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The Historical and Social-Cultural Context of Acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch

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The Historical and Social-Cultural Context of Acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch

Abstract

Moroccan laborers and their families started migrating to the Netherlands from the 1960s. We used research findings on migration and acculturation to examine the historical and social-cultural context of Moroccan-Dutch. Dutch administration at national, regional, and local level had no integration policy upon their arrival. Later, when many Moroccan-Dutch stayed longer in the Netherlands than anticipated, the Dutch administration favored a multicultural policy based on integration and maintenance of ethnic culture. This contrasted with the Moroccan policy: Moroccans abroad were told not to integrate in Dutch society but to invest in Morocco. Due to the weak outcomes and a negative attitude towards migrants, the focus in Dutch policy changed to assimilation policy. We argue that this policy reinforced the negative factors, such as exclusion, segregation, and low social capital. Compared to other non-western migrants in the Netherlands, Moroccan-Dutch score relatively high on some vital participation domains (e.g., education), but also high on risk factors (e.g., unemployment and ill-health). Studying the sociolinguistic situation and social environment related to migration contributes to a better understanding of acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch. Insights in these factors can shed light on how to understand and improve acculturation outcomes.

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Introduction

There are more than 4 million persons of Moroccan descent living outside Morocco, thereby constituting one of the largest non-western Muslim minorities in Western countries (Berriane, De Haas, & Natter, 2015; Del Bel-Air, 2016). Although the group of European citizens with a Moroccan background is the largest non-EU group of migrants living in Europe, they settled all over the world (De Haas, 2007). In fact, Moroccans abroad form one of the world's biggest diaspora populations (United Nations, 2016). Here we discuss this migration of Moroccans, who with almost 400,000 reside in the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2017a), related to their sociolinguistic situation and social environment. Our leading question is to examine to what extent acculturation conditions and orientations of Moroccan-Dutch influenced their outcomes in the Dutch society.

Moroccan-Dutch face acculturation problems, such as marginalization, segregation, unemployment, low income, and high school drop-outs (e.g., Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Andriessen, 2015). Our focus is mainly on the second-generation Moroccan-Dutch because, compared to the Dutch mainstream peers, they have a disadvantaged position (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). In addition, they appear since long to be the most disfavored immigrant group even after controlling for socioeconomic characteristics (Liebig & Widmaier, 2009). However, since most acculturation research remains focused on the negative factors that Moroccan-Dutch face while participating in the Dutch society, we decided to also take into account what positive factors contribute to what makes their lives successful or worth living, using insights from positive psychology (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Snyder & Lopez, 2009) and positive youth development (Larson, 2006).

The purpose of our paper is two-fold. We want to provide a brief description of the historical and social-cultural context of the acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch in the Moroccan and Dutch society and explore what success and risk factors play a role in their acculturation outcomes. To achieve our goal, we developed a conceptual model that is based on existing acculturation theories and empirical findings. We used the model of Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) to present a historical overview of the acculturation context of Moroccan-Dutch and shed light on how this context had a positive or negative influence on their outcomes at group level. This model consists of three types of variables (i.e., conditions, orientations, and outcomes) that are mostly addressed in acculturation research. Here we modified this model to fit the characteristics of our target group (see Figure 1). We studied the impact of acculturation conditions and orientations on acculturation outcomes at three levels: (i) first, we give background information on migration of Moroccan-Dutch, where we briefly describe the Moroccan and Dutch immigration and integration policies; we then describe the sociolinguistic situation (e.g., language usage in Morocco and the Netherlands); and discuss the social environment and social resources of Moroccan-Dutch; (ii) second, we explore their orientations towards the Moroccan and/or Dutch culture; (iii) and finally, we discuss their acculturation outcomes.

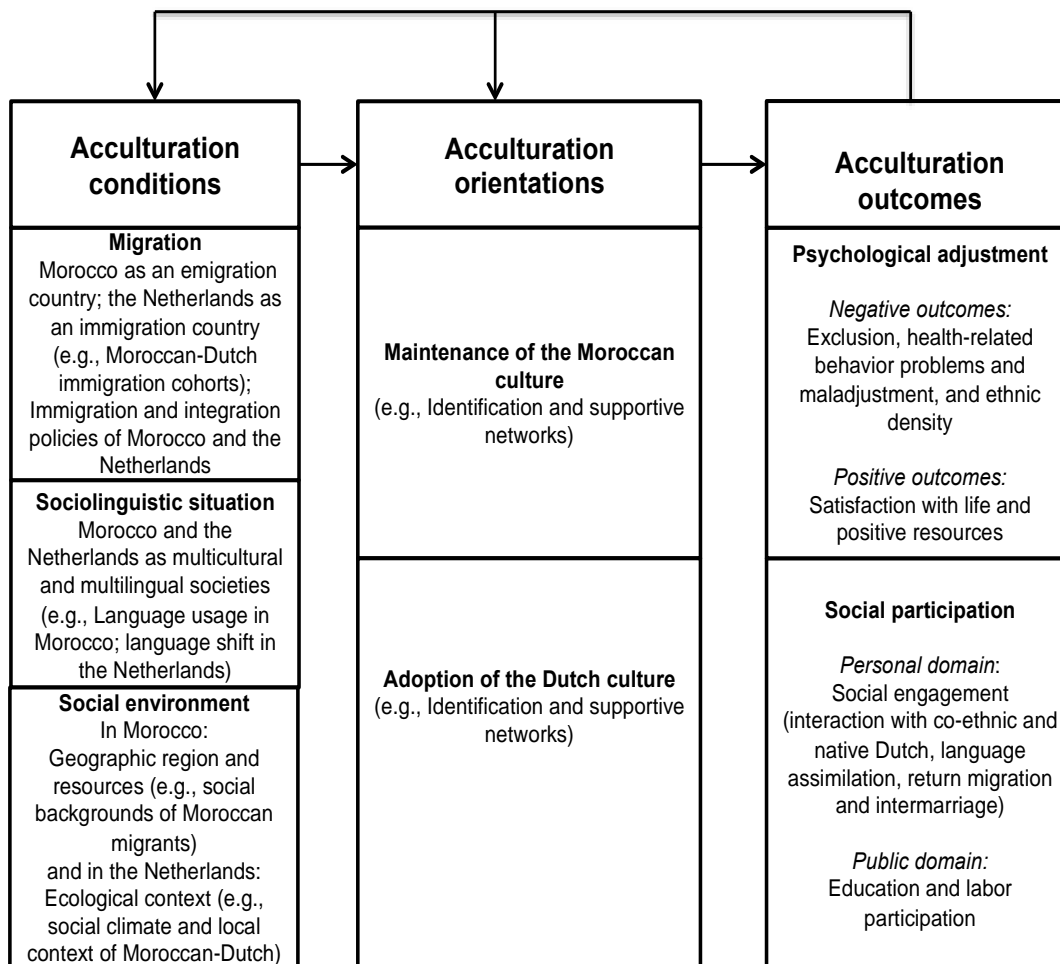


Figure 1
Success and risk factors of acculturation shifts on outcomes of Moroccan-Dutch
(conceptual model of acculturation adapted from Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006)

Our aim is to derive predictions from our review for future acculturation and participation patterns of notably young Moroccan-Dutch and end with recommendations for improvement of their acculturation outcomes.

