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Participation of

Young Moroccan -Dutch

and the Role of Social Workers

Youssef Azghari

Dedicated to my beloved family and friends from
the Netherlands, Morocco, Indonesia and USA.

Participation of Young Moroccan-Dutch and the Role of Social Workers

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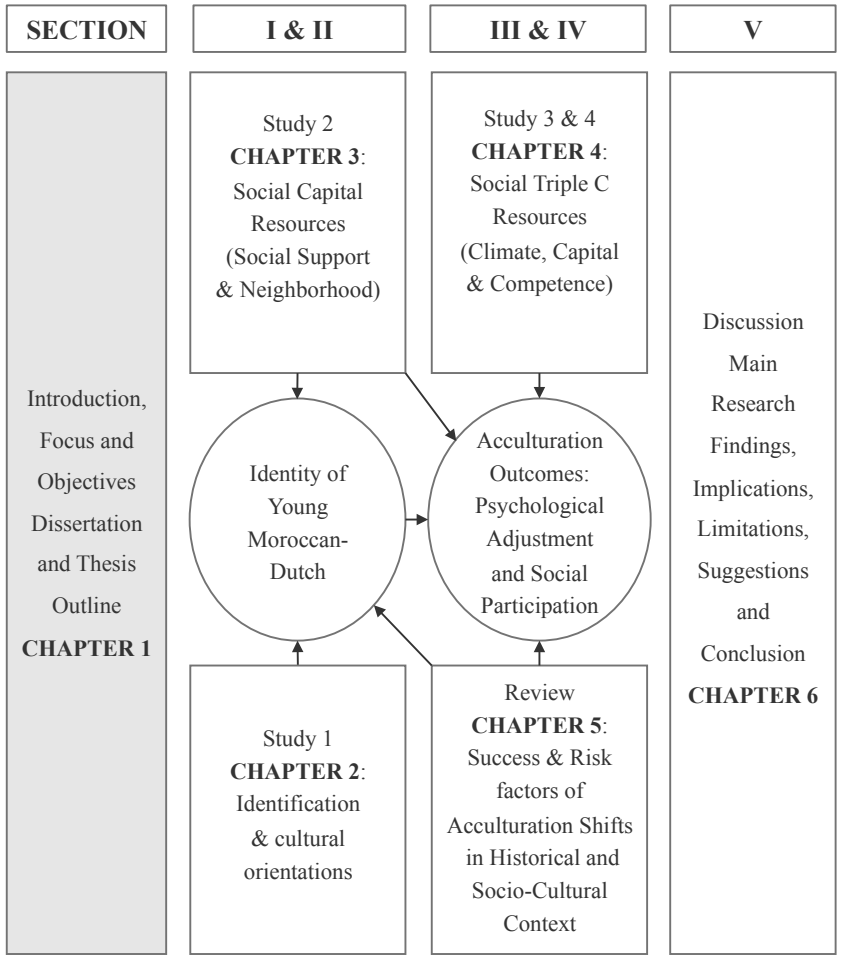


1.

Introduction

Young Moroccan-Dutch, who form our first main target group in this thesis, are part of a Moroccan-Dutch community that represents one of the two biggest non-western groups (the other are the Turkish-Dutch) in the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). Although most of them are Dutch-born the migration of their (grand)parents to the Netherlands in the 1960s marks the starting point of their acculturation process. Acculturation refers to a process of cultural and psychological shift due to contact between different ethnic groups (Sam & Berry, 2010). This thesis aims to explore what critical factors have an impact on their acculturation and how Dutch social workers, who are our second target group and work with this first target group, can improve the social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch in the Dutch society. A social worker is a professional who aims to facilitate social outcomes that make it possible for individuals and their communities to reach their potential (IFSW, 2016). The integration ('combining two cultures') and participation ('doing well') of young Moroccan-Dutch are the result of their acculturation (Azghari, Van de Vijver, & Hooghiemstra, 2017a). The overarching question of this thesis is: what impacts young Moroccan-Dutch while acculturating and participating in the Dutch society and who or what according to the social science literature and the two studied samples (i.e., young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers) empowers or hinders their social participation?

The Netherlands has become a nation of many ethnic minority groups and different nationalities originating from all over the world. This demographic change is due to the international migration patterns during the last six decades. A similar demographic shift is in recent years also visible in non-western countries, such as Morocco and

Turkey, from where the first waves of men started to migrate to the Netherlands in the 1960s. Morocco has transformed gradually from an emigration country to an immigration country for migrants and refugees, often used as a transit to Europe (Metzger, 2005).

Of the total Dutch population of 17 million people almost a quarter (22%) has its roots elsewhere. Ten percent has a non-western background (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). Moroccan-Dutch constitute with nearly 400,000 individuals more than two percent of the total Dutch population. Around half of all Moroccan-Dutch is either born in the Netherlands or arrived as the second generation before the age of six years (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). Approximately two-thirds lives in one of the 22 largest Dutch cities, such as Amsterdam, Utrecht or Rotterdam where a high density of Moroccan-Dutch and other non-western migrants reside (De Boom, Van Wensveen, Hermus, Weltevrede, & Van San, 2014).

Moroccans who moved 50 years ago to Western Europe - searching for unskilled jobs - originated from the poorest developed regions of Morocco, notably from the northern Rif (Berriane, De Haas, & Natter, 2015). Two-thirds of all Moroccan migrants came from rural areas (Bovenkerk & Fokkema, 2015). Moroccans are now one of the largest immigrant groups in the West (De Bel Air, 2016; United Nations, 2016). More than 4 million people of Moroccan descent, which is almost ten percent of the total Moroccan population, lives abroad whereby more than half is scattered in Western Europe (Berriane et al., 2015).

From the start of the migration of Moroccans in 1960s to the Netherlands, the Moroccan authorities had a negative impact on their acculturation as they used migration as an outlet for marginalized groups (Collyer, Cherti, Lacroix, & Van Heelsum, 2009). Their policy on immigration made traveling abroad deliberately easy for the poorest men to find work elsewhere and told them to send money to Morocco, but urged them not to integrate in the host country (e.g., Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Andriessen, 2015).

In addition, the Dutch policy was subject to two radical changes in the last two decades that often had a bad influence on the acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch. First, it shifted its focus from a multicultural and socially engaged integration policy where migrants were allowed and even sponsored by the Dutch authorities to maintain their culture of origin to a new immigration policy in which the maintenance of a migrant culture was seen as an obstacle for integration and therefore were told to assimilate (Gordijn, 2010). Second, the Netherlands has become a participative society (De Gier, 2007; Verhagen, 2009). This concept refers to a civil society where welfare institutions become less available and people are more dependent on their social network or resilience for dealing with their needs. The goal is to stimulate active citizenship and social networks among the Dutch in order to become less dependent on the social institutions for their needs, support or help. These two fundamental changes in the Dutch policies on immigration and in the system of the Dutch social welfare and social work services still have impact on the acculturation of the second and third generations (e.g., Azghari, Hooghiemstra, & Van de Vijver, 2017b). As part of these transitions and a different professional approach in how to help clients with various needs and skills, such as obtaining a basic qualification for the labor market, it has become more and more difficult over the years for the Dutch social professionals, such as social workers, to improve the participation of the Moroccan-Dutch youth with low social resources (e.g., limited and weak social networks).

These two major shifts have negatively changed the Dutch social climate towards migrants and the way the social welfare system and social work functions nowadays for groups in vulnerable or poor socioeconomic position, such as migrant groups. It influences in effect also the role of social work for migrant groups. Moreover, both demographic and policy shifts have also led to many problematic situations. In particular young non-western people with a migrant and a Muslim background perceive difficulties, such as discrimination in the labor market and feel not being fully accepted by

the European mainstreamers (i.e., the vast majority of indigenous people in each European country), to adjust well in the receiving countries where their parents or grandparents settled down since the 1960s (e.g., Foroutan, 2011; FRA, 2017; Huijnk, Gijsberts, & Dagevos, 2014). Apart from the failure of European countries to integrate Muslim communities into mainstream society also many other factors and actors within and beyond these communities, which we will elaborate on later, have led members of these communities to underline their ethnic identity (e.g., Ketner, Buitelaar, & Bosma, 2004) or to isolate from and even to reject the host societies (e.g., Franz, 2007). The two shifts in the Dutch political landscape have made the acculturation process more challenging too for other immigrant groups of different ages and generations in the Netherlands.

Compared to Dutch peers, at least more than half of the second-generation Moroccan-Dutch still have a disadvantaged position in the Netherlands (Huijnk & Andriessen, 2016). Their low participation in the public domain within the Dutch society, in particular the labor market, is linked to their socially weak conditions and poor resources, such as living in low SES neighborhoods (e.g., Paalman, 2013; Pinkster, 2009). They face different acculturation problems, such as segregation, unemployment, high school drop-outs, behavioral problems, negative stereotypes and exclusion (e.g., Huijnk, Dagevos, Gijsberts, & Andriessen, 2015; Huijnk, Gijsberts, & Dagevos, 2014).

Such acculturation problems do not only inhibit the integration of young Moroccan-Dutch (combining two cultures), but these problems also diminish the immigrant groups' opportunities to feel and do well in the Dutch society. These integration and participation barriers are often observed in other parts of Europe too (Berry & Sabatier, 2010; FRA, 2017).

Focus and Objectives of the Dissertation

The main focus of this thesis is on young Moroccan-Dutch who study or make their first steps in the labor market and a secondary focus on social workers engaging with these youngsters. They form about 20% of all Moroccan-Dutch. What characterizes the social context of these young adults is that they are an acculturating group with very different and often extreme positions (either positive or negative) on their acculturation outcomes. Despite the positive acculturation outcomes, such as the rapidly increased educational level of the second-generation that took place within one generation, young Moroccan-Dutch still face many risk factors, such as the high unemployment and behavioral problems (Azghari et al., 2017; Brons, Hilhorst, & Willemsen, 2008). How these risk factors can inhibit the social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch will be discussed in detail in this thesis.

The current dissertation has two main objectives. The first objective is to obtain a clearer grasp of how young Moroccan-Dutch adults adjust in the Dutch society despite the hindrances they perceive almost daily, not just as individuals but also as a whole group (e.g., Paalman, 2013). The second objective is to explore how social professionals, who work with this non-western group, can help the second- and third-generation Moroccan-Dutch to participate better and contribute to a more inclusive Dutch society. So, two samples of in total respectively 258 and 193 research participants have been studied in this dissertation: young Moroccan-Dutch and native Dutch social workers working with young Moroccan-Dutch.

The overall aim of this thesis is to examine what factors have impact on the identity and participation patterns of young Moroccan-Dutch and how mainstream Dutch social workers can improve social participation of this bicultural group in the Dutch society. The outcomes of this present dissertation may shed light on the observation why young Moroccan-Dutch show such divergent acculturation out-

comes and what can be done by notably Moroccan-Dutch and social workers themselves to contribute to successful participation in the Dutch society so as to enhance the disadvantaged situation and position of Moroccan-Dutch.

Thesis Outline

This thesis, which contains four empirical studies and one review, is presented in five sections (see Figure 1 for the overview of the dissertation and Table 1 for all the leading research questions, goals and method approaches). The first section investigates the role of cultural orientations among young Moroccan-Dutch towards the Dutch and Moroccan community and their engagement and participation within the Dutch society (study 1). The second section examines how different access to social capital resources and social identity of Moroccan-Dutch students are associated with their acculturation outcomes (study 2). A mixed-methods approach was used for conducting study 1 whereas a quantitative approach was employed in study 2. The results of these two studies are presented in chapter 2 and 3, respectively.

Chapter 2 investigates two research questions. The first question is 'to which extent are young Moroccan-Dutch, when describing their identity, oriented towards the Dutch and/or Moroccan community compared to native Dutch or Moroccans?' The second question is 'is there an association between their orientation on the one hand and language use and social network participation on the other hand in both cultures?' This chapter discusses how young Moroccan-Dutch describe their social identities and how they differ from the native Moroccan and Dutch peers so to make their double orientation salient. The goal of Chapter 2 is to give an answer to which extent young Moroccan-Dutch (aged 15 to 32 years) are culturally orientated towards the Moroccan and/or Dutch community and how their orientation associates with their communication (language usage) and participation (social networks) in both communities within the Dutch society.

Chapter 3 deals with a mediation model that explores the relationships between antecedents, orientations, social ties and acculturation outcomes of young Moroccan-Dutch. Based on what we found in our first empirical study we tested in total nine hypotheses in a path analysis to seek answers to the two research questions. The first is 'how do young Moroccan-Dutch with more co-ethnic support differ in identity and outcomes compared to co-ethnics with more Dutch support?' The second is 'what role plays the ethnic diversity and socioeconomic background of the neighborhood in the identification and outcomes of Moroccan Dutch?' The chapter examines to what extent the results in the first study can be generalized to young Moroccan-Dutch by using a larger sample. In addition, this chapter explores the relationships between social resources, identity development and acculturation outcomes.

The outcomes in Chapter 3 have led us to conduct two follow-up studies to understand better what according to two samples (young Moroccan-Dutch and social professionals) are the success and failure factors in their acculturation and participation patterns. These two last empirical studies of this thesis are presented in the third section. Chapter 4 discusses what impacts the social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch and how social workers can contribute to successful participation of young Moroccan-Dutch. We formulated two questions: 'What jeopardizes or enhances successful participation according to Dutch social workers?' and 'Who or what hinders or empowers social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to themselves and Dutch social workers?' The goal of this two-study design (study 3 & 4) is to unravel what hinders or enhances social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to themselves and social workers, who work with this target group, and how to improve their social participation according to the two groups. We conducted two empirical studies that employed mixed-method approaches, including in-depth interviews with both groups.

To have an overview of the most relevant factors that have impacted the acculturation of young Moroccan-Dutch we discuss in the fourth section, Chapter 5, the research findings on acculturation outcomes in relationship with the acculturation conditions and orientations of young Moroccan-Dutch. The results of this review are presented in a broader historical and social-cultural context. The two questions that are addressed in this section are 'What is the impact of acculturation conditions and orientations on the acculturation process of Moroccan-Dutch and their outcomes?' and 'What factors in the acculturation context played a positive or negative role in their outcomes?' The goal in Chapter 5 is to give an overview of the historical and social-cultural context of the acculturation process and to explore the success and risk factors for participating in the Dutch society.

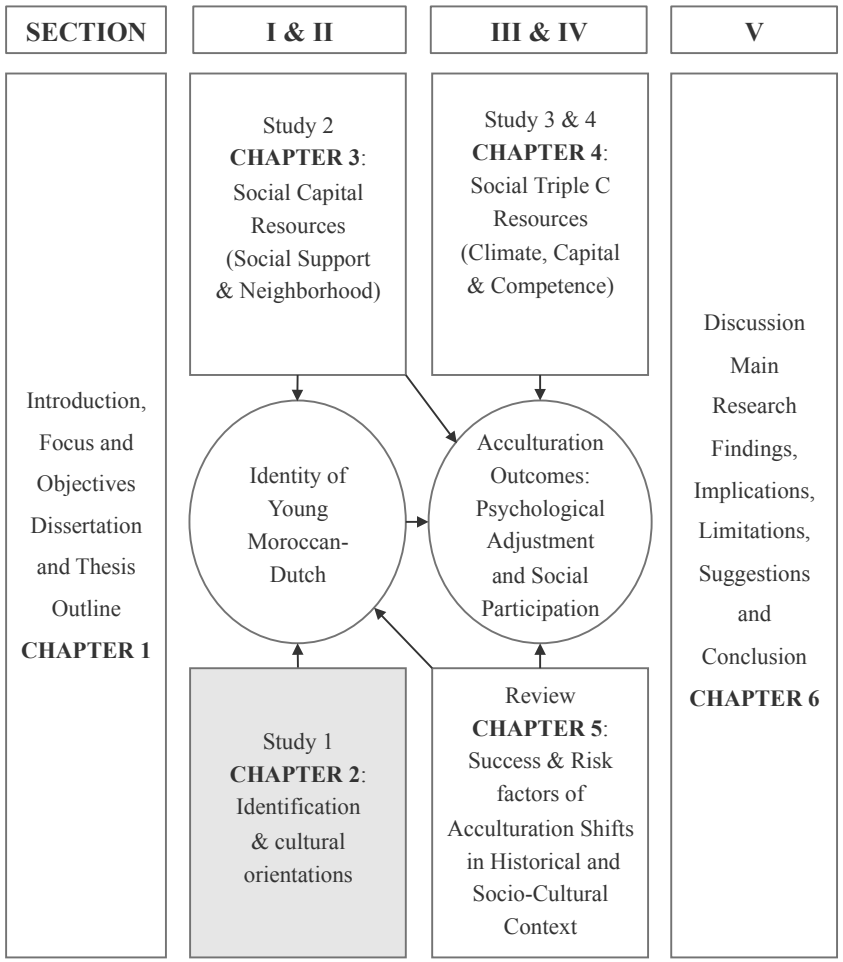
The fifth section, Chapter 6, addresses the main research findings that are derived from integrating the answers to in total eight research questions of our four studies and one review. Also, this last discussion section presents the implications that these research results have for policy makers and social workers, followed by some suggestions for further research, reflection on limitations and a conclusion.

In sum, in five sections we present the following five Chapters 2 to 6, whereby in the first four chapters two research questions per chapter are explored and four studies described. All are interconnected as each chapter is built upon the results and insights of the previous chapter. Finally, Chapter 6 deals with the leading question of this thesis.

