieder1Gelijk. Based on the low number of Dutch Moroccans that file a complaint and the targeted prejudice of Moroccans, communication with this group is minimal. Therefore, there is an incorrect and incomplete image of the extent and magnitude of discrimination in Dutch society. Former research indicated that people are often not aware of the possibility to file a complaint or lack faith in what the organization can mean for them. In order to reach out to more people that are discriminated, it is important to find out what is behind these arguments and how best to bypass this behaviour. Since young Dutch Moroccan citizens suffer most from prejudice in Dutch society and because unemployment rates are highest for this minority group, it is important that they are able and willing to reach out to Ieder1Gelijk in order to increase awareness on the extent of discrimination. Therefore, the following sub question was formulated:

*How can Ieder1Gelijk be advised in order to enhance its communication with Dutch Moroccan men and women in the future in this region?*

Based on the research results, it is difficult how to fill this gap directly and effectively. An important research finding that confirms previously conducted research of Coenders et al. (2012) is that people do not have faith in that an organization like Ieder1Gelijk is able to help. This research contributes to this statement by finding that respondents in general associate reporting discrimination with the possibility of taking juridical steps. Since they often did not have any evidence (or thought so), they did not believe in the possible beneficial outcomes of filing a complaint. This shows that respondents were potentially motivated to report discrimination for mainly personal interests. All respondents said to understand the importance of reporting for the societal interests and some of the respondents were already aware of this, but this has so far not resulted in significantly more reports of discrimination. Even the respondents that indicated to be already aware of the societal interests demonstrated behaviour that diminished and underrated their own experiences in order to file a complaint.

These behaviours demonstrate that respondents in general seem to be lacking a feeling of societal responsibility in order to initiate reporting behaviour. The importance of having evidence in order to take juridical steps comes together here with creating awareness for the societal interest. The importance and magnitude of collective reporting is well known and is seen as potential future motivation but does not seem to trigger respondents to start with their own experiences. Based on these findings, it is important to take on a different approach when it comes to creating awareness. Reluctance of people to report experiences

is a national problem and not only a regional problem. It is therefore difficult to address this issue on a regional level and it might therefore be interesting and necessary to address this on a national level. With a national approach, a single image of an Anti Discrimination Facility (ADV) can be created which would increase publicity. Raising awareness can be part of a national strategy and national communication methods. It is advisable that these campaigns focus mostly on the societal interest of filing a complaint and less on individual interests. These national raising awareness campaigns could lead to more reports and ADVs like leder1Gelijk would have more time to consult people with complaints. National cooperation and national awareness raising campaigns are necessary to help regional offices like leder1Gelijk to offer the most effective and efficient service.

leder1Gelijk is already considerably accessible and it is quite straightforward how to file a complaint of discrimination. However, people are not familiar with the institution because it still seems to be standing too far away. On a regional level, there are chances for leder1Gelijk to increase cooperation with organizations that stand close to the target group. By means of making use of social networks, leder1Gelijk is able to bridge the gap between their organization and the target group. leder1Gelijk is therefore advised to create direct links, accompanied with information about their activities and services at websites of organizations and institutions that are known among Dutch Moroccan citizens. In general, respondents did not go looking for information about the possibilities of filing a complaint. It is therefore helpful to bring the information closer to the target group by means of using these organizations. These organizations can entail Mosques, schools, sports associations etc. Because they stand closer to the target group, information is brought to individuals which lowers a possible threshold.

### **6.5 Research limitations**

Since this research was conducted for a master thesis, it was limited by time and resources. In order to retrieve the necessary data, the decision to conduct qualitative research by means of in-depth interviews logically stemmed from the scientific and societal knowledge gaps. Since there was no access to human resources for multiple interviewers, the number of interviews had to be limited to ten. With a greater number of respondents, this research could have been expanded with more interviews in order to gain more knowledge. This way, the role of age and education can be addressed more extensively. Also, a quantitative research could have been added in order to generalize the data.