The model depicted here draws also on the framework on acculturation orientations that is developed by Berry (2005), which will be explained later in this paper. We selected these acculturation variables because they are often linked to the extent to which Moroccan-Dutch are socially and culturally engaged in the Dutch society and form either robust and predictive indicators for having success or risk factors in participating (Azghari, Van de Vijver, & Hooghiemstra, 2017). We are interested in how these conditions and orientations impact (negatively or positively) the outcomes of Moroccan-Dutch, such as improving their social lives or facing health threats (e.g., Hosper, Nierkens, Nicolaou, & Stronks, 2007).

The remainder of the paper has three major parts in accordance with the main variables of our conceptual model on acculturation. First, we present different facets of the migration, the sociolinguistic situation of Moroccan-Dutch, and their social environment in relation to their acculturation. These three conditions are studied and placed in an historical and sociocultural context.

Second, we discuss the research findings of empirical studies that examined the impact of acculturation orientations of Moroccan-Dutch on their outcomes. This gives a clear picture of the social context of Moroccan-Dutch in the Netherlands. This context is here described as a result of social-cultural changes that take place when members of the Dutch and Moroccan communities come in prolonged contact. These changes are assessed by studying the orientations of Moroccan-Dutch (e.g., identification towards the Moroccan or mainstream Dutch culture and community) since the start of migration of Moroccan-Dutch. Third, we explore their outcomes: psychological adjustment and social participation. We distinguish two types of outcomes: How well immigrants feel (psychological adjustment) and how they perform (social participation) in the Dutch society (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

Social participation refers here not only to the degree to which Moroccan-Dutch participate in the *public domain* (El Aissati & Yagmur, 2010), but also engagement in the *personal domain*, including the number of (interethnic) contacts with mainstream Dutch (Sam & Berry, 2010). Whether this participation is successful or not in crucial life domains, such as schooling and labor, depends on access to social resources and social engagement of Moroccan-Dutch (Azghari et al., 2017).

With resources, we refer to the strengths of positive social capital resources, which Moroccan-Dutch were drawing on, that could enhance their participation in the Dutch society (Azghari et al., 2017). To determine their access and quality of resources and nature of ties within the Dutch society we discuss with whom Moroccan-Dutch engage (contacts with co-ethnics/mainstream Dutch), towards which culture they are more oriented, and how they identify with co-ethnics or native Dutch (Huijnk et al., 2015). Social engagement reflects the social context where Moroccan-Dutch live, study, and work, and with whom they engage more, such as having co-ethnic and/or mainstream friends.

Migration

In this section we describe briefly how Morocco has become one of the leading labor migration countries to Europe in the last six decades (e.g., De Haas, 2014).

Morocco as an Emigration Country

The migration patterns of Moroccans to Europe are impacted by two factors: colonialism (De Haas, 2014) and demand for low-skilled labor (Berriane et al., 2015). The Moroccan migration already started more than a century ago, from the First World War, when around 100,000 Moroccans (mainly from the south of the country) went to France to serve in the

army or do low-skilled jobs disliked by the French (De Haas, 2005; Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2004). Tens of thousands left Morocco to fight for the nations that subjected them to the colonial system (France and Spain) (Hannoum, 2013).

Moroccans from the Rif region were recruited for the army of General Franco during the Spanish Civil War of 1936 to 1939 and Moroccans had fought for France during the Second World War and in French Indochina (Berriane et al., 2015). Other migrants from Eastern Morocco (i.e., Oujda) and the Rif went to Algeria, which was part of France until 1962 (Alba & Silberman, 2002). Many returned to Morocco, either voluntary or involuntary. Around half a million migrants, who lived for decades in Algeria, were expelled to Morocco in 1975 as a response to the Green March into the Western Sahara (Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2004).

Nowadays, at least ten percent out of a population of almost 34 million ethnic Moroccans lives abroad, with around 1 million living in France (Berriane et al., 2015; De Haas et al., 2014). The other two-thirds are scattered throughout Western Europe (e.g., in Germany around 130,000, in Belgium 300,000, in Italy 500,000, and in Spain 800,000) and form with approximately two million individuals the largest Moroccan communities outside Morocco. Relatively few migrants of Moroccan origin (not more than 100,000 individuals per receiving country) have found their new home in other parts of the world, such as the USA (De Haas, 2005).

Morocco has a long history of migration and was colonized by France and Spain (1912-1956). Morocco is as Muslim majority country still a plural society (i.e., where people with different cultures and religious backgrounds live in one society). However, Moroccan-Dutch who arrived as unskilled laborers in the Netherlands do not represent this rich diversity as the majority originates from the Rif Mountains.

The Netherlands as an Immigration Country

In the Dutch population, 17% are first-generation immigrants or have at least one foreign-born parent (Entzinger, 2014). Moroccan-Dutch constitute 2.3% of the Dutch population (of nearly 17 million); more than half of them were born in the Netherlands. It is estimated that their number of 391,088 persons in 2017 will grow to almost half a million by the year 2050 (Garssen & Van Duin, 2009; Statistics Netherlands, 2017b). In the 1960s, a large majority of Rif Berbers—*Ryafa* in Arabic—from Northeast Morocco came as ‘guest workers’ to the Netherlands and other parts of northwest Europe (see for a portray of this period a Dutch TV documentary: <https://youtu.be/Ohv8fxd6dto>). Their family members joined them in the 1970s as part of family reunion and family formation (De Bree, Davids, & De Haas, 2010).

Moroccan-Dutch immigration cohorts

We distinguish five different cohorts among Moroccan-Dutch generations. The first immigrants make up the old, first cohort who are now in their seventies or older. They came in the 1960s to the Netherlands. The second cohort arrived in the Netherlands before the age of six years or was born there (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2008). Those who emigrated in the mid 1970s before the age of six years or were born shortly after the

arrival of their parents are now somewhere between their mid-thirties and mid-forties. Members of the other Dutch-born third cohort are now between the age of 18 years and the end of their thirties. The cohort in-between is formed by what can be called the '1.5 generation'. They were above six years when migrating with their parents, but not yet adults at the time of their arrival in the 1970s. These members of the fourth cohort were usually educated in both Morocco and the Netherlands and are now entering or already in their fifties.

The last cohort comprises individuals who were born and educated in Morocco, but in the mid 1980s migrated as young adults to the Netherlands to marry (Hooghiemstra, 2003). They are the 'younger' first generation and are now somewhere between 20 and 50 years old. The 1.5 generation form together with the first generation with 43% (168,536 people) of all Moroccan-Dutch while the remaining 57% (222,552 individuals) is formed by the second-generation with their third-generation children (Statistics Netherlands, 2017a).