Table 1 *Outline Leading Research Question, Goals and Method Approaches of the Thesis*

Study	Section, Research Topic & Questions	Goal	Method Approach
1 Chapter 2	*I. Identity and Participation of Young Moroccan-Dutch in the Acculturation Context.* 1. To which extent are young Moroccan-Dutch, when describing their identity, oriented towards the Dutch and/or Moroccan community compared to native Dutch or Moroccans? 2. How is their orientation and language usage and social network participation associated in both cultures?	Explore to which extent Moroccan-Dutch (aged 15-32 years) are culturally orientated towards the Moroccan and/or Dutch community and how their orientation associates with how they use and value the languages and social networks in both communities within the Dutch society.	Mixed-methods
2 Chapter 3	*II. Identity, Acculturation & Social Resources of Young Moroccan-Dutch.* 3. How do young Moroccan-Dutch with more co-ethnic support differ in identity and outcomes compared to co-ethnics with more Dutch support? 4. What role plays neighborhood in their identification and outcomes?	Test nine hypotheses in a path analysis related to links among Moroccan-Dutch (aged 17-33) between their 'identity and outcomes' (4 hypotheses), their 'antecedents and identity' (3 hypotheses) and their 'identity, ties and outcomes (2 hypotheses).	Quantitative
3 and **4** Chapter 4	*III. Intervention in Social Work and Successful Participation of Young Moroccan-Dutch.* 5. What jeopardizes or enhances successful participation according to Dutch social workers? 6. Who or what hinders or empowers social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to themselves and Dutch social workers?	Unravel what hinders and enhances social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch (aged 18-34) according to themselves and social workers (aged 20-64), who work with this target group, and how to improve their participation.	Mixed-methods
Review Chapter 5	*IV. Acculturation Shifts in Historical and social-cultural context and Outcomes of Young Moroccan-Dutch.* 7. What is the impact of acculturation conditions and orientations on the acculturation process of Moroccan-Dutch and their outcomes? 8. What factors in the acculturation context played a positive or negative role in their outcomes?	Give a brief overview of the historical and social-cultural context of the acculturation process and explore the success and risk factors for participating in the Dutch society.	Literature Research

Figure 1 *Overview of the Dissertation*



2.

Young Moroccan-Dutch: Thinking in Dutch, Feeling Moroccan

Abstract

We examined to what extent Moroccan-Dutch (N = 25) between 15 and 32 years of age are oriented towards the Dutch and Moroccan community when describing their identities. We used the Twenty Statements Test (developed by Kuhn and McPartland (1954). In this study, participants were asked to complete the sentence with 'I am..' 20 times to assess how they described themselves.) and in-depth interviews to understand their challenges on the acculturation path since many face disadvantage and exclusion in the Dutch community. Moroccan-Dutch were, compared to the reference groups of mainstream Dutch (N = 20) and Moroccans (N = 25), more proud of their ethnic identity and attached to Islam. Though their Dutch language was dominant they felt more Moroccan. They praised the Dutch openness, but suffered from negative stereotyping. Their participation in the Dutch community was low. To enhance their position social professionals working with Moroccan-Dutch could draw on the rich ethnic and faith traditions of this group to encourage their deeper engagement with the Dutch society.

Keywords: acculturation, Moroccan-Dutch youth, identity, communication, participation, social professional.

This chapter is based on Azghari, Y., Hooghiemstra, E., & Van de Vijver, F. J. R. (2015). Young Moroccan-Dutch: Thinking in Dutch, Feeling Moroccan. *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, 35,* 280-295.

Introduction

There are many acculturation challenges faced by the 374,996 Moroccan-Dutch living in the Netherlands (Ait Ouarasse & Van de Vijver, 2004; Statistics Netherlands, 2015). Moroccan-Dutch persons are defined here as individuals born in Morocco or having at least one parent or grandparent born there. Young Moroccan-Dutch do better than in 1980s and 1990s in school and the gap in educational achievement with the Dutch majority is slowly diminishing (SCP, 2012). Still, like other second-generation Muslim minorities living in Western countries, they are disadvantaged in the labor market (Foroutan, 2011; FRA, 2017; Heath, Rothon, & Kilpi, 2008). Muslim communities in the Netherlands often complain of discrimination (Bloul, 2008; Gündüz, 2010). Their labor participation is the lowest of non-Western immigrant groups arriving since the 1960s (Huijnk, Gijsberts, & Dagevos, 2014). They are underrepresented in receiving preventive youth care, but overrepresented in curative care, such as mental health care (Gezondheidsraad, 2012). In this context, debates on the integration of Dutch immigrant youth are narrowed to Muslim immigrants, notably Moroccan-Dutch and Turkish-Dutch, which has an impact on their identity construction and participation (Peeters & d'Haenens, 2005; Van Amersfoort & Doomerink, 2003).

In light of these challenges, we explore the double cultural identity of Moroccan-Dutch youth, referring to the positive feelings (of pride) and negative feelings (of value clashes) they associate with their dual cultural heritage (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). We also analyze whether there is an association with their acculturation orientation and the way they use or value the languages and social networks of ethnic and mainstream communities. This study is the first to examine the identity of Moroccan-Dutch in relation to their communication and social participation in both communities, with a comparison being made with mainstream Dutch and Moroccans to better understand their double orientation.

We addressed a group that is developing a new identity, which has implications for their acculturation outcomes. The suggestion that young Moroccan-Dutch are becoming similar to native Dutch is tempered by the disparity in opportunities to participate in the Dutch community, stereotypes and the increasing identification with the Moroccan community. Also, the differences that they experience in contact with mainstream Dutch may cause problems (Phalet & Schönpflug, 2001). These differences could be related to cultural differences, such as value clashes, and exclusion from the Dutch society that we both want to address in this present study. The feeling of being discriminated against has made their cultural and religious identity relevant (e.g., Ketner, Buitelaar, & Bosma, 2004). This is at odds with their increasing level of sociocultural adjustment in recent years. Their educational qualification has doubled since 2000 (Petit, Van Esch, Van der Meer, & Smulders, 2013), with many Moroccan-Dutch girls who perform well (Hooghiemstra, 2003); yet, their participation is poor, particularly in the labor market. Such positive and negative findings give input to the assumption that young Moroccan-Dutch score both high on failure and success.

This chapter has two major parts. First, we elaborate on ethnic identity in the acculturation context, the language usage of young Moroccan-Dutch and end with their social participation. This first part is important because it defines the terms (e.g., ethnic identity and acculturation) that we use here. In addition, it provides us background information about our target group. In the second part we not only present the goal and the two research questions, but also discuss the used methods, the results and finally end this chapter with a discussion and conclusion.

Ethnic Identity in the Acculturation Context

Ethnic identity, often studied in an immigration context, refers to a person's ethnically or culturally based practices, values and identifi-

cations (Schwartz et al., 2013). It plays a salient role in the acculturation process (Liebkind, 2006). Ethnic identity is particularly relevant when at least two groups are in contact with each other over an extended period of time and when there is identification with either or both groups (Phinney, 1990). It involves self-identification, sense of belonging to a group, and involvement or participation (Phinney, 1990). The most important component of ethnic identity is sense of belonging (Phinney & Ong, 2007). Identities are constructed and negotiated in interaction (Prins, Van Stekelenburg, Polletta, & Klandermans, 2013; Triandis, 1989).

For understanding the identity development of young immigrants in an acculturation context we use the two-dimensional model of Berry (Berry, Phinney, Sam, & Vedder, 2006). This framework, which is dominant in the acculturation literature, argues that immigrants differ in two theoretically independent dimensions: adopting a new culture and maintaining their own culture. Studies point out that integration, the combination of adopting the new culture and maintaining the ethnic culture, gives the best opportunity for greater psychological well-being and a higher level of participation in the dominant culture (Berry et al., 2006). Ethnic culture refers here to a culture of a minority group with a migrant and religious background that lives in the host country and differs from the mainstream culture of the vast majority of indigenous people. A positive correlation between psychological well-being ("feeling well" in the new culture) and sociocultural adaptation ("doing well" in the new culture) has been found (Van de Vijver & Phalet, 2004). However, Moroccan-Dutch immigrants who choose to maintain their culture of origin more so than adopting the dominant culture have been shown in the literature to demonstrate higher levels of psychological well-being and yet less sociocultural adaptation than immigrants with the opposite pattern (Ait Ouarasse & Van de Vijver, 2004).

In addition, the acculturation literature has shown that, whereas some cultures have an emphasis on individual aspects of identity

(independent self-construal) other cultures emphasize connectedness (interdependent self-construal) (e.g., Prins et al., 2013). When comparing self-descriptions of Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch, one would predict that Dutch emphasize independent values and skills more, whereas Moroccan-Dutch underline more their group membership and collectivistic values, which is linked to interdependence. These two dimensions are relevant to understand the impact on family differences and support (Van de Vijver & Arends-Thóth, 2009). Two related dimensions for social perception and judgment, which we use in this study to examine cross-cultural differences when the samples (i.e., the three ethnic groups: Moroccan-Dutch, Dutch and Moroccans) describe their identities, are communion and agency (Bruckmüller & Abele, 2013). Agency traits refer to personal skills and abilities like being ambitious and self-confident (independence), whereas communion traits like being social and kind emphasize interest in the well-being of others (interdependence) (Diehl, Owen, & Youngblade, 2004; Hernandez & Iyengar, 2001). By exploring the self-descriptions among young Moroccan-Dutch in agency or communion traits we can determine their level of integration within the Dutch community and their social connection to Moroccan and/or the Dutch community.

Language Usage of Young Moroccan-Dutch

Moroccan-Dutch youth are raised in at least a bilingual community in the Netherlands (i.e., Dutch, Moroccan-Arabic and/or Berber) whereas the Moroccan youth are raised in a multilingual society (French, Arabic, Moroccan-Arabic, and/or Berber). Moroccan-Arabic is the spoken language, but depending on their roots they may speak also another language. The majority of Moroccan-Dutch speak Moroccan or *Tarifit*, the language of their ancestors from the Rif region. While in the 1990s code-switching— or using a mix of Moroccan and Dutch— was typical for the communication of Moroccan-Dutch youth (Azghari, 1995), they now speak Dutch better than

their ancestral tongue (Muysken, 2013). This rapid adoption is due to the complex linguistic situation of Moroccans. Morocco is multilingual but had till recently one official language, *al-fushā*, which refers in Arabic to both the standard Arabic and Classical Arabic (i.e., the language of the Quran). However, since the constitutional reforms in 2011 the Berber, *Tamazight,* was made the second official language alongside Arabic. The *dārija,* the Moroccan-Arabic, is not used in education (Saib, 2001). It has a low status and not much importance is given to this spoken language in the public domain. The standard Arabic, which nobody speaks as a mother tongue but dominates the Arab world, has a high status because of the religious affiliation, as the *Quran* is written in Arabic (e.g., Versteegh, 2014). We were interested in actual language usage and the link with identity. There are indications of an increased importance of the Berber identity in recent years in the Netherlands (Van Amersfoort & Van Heelsum, 2007) since most Moroccan-Dutch have a Berber (notably Rif) background.

Social Participation of Young Moroccan-Dutch

Participation in the dominant society, as a critical component of acculturation (Alberto & La Ferrara, 2000) is moderated by multiple factors, such as socioeconomic background, education level and the attitude of members of the dominant culture towards minorities (Crul & Doomernik, 2003). Social participation refers to social networks of interpersonal contacts with members of the dominant culture and one's own ethnic group (Berry, 2005). The social network participation of Moroccan-Dutch beyond the ethno-religious community is low, despite the fact that nearly half of Moroccan-Dutch, up to 165,426, are second-generation immigrants born in the Netherlands, the majority of whom are under 26 years of age with 105,312 individuals between 15 and 32 years (Statistics Netherlands, 2014). Earlier studies concluded that most immigrants have a disadvantaged socio-economic position that lasts at least two or three generations

which impacts on their participation (Van Amersfoort, 1974, 2001). Despite forms of acculturation stress and subsequent identity conflicts, young Moroccan-Dutch are problematized in public discourse (Pakes, 2010). Also, different acculturation strategies (i.e., adopting to what is characteristic to the mainstream group in the host culture and/or maintaining the culture of origin) can create sometimes this acculturative stress and identity conflicts during intercultural interactions (Berry, 2005), such as dealing with cultural differences and negative stereotypes in the public domain (e.g., Dutch media). Moroccan-Dutch are one of the groups most rejected by Dutch (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989). These outcomes of rejection by the dominant group can be interpreted in the rejection-identification model of Branscombe et al. (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999). In this model the negative consequences of being perceived to be rejected by the majority group can reinforce identification with minority group. This contributes to structural inequalities, with Moroccan-Dutch experiencing greater difficulty finding internships and jobs than the Dutch group, resulting in higher unemployment (Abu Ghazaleh, 2012). Nearly 37% of Moroccan-Dutch between 15 and 24 years of age are unemployed, compared to the figure of 10% unemployed for their mainstream Dutch peers (Huijnk, et al., 2013). This has meant that identification with country of origin has become stronger (Statistics Netherlands, 2014). In 2006, 46% of the Moroccan-Dutch identified themselves as being more Moroccan than Dutch. This moved up in 2011 to 62%, while identification with the Netherlands reduced from 14% to 7%. An equal orientation towards both cultures (integration) has decreased from 40% to 31% and identification only with the Dutch community (assimilation) has sharply dropped. This stronger identification with the Moroccan community partially explains low levels of social participation in the broader society. Dutch studies indicate that migrants preferred separation in the private domain and adopted integration in the public domain (Andriessen & Phalet, 2002), but a stronger identification with the country of origin is seen as a barrier to integration (Snel, Engbersen, & Leerkes, 2006).

As the dominant view in the acculturation literature is that orientation of (descendants of) migrants towards both cultures has a positive impact on participation and well-being, disengagement of Moroccan-Dutch youth is therefore a cause for concern.

The Present Study

Our aim was to explore to what extent young Moroccan-Dutch, when describing themselves, are oriented towards the Dutch and/or Moroccan community and how they differ from mainstream peers in the Netherlands and Morocco (we use "peers" here to refer to mainstream Dutch and Moroccan citizens in the age range of our target group). We also studied whether their orientation is associated with the way Moroccan-Dutch use the languages of both cultures and how they use or value their social networks. Two research questions were formulated. The first refers to the extent young Moroccan-Dutch, when describing their identity, are oriented towards the Dutch and/or Moroccan community compared to native Dutch or Moroccans. By comparing them with peers in the Netherlands and Morocco, we want to gain a clear picture of how the Moroccan-Dutch are culturally oriented towards both communities (so as to make their double cultural orientation salient). The second question is whether there is an association between their orientation and language use and social network participation in both cultures. We have chosen young adults who either study or are making their first steps into the labor market.

Method

Participants A total of 70 young adults from the Netherlands and Morocco, aged between 15 years and 32 years, participated in three samples. The reason for selecting these age ranges that include participants younger and older than the youth age group - which usually applies to 18-25 year olds - is that they also can be expected to face identity issues (e.g., Berry, 2005) and are able to self-reflect on their (double) orientation. These samples comprised Moroccan-Dutch (N = 25, 13 men, M age = 21.28 years; SD = 4.55), mainstream Dutch who belong to the majority ethnic group in the Netherlands (N = 20, 9 men, M age = 19.80 years; SD = 2.28), and mainstream Moroccans who live in Morocco (N = 25, 15 men, M age = 21.28 years; SD = 3.64). Snowball sampling was used for recruitment. This sampling was chosen because it allowed us to involve a group of participants, who could help the researcher to inform and recruit personally other research participants and reassure them of confidentiality, that were otherwise very difficult to reach. Participants' background was diverse regarding educational level, SES (measured by parental occupation) and family size (parents and siblings), as can be seen in Table 1. The Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch, all living in the southern part of the Netherlands, were recruited from two secondary schools, two vocational schools, and two universities (all located in Tilburg, Breda, and Helmond). Moroccans were recruited from similar institutions in the western part of Morocco, notably in Rabat, but the majority came originally from different cities, including Kenitra, Nador and Tanger. As can be seen in Table 1, 40% are adolescent, 20% visited the secondary school and 44.3% had a low SES.

Table 1 *Sample Descriptives per Ethnic Group and Gender*

Age distribution	Moroccan-Dutch		Dutch		Moroccans	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
N	13	12	9	11	15	10
15-19 years (40%)	5	5	4	5	3	6
20-24 years (44.3%)	5	5	5	5	7	4
25-32 years (15.7%)	3	2	-	1	5	-
Total*	18.6	17.1	12.9	15.7	21.4	14.3
Educational level*						
Secondary school (20%)	12	12	10	10	12	4
Vocational school (12.9%)	12	-	5	-	12	8
Universities (67.1%)	28	36	30	45	36	28
SES*						
Low (44.3%)	48	32	-	5	32	8
Middle (48.6%)	4	16	40	50	24	20
High (7.1%)	-	-	5	-	4	12
Family size						
Mean	6.36		4.95		5.84	
Std. Deviation	2.12		1.99		1.72	
N	25		20		25	

* Percentages

Measures We used in-depth, semi-structured interviews and The Twenty Statements Test (TST) (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954) which participants filled out prior to the interview and took 5 minutes. With this face-to-face interview we could collect information and ask for clarification on issues of identity, language usage, and social participation because of the interactive nature of communication. We used these two qualitative measures to explore new themes. The Twenty Statements Test is a qualitative research tool that yields rich, quantifiable data. The reason for selecting both measures is that they are free to choose their own words in responding to the open-ended questions, describing first who they are, and then to self-identify as members of a group, for measuring their ethnic identity.

Questionnaire An initial version of the questionnaire, developed for this study, was pilot tested among Moroccan-Dutch young adults. After some refinement, 40 open questions remained, covering ethnic identity, communication and social participation.