The respondents who were involved in this research were recruited by means of a snowball method. Since the target group is hardly organised it was reasonably difficult to get in touch with possible participants. Using a snowball method allowed using the network of leder1Gelijk, which enabled me as a researcher to increase access to the target group. This, because leder1Gelijk is connected to several (care) institutions that work with or have connections to the target group. However, this method is accompanied with certain limitations. By making use of the network of leder1Gelijk, the group of respondents is not a random sample. In addition, two of the respondents are professionally involved with



leder1Gelijk. Through this, they are professionally biased since they will approach the work of leder1Gelijk and the importance of reporting discrimination from a professional perspective. This stands in relation to considerable chances of socially approved answers. This effect might have been strengthened by my role as an interviewer, conducting this research partially on behalf of leder1Gelijk. Therefore, people are likely to provide answers they expect me to want to hear or what they expect me to approve of. In addition, all respondents were Muslims, except for one. Since one of the men was considerably strict, being interviewed by a woman could have made him feel restricted or uncomfortable to tell the whole truth. Lastly, this research revolved around people that were dealing with discrimination in the application procedure. However, people could also be dealing with discrimination without wanting to acknowledge it or who have difficulties talking about it, for example because they would feel embarrassed. Despite ensured anonymity, it is difficult to reach people who are reluctant to talk about their experiences. This counts especially for a qualitative research for which interviews are conducted.

For the analysis of the research results, the model as it was derived from Miller and Kaiser (2001) was used. This model distinguishes between addressing the problem, adjusting to the problem and to disengage from the problem. This final strategy is in a western perspective not seen as properly dealing with stressors. Problem-based strategies do not have to be considered however as 'successfully dealing with' in other societies and cultures, outside a task oriented western society like the Netherlands (Noh et al., 1999, p. 201). Most likely, this counts for the Dutch Moroccan (sub) culture. Using a model with a western perspective, could have influenced my objectivity as a researcher and it could have strengthened the tendency of the respondents to provide socially approved answers.

Finally, this research was focused on voluntary coping responses since it was concerned with conscious decisions in regard to coping with discrimination and the motivations preceding those choices. However, people do not always exactly remember how and why they responded in a certain way and unconscious and/or involuntary behaviour is additionally important. How people behave unconsciously might tell a lot about internal struggles. This would call for an even more extensive research with access to more resources.

## **6.6 Further research**

Out of the research results arise certain questions that need to be further examined. This research was conducted among Dutch Moroccans, since they suffer most from prejudice and unemployment in Dutch society. However, there are other minority groups hindered by prejudice on the labour market as well. The research results as presented in this thesis suggest that Dutch Moroccans possibly reason from a different model on coping with stigma with a different perspective. It is therefore interesting to look at differences between minority groups with different social-cultural backgrounds in how they cope with discrimination. The role that respect, masculinity and level of obedience in regard to the law and government play within different cultures, are possibly interesting factors for further

research. Previous research indicated that these cultural dimensions influence how people cope with discrimination. Further research is necessary in order to examine what people believe to be 'appropriate' coping strategies, since it is not clear to what extent this perspective differs. Since the number of people that report discrimination is considerably low, we might assume that reporting is not considered a proper coping strategy within cultures that migrated to the Netherlands. It is therefore necessary to examine how to raise awareness on the importance of reporting.

A couple of aspects were mentioned in this research that need to be further examined. Firstly, all respondents were considerably young between the ages of 21 to 35 since they are all part of the second or third generation. This could explain the reasonably small differences between respondents. In addition, several respondents indicated that the age of the person that is discriminating matters to them in how they cope with the situation. Therefore, further research is necessary that looks into differences in coping between people of different ages in the Netherlands. Furthermore, education seemed to play a significant factor in predicting reporting behaviour. The role that education plays has not been substantially examined. A supplementary research could interpret how education is related to reporting behaviour.

Advice to Ieder1Gelijk on communication with the target groups, as it has derived from this research, is partially based on national issues. Statistics presented in this research indicated that unemployment among Dutch Moroccan youth is not only a regional problem but also a national problem. In addition, report rates are low both on a regional and national level. Additional research is necessary in order to gain knowledge on how national cooperation and awareness campaigns can best be executed. Discrimination seems to have a deeply rooted spot, not only in Dutch society but in all increasingly diversifying societies. Even though research on how to counter these movements are important, this research demonstrates the need for further research on how to deal with this societal problem, since it will not be altered in a short amount of time. An national and regional efficient and effective working organization to challenge this issue is therefore an important investment.