Immigration and Integration Policies of Morocco and the Netherlands

Ever since Morocco was an established monarchy from the eighth century, the rulers – the *makhzen* in Arabic – never fully controlled the Berber regions from where most migrants came (De Haas, 2005). The Riffians always felt a sense of independence from the central government, which was the reason why the former Moroccan King Hassan II, who ruled Morocco from 1961 till 1999, had –as opposed to his son and successor Mohammed VI– little interest in developing this neglected region. Migration was used then as a strategy for dealing with these politically and economically marginalized groups (Collyer, Cherti, Lacroix, & Van Heelsum, 2009) and preventing poverty and political unrest (Bilgili & Weyel, 2009). This situation has not changed much since then as people in the Rif still protest against Moroccan authorities to obtain better life conditions.

Already from the first waves, the adjustment of Moroccans abroad was negatively influenced by the Moroccan policy that strongly opposed the idea that Moroccans abroad should adjust to the local culture (Huijnk et al., 2015). Moroccan authorities feared that the successful participation of Moroccan migrants in their host countries could lead to political unrest in Morocco when they brought new political ideas back to Morocco (Kreienbrink, 2005). King Hassan II wanted Moroccans living abroad to remain Moroccans and to fulfill the role of ambassadors (Leichtman, 2002). He was against dual citizenship and foreigners' right to vote at the communal level (Kreienbrink, 2005). This contrasted with his successor and son Mohammed VI, who became king in 1999, as he wanted Moroccans abroad to maintain good ties with mainstreamers in the host countries and respected their different nationalities. Moreover, when he visited the Netherlands in 2016, he took a lot of time to let himself photographed with Moroccan-Dutch in the streets, which was impossible with the former king. Also, Mohammed VI visited the Rif, which was not only neglected by his father for more than four decades, but also criminalized and marginalized (De Boer, 2013). However, despite these new gestures of his successor the fierce migration policy of Hassan II – Moroccans abroad should not integrate – has impacted negatively the acculturation of Moroccans in Europe.

The term acculturation is sometimes described as a process of cultural and psychological shift due to contact between different ethnic groups (in our case Moroccan-Dutch and mainstream Dutch) (Sam & Berry, 2010). However, we argue that this definition neglects the importance of cultural maintenance among migrants that we want to address as well. How Moroccan-Dutch define their identity depends on several aspects, such as self-identification, sense of belonging to a group, and involvement in both cultures (i.e., attitudes, behavior, and activities).

Like many other receiving societies, Dutch authorities see labor participation and sufficient level of education as the key factors for successful participation (Entzinger & Biezeveld, 2003). Both are often used to establish how migrants adjust in the public domain (Crul & Heering, 2008). Since the mid 1990s, we observe in the Netherlands and other Western countries a retreat from multiculturalism (Kymlicka, 2012). Multiculturalism, which is strongly related to acculturation, mostly refers to a political system that favors and/or accommodates the maintenance of ethnic diversity within one country and promotes tolerance and mutual acceptance of all groups (e.g., Sam & Berry, 2006). Based on the idea that migrants' residence was seen as temporary, the Dutch authorities favored since 1970s a multicultural integration policy whereby migrants in the Netherlands were allowed to maintain their culture of origin (Entzinger, 2006). Yet, this multiculturalism became in practice and had more of a legal status during the 1980s, such as the right to vote for foreign residents in local elections in 1985 (Entzinger, 2006) and the right for migrant children in 1985 to receive a bicultural education (i.e., education in ethnic language and culture) for 2.5 hours per week in Dutch schools (Turkenburg, 2002). However, halfway through the 1990s this changed to an assimilation policy because the maintenance of a migrant culture was seen as an obstacle for adaptation to the Netherlands (Gordijn, 2010). This shift is partially driven by fears among the majority groups who felt threatened in their way of life (Kymlicka, 2012).

In sum, from the start of migration, the main factor that influenced negatively the acculturation process and participation degree of Moroccan-Dutch is related to the contrasting views and policies on migration of Morocco and the Netherlands. The Dutch emphasis on assimilation of all migrants that prevailed two decades ago explains partially why this policy, urging Moroccan-Dutch to participate better into the mainstream society, failed.

Sociolinguistic Situation

In this section we address the sociolinguistic situation and language usage of Moroccans; more specifically, we describe the complex linguistic and culturally diverse backgrounds of Moroccan-Dutch migrants that still influence the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. Morocco is home to many different cultures (e.g., Arabs, Berbers, Africans, and Jews), but almost half of the Moroccan population is Berber (Zouhir, 2014).

Morocco as a Multilingual and Multicultural Society

Modern Standard Arabic, which nobody speaks at home as a mother tongue, is used in education, administration, and the media; furthermore, it fulfills a religious function because the *Quran* is written in another form of Arabic, Classical Arabic (Jamai, 2008). The high status of this MSA, which was the language of the Moroccan rulers, and its use in formal settings have characterized the linguistic situation of the Moroccan society for centuries. Although Modern Standard Arabic is the official language of Morocco, at least four other languages are used in daily life (Benmamoun, 2001). However, since the constitutional reforms in 2011, the Berber, *Tamazight*, has become the second official language. The French language is often used by well-educated Moroccans, and most speak Moroccan-Arabic in the personal domain (e.g., home). Besides these two languages, there are three different varieties of spoken Berber languages (Laghzaoui, 2007).

Language usage in Morocco

We distinguish three groups of Moroccans with respect to their language usage (Boumans, 1998). The first lives in Berberophone rural areas: they speak one of the three distinguished Berber languages (*Tarifit*, *Tamazight* or *Tachelhit*) as their first language and learn Modern Standard Arabic and French at school (Zouhir, 2014). The second are Moroccans who live in urban places that are mainly Arabophone, such as Casablanca, Rabat, and Oujda. They speak Moroccan-Arabic, the *darija*, which is the lingua franca in Morocco (Boumans, 2001). The last category consists of Moroccans who speak both languages, which are used mainly at home and on the street, as a result of internal migration in Morocco.

The Netherlands as a Multilingual and Multicultural Society

Another important factor that has impacted their acculturation and social participation is related to the Dutch government's view and policy on integration of the Dutch ethnic minorities. From the 1970s until 2004 the government provided education to immigrant children in their own language and culture in primary schools (e.g., Turkenburg, 2002). The idea behind this policy was that immigrant children would benefit from this education once they go back with their parents to their country of origin, as the Dutch government and most Moroccan laborers expected their stay to be temporary. However, in reality the stay of Moroccans turned out to be permanent, and Moroccan-Dutch children learned standard Arabic, not their own spoken language (Moroccan-Arabic or a Berber language). The vast majority of the Moroccan parents, the first generation who came from the Rif region and for the most part illiterate, were not against this type of Arabic education, probably because of the highly respected link between Arabic and religion and because the Berber language was not considered so important for their ethnic background (Bentahila, 1983).

This policy led to a strange situation where the Dutch government, which had long promoted the richness of the Dutch multicultural society, contributed to a continued assimilation process of ethnic Arabization of Berbers who lived in the Netherlands. This process started right after the independence of Morocco in 1956 whereby French, the language of the colonizer, was replaced by Arabic (Zouhir, 2014).

Language shift in the Netherlands

The complex linguistic situation in Morocco is also reflected among Moroccan-Dutch. While less than half of the population in Morocco speaks Berber, more than 70% of Moroccans in the Netherlands are native speakers of *Tarifit*, the Riffian Berber (Laghzaoui, 2007). However, like in Morocco most Moroccan-Dutch (referring here to almost all of the first and 1.5 generations and to a lesser extent the second generation) are bilingual, using Berber and Moroccan-Arabic in daily life.