Identity questions dealt with the importance of their double cultural identity and associations with both communities. The first seven questions were focused on self-perceptions and perceptions by others. The other seven on how they valued their identity. We addressed questions like "What role does religion play in your identity?" and "Describe when do you feel more Moroccan or Dutch?"

Communication questions were related to language usage and communication skills. With the first five questions we wanted to know more about participants' language situation and with the other four how they dealt with disputes with family, friends, or professionals (such as teachers and social workers). Examples of questions were "In what language can you express yourself best?" and "What is important in your view when making contact with people?"

Participation was the final topic. We posed nine questions to describe their activities and with whom research participants of the three different ethnic groups shared them, and eight questions to explore to which extent they appreciated these and who motivated them. To determine their social networks we asked with whom they had daily contact and how many times. We asked who or what made them proud, who they saw as role models, what ambitions they had and

their experiences with Dutch professionals. Other questions were "What activities do you like?" and "How many friends do you have and with whom do you have more contact (with Moroccan or Dutch friends)?"

Procedure

We collected data from each participant by conducting semi-structured in-depth interviews. New participants were recruited in the Moroccan-Dutch group until saturation was reached and no new themes emerged in the interviews. A similar sample size was used in the other samples. The interviews, which were held in Dutch language in the Netherlands and in *dārija* in Morocco, took place in schools and universities. Almost all interviews in Morocco were conducted by two native Moroccans and one Dutch woman who is, like the interviewer in the Netherlands, fluent in both languages. These interviewers, who were personally recruited by the researcher, were trained in doing the interviews and had weekly contact with the researcher via Skype and almost daily by mail. Each interview, which lasted between 30 to 60 minutes, was recorded (with approval) and transcribed. Participants were informed that anonymity was guaranteed, that participation was voluntary and withdrawal possible at any time. Permission to do this study was given by the Psychology Ethics Committee of Tilburg University. When quoting Moroccan-Dutch participants in this paper we use pseudonyms to protect their anonymity.

Coding Scheme

Interview We conducted a semantic clustering of the transcripts of the open questions and created labels for sections of data that summarized answers into common topics. We used grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) for determining the most important topics mentioned in the interviews.

Twenty Statements Test The responses were classified into two categories, namely agency and communion (Bakan, 1966), to study to what extent participants felt themselves to be an independent individual or to be related more to their ethnic community. We used these dimensions to examine the differences between participants, when describing their identities, in relationship with co-ethnics or members of communities they belong to. Only responses that had a direct relationship with others (e.g., being polite, social) or sense of belonging (e.g., student, Dutch or Muslim) were coded as communion. To test the quality of coding responses in communion or agency we used the inter-rater reliability by involving two raters whose codings showed 90% agreement.

Results

By analyzing and labeling the data using the open coding technique, as presented in grounded theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) twelve topics emerged (see Table 2). Inter-rater agreement of labeling the data was established; two coders achieved 90% agreement in their coding of data.

Table 2 *Topics Emerged in the Interviews*

Identity	Communication	Participation
1. Associations with Dutch and Moroccan community	6. Language usage	8. Activities
2. Stereotypes	7.Communication style	9. Social network
3. Religion		10. Role Models
4. Values		11. Opportunities and obstacles
5. Pride		12. Future Perspectives

We first compared the samples by analyzing TST results and then the content of interviews where we discuss the topics one by one as presented in Table 2. Here we discuss only answers that are mentioned at least twice in each sample. Furthermore, only frequencies that occur more than twice will be reported in parentheses.

Group Comparisons in Identity

TST. We coded all responses as agency or communion and conducted a Multivariate Analysis of Variance (MANOVA), using post hoc tests, to examine group differences. The MANOVA test was significant (Wilks' $\Lambda = .76$, $F\,(4, 132) = 4.90$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .13$). Means on agency of the Moroccans and Moroccan-Dutch were significantly different from the Dutch mean, $F\,(2, 70) = 8.92$. $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .21$. Means on communion were also significantly different, $F\,(2, 70) = 6{,}41$. $p < .003$, $\eta_p^2 = .16$. The Dutch used more agency responses than the other samples that used more communion responses. We studied how many statements with the same formulations were shared by at least two participants in each sample (see Table 3). We found that Moroccan-Dutch had more in common in how they described themselves than mainstream Dutch and Moroccan peers (see Table 3).

Table 3 *Statements of the TST marked as Agency or Communion*

Ethnicity of participant	Mean agency**	Std. Deviation	Mean commnion**	Std. Deviation	Total	Agency	Communion	Shared statements (%)	Range of persons sharing same statement
Moroccan-Dutch	6.96_a	2.44	12.28_a	2.81	481*	175	306	287 (59.7)	2-23
Dutch	9.95_b	2.19	9.90_b	2.15	400	198	202	176 (44.0)	2-13
Moroccans	7.48_a	2.72	12.44_a	2.71	500	189	311	212 (42.4)	2-15
Total	8.00	2.75	11.66	2.79	1381	562	819	675 (48.9)	2-23

*Missing: 19 ** Means with different subscripts are significantly different (post hoc test)

[1]* Associations with Moroccan and Dutch Community We asked participants whether the characteristics they mentioned in TST were more associated with the Dutch or Moroccan community. Results are presented in Table 4.

**This number in parentheses refers to the first topic in Table 2.*

Table 4 *Associations with Moroccan or Dutch Community*

Ethnicity	Typical Moroccan	Typical Dutch
Moroccan-Dutch	Social (11)*, stubborn (9), helpful (7), Muslim (7), hospitable (4), family (4), cozy (4), proud, caring, ambitious, spontaneous, shy, empathic, curious, sensitive, respect.	Open (6), honest (4), no shame (3), uncertain (3), freedom of speech (3), curious (3), independent (3), friendly (3), sportive (3), sarcastic, studious, patient, assertive, active, friendly, go-getter, enthusiast, social, hardworking, planner.
Dutch	Not asked.	Independent (5), hard-working (4), direct (4), honest (4), creative (4), open (3), quiet (3), temperate (3), organized (3), friendly, cozy, uncertain, noxious, go-getter, sportive, social.
Moroccans	Moroccan citizenship (7), Modest (6), Muslim (6), social (5), Berber (4), Arab (4), respect, stubborn, not honest, family, jealous, emotional, African, young.	Not asked.

* Numbers in parentheses refer to frequencies; descriptors without parentheses refer to frequencies of two. Characteristics mentioned only once are not listed.

Salima *(f, 16): Typical Dutch is freedom of speech and typical Moroccan is hospitality.*

Hassan *(m, 19): Moroccans are helpful, respectful and spontaneous and Dutch open, realistic and honest.*

Marjam *(f, 21): Moroccans are helpful, religious, hospitable and stubborn. The Dutch are direct, assertive, hardworking and targeted.*

The majority of the Moroccan-Dutch group said Moroccans were social, stubborn, helpful and Muslim; Dutch were mainly viewed as open and shameless but also honest and independent. Both peers (Moroccans and Dutch) confirmed most associations. The Dutch saw being hard working as a typical Dutch trait whereas modesty was more commonly associated with native Moroccans.

[2] Stereotypes When we asked how participants thought others viewed them, the mainstream Moroccans had the most negative perception of how they were viewed by others as reported in Table 5.

Marjam *(f, 21): Dutch think often that I am a closed person, looking arrogant.*

Brahim *(m, 16): They are afraid of me because of my beard and my strong body.*

Ali *(m, 21): Intimidating because I'm big, and cranky. They are quiet as I come closer...very stubborn.*

Rachid *(m, 22): People see me as a quiet person, but when Moroccans were often in the media, in a negative way, I felt myself uncomfortable because being Moroccan was suddenly emphasized.*

Table 5 *Most Frequently Mentioned Stereotypes*

Ethnicity	Typical Moroccan	Typical Dutch
Moroccan-Dutch	Stereotypical Muslim (5) and Moroccan (5), arrogant (4), friendly (3), spontaneous (3), quiet, close mouthed, social, shy, critical, laughing, intimidating.	-
Dutch	Not asked.	Friendly (5), quiet (4), arrogant (3), self-confident, spontaneous, tender, organized, direct.
Moroccans	Abnormal (6), crazy (5), arrogant (4), modest, egoistic.	Not asked.

Moroccan-Dutch were perceived by Dutch peers as stereotypical Muslim or Moroccan and arrogant, despite their efforts to adjust to the Dutch society. Mainstream Moroccans were perceived by others to be abnormal, crazy and arrogant. The Dutch had more positive qualifications about how others viewed them, notably being friendly and quiet. Moroccans did not much pay attention to how others viewed them whereas Moroccan-Dutch expressed concerns that it could disadvantage their standing. On the one hand, they appreciated the Dutch, as being friendly and open, and liked the Netherlands, because all is well organized, especially when compared to Morocco, which they described as chaotic. On the other hand, Moroccan-Dutch thought that Dutch were full of prejudice.

Malika *(f, 16): Dutch are polite but think in stereotypes.*

[3] Religion Islam inspired the identity of 15 Moroccan-Dutch the most. Except for one participant all said they were religious.

This is consistent with previous studies, which indicate that Islam appears more significant for the Moroccan-Dutch identity than their ethnic culture or community language (Extra & Yagmur, 2010). Two Moroccan-Dutch made a distinction between their religious and Moroccan identity, two others expressed the importance of being Muslim:

Soufian *(m, 17): I pray but that has nothing to do with my Moroccan identity.*

Fatima *(f, 27): I feel more attached to my religion than to my Moroccan culture.*

Fattouma *(f, 24): I never go to the mosque but for me being Muslim means a lot.*

Religion played a very different role in the other groups. Religion hardly played any role for the Dutch, except for two Protestants. Twelve Moroccans were not religious anymore, but could not express this in public. Moroccans agreed that religion was linked with their community, having a compelling impact on identity. Yet, they saw contradictions between what is preached in the mosque and practiced outside.

[4] Values Moroccan-Dutch were compared to their peers to be most attached to traditional values. Respect was highly valued by many Moroccan-Dutch and Moroccans. It was most appreciated among Moroccan-Dutch than in the Moroccan community. Moroccans confirmed what Moroccan-Dutch did not appreciate in the Moroccan community, but appreciated solidarity and diversity of cultures within Morocco (see Table 6).

Table 6 *Values*

Ethnicity	Appreciated	Not appreciated
Moroccan-Dutch	Respect (18), Islamic values (10), honesty (8), obedience (5), helpful (3), family (3), do not steal, have shame, hospitality, go-getter, persisting, polite.	Too emotional (4), lack of honesty (4), negative image of Moroccans (3), fanatic, stubborn, victimization, parenting with fears, chaos, hypocrisy, too much interference, no empathy.
Dutch	Honesty (10), direct (4), openness (4), hard working (5), freedom (4), structured nature (3), independence .	Being busy, working too hard, stereotypes, not hospitable, rude, stingy and complaining.
Moroccans	Respect (14), solidarity (11), diversity (8), freedom (7), hospitality (5), family (4), independence (4), good school performances (4), obedience.	To much interference (5), stubborn and gossip (3), not organized, superstitious, contradictions, no respect for time, hypocrisy.

Participants differed in which values they would pass on later: most Moroccan-Dutch wanted to maintain a stricter doctrine of Islam than their parents. Whereas Moroccans wanted to raise their children with more freedom than they experienced from their own parents, most Moroccan-Dutch said that they intended to give their children less freedom, planning not to expose them to the temptations of the Dutch society, such as consuming alcohol:

Warda *(f, 21): I would raise my children with less freedom; the world has become dangerous with social media.*

Soufian *(m, 17): We differ too much from the Dutch; take for example the relationship with our parents and alcohol. They work like robots, but do not spend much money.*

The Moroccan-Dutch felt different from both Dutch and Moroccans. Moroccans felt less attached to the traditional values (except respect and solidarity) whereas the Moroccan-Dutch underlined them.

Fatima *(f, 27): Compared to Moroccans in Morocco I am very conservative.*

When we asked the Moroccan-Dutch to think of possible differences with Dutch persons of the same age and gender, they mentioned a lifestyle that is, according to them, not based on religion, family or moral discipline. However, they appreciated the hardworking and structured nature of the Dutch.

Zobida *(f, 20): I am religious and a Dutch girl of my age is still seeking what she believes.*

[5] Pride When asked whether they were proud of their ethnic identity, Dutch participants were satisfied with their identity. Moroccans expressed mixed feelings; six persons felt more attached to the Berber background and one wished to change his Moroccan identity. The Moroccan-Dutch, all born in the Netherlands, were proud to be Moroccan. They felt Moroccan, except for two who were comfortable with both identities, but were not proud of being Dutch.

Saleh *(m, 18): I am proud to be a Moroccan; we have such strong ties with each other.*

Regarding what made them proud most Moroccan-Dutch mentioned their schooling and faith, the Dutch their schooling and what they did in leisure time, and Moroccans when their activities affected others, such as organizing demonstrations for democracy. Though

Moroccan-Dutch appreciated living with multiple cultures there was a hierarchy in their identifications, with the Dutch community at the bottom, the Moroccan in the middle and the Islam being the strongest source of identification.

***Abdel** (m, 22): During fasting the Ramadan I feel myself 100% Moroccan.*

Group Comparisons in Communication

[6] Language Usage Moroccan-Dutch were raised in a bilingual community, 13 of them spoke a Berber language and 12 Moroccan-Arabic at home; yet, their Dutch was dominant. Except for two all confirmed that Dutch has become their first language. Participants with a Moroccan background associated their mother tongue as having a low status. Young Moroccan-Dutch easily adopt the Dutch language, especially compared to other non-western peers, like the Turkish-Dutch, but the low standing of their Moroccan community language is combined with a strong pride in their background (Extra & Yağmur, 2010). Despite the fact that almost nobody of the target group (except one male) mastered standard Arabic, they all valued it. Moroccans spoke at least two languages fluently, a combination of mother tongue, Arabic or French, and switched easily between the two.

[7] Communication Style Moroccan-Dutch and Dutch agreed on the most important communication skills, namely being open (10) and friendly (8), but they differed in what this meant. According to Moroccan-Dutch, openness is often linked with hospitality whereas for Dutch openness is related with honesty. Moroccan-Dutch again valued respect (6) while the Dutch chose authenticity (3), Moroccans thought otherwise: besides respect (3) adjustment (3) is needed for establishing friendly relationships, followed by modesty. When we asked the Moroccan-Dutch to describe a dispute and how they solved it, they said they avoided any conflict, in particular with parents, out of respect.

***Mustafa** (m, 23): I like to be modest and avoid any conflict.*

This contrasted with Dutch, who had open communication with parents, and Moroccans who respected parents but did not avoid confrontation. *Friends* (11) was the most frequent answer of Moroccan-Dutch to the question "To whom would you go in case of a problem or a question that you cannot solve?" This again contrasted with most Dutch and Moroccans who mentioned parents (10 to 7), but then they differed who is next. Dutch contacted their best friend(s) whereas Moroccans went to their family, a teacher, or imam. 18 Moroccan-Dutch did not want to bother parents. Except for three males and three females who consulted first their mother and, for one male, his father. The majority preferred their co-ethnic friends even if this was not always easy.

***Houria** (f, 18): When I have a problem I go to my Moroccan girlfriends, not parents, they do not understand.*

Kheira (f, 19): *It is difficult to share my opinion with Moroccan friends, because they react too emotional*.

Group Comparisons in Participation

[8] Activities Fourteen Moroccan-Dutch had a part-time job while studying, 11 did sport and four voluntary work in the mosque or sports club. Among Dutch, 12 worked part-time, 10 did sport and two did voluntary work in a social organization. Of the mainstream Moroccans three said to have a job, five did sports and five were politically active in the sense that they contributed in organizing with others street demonstrations for more freedom and democracy in Morocco.

***Halima** (f, 16): The Dutch entertain themselves better; they go often to a cinema or restaurant.*

[9] Social Network Nine Moroccan-Dutch had more co-ethnic friends than Dutch friends. Seven Moroccan-Dutch had only co-ethnics as friends. Two men had more Dutch friends, but kept frequent contact with Moroccan-Dutch. This was also the case for four women who did not meet any Moroccan-Dutch friends until they went to university. They said they were discouraged by parents from making Moroccan friends. Only two had Dutch friends:

***Ahmed** (m, 28): I used to have many Moroccan friends, but since I became ambitious I just have Dutch friends.*

***Houria** (f, 18): It is hard to have a double identity. I always had Dutch friends, but I could never show my Dutch identity, because I was limited in my freedom by my parents.*

This conclusion is in line with results of Statistics Netherlands on contact of Moroccan-Dutch with co-ethnics and Dutch (Statistics Netherlands, 2013). In 2011 57% of Moroccan-Dutch said they had more contact with co-ethnics while 11% had more contact with Dutch. Except for two (male and female), the Dutch group had no Moroccan-Dutch friends.

[10] Role models What inspired the identity of Moroccan-Dutch and motivated them to participate most were Prophet Mohammed, parents and in some cases successful Moroccan-Dutch. Native Dutch referred to friends, parents and students. Moroccans mentioned students, family, siblings and professionals.

***Houria** (f, 18): I see my father as an example, not in what he achieved, but because of his self-discipline.*

[11] Opportunities and Obstacles Moroccan-Dutch mentioned that opportunities they saw in participating successfully in the Dutch society depended on how the Dutch treated them since they faced obstacles like stereotypes.

***Warda** (f, 21): We have become like the Dutch but they still see us as Moroccans!*

There were 16 Moroccan-Dutch who had negative experiences with Dutch professionals, five mixed and four positive. Those with negative feelings reported not being motivated, having been treated negatively because of their ethnicity. There were three Moroccan-Dutch who did not see obstacles because they weren't recognized as Moroccans. Dutch were positive about their chances; half of them did not see obstacles, the other half saw the economic crisis and new immigrants as threats. Although Moroccans were skeptical, referring to bureaucracy and illiteracy, they saw opportunities but had to adapt to the system.