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## Appendix: Interview guide

The following topic list was used during the interviews with the respondents. The interview guide is in Dutch, since all interviews were conducted in Dutch.

*Vragen inleiden: Aangeven dat ik een uur voor dit gesprek heb uitgetrokken en dat er geen verkeerde antwoorden zijn, het gaat om de reacties van de respondent bij bepaalde ervaringen en hoe deze reacties tot stand komen. Aangeven dat ik zal beginnen met een aantal algemene vragen naar de culturele en professionele achtergrond van de respondent omdat ik geïnteresseerd ben in de mogelijke rol die dit kan spelen in bepaalde keuzes die gemaakt worden. Vervolgens ga ik in op ervaringen met discriminatie en vragen over ieder1Gelijk. Afsluitend krijgt de respondent de mogelijkheid vragen te stellen en/of aanvullingen te doen. Mocht de respondent tussendoor vragen hebben, kan hij/zij deze altijd stellen. Alle gegevens worden anoniem verwerkt en dan wil ik u tot slot nog vragen of ik het gesprek op mag nemen, zodat ik het gesprek uit kan typen en naar u op kan sturen om u de kans te geven er nog naar te kijken of ik alles goed heb genoteerd.*

### Algemene vragen

- Woont u al uw hele leven in Nederland? (Zo nee, hoelang al)
- Spreekt u naast Nederlands ook andere talen?
- In welke taal/talen communiceert u met uw familie (ouders, broers/zussen, oma's/opa's)? Indien beide, met wie welke taal en welke taal met name?
- Als respondent werkt (indien bekend): welke taal/talen spreekt u op het werk?
- In welke taal/talen communiceert u met vrienden?

-Bent u in Nederland aangesloten bij/actief binnen verenigingen, zoals sportclubs of religieuze gemeenschap?

Indien religieuze gemeenschap of gemeenschap gericht op Marokkaanse afkomst:

Hoe bent u actief binnen deze gemeenschap?

Hoe belangrijk is het voor u dat u hier onderdeel van uitmaakt?

Kunt u uitleggen in hoeverre deze gemeenschap invloed heeft op uw leven? (bijvoorbeeld de mensen met wie u omgaat, de taal die u spreekt, hoe u over maatschappelijke zaken denkt)

Zijn familie en/of vrienden van u hier ook aangesloten?

Kunt u aangeven hoeveel tijd u besteed binnen deze groep per week/maand?

Heeft deze gemeenschap ook een rol gespeeld binnen uw professionele carrière?

Indien niet aangesloten bij een religieuze gemeenschap of gemeenschap gericht op Marokkaanse afkomst:

Kunt u mij vertellen of u zichzelf als religieus ziet?

Zo ja: Kunt u uitleggen in hoeverre religie invloed speelt in uw leven? (bijvoorbeeld de mensen met wie u omgaat, de taal die u spreekt, hoe u over maatschappelijke zaken denkt)

Kunt u uitleggen of en hoe u uw religie praktiseert?

Deelt u deze religieuze opvattingen met familie/vrienden?

Kunt u aangeven hoeveel uur per week/maand u besteed aan het praktiseren van uw religie?

Zo nee: Kunt u mij vertellen of contact met andere Marokkaanse Nederlanders belangrijk voor u is? Waarom wel of niet? Kunt u aangeven hoe vaak u contact heeft in de week met Marokkaanse Nederlanders?

*(Indien nog geen duidelijk antwoord is gekomen uit de vorige vragen, de volgende vragen stellen ter controle/aanvulling)*

-Speelt uw Marokkaanse afkomst een belangrijke rol in uw sociale relaties? (vrienden/werk etc.)

-Kunt u uitleggen in hoeverre u zichzelf verbonden voelt met andere Marokkaanse Nederlanders?

-In hoeverre speelt uw Marokkaanse afkomst een belangrijke rol in wie u bent?

### **Coping strategy**

*Ik heb u nu verschillende vragen gesteld over de taal/talen die u spreekt en in hoeverre uw Marokkaanse achtergrond een rol speelt in uw leven hier in Nederland. Dit gedeelte hebben we nu afgesloten. De volgende vragen gaan over uw professionele achtergrond. Na deze vragen zal ik ingaan op uw ervaringen in het zoeken naar werk.*

-Wat is uw hoogst behaalde opleiding? Waar heeft u deze behaald?