A study conducted during the period of 1992 and 1994 on the language usage in the Netherlands among the Moroccan community revealed that Moroccan-Dutch used a mixed form of spoken Moroccan and Dutch in those days (Azghari, 1995). The data were obtained by recording and transcribing audiotapes of more than twenty hours of conversations among Moroccan-Dutch individuals between the ages of 18 and 50 years. This existence of code-switching was a significant sign of linguistic integration of the Dutch and Moroccan-Arabic languages. Interestingly, this switching from Moroccan-Arabic to Dutch and use of Moroccan-Arabic or Berber have become much less common in the last past decades, not only in the Netherlands but also in other countries, such as the United Kingdom (Jamai, 2008).

In a recent study, we found a strong language shift towards Dutch among young Moroccan-Dutch (Azghari, Van de Vijver, & Hooghiemstra, 2015). This shift is stronger in Moroccan-Dutch than in Turkish-Dutch, another large immigrant community in the Netherlands. Nearly 60% of Moroccan-Dutch speaks the Dutch language with their children, compared to 40% of the Turkish-Dutch (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). A possible explanation for this observation is that Moroccans are raised in a linguistically very diverse environment where different languages are used within Moroccan families, such as the Arabic, Moroccan-Arabic and Berber languages. Another explanation for why Moroccans abroad adapt easily to a host language is that the own ethnic spoken language is not regarded as vital for their Moroccan identity.

Social Environment in Morocco and the Netherlands

In general, the lives of Moroccan-Dutch are influenced by two life transitions that occur in the acculturation context. The first has already started with their migration as explained in previous sections. They emigrated from parts of Morocco and lived in a social environment that can be characterized as poorly developed rural areas. Resources, such as work and income, were low. The second transition refers to acculturation of the Dutch context.

Geographic Region and Resources

The majority of Berbers who migrated to the Netherlands more than four decades ago came from the city of Nador or surroundings and some *Sous* Berbers from Agadir, south of Morocco (Leichtman, 2002). Moroccans went abroad due to the bad socioeconomic situation in Morocco as well as a lack of resources in poorly developed rural areas and their marginalized position. Hundreds of thousands of Moroccans migrated to France, (French) Algeria and also within Morocco to urban areas (Leichtman, 2002). Later on they moved to other part parts of the world, mainly Europe (Berriane et al., 2015).

Social backgrounds of Moroccan migrants

The first migrants who left Morocco in large numbers and came to the West can be divided roughly in two categories with respect to their backgrounds. The first group consists of low skilled Moroccans who migrated in search of unskilled jobs in European countries, such as the Netherlands and Spain. The second group of Moroccans had higher skills and moved to Canada and the USA (De Haas, 2007; Del Bel-Air, 2016). Even though they share the same ethnic background, the differences between these groups are often related to contrasting attitudes of mainstreamers in the host western countries towards Muslim minorities, which have an impact on their identity and participation (Azghari & Wolf, 2016). In the 1990s, Northern America was a very attractive destination for highly skilled Moroccans (De Haas, 2007). Moroccans who settled in Canada or the USA were – despite the different policies of these two countries towards migrants – better off than in Europe. Moroccans who migrated to the United States and Canada had considerably more resources (having mostly a middle class and urban background) and were better educated. This was in contrast to the predominantly low skilled laborers who migrated to Europe (De Haas, 2007). Also, migrants in the USA often found it easier to fit in their new cultural context since the American culture was less circumscribed than in Europe where many Muslim migrants (who for the most part were recruited for labor work) were socially less prominent and lived often in poor neighborhoods (Azghari & Wolf, 2016).

To sum up, those who migrated to Northern America had better jobs or established small businesses and were less seen as disadvantaged or poorly educated by the mainstreamers. This was in contrast with the low skilled workers who went to Europe -with high rates of illiteracy and a lack of resources- and had more problems to participate successfully than the better educated Moroccans in the USA (Kachani, 2009).

Ecological Context

The second life transition of the immigrant takes place in the so-called ecological context of the receiving country. According to Bronfenbrenner (1999), who addressed the role of environment in human development, this context can be represented by four concentric circles whereby each one represents an ecological system. Each circle refers to how a person is embedded in his or her immediate environment in terms of having personal relations (microsystem), settings in which a person participates (mesosystem), and communities (exosystem) or the larger society (macrosystem). This shift of environment

can lead to the search for new social resources, such as a new social climate, to help rebuild their social support system that contributes to a better participation and reduces acculturation stress as well (García, Ramírez, & Jariego, 2002).

Social climate of Moroccan-Dutch

Drawing on Bronfenbrenner (1999), the term social climate is here broadly defined as the sum of social resources (i.e., supportive social networks and neighborhood) and strengths of social ties, which are available to the Moroccan-Dutch community in their local context. This climate may influence adjustment of young Moroccan-Dutch in a negative or positive way. Below we discuss the impact of this context (notably where they live) on their acculturation and identification. Then we discuss how this acculturation pattern and identification impact their supportive networks as well.

Local context of Moroccan-Dutch

More than two decades ago, scholars noted that almost half of the people in certain neighborhoods of Dutch cities were of Moroccan descent, which implied that co-ethnic peer groups play an important part in socialization (Boumans, 2001). Two-thirds of all Moroccan-Dutch still live in the largest Dutch cities, such as Amsterdam and Utrecht, and often live in poor and multi-ethnic neighborhoods where more than half of the population has a non-western background (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Studies have shown that non-western minorities have more frequent contact with native Dutch when the neighborhood is ethnically mixed, which is good for reducing the social distance and for mastering the Dutch language; however, when more than half of the residents has a non-western background, the contact is likely to decline and the social distance increases (Gijssberts & Dagevos, 2007).

We conclude that the acculturation process of Moroccan-Dutch is related to their local context. Also, the two major transitions that we described have an impact on the way that Moroccan-Dutch identify themselves as discussed below.

Acculturation Orientations

According to Berry (2005), people can differ in their orientation towards the cultures of their country of origin and settlement: adopting the new dominant culture or maintaining the culture of origin. This two-dimensional model can lead to four orientations, which have an impact on identity development. The bicultural orientation, called integration, is said to occur when people identify with both cultures. This is often regarded as the best option with the most positive outcomes in terms of doing and feeling well in the Dutch society (Nguyen & Benet-Martínez, 2013; Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

Identification: Maintenance or Adoption

Despite the long permanent stay in the host countries of the first generation migrants of Moroccan origin, around 80% were always socially and culturally more oriented towards Morocco and Moroccans. This has not changed much, as about 75% of the second-generation feels strongly Moroccan with only around half who is also oriented to the Dutch (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). These findings confirm what we observed several times in our research: The social identity of Moroccan-Dutch is mostly derived from feeling more Moroccan than Dutch and being more attached to co-ethnics than to native Dutch. In particular, their religious identity, mainly their attachment to Islam, remains strong and may even have become stronger in recent years (e.g., Azghari et al., 2015; Van der Valk, 2016).