[12] Future Perspectives Twelve Moroccan-Dutch saw their future in the Netherlands, ten in Morocco although they knew their ancestral country of origin just from holidays, two could see their future in both communities and one said elsewhere. Of the Dutch peers three wanted to migrate to other Western countries and eleven Moroccans wished to go abroad for study or work.

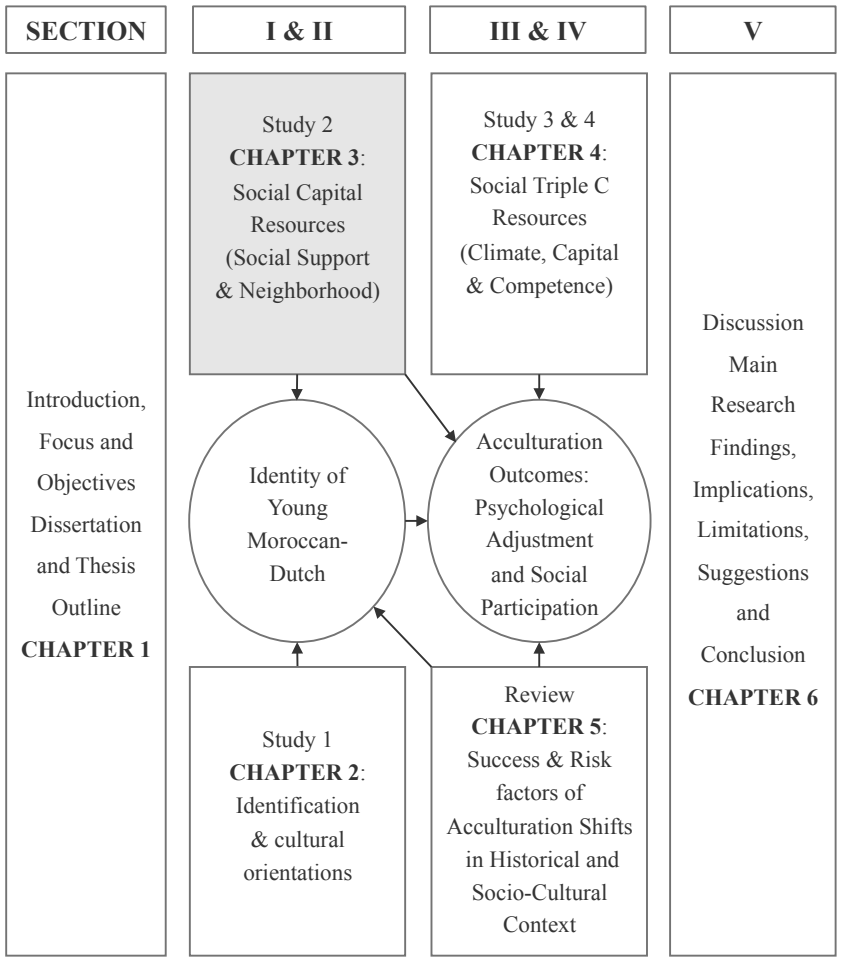
Discussion

Our aim was to understand the challenges of young Moroccan-Dutch on their acculturation path since the majority face disadvantage and social exclusion. We examined to what extent they are attached towards the Moroccan/Dutch community, when describing their identity, compared to peers, and explored the association between their orientation and language usage and participation in the Dutch/ Moroccan community. We summarize in this section the answers to our two questions: to which extent are young Moroccan-Dutch, when describing their identity, oriented towards the Dutch and/ or Moroccan community compared to native Dutch or Moroccans and how is their orientation and language usage and social network participation associated in both cultures? We conclude that Moroccan-Dutch are more oriented towards the Moroccan community and that there is an association between their orientation and the way they use and value the languages and social networks in both communities. The results showed their stronger ties with co-ethnics and religion, and a weaker identification with the Dutch community. By classifying their identity self-descriptors as agentic or communal, we saw that a (communal) collectivistic orientation prevailed among Moroccan-Dutch. This was in contrast with Dutch peers who underlined their personal identity. Moroccan-Dutch said they had more contact with co-ethnics, which as a result led to a limited network into the Dutch community. However, studies on social participation argue that a vital ethnic community provides support for sociocultural adjustments and helps to deal with negative acculturation experiences, but for successful participation input from both communities is needed (Ait Ouarasse & Van de Vijver, 2004).

Conclusion

In conclusion, despite positive acculturation experiences, such as their school success as a group, Moroccan-Dutch mentioned negative outcomes, such as prejudice, which jeopardized their social participation and integration with the Dutch community. Their orientation to the Moroccan community is reinforced by the negative Dutch attitude. The rejection-identification model of Branscombe et al. (1999), which predicts a salient ethnic identity in such conditions, was observed. Although this study showed that the Moroccan-Dutch think Dutch by using it as their first language, they felt more comfortable in the Moroccan community, were proud of being Moroccan, and felt most attached to Islamic faith. This study underlines the importance of increasing knowledge on the identity development of Moroccan-Dutch and what barriers they face to increase participation with the broader Dutch society. Social professionals can benefit from this knowledge by understanding identification processes among Moroccan-Dutch, whilst also understanding the importance of combating prejudice in order to help young adults enhance their social networks and support their identity development.

Figure 1 *Overview of the Dissertation*



3.

Identity as a Key Factor in the Acculturation of Young Moroccan-Dutch Adults

Abstract

Many young Moroccan-Dutch in transition within the Dutch society face acculturation challenges and have limited social resources. We examined how different access to social capital (supportive networks among family, friends, and neighborhood) and social identity of Moroccan-Dutch students (N = 172) aged 17 to 33 years are associated with their acculturation outcomes. A path analysis showed that those with a stronger Moroccan-Islamic identity had more negative outcomes and less contact with mainstream Dutch. Co-ethnic support was related negatively to mainstream identity, but positively to co-ethnic ties and perceived exclusion problems in contact with Dutch. Conversely, Dutch support was negatively associated with ethnic identity and exclusion, but positively with Dutch ties and well-being. Participants had an orientation on either the Dutch or Moroccan culture. We conclude that young Moroccan-Dutch do not pursue integration (combining two cultures), and that those who adjust well, have more supportive Dutch and social networks, feel and do much better in the Dutch society than those who separate.

Keywords: acculturation, Moroccan-Dutch, social capital, identity, adjustment, integration.

This chapter is based on Azghari, Y., Van de Vijver, F. J. R., & Hooghiemstra, E. (2017). Identity as a Key Factor in the Acculturation of Young Moroccan-Dutch Adults. *Journal of Psychology in Africa,* 27, 132-140.

Introduction

The Netherlands is a leading emigration destination for North Africans and since the 1960s, the first waves of unskilled laborers arrived seeking employment. Around 250.000 Moroccans have made the Netherlands their home over the past 50 years (De Haas, 2005; Statistics Netherlands, 2016). However, the unemployment rate is at least twice as high among Moroccan-Dutch as among Dutch mainstreamers (i.e., the vast majority of indigenous Dutch) (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos, & Faulk, 2012). In 2012 the Dutch unemployment rate was 5,5%: of in total 500,000 people, who were jobless in 2012 in the Netherlands, 26,000 were Moroccan-Dutch. Their unemployment rate in the period between 2012 and 2014 of almost 20% has decreased from 18% in 2015 to 13% in 2016, which is good of course but their net labor participation of around 50% has not changed much in recent years and is compared to native Dutch (66%) still low (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). At the same time the Moroccan-Dutch community also hosts many individuals who are successful in the Dutch society (Azghari, Hooghiemstra, & Van de Vijver, 2015). A majority of nearly 386,000 Moroccan-Dutch, who are born in the Netherlands or were at most 6 years of age upon their arrival, has a disadvantaged socioeconomic position (Statistics Netherlands, 2016) and lower access to the Dutch labor market (De Boom, Van Wensveen, Hermus, Weltevrede, & Van San, 2014). This is despite the fact that young Moroccan-Dutch are more visible than their parents in public domains (e.g., media) and exceed their parents in education and mastery of the Dutch language. Employment participation is key to social identity with host culture in that it is positively related to ties with majority Dutch (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010). To shed light on these very positive and negative outcomes we investigate to what extent their social resources from and identity orientation toward either the mainstream or co-ethnic community relate to success and failure in their adjustment.

We view identity as a mediator between family and community level resources as antecedents and acculturation outcomes (see Figure 1 for our preliminary explanatory model). On the basis of this model we seek to answer two related questions: (1) How do young Moroccan-Dutch with more co-ethnic support differ in identity and outcomes compared to co-ethnics with more Dutch support? and (2) What role plays neighborhood (i.e., the place where the research participant lives) in their identification and outcomes? We also propose related hypotheses (see Table 1) that are tested in a path analysis as discussed below.

Figure 1 *Mediation model*

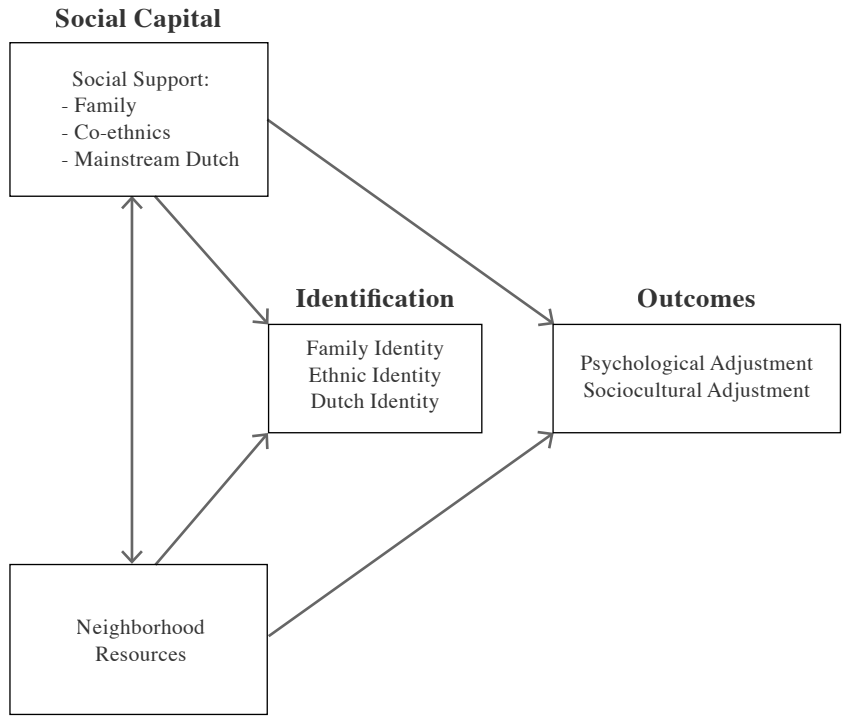


Table 1 *Results of Tested Hypotheses*

1. Mediator & outcomes	
Hypothesis 1a. Orientation to co-ethnics relates positively to well-being	-
and social participation in the co-ethnic community	+
but negatively to social participation in the Dutch community	+
and more exclusion	+
Hypothesis 1b. Orientation to mainstream Dutch relates negatively to well-being	-
and social participation in the co-ethnic community	+
but positively to social participation in the Dutch community	+
and less exclusion	+
Hypothesis 1c. Orientation to the family relates positively to well-being	+
and to social participation in co-ethnic community	+ d
and the Dutch community.	-
Hypothesis 1d: Integration of young Moroccan-Dutch gives the best outcomes.	-
2. Antecedents & mediator	
Hypothesis 2a. Supportive networks of young Moroccan-Dutch among co-ethnics associate positively to their ethnic identity.	+
Hypothesis 2b. Supportive networks of young Moroccan-Dutch among Dutch associate positively to their mainstream Dutch identity.	+
Hypothesis 2c. Supportive networks of young Moroccan-Dutch among family associate positively to their family identity.	+
3. Antecedents, ties & outcomes	
Hypothesis 3a. Young Moroccan-Dutch who live in an ethnically diverse and poor neighborhood have more bonding ties	+
and show low participation in the mainstream Dutch community.	+
Hypothesis 3b. When due to exclusion the social network of young Moroccan-Dutch is limited to co-ethnics their bonding social capital, which is based on co-ethnic or family social support and living in an ethnically diverse and poor neighborhood, is higher compared to their bridging social capital, which is based on Dutch support and living in a more affluent Dutch homogeneous neighborhood	+

Confirmed (+), rejected (-), d = Indirectly, via ethnic identity.

We examined how resources of young Moroccan-Dutch (supportive networks among family, friends, and neighborhood) relate to their outcomes (well-being, exclusion, and social participation in co-ethnic/mainstream community). More specifically, we study their psychological (well-being, exclusion) and their sociocultural (social participation with co-ethnics or mainstreamers) adjustment as outcomes. We focus on two dimensions of participation: social network and social support (Eurostat, 2010). Social networks refer to with whom people interact; supportive networks consist of people others rely on for support. Social support is defined as the degree to which a person's basic needs, such as affection, esteem, approval, belonging, and identity, are met through interactions with others (Thoits, 1995).

Identity

Our research focus is on the mediator between social resources and outcomes: the social identity of young Moroccan-Dutch; so, we are interested in how they value the social groups to which they belong (Tajfel, 2010). This social context is crucial for ethnic identity formation and plays a significant role in acculturation outcomes (Dimitrova, Chasiotis, Bender, & Van de Vijver, 2014a, 2014b; Zonneveld, Brand, & Adams, 2017). Ethnic identity relates positively to well-being and self-esteem (Smith & Silva, 2011).

We see religious identity as a subcomponent of social identity; in our previous study we concluded that young Moroccan-Dutch -though their Dutch language is dominant- expressed their pride of being Moroccan, felt strongly attached to Islam, and showed low participation to the Dutch society (Azghari et al., 2015). A negative association between assimilation and evaluation of Moroccans was reported elsewhere (Badea, Er-rafiy, Chekroun, Légal, & Gosling, 2015). Therefore, we expected that the ethnic identity and participation in mainstream community would be negatively related. More-

over, we predicted that Moroccan-Dutch with a pronounced ethnic identity would show more participation with co-ethnics and more well-being. However, they will show less social participation in the Dutch society and more exclusion (Hypothesis 1a; Hypothesis 1 refers to links between mediators and outcomes). In contrast, co-ethnics with a mainstream identity, who are more oriented to mainstream Dutch, would show the opposite outcomes: low well-being, but higher social participation in the Dutch community and less exclusion (Hypothesis 1b).

Social Capital Resources

To understand the relationships between the resources of young Moroccan-Dutch and their identity and outcomes, such as their social participation in the Dutch society, we use social capital theory (Lancee, 2012). Social capital is based on 'who you know' (Luthans, Luthans, & Luthans, 2004). As defined by Putnam (2000), social capital refers to "connections among individuals - social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them" (p. 19). Social capital and social resources are closely related (Levasseur, Richard, Gauvin, & Raymond, 2010); people use social capital as a resource to achieve their goals. It is higher when individuals know more people with the same outlook (Field, 2010). We are interested in two aspects (Helliwell & Putnam, 2004) that are relevant for our target group: social capital as derived from social support and neighborhood characteristics (socioeconomic status and ethnic diversity of the residential area).

In the social capital literature a distinction is made between people's within-group connections (bonding) and between-group connections (bridging) (Putnam, 2007). The connection between social capital and identity lies in the nature and strength of bonding and bridging ties. We expect that young Moroccan-Dutch with stronger bonding ties and ethnic identity rely more on co-ethnic supportive networks (Hypothesis 2a; Hypothesis 2 refers to links between antecedents and mediators). In contrast, we hypothesize that co-ethnic peers with more bridging ties, who are oriented to the Dutch culture, rely more on Dutch supportive networks (Hypothesis 2b). Regarding the links between antecedents, ties and outcomes (Hypothesis 3), we expect that living in an ethnically diverse (where a high density of immigrants live) and poor (with most people with low incomes and high unemployment) neighborhood relates positively to bonding ties (co-ethnics) but negatively to social participation in the Dutch community (Hypothesis 3a; Hypothesis 3 refers to links between antecedents and outcomes).

To understand the bridging and bonding processes, we explain how the social context of Moroccan-Dutch relates to their acculturation orientations. Therefore we explored their ties with family, co-ethnics, mainstreamers as well as experiences and attitudes in contact with mainstream Dutch.

Acculturation

More appreciation of family among Moroccan-Dutch is associated with more positive acculturation outcomes and positive attitudes towards both ethnic and host culture (Ait Ouarasse & Van de Vijver, 2004). Therefore, we expected that family support would be related positively not just to family identity (Hypothesis 2c) but also to social participation in both their ethnic and mainstream communities and well-being (Hypothesis 1c).

The orientation of Moroccan-Dutch towards the Dutch community is linked to their sociocultural outcomes, such as school performance. Their orientation towards the Moroccan-Islamic culture is related positively to ties with co-ethnics, such as having Moroccan-Dutch friends. We use Berry's model (2005) of acculturation to understand how different orientations in mainstream society relate to variation

in outcomes and ethnic identity. It has been demonstrated that a combined orientation on ethnic and mainstream communities correlates positively with psychological adaptation (which refers to well-being and good mental health) and gives the best results for psychological well-being and participation (Berry, 2005). This integration, which requires good ties with both co-ethnics and mainstream Dutch, is for many Moroccan-Dutch a challenge (Stevens, Pels, Vollebergh, & Crijnen, 2004). That challenge is due to the negative experiences they perceive in their interactions with Dutch, such as prejudice and discrimination (Jikel, 2012), which has made their ethnic identity salient, in particular their Islamic and Moroccan culture (e.g., Slootman, 2014). However, the idea that integration is associated with the best acculturation outcomes constitutes a good working hypothesis that has found support elsewhere; therefore, we tested whether the hypothesis that integration gives the best outcomes also applies to young Moroccan-Dutch (Hypothesis 1d).