-Heeft u nog de wens/ambitie een andere opleiding te volgen? Waarom wel/niet?

-Heeft u binnen uw laatst gevolgde studierichting werk gevonden of bent u in deze richting werk aan het zoeken?

Indien niet in deze richting werk gevonden. Bent u nog zoekende?

Indien nog geen werk gevonden: Wel in deze richting aan het zoeken of ook in andere richtingen?

Indien wel werk, maar niet in deze richting: Hoe komt dit en wat vindt u daarvan?

Indien wel werk in deze richting: Heeft u het naar uw zin op uw werk? Waarom wel/niet?

(al deze vragen kunnen al leiden tot de bewuste ervaring(en) met discriminatie)

-Kunt u de situatie(s) omschrijven waarin u het gevoel kreeg gediscrimineerd te worden op basis van uw afkomst? (Indien meerdere situaties, de volgende vragen per situatie vragen en beginnen bij éérste ervaring). Duidelijk moet worden:

Hoelang geleden is deze situatie?

Wie discrimineerde er?

Op welke manier werd er gediscrimineerd?

Om welke stap van het sollicitatieproces ging het?

Om welke sollicitatie ging het?

-Kunt u uitleggen hoe u zich voelde na deze ervaring? Was u boos/verdrietig/teleurgesteld..?

-Kunt u uitleggen waarom u zich zo voelde?

-Heeft u deze emoties geuit? Zo ja, op welke manier/Zo nee, waarom niet? (Gaat om concrete reacties veroorzaakt door deze emoties)

-Hoelang heeft u zich zo gevoeld? Als dit gevoel afnam, heeft u vervolgens nog iets ondernomen?

-Heeft u binnen uw naaste omgeving over deze ervaring gepraat (zoals familie/vrienden)? Waarom wel/niet en met wie?

- Heeft u buiten uw naaste omgeving over deze ervaring gepraat (zoals werkgever /Ieder1Gelijk)? Waarom wel/niet?
- Als er over gepraat is, hoe lang na de ervaring was dit?

- Heeft u het gevoel dat u er iets tegen kon/kan doen? Waarom wel/niet?
- Denkt u er wel eens aan terug? Hoe voelt u zich dan?
- Bent u door blijven zoeken naar werk/stage?
- Heeft u iets veranderd in uw aanpak?
- Was u meer of minder gemotiveerd na deze ervaring? Kunt u uitleggen waarom meer/minder?
- Terugkijkend op uw ervaring, wat vindt u van uw reactie? Had u achteraf gezien anders willen reageren?
- Heeft u het idee dat uw reactie op rationele keuzes was gebaseerd of meer gevoelsmatige reacties waren?

*De volgende vragen gaan over discriminatie in het algemeen en in hoeverre dit een bespreekbaar onderwerp is voor u en binnen uw omgeving.*

- Heeft u over deze ervaring(en) gepraat met mensen in uw omgeving? Indien ja, met wie en waarom deze persoon/personen?
- Kunt u aangeven of u het moeilijk vindt om hier over te praten?
- Hebben familieleden en/of vrienden te maken gehad met discriminatie?
- Praten mensen uit uw omgeving over deze ervaringen? Weet u waarom wel/niet?
- Is het van belang in welke context discriminatie plaatsvindt? Waarom wel/niet?

*We zijn nu bijna aan het einde van dit interview. De laatste vragen gaan over Ieder1gelijk, Bureau Gelijke behandeling. Vragen of de respondent hiermee bekend is en zo niet uitleggen wat Ieder1Gelijk is.*

### **Meldgedrag**

- Heeft u gezocht naar instanties/organisaties die u met uw ervaring konden helpen? Waarom wel/niet?
- Denkt u dat het nuttig kan zijn om discriminatie te melden? Waarom wel/niet?
- Zou u het fijn vinden om over uw ervaring te praten met iemand die u kan helpen? Waarom wel/niet?
- Waar zou u deze persoon het liefst zoeken?
- In hoeverre was u hiervoor bekend met Ieder1Gelijk? Indien niet bekend, waar denkt u dat dit aan ligt?
- Zou u in de toekomst melding willen doen bij Ieder1Gelijk en waarom wel/niet?