Supportive networks

For many second-generation Moroccan-Dutch, strong bonding (referring to ties with family/co-ethnics) seemed often not to be compatible with strong bridging (referring to ties with people of other ethnic groups, including the majority group) (Azghari et al., 2017) as suggested by Putnam (2007). One in seven Moroccan-Dutch prefers segregation (Huijnk et al., 2015). The strong ethnic orientation towards the Moroccan culture led to a high co-ethnic supportive social network. However, though their ethnic support was high within the Moroccan community, it was also limited to co-ethnics with low resources, which as a consequence often hampered their social participation within the Dutch community. This was in contrast with young Moroccan-Dutch who had good access to social sources and broad supportive networks; they were more likely to succeed than peers who had a lack of resources and lived in disadvantaged neighborhoods with limited networks (Azghari et al., 2017).

We found that second-generation Moroccan-Dutch had either an orientation to the Netherlands and Dutch culture and community or to Morocco and Moroccan culture and community (Azghari et al., 2017). These two dominant orientations led to opposite acculturation outcomes. Young Moroccan-Dutch who engage more with the mainstream Dutch feel and do much better than those who orient more to the Moroccan community. The group with an orientation on both cultures is small.

Acculturation Outcomes

In this last part, we investigate the negative and positive factors in the acculturation context and how well Moroccan-Dutch feel and perform in the Dutch society.

Psychological Adjustment: Negative Outcomes

Here we discuss first risk and protective factors that are related to the negative outcomes of their psychological adjustment, such as exclusion. We then explore positive outcomes

where we use insights from positive psychology to shed light on how some young Moroccan-Dutch can be successful in the Dutch society despite their disadvantaged position.

Exclusion

Moroccan-Dutch are since long confronted with anti-immigrant sentiments. With their Muslim background they experience exclusion in the Netherlands, which is also observed with other Muslim youth of different ethnic backgrounds in other Western countries (Balsano & Sirin, 2007). In the Netherlands, almost half of the Muslims (42%) felt discriminated against because of their background, which is among the highest percentages compared to other EU countries (FRA, 2017). Due to perceived discrimination and the feeling of not being fully accepted by the Dutch mainstreamers, Moroccan-Dutch tend to emphasize their ethnic identity and engage more with co-ethnics (Azghari et al., 2017). This stronger co-ethnic attachment is in line with the rejection-identification model of Branscombe, Schmitt, and Harvey (1999).

Moroccan-Dutch who experience discrimination are three times more likely to show depressive symptoms than those who do not experience personal discrimination (Van Dijk, Agyemang, De Wit, & Hosper, 2011). It is suggested that a stronger ethnic identity –as a protective factor- helps to deal better with perceived discrimination so that it has little or no effect on their mental health (Mossakowski, 2003).

Health-related behavior problems and maladjustment

Health-related behavior problems refer here to behaviors that can have a negative impact on the physical and mental health of a person. Moroccan-Dutch face all kinds of risks (Gezondheidsraad, 2012). An exploratory study compared the associations between internalizing problems (i.e., non-observable behavior problems such as a depression) and externalizing problems (i.e., observable behavior problems such as being aggressive towards others) among Moroccan and Dutch adolescents over a 4-year period (Paalman et al., 2015). The outcomes showed that the associations increased over time among Moroccan adolescents whereas among native Dutch peers were stable. This negative outcome suggests a growing complexity of problems during the adolescence of young Moroccans. Moreover, this increase of co-occurring problems is not only a signal of clinical relevance as it is related to poorer treatment outcomes and functioning, but also a strong signal for future problems (Paalman et al., 2015). These findings are consistent with previous studies where Dutch teachers reported more externalizing problems among Moroccan pupils (Stevens et al., 2003). Paalman et al. (2015) also reported that Moroccan-Dutch showed higher treatment thresholds and lower treatment rates of mental disorders.

There are other studies that examined health-related behavior of Moroccan-Dutch. Hosper et al. (2007) concluded that their improved socioeconomic position compared to their parents, such as higher educational level, cannot be assumed always to protect them (notably in the case of Moroccan-Dutch woman) against certain health risks, such as becoming overweight due to a lack of physical activity.

Moroccan-Dutch under the age of 26 years face more problems than mainstream peers do and are at risk of behavioral maladjustment (Wissink, Deković, Yağmur, Stams, & De Haan, 2008). The exposure to multiple risks factors may partially explain why around half of Moroccan-Dutch between the age group of 15 to 25 years is suspected of committing criminal or illegal activities (Bovenkerk & Fokkema, 2015). Moroccan-Dutch are at least twice as often suspected for conducting criminal acts as native Dutch (Statistics Netherlands, 2012); the proportion of convicted offenders is also high among Moroccan-Dutch adolescents.

The differences in their psychological adjustment are related to the different acculturation orientations among this group, the neighborhood where they live and their preferred lifestyle, such as adapting healthy or unhealthy behavior from their childhood on (e.g., Hosper et al., 2007).

Ethnic density

Another example of a contextual aspect that can be both a risk and a protective factor is ethnic density, referring to the proportion of people with the same ethnic background in a neighborhood. This co-ethnic cultural environment may adversely influence their adjustment and social participation to mainstream society. A high ethnic density can lower the chances to engage in daily life with mainstream Dutch and makes the cultural distance bigger (Entzinger, 2009). Moreover, living in an ethnically segregated neighborhood tends to lead to a stronger religious maintenance (Maliepaard, Lubbers, & Gijssberts, 2012). Children who live in a disadvantaged and ethnically diverse neighborhood have often more risk for all kinds of problems, such as dropping out of school and exposure to crime (Pinkster & Fortuijn, 2009). However, living in such neighborhoods with many co-ethnics can also lead to a high level of social support, which is a predictor of positive psychological adjustment (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004).

The notion that ethnic density functions as a buffer against perceived experiences of exclusion and prejudice in the Dutch society and protects from suffering a negative effect on their mental health is questioned by Schrier et al. (2014). Their research shows that other risk factors, such as individual socioeconomic background, have more influence on mental health than neighborhood characteristics. Some researchers argued that neighborhood and health are strongly linked, especially when the neighborhood comprises poorer communities with limited resources (Diez Roux & Mair, 2010). Below we discuss studies that have addressed positive outcomes.

Psychological Adjustment: Positive Outcomes

Satisfaction with life

Researchers have found that out of the four largest Dutch non-western minorities, Moroccan-Dutch felt happier, and scored significantly higher on life satisfaction, than other immigrant groups (Van der Houwen & Moonen, 2014). Around 87% of the Moroccan-

Dutch said to feel satisfied, which equals almost the exact number of the mainstream Dutch who from 1997 to 2014 reported to be happy (Statistics Netherlands, 2015). Moroccan-Dutch who felt still Moroccan were happier than those who did not feel Moroccan anymore, which indicates that identification with Moroccan culture is positively related to wellbeing. Also, those who had stronger family ties were happier. This positive link between co-ethnic orientation and well-being was also found elsewhere (e.g., Berry, 2005). However, it should be noted that a high co-ethnic identification can also lead to poor adjustment outcomes when the own ethnic social network lacks positive resources (Azghari et al., 2017).