Outcomes

In this section we introduce the examined outcomes of our target group: psychological adjustment (well-being, exclusion) and sociocultural adjustment (social participation with co-ethnics or mainstreamers).

Well-being A stronger ethnic identity, which according to our model associates with more bonding with co-ethnics (see hypothesis 1a), is assumed to be beneficial for psychological outcomes, whereas a stronger mainstream identity, which associates with bridging with mainstreamers (see hypothesis 1b), is assumed to be beneficial for sociocultural outcomes in the mainstream context (Ward, 2001). To examine the positive outcomes of young Moroccan-Dutch we used self-esteem and life satisfaction as two indicators of psychological well-being (Berry, 2005). Self-esteem is defined as feelings of self-worth (Rosenberg, Schooler, Schoenbach, & Rosenberg, 1995). Self-esteem is what people experience when evaluating different things about themselves, such as their social status, ethnic group, school achievement, or job (Heatherton & Wyland, 2003). Satisfaction with life is a result of evaluating various life domains, such as work, family, and health (Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985). Self-esteem is positively associated with psychological well-being (Rosenberg et al., 1995). People with high self-esteem feel more satisfied with their lives (Diener & Diener, 2009).

Exclusion Moroccan-Dutch are since long one of the most rejected, non-western minority groups in the Netherlands (Hagendoorn & Hraba, 1989). Additionally, rejection (which means here not accepted, excluded and/or discriminated against) by the host society is related to acculturation orientations (Badea et al., 2015). Feelings of being excluded strengthened the ethnic identity of young Moroccan-Dutch and also their co-ethnic networks. This identification with the in-group can be seen as a response to threats they feel from the out-group (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002). Recent research has shown that Moroccan-Dutch suffer from stereotypes by the Dutch (Azghari et al., 2015). When this leads to ethnic discrimination or exclusion, it is assumed to be negatively associated with their psychological well-being, notably self-esteem (Branscombe, Schmitt, & Harvey, 1999).

Social Participation For immigrants having work in the Dutch society -especially where intercultural relations are possible- is positively associated with interactions with majority Dutch, which enhances their social participation (De Vroome & Van Tubergen, 2010). We assume that positive experiences of young Moroccan-Dutch, such as access to important social resources (e.g., supportive networks) and successful participation in the Dutch society, are associated with positive outcomes (e.g., self-esteem). Conversely, negative experiences, such as obstacles (e.g., discrimination) that jeopardize their social participation in the Dutch community, relate to negative outcomes (e.g., low participation). In acculturation studies both out-

comes show relationships with attachment to their family, co-ethnics or mainstreamers. When due to exclusion problems their social network is limited to co-ethnics, we expect that their bonding social capital, which is based on co-ethnic or family social support and living in an ethnically diverse and poor neighborhood, is higher compared to their bridging social capital, which is based on Dutch support and living in a more affluent Dutch homogeneous neighborhood (Hypothesis 3b). Social participation is positive for life satisfaction and happiness (Eurostat, 2010) and support from family and friends relates positively to psychological well-being (Thoits, 1995).

Method

Participants

The sample comprised Moroccan-Dutch university students (N = 172; 68 men; age: M = 23.61 years, SD = 3.88). Participants lived in different parts of the Netherlands and one female reported to study in Stellenbosch (South Africa). Only eight of them were not born in the Netherlands and emigrated as a child from Morocco. With regard to the birthplace of their parents, all were married with a partner born in Morocco, but two mothers were born in Spain and one in Algeria; one father was born in Spain and another one in Algeria. Table 2 gives an overview of the students regarding gender, age, and how many participants lived in one of the 22 largest Dutch cities where two-thirds of all Moroccan-Dutch live (De Boom et al., 2014), with the most having roots in the Rif region in Morocco where people speak often *Tarifit*, a Berber language.

Table 2 *Sample Descriptives per Age, Gender and Residence (N = 172)*

Age distribution	Moroccan-Dutch	
	Male	Female
N	68	104
17-20 years (22.7%)	15 (38.5%)	24 (61.5%)
21-24 years (43.0%)	29 (39.2%)	45 (60.8%)
25-28 years (23.3%)	15 (37.5%)	25 (62.5%)
29-33 years (11.0%)	9 (47.4%)	10 (52.6%)
Total[1]	39.5	60.5
Residence		
Largest Dutch cities (61.6%)[2]	36 (34%)	70 (66%)
Elsewhere (38.4%)[3]	32 (48.5%)	34 (51.5%)

Note. [1]Percentages. [2]Tilburg (26), Helmond (14), 's-Hertogenbosch (12), Roosendaal (12), Eindhoven (11), Utrecht (7), Amsterdam (7), Rotterdam (6), Gorinchem (3), Amersfoort (2), Oosterhout (2), Veenendaal (2), Nijmegen (1), Zeist (1). [3]Elsewhere means living outside the largest cities, including The Hague, Gouda, Culemborg, Ede, Leiden, Lelystad, Maassluis or Schiedam.

Procedure

Data were collected between February and May 2015 by mailing a request to 596 Moroccan-Dutch students between the age of 17 and 33 years of age, using Qualtrics, to seek their approval (and under the age of 18 also the permission of their parents). The mail specified that participation would take place on a voluntary and anonymous basis by filling in the online questionnaire that took 20 minutes. All agreed to cooperate via the consent letter, in line with ethical demands and clearance procedures within the Tilburg School of Humanities. Purposive sampling using snowballing and social media (e.g., WhatsApp) were used for recruitment.

Measures

We used a structured self-completion questionnaire to administer perceived social capital, social identity, and well-being measures. The instruments were in the Dutch language. All items were answered on a 5-point Likert scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 5 = *strongly agree*) except for Satisfaction with Life items where we used a 7-point scale (1 = *strongly disagree*, 7 = *strongly agree*). For behavior items we used a 5-point scale (1 = *Never*, 5 = *Always*). To fine-tune the instruments a focus group interview (n = 4) and a pretest (n = 6) were conducted, which led to a slightly revised questionnaire. A detailed description and psychometric properties, such as the internal consistencies of the scales, are given below.

Social capital measures For *social capital* we used social support and neighborhood as two indicators. For measuring *social support* we changed the question "Whom can you really count on to be dependable when you need help?", based on the Social Support Questionnaire by Sarason, Levine, Basham, and Sarason (1983), to a statement "When I need help, I rely on my family/Moroccan-Islamic or Dutch community". The instrument had eight items for assessing support from their ethnic community (α = .84, M = 2.93, SD = 0.81), six items about support from their family (α = .78, M = 3.95, SD = 0.62), and four items about Dutch support (α = .72, M = 2.54, SD = 0.80). Example items for this scale: "I talk about my problems with my Moroccan/Dutch friends" and "I help my family".

To measure the *neighborhood characteristics* where young Moroccan-Dutch reported to live we used eight items (α = .86, M = 2.90, SD = 0.86). With the first five items we established to which extent their neighborhood could be described as poor (with most people with low incomes and high unemployment) and diverse (where a high density of immigrants live and where more than half of the school population is not native Dutch). We then reverse coded the final three items for measuring to which extent their neighborhood could be characterized as rich (with most people with high incomes and low unemployment) and homogeneous (with most mainstream Dutch and schools where more than half is native Dutch).

Social identity measures For measuring the *social identity* of our sample we adapted three existing scales for assessing the ethnic, family, and religious identities (Dimitrova et al., 2014a; 2014b). We adjusted all items to be specific for our target group; so we changed for example *religious* into *Islamic*. Item examples were "Being <Moroccan, Muslim, Dutch> is important for me", "I consider myself <Moroccan, Muslim, Dutch>" and "I am proud to be member of the <Muslim, Moroccan, Dutch> community". For religious identity we added five items to measure how their religious practices were manifested in daily life such as praying and fasting during Ramadan. Also, we used six items to measure cultural behavior from different perspectives. Examples were "My behavior is typical Moroccan/Dutch". With 49 items (α = .97, M = 3.65, SD = 0.72) we assessed how much they identified with the Moroccan-Islamic community. We measured to which extent they defined their ethnic identity as being Moroccan (22 items) and Muslim, either culturally (22) and/or religiously inspired (5). We excluded the importance of being a Berber or an Arab because these two backgrounds of their parents did not play a significant role in describing their ethnic identity.

Items also addressed the extent to which they defined themselves as being Dutch or part of the family. For family identity we used 17 items (α = .95, M = 4.10, SD = 0.67) and for assessing their Dutch identity 21 items (α = .94, M = 3.14, SD = 0.74).

Well-being measures. To assess their *well-being* we used the Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS) from Diener et al. (1985), and self-esteem from Rosenberg (1979). For global life satisfaction we used five items (α = .88, M = 4.90, SD = 1.34), such as "I am satisfied with my life". We measured self-esteem with ten items (α = .88,

M = 3.87, SD = 0.65), such as “I am satisfied with myself” and “I feel I am a person of worth”.

Exclusion was measured using nine items (α = .82, M = 2.37, SD = 0.68). Perceptions of rejection by the Dutch were assessed with three items, which we adapted from Wiley (2013) and adjusted to our group: “Because I am Moroccan/Muslim, I don’t think that the Dutch will ever fully accept me” and “The Dutch treat me positively” (reverse scored). We had six items to measure problems and experiences in school, such as “My teacher treated me unfairly because I am Moroccan/Muslim”.

With eight items (α = .87, M = 3.64, SD = 0.82) we assessed *social participation* with co-ethnics, by which we mean having a dominant social network with co-ethnic friends, celebrating Islamic feast of sacrifice *(Eid al-Adha* in Arabic) and eating Moroccan food and buying it preferably in a Moroccan-Islamic shop. We used five items to establish with whom they shared most time, and who their best co-ethnic friends were and three items for assessing their food and celebration preferences within the Moroccan-Islamic community. For the social participation with the Dutch we used six items (α = .78, M = 2.61, SD = 0.81) to measure with whom they shared most time, activities and who their best friends were (within the mainstream community) and with two to determine to which extent they celebrated Santa Claus (*Sinterklaas* in Dutch), and preferred eating Dutch food. All twelve scales that we discussed here were found to be unifactorial with loading values varying between .44 and .68.

Results

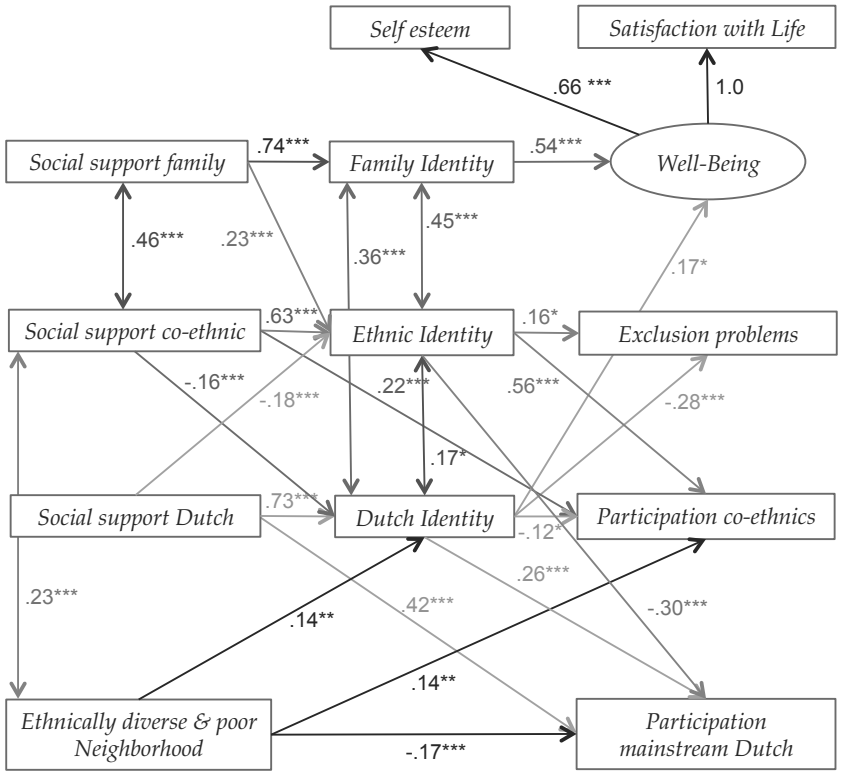
In the following sections, we present a path model based on the mediation model of Figure 1 and test our hypotheses. First we present findings on the relationships between social capital resources, identities and adjustment followed by discussion of our research results.

Path Modeling of Social Capital Resourcing, Social Identity and Adjustment

We examined how different access to social capital of young Moroccan Dutch is associated with their identity and how identity is associated with their socio-cultural and psychological adjustment. We tested the relationships between the different variables in our hypothesized model by developing a structural equation model (SEM) with AMOS. The model provided a good fit to the data: $\chi^2(40, N = 172) = 74.3$, $p < .001$; $\chi^2/df = 1.85$; TLI = .95; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .07.

In Figure 2 we present the path model. Firstly, not all predictions were confirmed and some significant associations were not predicted, which we describe below in more detail. Secondly, we found a full mediation model in which social capital on the one hand and well-being and exclusion problems on the other were fully mediated by identification.

Figure 2 *Results of path analysis*



Note. $N = 172$; all parameters are standardised regression coefficients.
$^{*}p < 0.05$.$^{**}p < 0.01$. $^{***}p < 0.001$.

Social capital, identity and outcomes There was no direct significant association between social capital and well-being or exclusion. However, we found a partial mediation model for the link between social capital and social participation: from co-ethnic support to social participation with co-ethnics (standardized $\beta = .22$, $p < .001$), from Dutch support to social participation with mainstream Dutch ($\beta = .42$, $p < .001$), and from ethnically diverse neighborhood to social participation with co-ethnics ($\beta = .14$, $p < .01$) and mainstream Dutch ($\beta = -.17$, $p < .001$). As the last modification we added two correlations between co-ethnic support and neighborhood diversity ($\beta = .23$, $p < .001$) and between co-ethnic support and family support ($\beta = .46$, $p < .001$). We also found that family support was not associated with Dutch identity.

Social support, one of the two examined social capital resources, is supposed to have a positive association with well-being (Suurmeijer et al., 1995). We expected that Moroccan-Islamic support would not only associate positively to well-being and co-ethnic participation and negatively to social participation with mainstream Dutch (Hypothesis 1a), but also positively to ethnic identity (Hypothesis 2a). Hypothesis 2a was fully supported, but Hypothesis 1a was just partially confirmed in the positive link between appreciation of the ethnic identity and co-ethnic participation (see Table 1). The expected positive link between co-ethnic support and well-being was not found. Moroccan-Islamic support was significantly associated with ethnic identity ($\beta = .63$, $p < .001$), which in turn showed a significant, positive link with social participation with co-ethnics ($\beta = .56$, $p < .001$) and a negative link with social participation with mainstream Dutch ($\beta = -.30$, $p < .001$). However, we did not observe any significant association between co-ethnic support and well-being, nor was the link mediated via ethnic identity. Instead, we found a significant positive association between ethnic identity and exclusion ($\beta = .16$, $p < .05$). Apparently, identification with co-ethnics was positively related to exclusion problems young Moroccan-Dutch perceive and negatively to social participation within the

mainstream Dutch community. These two links reduce their well-being and interaction with the Dutch.

Support and identity Our path analysis showed that Dutch support was strongly related with mainstream identity (β = .73, $p < .001$), which supported Hypothesis 2b. Moreover, we observed that support from the co-ethnics and mainstream Dutch were negatively associated with respectively mainstream Dutch identity (β = -.16, $p < .001$) and ethnic identity (β = -.18, $p < .001$). It should be noted that family support showed a positive association with ethnic identity (β = .23, $p < .001$). However, there were no significant paths between co-ethnic or mainstream Dutch support and family identity.

Furthermore, we found that mainstream Dutch identity was positively associated with well-being (β = .17, $p < .05$) and negatively with exclusion (β = -.28, $p < .001$). This finding disconfirms the first part of our Hypothesis 1b where we expected a negative link between mainstream identity and well-being. This means that orientation to the mainstream identity and Dutch support enhance self-esteem and satisfaction with life and also help to prevent exclusion problems. There was - in line with our second part of Hypothesis 1b- a significantly positive association between the Dutch identity and social participation with mainstream Dutch (β = .26, $p < .001$), but a negative association with co-ethnics (β = -.12, $p < .05$). Based on the observed opposite links between supportive networks from and identification to co-ethnics or mainstream Dutch and their opposite orientations and outcomes we had to reject our hypothesis 1d in which we expected that integration would give the best outcomes. We found that a stronger orientation on mainstream Dutch to be associated with better results in their sociocultural and psychological adjustment than stronger orientation to co-ethnics. Young Moroccan-Dutch seemed to value family identity most (M = 4.10), followed by ethnic identity (M = 3.65) and then Dutch identity (M = 3.14), although it should be noted that a significance test of the differences is impossible as not exactly the same items were used to assess these identities.

With regard to family support we found a significant positive association to family identity (β = .74, $p < .001$) and from this mediator to well-being (β = .54, $p < .001$). However, there was no significant path between family identity and exclusion, which means that appreciation of family identity was not directly related to protection against exclusion problems. These relationships confirmed our Hypothesis 2c and also the first part of Hypothesis 1c where we predicted that family identity would be positively related to well-being. This is in line with earlier research in which stronger family ties were associated with more well-being (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2008). No significant links were found between family support and exclusion, nor between family support and social participation with Dutch mainstreamers. Furthermore, when we calculated the indirect effects via the bootstrap technique in Amos, we did observe an indirect effect from family support via ethnic identity to co-ethnic social participation (β = .13, $p < .01$). This means that the second part of our hypothesis 1c is partially supported: family support was positively associated with co-ethnic participation only via ethnic identity. We conclude that indirect effects reinforced the findings of the direct effects.

Hypothesis 3a was also supported: the neighborhood where young Moroccan-Dutch lived played a role in their bonding and bridging process. Living in an ethnically diverse, so-called 'poor and black neighborhood', related positively to social participation with co-ethnics (β = .14, $p < .01$) and negatively to social participation with the Dutch (β = -.17, $p < .001$). Living in an ethnically diverse neighborhood tends to associate with having fewer contacts with mainstreamers. As a result people in these neighborhoods rely more on bonding ties for support, which confirms our hypothesis 3b, but it does not preclude the development of a Dutch identity (β = .14, $p < .01$).

Discussion

Two questions were addressed in this chapter: (1) How do young Moroccan-Dutch with more co-ethnic support differ in identity and outcomes compared to co-ethnics with more Dutch support? and (2) What role plays neighborhood (i.e., the place where the research participant lives) in their identification and outcomes? Our research finding that support from the Moroccan-Islamic community was positively related with ethnic identity and co-ethnic orientation related positively to co-ethnic participation is in line with earlier studies (Phinney, 1991). Co-ethnic identification can also be reinforced by feelings of rejection (Schmitt & Branscombe, 2002a). However, this strong ethnic identity also relates positively to more experienced exclusion among this Moroccan-Dutch group in contact with mainstream Dutch and to weak social participation to the Dutch community. We found the opposite outcomes when social support comes from mainstreamers. Secondly, living in an ethnically diverse neighborhood is negative for bridging social capital.

Our expectation that social capital and identity of young Moroccan-Dutch are related with their psychological and sociocultural outcomes in the Dutch society was confirmed. Social support of Moroccan-Dutch is studied here in three different social networks: family, co-ethnics, such as friends from the ethnic group (Moroccan-Dutch/Islamic), and mainstream Dutch. We found that co-ethnic support is positively related to ethnic identity and that Dutch support is positively related to Dutch identity. In the International Comparative Study of Ethnocultural Youth project (ICSEY), similar results were reported whereby ethnic identity was stronger than national identity and a negative correlation was found between the two identities among some young Dutch immigrants, suggesting either separation or assimilation (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Furthermore, family support was via family identity positively linked to well-being and negatively to exclusion.

Access to different social resources and orientations of young Moroccan-Dutch relate to opposite identity outcomes: co-ethnic or mainstream Dutch. Our sample valued bonding (co-ethnic) ties more than bridging (interethnic) ties. When the participants have a stronger Moroccan orientation, they face more exclusion, score low in social participation in the Dutch society and high in co-ethnic participation, whereas those who have a Dutch orientation show higher scores in well-being and social participation, and low in facing exclusion and participation in the co-ethnic community. This bonding and bridging process may help to explain how resources, such as co-ethnic or mainstream support, are related to the negative and positive outcomes among young Moroccan-Dutch.

Implications and limitations

The Netherlands is shifting from a welfare state to a *participative society* (Verhagen, 2009), which is a civil society where welfare institutions become less available and people more dependent on their social network or resilience for dealing with their needs. Although this transition fits in the Moroccan society and culture, where people are more dependent on each other, making this major social and cultural change is more difficult for minorities that feel excluded from the mainstream society (Freshwater, 2004). This feeling among disadvantaged minorities is supposed not only to make their ethnic identity and co-ethnic ties and networks stronger but also to help them to reduce the stress of perceived discrimination (Mossakowski, 2003) and, according to social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), to cope with negative experiences resulting from their increased ethnic self-esteem. However, young Moroccan-Dutch who receive Dutch support and have a dominant mainstream identity, and do not live in a diverse and poor neighborhood, have better chances to participate successfully in the Dutch society and achieve more positive outcomes as compared to co-ethnics who get co-ethnic support and hold a strong ethnic identity. Living in such a transi-

tional society makes this gap bigger: support will mainly come from co-ethnics, which strengthens feelings of separation and exclusion.

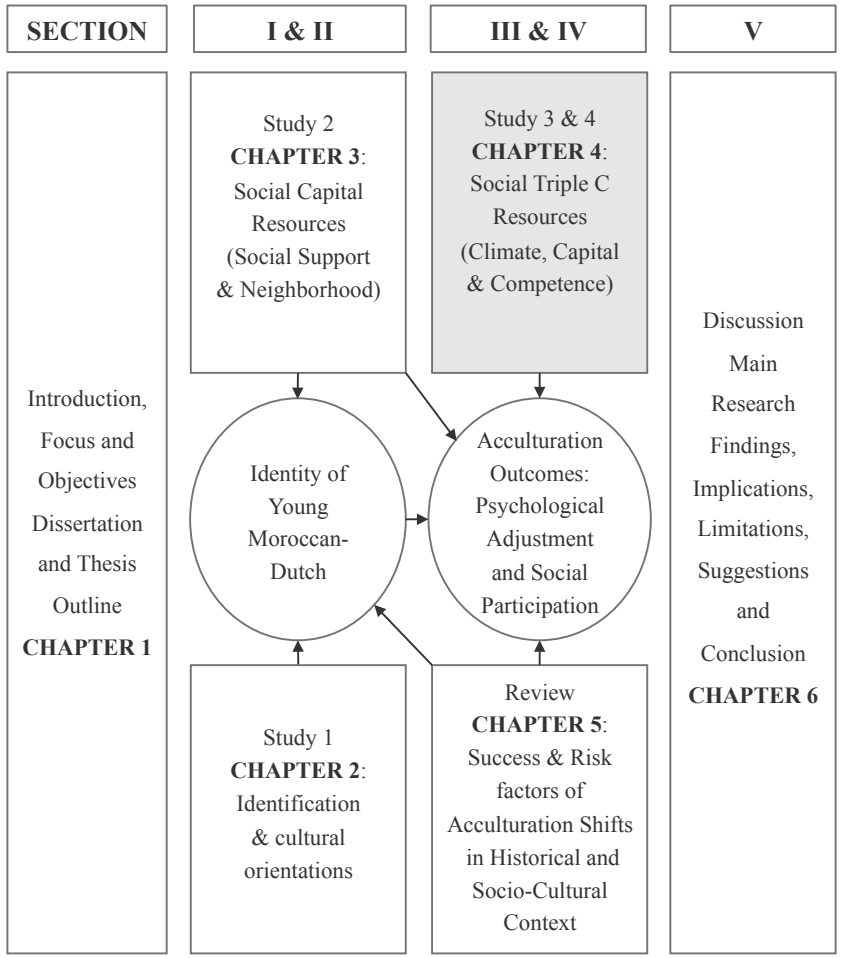
An important limitation is that our sample had a university education that cannot be expected to represent all young Moroccan-Dutch. However, our findings give clear signals that their educational background does not protect them from problems to participate successfully in the Dutch society. We speculate that the negative scenario of this successful group in terms of their high schooling would be worse among co-ethnic peers who have a lower education or left school to find work. Another limitation is that we collected quantitative data, so we could not always control who completed the online questionnaire - despite the fact that we mailed each one personally - neither were we able to ask each participant in depth what reasons and experiences they had for choosing these contrasting acculturations options and to elaborate on their backgrounds. Therefore conducting a qualitative follow-up research study is needed. Interviewing young Moroccan-Dutch and mainstream Dutch social professionals, who work with this ethnic group, would lead to a better understanding of who or what according to these two groups plays a crucial role to help young Moroccan-Dutch to adjust well and obtain positive acculturation outcomes.

Conclusions

Despite the confirmation of most predictions, significant associations between the variables in some cases were in the opposite direction than expected; we had to reject the idea that ethnic identity relates positively to well-being and negatively to exclusion. Instead, we found positive links between Dutch identity and well-being and no relationship between ethnic identity and well-being. This contrasts to findings from acculturation research where a positive link was found between ethnic identity and psychological adaptation (Berry, 2005). Our data challenge the view that integration among young immigrants promotes the best adaptation and gives the best results for both well-being and participation, but are more in line with Ward and Geeraert's (2016) view that integration is only possible in a context in which mainstream and ethnic groups endorse integration. Although we observed that the different social identities correlate positively with each other, which indicates that integration is indeed possible, achieving this ideal combination of equal appreciation of two cultures is hard for our sample. In daily life they tend to choose either of two dominant contrasting acculturation paths that produce opposite outcomes.

Section III
Intervention in Social Work and
Successful Participation of Young Moroccan-Dutch

Figure 1 *Overview of the Dissertation*



4.

Social Workers' Contribution to Success in lives of Young Moroccan-Dutch

Abstract

In two studies we investigated the views of Dutch social professionals and young Moroccan-Dutch on success and failure factors in social participation of the latter group in the Netherlands. In the first study, professionals (N = 148) emphasized ties and life skills. In the second study, we compared perspectives on participation via in-depth interviews with Moroccan-Dutch (N = 61), aged 18 to 34 years, and Dutch social workers (N = 45), aged 20 to 64 years. Both groups emphasized inclusion, integration, schooling, skills, working harder than mainstream Dutch, positive feedback, relationship of trust and motivation. However, participation is hampered by stigmatization, victim-blaming attitude, poor parenting, weak skills, limited ties and access to social work. Weak Dutch engagement (i.e., poor ties with mainstreamers) was due to exclusion according to professionals and to cultural barriers according to Moroccan-Dutch. We found significant differences, using chi-square tests, in engagement with co-ethnics, native Dutch or a mixed group, education, SES and between successful and unsuccessful Moroccan-Dutch. Professionals advised not to focus on the anti-immigrant climate as this is resistant to short-term change but underlined combatting exclusion. Moroccan-Dutch respected professionals who supported them unconditionally. We conclude that their participation associates with "social Triple C resources": climate, capital and competence. Strengthening these resources may be the best intervention for successful participation.

Keywords: Acculturation, Moroccan-Dutch, Social Workers, Social Participation, Integration.

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Introduction

'When you're in Morocco you are Dutch and here Moroccan, you never feel at home.'

'Integration becomes hard due to prejudices. In the Netherlands they are not accepted and in Morocco they are not Moroccans.'

These quotes illustrate what young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers who work with this bicultural group - both the group of immigrants and social workers are within the scope of our research - perceive daily. The first (of an 18 years-old Moroccan-Dutch woman) represents a widespread feeling among nearly half of the 217,425 Moroccan-Dutch, born in the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2017). The second of a professional gives us a glimpse of the difficulties that social workers have in dealing with the acculturation challenges of this second generation.

These challenges include participation barriers that may jeopardize their acculturation outcomes, such as identity conflicts that arise when young Moroccan-Dutch are in a process of re-identifying who they are and to whom they belong (Gordijn, 2010). Integration and participation are the result of their acculturation. Acculturation is defined as a process of a cultural and psychological shift due to prolonged contact between different ethnic groups (Sam & Berry, 2010). The combination of both cultures by immigrants is called integration, whereas participation refers to how well they do in the Dutch society (Azghari, Van de Vijver, & Hooghiemstra, 2017a). Integration and participation interact with one another, which means that for successful participation input from both communities is needed (Ait Ouarasse & Van de Vijver, 2004). Therefore, we do not agree with the notion that the native Dutch have received a so-called *dispensation of integration* (Schinkel, 2013), which means that integration does not involve or require any activity from Dutch mainstream-

ers (i.e., the vast majority of indigenous Dutch) and thus becomes just an issue for immigrants (*allochtonen* in Dutch). In addition, we argue that members of the mainstream Dutch and Moroccan-Dutch communities are both part of this integration process. Our focus here is on the second- and third-generation Moroccan-Dutch. Although most of them are born in the Netherlands and have not immigrated they share many characteristics, such as their bicultural background and low SES. Successful participation is crucial for this group to improve their sociocultural position and to integrate well.

Yet, one of the main participation barriers that young Moroccan-Dutch experience daily is that they feel excluded in the Netherlands (Huijnk, Gijsberts, & Dagevos, 2014), which is also observed in other European countries (e.g., Berry & Sabatier, 2010). They face more problems than mainstream peers do. They are underrepresented in receiving preventive youth care but overrepresented in the criminal justice system (Stevens, Veen, & Vollebergh, 2014) and curative care, such as forensic psychiatric and mental health care (Gezondheidsraad, 2012). Less than half between 15 and 65 year old are employed (Huijnk et al., 2014), which is the lowest labor participation of the major non-western groups in the Netherlands (i.e., Antillean-, Surinamese-, Turkish-, and Moroccan-Dutch).

We studied what hinders or empowers successful participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to two groups. The first group are the young Moroccan-Dutch, who study or make their first steps into labor market and find it difficult to pursue integration (Azghari et al., 2017a). They form with 74,197 individuals one fifth of all Moroccan-Dutch (385,761) and one-third of the second generation (Statistics, 2017). The second group are native Dutch social workers who work with this second largest non-western group in the Netherlands to improve their situation. Although recognition of cultural diversity in social work is worldwide apparent and culturally competent social work practice is universally deemed important (NASW, 2015), it remains an abstract ideal (Boyle & Springer, 2001). Many

studies explored how migrant children adapt to life in Western countries, including the roles of social work to help the migrant groups in the host society to participate well (Sakamoto, 2007), but research lacks an understanding of how to assist them to overcome participation barriers (Portes & Rivas, 2011).

Involving both groups and combining their perspectives in one study is novel; to our knowledge such research has never been conducted before. Our goal is to explore the successes and threats in the lives of young Moroccan-Dutch and to examine what role Dutch professionals can play to improve their clients' social participation. The latter is defined as how they perform in the public domain (e.g., labor participation) and the number of contacts that Moroccan-Dutch have (i.e., social engagement) with co-ethnics or mainstream Dutch, on whom they rely for social support (Eurostat, 2010). Social support refers to the degree to which a person's basic needs, such as affection, esteem or approval, belonging and identity, are met through interaction with others (Thoits, 1995).

Acculturative change Migration leads to an acculturative change, which is the new environment where in our case Moroccan-Dutch live that affects their participation (Azghari, Hooghiemstra, & Van de Vijver, 2017b). This change leads to re-define culturally who they are, and the search for new resources to re-build their social support system that contributes to a better participation (García, Ramírez, & Jariego, 2002).

Whether participation is successful depends on access and quality of social resources, such as their social ties. In the social capital literature attachment within the group (family/co-ethnics) is called *bonding* and with other people *bridging* (Putnam, 2007). Even though young Moroccan-Dutch are more assimilated in some crucial fields compared to other non-western peers, such as speaking Dutch better than their parents' language, they are strongly attached to co-ethnics (Azghari, Hooghiemstra, & Van de Vijver, 2015). This means that they expressed their pride of being Moroccan, felt strongly attached to Islam, and showed low participation in the Dutch society.

Methodology

In a two-study design we addressed who or what hinders or empowers social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to themselves and Dutch professionals. The two research questions were: (1) What jeopardizes or enhances successful participation according to Dutch social workers and (2) Who or what hinders or empowers social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to themselves and Dutch social workers? The first study involved social workers who gave their view on successful participation of young Moroccan-Dutch. The second study involved social workers and young Moroccan-Dutch exploring what factors impact the lives of the latter. We selected contrasting groups: Moroccan-Dutch whose participation within the Dutch society is successful or unsuccessful, and social workers who said to have contacts with Moroccan-Dutch almost daily or hardly any work-related contact. These groups may help to find critical success and risk factors. By gaining insights in the similarities and differences between them, we expected to identify how both contribute positively to social participation.

Samples Participants came from two groups: Dutch social professionals (Table 1 and 2) and second-generation Moroccan-Dutch (Table 3). This generation was chosen because many face problems to participate successfully in the Dutch society. In the first study only professionals participated while in our second study we interviewed Moroccan-Dutch and social workers working with this non-western group. We selected two types of Moroccan-Dutch: successful (N = 40; 14 men; age: M = 23.95 years, SD = 3.35) and unsuccessful (N = 21; 12 men; age: M = 24.4 years, SD = 4.5). Participants were successful when:

(1) Participant attended school, had completed schooling with a diploma, or had work.

(2) Participant is satisfied with his or her social position in the Netherlands.

(3) Participant was never referred to social work by legal authorities or had not been arrested for illegal activities.

These criteria were derived from an earlier study where we asked young Moroccan-Dutch to describe what they need in order to participate successfully in the Dutch society (Azghari et al., 2015). We also used insights from other research (see Meijnen, Rupp, & Veld, 2001). Note that only participants who were positive about their participation in the Dutch society said to be satisfied with their position.

Four types of social workers were selected. Professionals who work with Moroccan-Dutch on a voluntary (N = 32; 14 men; age: M = 37.3 years, SD = 12.43) or mandatory basis as part of the criminal justice system such as correctional services (N = 13; 8 men; age: M = 40.3 years, SD = 13.48); professionals who work almost daily with Moroccan-Dutch (N = 30; 18 men; age: M = 40.6 years, SD = 12.3) and those with limited contact that varied from once in a year to once in a month (N = 15; 4 men; age: M = 33.3 years, SD = 12.3). Of the 30 participants with intensive contact with Moroccan-Dutch, 20 worked in a voluntary context and of the 15 persons with limited contact, 3 worked in correctional services.