Positive resources

Positive psychology research has shown that children at high risk for problems, such as maladaptation, can do well in terms of obtaining positive acculturation outcomes and achieve high levels of psychological well-being (Masten et al., 1999). What contributed to their success in the context of their disadvantaged position is their resilience. Resilience is the ability to effectively deal with adversity (Jackson, Firtko, & Edenborough, 2007). Similarly, we found that some young Moroccan-Dutch were successful and seemed not to be affected by their disadvantaged position (Azghari, Van de Vijver, & Hooghiemstra, 2017, in review). These successful Moroccan-Dutch used more often input from positive social resources that functioned as protective factors for failure: They were more active, relied on broader supportive networks and were higher educated and better skilled than the unsuccessful ones.

Social Participation in Personal and Public Domain

To establish how well Moroccan-Dutch participate and perform in the Dutch society, we explored their outcomes in two domains. Social engagement is situated here in the personal domain and education and labor participation in the public domain.

Social engagement

We examined the interaction of Moroccan-Dutch between co-ethnics or native Dutch by studying their social ties (as a result of their cultural orientation), language shift, return migration and intermarriages as the four indicators to determine their engagement with the co-ethnic and mainstream Dutch community and cultures.

Interaction with co-ethnics and native Dutch

Moroccans were always more oriented to the Moroccan community and culture. Only 60% of Moroccan-Dutch feel more or less at home in the Netherlands (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). As a consequence, they not only have a limited social network, as reported earlier in this paper, but also much stronger social ties with co-ethnics and fewer contacts with mainstream Dutch: Two-thirds of young Moroccan said to engage more with co-ethnics (Azghari et al., 2017).

Language assimilation

The generational language shift towards Dutch among Moroccan-Dutch, which has been reported elsewhere (Extra & Yagmur, 2010), is spectacular. However, this shift does not always reduce their acculturation stress, let alone lead automatically to improved social participation or to increased feelings of being Dutch (Azghari et al., 2015). On the contrary, their stronger orientation to the Moroccan culture and community, which we observed in our recent conducted studies, illustrates that their ethnicity can be strong regardless of their assimilation to the Dutch language (Azghari et al., 2015). We also note that the use of the typical Moroccan accent in the Dutch or street language by some young Moroccan-Dutch (Nortier & Dorleijn, 2008) may have according to our research a negative impact on their participation in the mainstream society.

We see this language assimilation of Moroccan immigrants in many European states despite the fact that countries differ very much in migration policies, such as the Netherlands and France. They also experience like other immigrants (e.g., Turks in France) a high level of unemployment (Simon, 2003). We conclude that this language shift among Moroccan-Dutch is not a guarantee for successful social participation in the Dutch society.

Return migration

Although there are many disciplines that have studied and approached return migration in different ways (De Haas, Fokkema, & Fihri, 2015; Kunuroglu, Van de Vijver, & Yagmur, 2016), we focus here on migrants who first migrated for economic reasons to the Netherlands and then decided to return to their home country. In the economic framework –where reasons to return are taken to be mostly economically driven – there are roughly two conflicting theories on return migration (De Haas et al., 2015). Within the perspective of *neoclassical migration theory*, return migration is interpreted as failure because people who return have failed to participate successfully in the receiving society. The other perspective, the *new economics of labor migration theory*, holds that return migration is seen as success since people who return have saved enough capital to invest in the country of origin. It is a problem of both approaches that success and failure is based on financial reasons; research shows that migrants decide to return due to many other factors, including social, cultural and political reasons (Kunuroglu et al., 2016).

The dominant ethnic orientation towards the Moroccan culture has always been strong among the Moroccan-Dutch community, as many of the first Moroccan migrants wished to return (De Bree et al., 2010). In total 17% has the desire to remigrate (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). This dream of a return migration is still alive and has even increased recently among second-generation Moroccan-Dutch (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). This return may be due to experiences of exclusion in the Dutch society: 40% out of the 25 young Moroccan-Dutch that we interviewed saw their future in Morocco (Azghari et al., 2015).

However, the proportion of Moroccan-Dutch that remigrated is much lower compared to Turkish-Dutch; in 2015 the net migration among Moroccan-Dutch (around half were members of the first generation) was negative (-260) compared to the net migration

(-2,529) among Turkish-Dutch (two third was of the first generation) that returned to Turkey (Statistics Netherlands, 2017e).

Intermarriage

The strong co-ethnic orientation is also reflected in the number of mixed marriages: according to Statistics Netherlands (2017c), only 12.2% of notably male Moroccan-Dutch live together and/or are married with oftentimes a female native Dutch, which is slightly higher compared to 10.9% of Turkish-Dutch. The high level of the intimate relationships between co-ethnic couples (70.8%), who live together and are almost all married (9 out of 10), exceeds by far the intermarriages of the second-generation Moroccan-Dutch with mainstream Dutch (Statistics Netherlands, 2017d).

The rate of divorce (42.4%) among Moroccan-Dutch who married a native Dutch is the highest compared to other non-western minorities (Smith, Maas, & Tubergen, 2012). It can be concluded that cultural and religious differences between Moroccan-Dutch and native Dutch form a higher risk for divorce.

Education

Education is a very important indicator of how well individuals of different ethnic groups with a migrant background do in the Dutch society (Ooijevaar & Bloemendal, 2016). One of the main five influential factors that are discussed here and have an impact on education and integration of young Moroccan-Dutch is related to the ethnic density of the school. This educational environment has an impact on successful schooling and depends on the population characteristics of a school that Moroccan-Dutch pupils visit. A larger ethnic diversity of schools in secondary education may hamper their educational achievements (Dronkers, 2010).

Young Moroccan-Dutch have shown a remarkable progress in educational achievement over the last decades (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Also, statistics covering the last three decades show enhancement in mastering the Dutch language among Moroccan-Dutch, whereby the primary school pupils of Moroccan backgrounds show the biggest achievement (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Successful Moroccan-Dutch students (who attend a higher general secondary education that enables them go to tertiary education) are even more successful than successful native Dutch students (Van der Veen & Meijnen, 2001). Similar results were partially found among Moroccan-Dutch, aged 18 to 34 years (Azghari et al., 2017). The most possible explanations for this observation may lie at the individual level, such as their intrinsic motivation to succeed and their positive attitude towards the Dutch society and schooling, which they often see as a means to achieve upward social mobility.

The four other factors that according to a comparative study, which targeted the second-generation Turks who lived in the Netherlands and France, contributed to this success are student-teacher relationships, family support, and the influence of the peer and school context (Schnell, Keskiner, & Crul, 2013). Yet, the educational attainments should not be overrated, as the rates of Moroccan-Dutch students, who leave school without a diploma, is since long higher than the rate of mainstream Dutch (Ooijevaar &

Bloemendal, 2016); despite the fact that the number of drop-outs decreased in recent years for all the young Dutch groups, also for young Moroccan-Dutch (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016).

Labor participation

In addition to education, access to paid work is a relevant indicator of performance in the Dutch society. Among the four largest Dutch non-western groups, Moroccan-Dutch have the worst position in the Dutch labor market (Huijnk et al., 2015; Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Nearly 20% of the Moroccan-Dutch population is unemployed, which is at least three times higher than among mainstream Dutch (Ooijevaar & Bloemendal, 2016).

This exclusion in the labor market can be partially explained by the following six factors. The first has to do with the negative Dutch attitude towards this group and their negative stereotypes. A recent study demonstrated that prejudiced people in the Netherlands have biased mental representations of Moroccan faces and link them easily to criminality (Dotsch, Wigboldus, Langner, & Van Knippenberg, 2008). Irrespective of the educational or social standing, the Moroccan-Dutch face stereotypes and discrimination by mainstreamers. The extensive attention in recent years by media and politicians for problems within the Moroccan-Dutch community, such as radicalization, has not helped to reduce this stigma. On the contrary, it is reported that many native Dutch hold a hostile attitude towards ethnic minorities, notably second-generation Turks and Moroccans (e.g., Tolsma, Lubbers, & Gijssberts, 2012). Also, the better-educated Moroccans do not experience less discrimination than less-educated co-ethnic peers (Tolsma et al., 2012). The second factor is related to feelings of discomfort in contact with mainstream Dutch as a response of the negative Dutch social climate that has a negative impact on engaging with the Dutch mainstreamers (Azghari et al., 2017).

The third factor is that Moroccan-Dutch have more often a flexible labor contract than native Dutch (one in three versus one in five) and are as flex-workers more vulnerable to job loss (Ooijevaar & Bloemendal, 2016). The fourth factor can be found in an increased distrust among Moroccan-Dutch in the Dutch authorities, such as the government and police (e.g., Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). The fifth and sixth factors are related to respectively their victim blaming attitude and lack of relevant life skills (Azghari et al., 2017). This attitude is related to perceived exclusion and stigmatization by the mainstream Dutch and also the negative stereotyping of the Dutch by Moroccan-Dutch. With respect to relevant skills, we conclude that successful Moroccan-Dutch were more active, relied on a broad supportive networks, were better educated, open to Dutch and had better developed competencies than those who were unsuccessful.

Discussion

We explored to what extent acculturation conditions and orientations of Moroccan-Dutch have positively or negatively influenced their outcomes in the Dutch society. We conclude that six factors play a salient role in the outcomes of young Moroccan-Dutch on three

levels: their migration and culturally diverse backgrounds (macro); social climate, social participation in public domain and participation barriers (meso); and competencies (micro). Here we discuss these factors briefly and end with summing up six stakeholders that could help to improve acculturation outcomes of Moroccan Dutch.

The first factor refers to the Moroccan and the Dutch migration history and their policies on immigration and integration. The second refers to the cultural and linguistic diversity among Moroccan-Dutch and shows the culturally complex situation of the Moroccan community. Both factors have an enormous impact on the outcomes of the second and third generation but are hardly changeable. Notably, the first and second generations Moroccan-Dutch faced - like other Muslim migrants from North Africa such as Tunisia - many contradictions and conflicts between preserving the own ethnic (Moroccan-Islamic) culture or adapting to the modern life style in the West (e.g., Leichtman, 2002). It is argued that this struggle, which was started by migration, changed the traditional family structure because the head of household was absent (see also Sadiqi & Ennaji, 2004).

The Moroccan policy on migration is very different from the Dutch policy. It has been argued that government's influence on integration process is limited in the short term (e.g., Entzinger, 2014). However, we have demonstrated in this review that in the long term contrasting views and different policies on migration and integration of governments in Morocco and the Netherlands have a negative impact on the acculturation of the Moroccan-Dutch community.

Although the roots of the majority of the Moroccan-Dutch can be found in the Rif region, less than half only speaks Moroccan-Arabic and originates from other parts of Morocco. This diversity of linguistic and ethnic backgrounds that exists for centuries in Morocco is, however, to a lesser extent, still visible among Moroccan-Dutch. In many cases, they do not share an ethnic identity (nor a single language that is used as a conversational and written language). That is because they not only can differ whether they speak Berber and/or Moroccan-Arabic at home, but also in different cultures and attitudes, depending from where in Morocco they originated. The Dutch authorities did not take into account this complex diversity among Moroccan-Dutch. Therefore, they contributed for nearly three decades to an assimilation process of *Arabization* of the Moroccan-Dutch Berbers when delivering education in own language and culture.

Nowadays, Dutch has become the dominant language among Moroccan-Dutch. What might explain this language shift of Moroccan-Dutch is that the own ethnic spoken language is less prominent for their identity. Also, the language of their parents had always a lower status compared to Standard Arabic and other European languages, such as French. Yet, for the most second-generation individuals their linguistic acculturation shift, whereby they speak the Dutch as their first language as opposed to their parents, has not much changed their disadvantaged position when compared to the mainstream Dutch peers.

The third factor, social climate, is related to the sum of social resources of Moroccan-Dutch and strengths of their social ties. This climate can be expected to change for most Moroccan-Dutch gradually, and for some very successful ones abruptly within one or two generations, as the acculturation process unfolds. Moroccans who migrated to the

Netherlands came from marginalized and poor regions that were politically and economically neglected (Collyer et al., 2009). Most were unskilled and lived often in poor and ethnically diverse Dutch neighborhoods with low social resources (e.g., low income or unemployed). However, we also observed that some Moroccan-Dutch who are exposed to the same threats are very successful. We used insights from positive psychology to understand why.

The last three factors (social participation, barriers, and competences) can be positively changed rather quickly, assuming that the right stakeholders are involved to take actions as explained at the end of this discussion section. The strong orientation of the Moroccan-Dutch towards Morocco and their own ethnic group can hinder their social participation of our target group, but it can also protect them against integration problems (Huijnk et al., 2015). It can hamper their participation when searching for labor, but it can help also as a buffer against exclusion and stigmatization in the Dutch society. We conclude that the orientation of young Moroccan-Dutch either to the co-ethnic or the mainstream Dutch community has implications for their outcomes (Azghari et al., 2017). It leads to what we frequently observed during our in total 86 face-to-face interviews (39 males, 47 females) in two previous studies with young Moroccan-Dutch: one group was intrinsically and highly motivated to succeed, whereas the other group was difficult to motivate to improve their situation.

However, even the improved education level of many Moroccan-Dutch does not always lead to paid work due to discrimination (e.g., Tolsma et al., 2012). The labor participation is low due to participation barriers, such as stigmatization and the negative Dutch climate. Feelings of rejection can lead to more depressive symptoms (Van Dijk et al., 2011), and to many other problems, such as behavioral maladjustment and isolation. However, it appears that those who are determined to prove that they do not fit in this stigma were more likely to succeed in the Dutch society than the group who either confirmed the stereotypes or victimized themselves (Azghari et al., 2017, in review). Improving their competencies contributes to successful participation.

We argue that there are six stakeholders that could be critical to improve the situation of young Moroccan-Dutch in a disadvantaged position. First, social workers can assist this group to have broader Dutch supportive networks and help to reduce exclusion in daily life. Social workers could help this bicultural youth by enlarging their social network, notably within the native Dutch community, and combat in cooperation with the Dutch administration at national and local level all kinds of prejudice and negative stereotypes. To help young Moroccan-Dutch with a disadvantaged position with their struggles (e.g., identity issues) and assist them to succeed in the Dutch society, social workers should first develop a sustainable relationship with them, based on trust. For establishing such relationships, social workers need not only to have a good knowledge about the complex situation of young Moroccan-Dutch (e.g., identification processes) to understand better their acculturation context, but also have or acquire a minimum set of intercultural competencies, such as cultural empathy.