Measures We designed two different questionnaires. Firstly, we used a short questionnaire with open questions in study 1 to identify important themes among professionals on how they communicated and viewed Moroccan-Dutch and what were best practices (i.e., actions or interventions that contribute to improved participation). Example questions were "What is important in contact with young Moroccan-Dutch?" and "What role do you play as a social professional to help improve the social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch?" Secondly, based on the most relevant themes that emerged from study 1 we developed a second questionnaire that was pilot tested with two persons of each group. The 49 questions covered social engagement and social capital resources. All were related to the social context where Moroccan-Dutch lived, studied or worked, and the work context of professionals (e.g., activities, networks and experiences).

Social engagement questions. These questions made their social context clear, notably with whom participants engage in their activities in daily life, who inspired them and what their experiences are in contact with different groups. Examples of the 22 questions that we asked to both were "Describe in short your most important activities of the last week?", "Give examples that you did or do in your life that have made you proud/dissatisfied (in contact with Moroccan-Dutch)?" and to young Moroccan-Dutch we asked "With whom do you have more contact: Moroccans or Dutch?"

Social capital questions. These questions dealt with the role of social support, such as their experiences in getting support from co-ethnics/mainstreamers or social professionals, and neighborhood. Examples of the 27 questions that we posed were: "To whom do you go when you need help, have a question or need an advice?" "What role do social workers/Moroccan-Dutch community play in helping to realize ambitions of young Moroccan-Dutch?", "Describe success factors (examples where it went fine)/failure factors (examples where it went wrong) that do work/do not work to improve the social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch?" and "What advantages/disadvantages do you see in your neighborhood to improve your social position?"

Procedure We recruited professionals in social work organizations and via snowball sampling, which led to a high rate of research participants. The first author drew from his network that he has built as a researcher and a Social Work lecturer. In our follow-up study we

used purposive sampling via social media, universities, vocational schools and informal networks for recruiting Moroccan-Dutch.

Each interview, which took 30 minutes to more than one hour, was held in the first half of 2016 at universities and in social work settings. The first author interviewed 40 participants (20 young Moroccan-Dutch and 20 social workers). In addition, nine trained Social Work students conducted 66 individual interviews. Of the five students who interviewed 41 Moroccan-Dutch separately, one was of Dutch, two of Moroccan-Dutch, one of Afghan and one of Surinamese ancestry. All five indicated to know young Moroccan-Dutch in their social network, such as friends or schoolmates. Four students with a non-western background said to feel affinity with the situation of the target group as they experienced the same acculturation challenges, such as dealing with cultural differences. However, despite the different ethnicities of these Dutch students, all spoke Dutch as their first language and all interviews were in Dutch. Four other native Dutch students interviewed 25 professionals. All in total 106 interviews of whom 45 were social workers (Table 2) and 61 young Moroccan-Dutch (Table 3) were tape recorded and transcribed verbatim. Permission to do this research was given by the Ethics Committee of Tilburg School of Humanities at Tilburg University.

Coding interviews We used Grounded Theory (Corbin & Strauss, 1990) to cluster and classify important topics mentioned in the interviews. We have chosen this approach to detect possible new insights behind the shared views on and experiences with social participation. To analyze the data we organized them into categories using Excel and SPSS. Coders had to categorize -using grounded theory- their data independently on success and failure factors in up to ten labels, which were discussed and compared with the categories of the first author and then, after reaching consensus, a final set of common factors was specified. Ten separate coders were used, including nine students. Our qualitative research yielded quantifiable data that we used for performing chi-square tests to investigate relationships between variables.

Results

Here we present the key factors of what works the best in contact with Moroccan-Dutch for achieving successful participation according to professionals from study 1. We also discuss the topics that emerged from the semi-structured interviews in study 2 to understand what according to both groups hinders or empowers the participation of Moroccan-Dutch. We illustrate the results by quoting participants; we only mention a quote when a similar comment was made by at least two persons within each group. We use pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

Key factors

We summarized the written statements of professionals, derived from their written answers to the open questions in our first study, in 23 factors and classified them into social ties, conditions, and professional and social skills. All were linked to presumably optimal interventions to enhance social participation (Table 4).

[a] Social ties Professionals could enhance participation by involving successful Moroccan-Dutch in the social work domain. However, they made clear that ties of Moroccan-Dutch beyond their family or co-ethnics are beneficial for success. Ties refer to the relationships that individuals have with co-ethnics (e.g., family), mainstreamers (e.g., native Dutch friends) or a mixed group (e.g., peers of other ethnic minorities). Besides role models and extending their ties, most underlined the role of parents and parenting:

We have to use positive role models! (**Willem**, male, 27)

We have to work together with parents. (**Stella**, female, 64)

Also, professionals were in favor of stimulating positive parenting and active involvement of Moroccan-Dutch parents in their children's activities:

Participation is linked to parenting and parents are responsible for this primary task, so activate them! (**Theo,** m, 40)

These remarks -whereby parents are supposed to have an active role in helping, monitoring and stimulating their children to perform well in the Dutch society- confirm social work studies that pointed to the salient relationship of parenting and social work practice (Woodcock, 2003), notably for improving the well-being of vulnerable groups.

[b] Conditions Professionals mentioned as examples for better participation (beside equal treatment) more knowledge about the cultural backgrounds of Moroccan-Dutch:

I would like to be better informed. (**Yvonne**, f, 44)

[c] Professional skills Professionals pointed to the importance of professional skills that establish a successful dialogue with Moroccan-Dutch on an individual basis so as to engage more with Dutch people:

We have to stimulate them to talk more with young native Dutch. (**Nicole**, f, 56)

[d] Social skills Finally, professionals stressed the importance of developing social skills of young Moroccan-Dutch:

We can teach them, with the skills they have, the right way to deal with certain situations and achieve their goals. (**Esther**, f, 35)

Conclusion study 1

The categorization process yielded two topics: social ties (e.g., parent, friend, and social professional) and skills (e.g., open, active and empathic). To further validate this outcome, we organized a session with professionals, who participated in the first study, and asked to rate their top 5 of issues required for better social participation of Moroccan-Dutch. Of the total focus group of 30 persons, 23 regarded *establishing an open dialogue, which is built on trust and authenticity, with Moroccan-Dutch* as most important, followed by 17 who valued *strengthening their social networks* and 11 who stressed the importance of *improving their social skills.* These findings confirmed our analysis. We conclude that professionals should develop cultural competence that consists of cultural awareness and sensitivity (Bean, Davis, & Davey, 2014), which helps to demonstrate their knowledge of and interest in Moroccan-Dutch, before improving ties and skills of young Moroccan-Dutch, leading to a better participation within the Dutch society.

Social resources

Our data of study 2 can be summarized as the social Triple C, which stands for (social) climate, capital and competence. Below we discuss which of these social resource factors according to both groups is negative or positive for social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch.

Social climate In the sociological and psychological literature there are different definitions of social climate (e.g., Allodi, 2010). Here it is defined as the sum of social resources (i.e., supportive networks and neighborhood) and strengths of ties that influence the social participation of an acculturating person. Whether it is beneficial for participation depends on the quality and nature of ties, such as family or workplace ties, within their networks and how people value their resources and ties.

[1][2] Dutch climate Our research findings showed that negative experiences prevailed when Moroccan-Dutch evaluated their social context. The Dutch climate was viewed negatively due to discrimination, negative stereotypes, and anti-Muslims sentiments.

Moroccans face discrimination in the labor market. The stigmas about Moroccans and Islam prevail. (**Redouan**, m, 22)

Unsuccessful Moroccan-Dutch were more negative than successful peers, who mentioned also good experiences with the Dutch; yet, both shared concerns about their chances in the labor market:

The girls I know who wear headscarves, for them it is very difficult. (**Ibtisam**, f, 22)

[2] Social engagement Two thirds of young Moroccan-Dutch said to engage more with co-ethnics. The quotes below reflect why this bonding relates to feelings of rejection by the Dutch and associates negatively with the Dutch engagement and positively with reinforcing their identification (i.e., cultural orientation) with co-ethnics, which can be interpreted in the rejection-identification model of Branscombe et al. (1999):

They do not like us. (**Walid**, m, 22)

Many Dutch do not see us as Dutch or Dutch citizens. (**Yassine**, m, 33)

[3] Exclusion and inclusion Not surprisingly, social workers confirmed this perceived lack of inclusion among young adults by the Dutch:

To a large extent it is true, discrimination, however sad it may sound. (**Lotte**, f, 34)

[2] *This number in parentheses refers to the first theme in Table 5.*

Also, for the very disadvantaged, the former detainees, it is harder to participate according to social professionals:

They are rejected on the basis of their family name, and then they have a criminal record, which makes it difficult. (**Hans**, m, 32)

[4] Identification and role models Although social workers agreed with young Moroccan-Dutch that exclusion had a negative impact on participation and engagement with the Dutch, professionals related weak engagement of Moroccan-Dutch not only to poor ties with the Dutch, but also to lack of role models and social activities, such as doing voluntary work, and not participating in national celebrations:

It is very strange that many Moroccan-Dutch do not celebrate King's Day. (**Isabel**, f, 27) [authors' note: an important public celebration of the Dutch King's birthday].

Another reason why most Moroccan-Dutch emphasized their bonding had to do with their cultural barriers and loyalty to their family:

With Moroccans I do feel more comfortable because the Dutch have another way of thinking. For example shame towards parents. (**Ibrahim**, m, 24)

However, social workers differed with Moroccan-Dutch in how they problematized religious identification:

I see that religion creates a real gap when it comes to male-female treatment. (**Arjan**, m, 25)

Some professionals expressed doubts whether religion played any role:

I find it hard to believe when everything gets related to religion. I think they lost their bond with their environment, the country they live in. (**Rian**, f, 30)

[5] Stigma and equal treatment Moroccan-Dutch youth suffer from stereotypes, which may lead to exclusion, such as the labor market, and unequal treatment, and also to reinforcement of the negative images of Moroccan-Dutch adolescents since some confirm their stereotypic behavior as a response to the negative Dutch attitude (Kamans et al., 2009). This self-fulfilling prophecy is what professionals observed:

If you're going to look like a gunman, then people treat you like that. And when people treat you that way, you get to a point that you think, 'Well, if this is how you see me, I will behave like you see me.' (**Jan**, m, 48)

When we asked professionals to describe other obstacles almost all mentioned how Moroccan-Dutch dealt with their stigma, which were similar to Moroccan-Dutch:

Moroccan-Dutch must not confirm the stigma by rejecting the whole society. (**Hans**, m, 32)

I see a relationship between victimization and youngsters who hang around in the streets. (**Aziza**, f, 20)

[6] Self-exclusion and success stories When we asked what challenges Moroccan-Dutch and their peers faced in the Dutch society they often mentioned self-exclusion:

The challenge is that they feel themselves excluded, but that has not to do with discrimination, it is wrong thinking that they are excluded, it's a kind of self-discrimination. (**Farid**, m, 28)

Moreover, the unsuccessful Moroccan-Dutch, who had been convicted for illegal activities, such as selling soft drugs, and received mandatory social work service during their detention, confirmed that their co-ethnic peers often blamed their failure to the Dutch:

The boys with whom I engaged were smart but did nothing with it. Why is that? Partly out of laziness and because they have given up hope, 'we have no chances anyway.' (**Jemel**, m, 20)

The very successful Moroccan-Dutch were negative about unsuccessful peers who easily blamed the Dutch climate and do not do their utmost to succeed:

That girl who went to Syria, she said: "I am a Moroccan, and everybody hates me, all the teachers disliked me." (**Farida**, f, 21)

The moment they apply somewhere for a job and they got a "no" and that they can live with that "no" and that they do not do their best. (**Faycal**, m, 27)

What according to both groups (young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers) helps against an attitude of self-exclusion is providing and sharing success stories in contact with young Moroccan-Dutch.

[7] Access to social work Professionals with intensive contact mentioned the problematic access to social work services for the disadvantaged due to how the social work domain is organized:

The more you meet them, the more they trust you, but what stops me is that I do not have enough time, it is not a priority for the municipality. (**Arjan**, m, 25)

The views of the unsuccessful Moroccan-Dutch of social workers and access to social services were mixed:

I met Linda, who was a sort of a probation officer, and she helped me to go to school. (**Badr**, m, 21)

Naïve, those I met believed everything you said. They had no knowledge of the Moroccan culture. (**Fattouma**, f, 26)

In conclusion, both groups underlined inclusion, equal treatment, which according to Moroccan-Dutch leads to feelings of acceptance and positive climate, success stories and good access of social work services. Professionals promoted using positive role models and making their ties with the Dutch stronger.

Social capital Social capital includes ties between individuals on micro-level and the influence of social and political environment on macro-level (Eurostat, 2010). Here it includes social ties of individuals on a family and community level and their neighborhood. To understand the relationship between social capital and participation we explored the links between their social capital resources and success, using a χ^2 test with $\alpha = .05$.

[8] Social ties The outcomes of the links between the ties Moroccan-Dutch had with different communities and success (Table 6) showed that engagement differences with various groups and participation were significant (yet, we note that the small frequencies challenge the suitability of the statistical procedure): $\chi^2(2, N = 61) = 9.13$, $p < .01$. This suggests that those more attached to the Dutch or a mixed group have better chances. The successful Moroccan-Dutch usually mentioned the limited ties, when describing the challenges of unsuccessful peers, and related their failure to a victim blaming attitude, low level of education and SES, which was observed too by professionals:

Young Moroccan Dutch often function in their own systems and that's their limitation. (**Piet**, m, 62)

Also, differences between educational level (i.e., vocational or university) and engagement with different groups were significant: $\chi^2(2, N = 61) = 5.75$, $p < .05$. The better educated Moroccan-Dutch (18 of 41 with a university level) had not only more contacts with native Dutch, which is in line with other research (Ten Teije, Coenders, & Verkuyten, 2012), but also with people from other ethnic backgrounds. This is what professionals observed:

The Moroccan-Dutch I know who victimize themselves have a network of only Moroccan peers. (**André**, m, 26)

[9] Neighborhood and SES Social workers mentioned their disadvantaged neighborhood and multiple other problems, such as unemployed parents and lack of income or activities, when describing the negative factors. Similarly, their place of residence had impact according to both groups:

I think if you grow up in a disadvantaged family, where your mother speaks Moroccan and stays home and your father is only in the Moroccan community, and you have few ties with others and school, I think you are already 1-0 behind. (**Annemiek**, f, 31)

I always engaged more with Moroccans, I visited an Islamic school where the majority was not native. (**Samira**, f, 19)

However, there were Moroccan-Dutch who had stronger ties with the Dutch because they grew up in a native Dutch neighborhood or met many Dutch mainstreamers in their schools or as colleagues. Yet, some said to engage in public with Dutch and with co-ethnics in the private domain:

I think more with the Dutch where I work, but outside my work more with Moroccans. (**Nawal**, f, 25)

We found that the differences in SES and engagement were significant: $\chi^2(2, N = 61) = 8.07$, $p < .01$. Participants who lived in a low SES neighborhood had less contact with Dutch compared to those in better neighborhoods. There was a positive association between SES and success: $\chi^2(1, N = 61) = 3.56$, $p < .05$. The differences between SES and living either in the largest Dutch cities or elsewhere were

also significant: $\chi^2(1, N = 61) = 5.02$, $p < .05$. Those who lived outside the largest cities reported often a medium level of SES (i.e., Middle SES).

[10] Parents and parenting Social workers noticed the impact of parenting as Moroccan-Dutch parents were not always involved in social work practice and difficult to reach. Moroccan-Dutch related their success with parents' involvement in their lives. We quote here a successful male:

My parents wanted me to go to a school with only Dutch, not a mixed school. (**Samir**, m, 20)

Moroccan-Dutch said that parents of unsuccessful peers did not know what they did outdoors and did not stimulate them to study:

There is a lack of social control, parents did not know what they were doing. (**Jemel**, m, 20)

To sum up, why Moroccan-Dutch engaged more with co-ethnics had mostly to do with their negative experiences with the Dutch, emphasis of their bonding, and loyalty to family and co-ethnic community and cultural differences. Both groups argued that engaging more with Dutch, enlarging the supportive ties of Moroccan Dutch, involving their parents in activities and stimulating positive parenting contribute to their bridging.

Social competence

Social competence in the social work domain is defined as an indicator of attitudes, knowledge, and skills that enable effective cross-cultural practice (NASW, 2015). Here we define it as a set of skills and attitudes necessary for in our case professionals and Moroccan-Dutch to interact and function positively in a social context. In social science there are competing definitions of attitudes towards other people (Chaiklin, 2011). Here we refer to how people think of and view others who impact their behavior in interaction. We highlight what competence impacts their participation.

[11] Attitude towards Moroccan-Dutch What did not work in contact with Moroccan-Dutch is an attitude of faking (which occurs when a social worker is not authentic anymore and takes on a specific role in contact with the client), too much preaching or being prejudiced:

Do not treat them differently and do not be biased. (**Marieke**, f, 28)

Do not pretend as if you understand them if you do not, do not 'fake'. (**André**, m, 26)

Pointing your finger to them really makes no sense. (**Daisy**, f, 29)

These quotes represent what professionals with intensive contact with Moroccan-Dutch observed.

[12] Attitude towards the Dutch The following comment illustrates the negative stereotyping of the Dutch by Moroccan-Dutch:

The Dutch say that they are open, which is true with regard to their stereotypes, but I found them very closed. (**Warda**, f, 23)

This negative attitude towards the Dutch, which is another reason why many emphasized their bonding, does not help them in improving their participation neither in bridging ties. Both groups recommended an open-minded attitude.