Moreover, what contributes to successful participation is to motivate them to study or work harder than mainstream Dutch to achieve their ambitions and teach them the

required practical skills (often mentioned: networking, applying for a job and helping them to better structure their lives to finish for example their education and obtain other personal goals).

Second, schools could address the risk factors of this particular group and teach them relevant competences, such as dealing with their acculturation challenges and networking. One of their biggest responsibilities and challenges is to assist these first migrant students in their disadvantaged position and avoid the high rates of school drop-outs among this group, finish successfully their schooling and help them to find work by teaching them the necessary skills and enlarging their network with the mainstream Dutch.

Third, the Dutch administration can implement a more effective policy of inclusion at local and national level to combat every form of exclusion in crucial participation fields, such as the labor market. The Dutch authorities should invest more in research and projects within schools and social work that aim to motivate and help this vulnerable youth to succeed in the Dutch society.

Fourth, Dutch employers could reflect on whether young Moroccan-Dutch are well enough represented in their workforce and, if this is not the case, take appropriate action. Dutch employers can consider conducting a positive job policy that gives young Moroccan-Dutch adequate chances to become a member of their workforce. Also, they should invest more within their companies in teaching the necessary intercultural skills to those who are responsible for implementing this policy. The fifth stakeholder is the Moroccan-Dutch community. They could promote more positive parenting, stimulate young Moroccan-Dutch to work hard and teach them to be resilient despite the difficulties that are inherent to their acculturation process. Also, they should work closely with other relevant stakeholders and organize sessions or events with young Moroccan-Dutch to address important topics, such as how to deal with their identity issues or feelings of rejection and so overcome possible cultural differences or misconceptions in contact with native Dutch.

The last stakeholder are the mainstream Dutch citizens. They should be aware that having more of a positive attitude towards migrant youth in a disadvantaged position (in our case young Moroccan-Dutch), taking more efforts for a constructive dialogue, extending their ties to Moroccan-Dutch community, providing them social support when needed and combatting every form of discrimination are the first five steps that contribute to successful participation of young Moroccan-Dutch and to a more inclusive Dutch society.

Limitations

We did not intend to provide a comprehensive overview of all research on migration, acculturation and social participation of Moroccan-Dutch, which would be impossible in the context of a single chapter. The resulting selectivity of our review limits our research. However, we set out to present a broad overview of most relevant research topics linked to the situation of our target group, based both on results drawn from qualitative and quantitative studies in order to have a deeper understanding of the participation patterns of Moroccan-Dutch with a disadvantaged background.

Conclusion

The multifaceted approach of this review enabled us to unravel the main relevant factors behind the acculturation and participation patterns of Moroccan-Dutch with a disadvantaged background. We presented and discussed the most relevant factors that impacted the outcomes of around a quarter of a million Moroccans, who migrated to the Netherlands since the 1960s, and still influence in particular their offspring (the second and to a lesser extent the third generation). We also mentioned what stakeholders could do to improve the situation of young Moroccan-Dutch.

We argue that as far as we know, Moroccan-Dutch form one of the largest and disadvantaged non-western groups in the Netherlands that have changed socially and culturally within one generation in so many different participation fields. Also, many young Moroccan-Dutch have become more Dutch, not only in assimilating the Dutch language in daily life but also in their way of thinking (e.g., Bovenkerk, 2014). Yet, young Moroccan-Dutch still have on average a considerably lower socioeconomic status when compared with native Dutch (e.g., Van der Veen & Meijnen, 2001). This is also elsewhere the case, such as France (Simon, 2003).

Our conclusion is that the complex migration background and the disadvantaged position of so many Moroccan-Dutch still form huge participation barriers since it has, for a long time, been negatively impacted by contrasting Moroccan and Dutch integration policies, lack of social resources and the negative Dutch climate. Yet, we already observe many individuals who enhance their social-cultural position despite these obstacles. They participate successfully and use the positive social resources, such as support from family and/or mainstream Dutch. In addition, they work hard and are resilient. Improving these positive factors strengthens their position and helps them to deal better with their acculturation. This leads to positive outcomes and enhanced social participation, and could serve in the near future as a good example for other ethnic minorities with similar acculturation challenges.

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Further Reading and Online Resources

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- Marokkanen in Nederland: een profiel [Moroccans in the Netherlands: a profile] <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8XgVSjJeKIQ> (A Dutch TV-documentary on Moroccan laborers 40 years in the Netherlands, EénVandaag, 14-5-2009)

<http://edepot.wur.nl/14236>;<http://nimarrabat.nl/nl/nieuws/een-halve-eeuw-in-nederland/> (About the historical background of Moroccan-Dutch and their residence in the Netherlands)

<http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-39180805> (Dutch election turns spotlight on Moroccans, BBC news, 7-3-2017)

Discussion Questions

1. Discuss the main factors that have impacted the migration patterns of non-western emigrants to Western countries (i.e., Europe, Northern America, Australia and New Zealand) and explain briefly in what ways these factors still influence their acculturation process.
2. Many people, including politicians and policy makers, confuse the terms *integration*, *assimilation* and *participation* when discussing immigration policy. Can you find examples of statements by politicians and policy makers about integration, assimilation and participation of immigrants? What do they mean with these terms?
3. Discuss at least two minority groups in your country whose acculturation conditions (e.g., migration, sociolinguistic situation and social environment) are comparable with that of Moroccan-Dutch as described in this chapter. What are the main similarities and differences between these two groups and the Moroccan-Dutch?
4. Count how many people you know in your social network who have a different migration background (if you do not have any, try to interview one) and describe what they see or perceive as obstacles or chances for themselves as an individual and/or as a group to participate successfully in the mainstream society.
5. Discuss how the immigration policy of the current government of your country influences the acculturation outcomes of the biggest migrant minorities and compare this outcome with other countries that employ different immigration policies.
6. Describe how important stakeholders, such as social workers, teachers and employers, can contribute to an inclusive society where everybody regardless their cultural and socioeconomic backgrounds has the same opportunities to feel and do well. Try to be specific by giving daily examples of concrete activities.
7. Find daily examples of at least two migrant groups in your country with a strong or weak identification with their own ethnic group and discuss how this identification impacts their degree of participation within their own ethnic and mainstream community.
8. Discuss how different cultural orientations in the mainstream society relate to variation in acculturation outcomes and ethnic identity among the second and third generation migrant groups in your country. What cultural orientations among migrant groups are

dominant in your country and what orientations are most rejected or valued by the mainstreamers and why?

9. Third-generation Moroccan-Dutch (and to a lesser extent also the second generation) often show language assimilation (low level of knowledge of their ancestors and high level of knowledge of Dutch), combined with a strong Muslim identity. Do you know examples of other migrant groups that show such a discrepancy in levels of adjustment to the dominant culture?

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