[13] Competencies of Moroccan-Dutch What both found important is to help Moroccan-Dutch to develop their life skills, enlarge their networks and positive thinking (i.e., a mix of an attitude and a skill that can be trained to enhance social participation):

I always ask 'who are your friends?' 9 out of 10 times their friends

are Moroccan boys. (**Jan**, m, 48)

Stimulate them to think positively. (**Najat**, f, 24)

The skills that Moroccan-Dutch underlined to succeed dealt with how to overcome difficulties:

I think be resilient and do not fall in the trap of victimizing yourself. (**Bilal**, m, 27)

In addition, developing a positive and self-confident attitude, finishing schooling and parenting were often mentioned by Moroccan-Dutch:

Do not give up, we must surely work much harder to prove ourselves, so be it. (**Saliha**, f, 18)

Both emphasized important skills to succeed, such as being assertive, creative, open, self-confident, pro-active, patient and persistent. Moroccan-Dutch mastering such life skills were successful. Social workers advised Moroccan-Dutch to 'pick their battle' and excel in what they are good at and work harder than native Dutch peers.

[14] Competencies of professionals Professionals can avoid feeding self-exclusion when they listen carefully what Moroccan-Dutch say without judging them:

The fact that you take them seriously and listen carefully, in a reflective way, not making too much judgment. (**Jan**, m, 48)

The role that professionals could play according to Moroccan-Dutch was to give positive feedback (e.g., compliments), treat them equally, establish an open relationship of trust, motivate them to study or work hard and teach them practical skills (e.g., networking, applying for a job). To help young Moroccan-Dutch social professionals need to master certain competencies, such as being authentic, open, empathic and honest. Yet, it is difficult for professionals to guide the very unsuccessful ones:

They are streetwise, but their IQ is between 70-80. (**Hans**, m, 32)

[15] Educational achievement Since most participants related education to success, we used a χ^2 test for exploring differences and confirmed the association, $\chi^2(1, N = 61) = 27.37$, $p < .001$. Participants with a university degree were more successful (Table 7). Moreover, female Moroccan-Dutch performed better than males according to themselves:

If you look at universities, the percentage of women is much higher than the percentage of men of Moroccan origin. (**Ali**, m, 29)

However, the assumption that the females are more successful than males was not confirmed by the χ^2 test: the differences between gender and success for the group of 41 Moroccan-Dutch with a university degree and 20 with a vocational degree were not significant. It seems that educational level plays a more significant role in successful participation than gender.

[16] Relationship of trust and motivation What both groups saw as the basis for success was building a relationship of trust and motivation:

Through a pep talk, but that at the end he should do it by himself. (**Kees**, m, 54)

First build trust, so that they have the confidence in what they are able to do. (**Farid**, m, 28)

Social workers with intensive contact with Moroccan-Dutch added that investment in participation only works if both parties find it important:

Without intrinsic motivation it is like flogging a dead horse. That intrinsic motivation, we try to achieve with this big brother and sister project [note by authors: a buddy project in which young Moroccan-Dutch assist their peers who live in disadvantaged neighborhoods; www.kick-breda.nl/grote-broer], *it is a kind of a family.* (**Ilse**, f, 34)

The difference between successful and unsuccessful Moroccan-Dutch was that the former were more motivated and embraced the positive factors that stimulated their participation whereas unsuccessful peers blamed their failure on external factors. Social workers differed in how to enhance the participation of Moroccan-Dutch: those with limited contact expressed a need for more knowledge *(what do I need?)* about the backgrounds of Moroccan-Dutch to help them whereas those with intensive contact asked themselves and their clients *(what do young Moroccan-Dutch need?)* what they could do or offer to fulfill the needs of Moroccan-Dutch to succeed.

Discussion and implications

Our research goal was twofold. Firstly, we explored what according to social workers and Moroccan-Dutch impacted social participation of the latter group in the Dutch society. Professionals mentioned weak engagement, lack of role models and religious identification; Moroccan-Dutch saw the negative Dutch climate and cultural barriers as hindrances. Both underscored their stigma, discrimination, self-exclusion and poor access to social work.

Secondly, we wanted to understand how to improve the quality of social work practice by studying what role professionals play to enhance the lives of young Moroccan-Dutch. What this disadvantaged group helps to participate better is to re-build their engagement with mainstreamers, combat exclusion and enhance their competencies. Moreover, professionals with intensive contact with Moroccan-Dutch pointed to the importance of fighting exclusion by Dutch mainstreamers and victim-blaming attitudes among Moroccan-Dutch (which could lead to self-fulfilling prophecies), enlarging their networks, involving their parents in social activities, using role models, motivating them to do better and think positively.

We observed that the Moroccan-Dutch who met our criteria of being successful and also found themselves successful were more active, relied on broad supportive networks, were better educated, open to the Dutch, positive about their future within the Dutch society, intrinsically motivated to succeed and had better developed competencies than the unsuccessful ones. Yet, regardless of being successful, all are expected to participate well while facing obstacles, such as having identity issues. We argue that the social Triple C resources play distinct, complementary roles in participation of young Moroccan-Dutch, which is in line with other research (Woolley, Kol, & Bowen, 2009).

The professional's primary tasks are to contribute to a positive Dutch climate (reduce exclusion) and to extend the ties of Moroccan-Dutch; to guide notably those with a poor network (i.e., individuals whose network is limited to co-ethnics and live in a low SES and disadvantaged multicultural neighborhood) since for this group at risk for failure it is hard to participate and it may cause tensions within their family and weak belonging to the Dutch. However, to fulfill these tasks social workers should be better educated in how to broaden the social network of Moroccan-Dutch, including ties with and support from mainstreamers, as these contribute to successful participation.

Furthermore, recruiting and educating Moroccan-Dutch to become social workers and employing them in social work help co-ethnics to deal better with their challenges. Recent studies have shown that Dutch social work attracts female students of Moroccan descent (Hendriks, Van Doorn, & Van Ewijk, 2015). However, we recommend also male peers to become social workers since Moroccan-Dutch men are less successful in the Dutch society than females. Also, we

point to the relevance of the best social work practices mentioned in our research, such as the 'big brother project'.

Limitations

It remains intriguing why different Moroccan-Dutch exposed to the same threats can nevertheless differ much in outcomes. More research is needed to understand why successful Moroccan-Dutch seem not to be negatively affected by the same conditions that adversely impact their peers. Therefore, replicating our study would overcome our limitation that the samples were small and not representative: most Moroccan-Dutch studied at universities -with 29 persons who lived in Breda- and most professionals worked in the southern part of the Netherlands of whom 16 worked in Breda.

Conclusions

What hampers social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch the most are poor resources. New in our findings is that both groups differed to some extent in describing the participation thresholds: Moroccan-Dutch emphasized cultural differences and the negative Dutch climate whereas the professionals reported weak engagement of young Moroccan-Dutch with mainstreamers and lack of relevant life skills. Finally, the best interventions of social workers to empower and improve the participation of Moroccan-Dutch involve promoting inclusion by changing attitudes to reduce prejudice and exclusion, stimulating Dutch support, enhancing the intercultural competencies of social workers and skills of young Moroccan-Dutch, and helping those who struggle with their integration, and motivating them to succeed in the Dutch society, without losing ties with the Moroccan-Dutch community. To summarize our recommendation we quote a social worker:

Try to give the youth the best of both worlds. **(Ilse**, f, 34)

Table 1 *Social professionals (study 1)* Mean age = 43.7 (*SD* = 14.03) (*N* = 148)

Age distribution/N	Male 48 (32.4%)	Female 100 (67.6%)
20-25	3	14
26-30	10	13
31-35	2	10
36-40	6	6
41-45	3	10
46-50	-	8
51-55	7	15
56-60	12	13
61-65	4	9
66-70	1	2

Table 2 *Social workers (study 2)* Mean age = 38.2 (*SD* = 12.66) (*N* = 45)

Age distribution/N	Male 22 (48.9%)	Female 23 (51.1%)
20-25	1	3
26-30	6	7
31-35	2	7
36-40	2	2
41-45	1	-
46-50	1	2
51-55	4	-
56-60	3	2
61-64	2	-
Workplace		
Largest Dutch cities 15 (33.3%)[1]	7 (46.7%)	8 (43.3%)
Elsewhere 30 (66.7%)[2]	15 (50%)	15 (50%)

Note. [1]Tilburg (2), Rotterdam (8), Eindhoven (1), 's-Hertogenbosch (1), Roosendaal (1), Helmond (1), Nijmegen (1). [2]Elsewhere means working outside the largest Dutch cities where most Moroccan-Dutch live.

Table 3 *Moroccan-Dutch (study 2)* Mean age = 24.1 (*SD* = 3.75) (*N* = 61)

Age/N	Male 26 (42.6%)	Female 35 (57.4%)
18	-	2
19	-	2
20	5	1
21	4	2
22	4	2
23	3	9
24	2	2
25	-	3
26	-	3
27	5	2
28	1	-
29	1	3
30	-	1
32	-	2
33	1	-
34	-	1
Educational level		
University 41 (67.2%)	16 (39%)	25 (61%)
Vocational 20 (32.8%)	10 (50%)	10 (50%)
SES		
Low 43 (70.5%)	19 (44.2%)	24 (55.8%)
Middle 18 (29.5%)	7 (38.9%)	11 (61.1%)
Residence		
Largest Dutch cities 27 (44.3%)[1]	10 (37.1%)	17 (62.9%)
Elsewhere 34 (45.7%)[2]	16 (47.1%)	18 (52.9%)

Note. [1]Tilburg (9), Rotterdam (3), Eindhoven (3), 's-Hertogenbosch (2), Roosendaal (2), Helmond (1), Utrecht (1), Gorinchem (1), Schiedam (1), Oosterhout (1), Veenendaal (1), The Hague (1), Gouda (1). [2]Elsewhere means living outside the largest Dutch cities where most Moroccan-Dutch live, including Amsterdam, Culemborg, Ede, Leiden, Lelystad, Maassluis, Nijmegen, Zeist or Amersfoort.

Table 4 Key factors: professional's interventions to enhance participation

A Social ties	1. Work with Moroccan-Dutch role models 2. Work with Moroccan-Dutch social workers 3. Work with Moroccan-Dutch parents 4. Build broader social networks 5. Promote policy of inclusion
B Conditions	6. Invest in education and other activities 7. Learn each other's cultural background better 8. Educate in working better with diversity issues 9. Be clear about do's & don'ts 10. Build a dialogue of trust 11. Treat Moroccan-Dutch equally 12. Strengthen their position and confront them in a positive way 13. Give personal assistance
C Professional skills	14. Give positive feedback and accept who they are 15. Listen and ask what Moroccan-Dutch want 16. Be present and prevent problems/risks 17. Motivate/stimulate 18. Be open 19. Be authentic
D Social skills	20. Work hard and structured 21. Strengthen talents/skills 22. Be (more) active 23. Help to integrate by enlarging their social network

Table 5 Social resource factors according to young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers

	Young Moroccan-Dutch	Social workers
Climate	1. Dutch climate	2. Social engagement
Joint	3. Exclusion & inclusion 4. Identification & role models 5. Stigma & equal treatment 6. Self-exclusion & success stories 7. Access to social work	
Capital	9. Neighborhood & SES	8. Social ties (co-ethnics / mainstreamers / mixed group)
Joint	10. Parents & parenting	
Competence	12. Attitude towards the Dutch	11. Attitude towards Moroccan-Dutch
Joint	13. Competencies Moroccan-Dutch 14. Competencies professionals 15. Educational achievement 16. Relationship of trust & motivation	

Table 6 Engagement and successful/unsuccessful participation

	More co-ethnics		More mainstream Dutch		More mixed	
	M	F	M	F	M	F
Successful	5	16	5	8	4	2
Unsuccessful	12	7	-	2	-	-
Total per gender	17	23	5	10	4	2
Total all	40 (65.6%)		15 (24.6%)		6 (9.8%)	

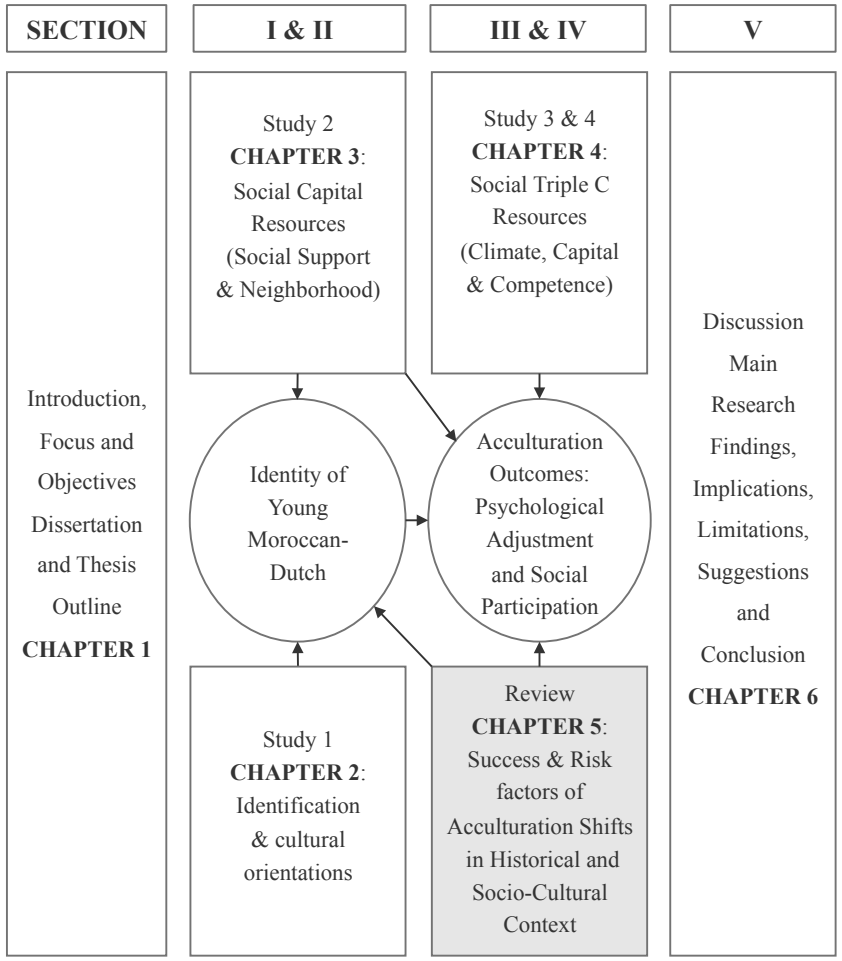
Table 7 Success and education

Total all*	**Vocational**			**Universities**		
	M	20*	F	M	41*	F
Successful	1		3	13		23
Not successful	9		7	3		2
Total per gender	10		10	16		25

Section IV

Acculturation Shifts in
Historical and Social-Cultural context
and Outcomes of Young Moroccan-Dutch

Figure 1 *Overview of the Dissertation*



5.

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.

Keywords: Migration, Moroccan-Dutch, acculturation, adjustment, social participation, integration.

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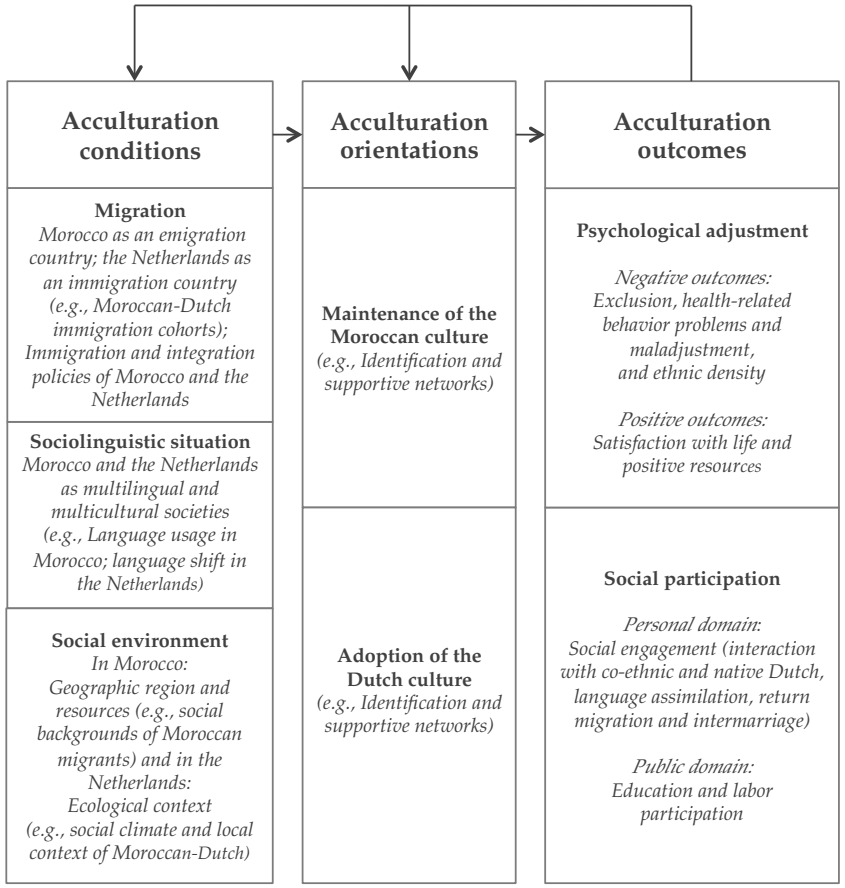
Introduction

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 dropouts (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 mil-

lion 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/Ohv8fxd-6dto). 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 al 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 *dārija*, 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 re-build 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 (Gijsberts & 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 Network 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, & 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 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, & Gijsberts, 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, 2018, in press). 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, & Gijsberts, 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., 2018, in press). 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 indi-

viduals 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., 2018, in press). 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.

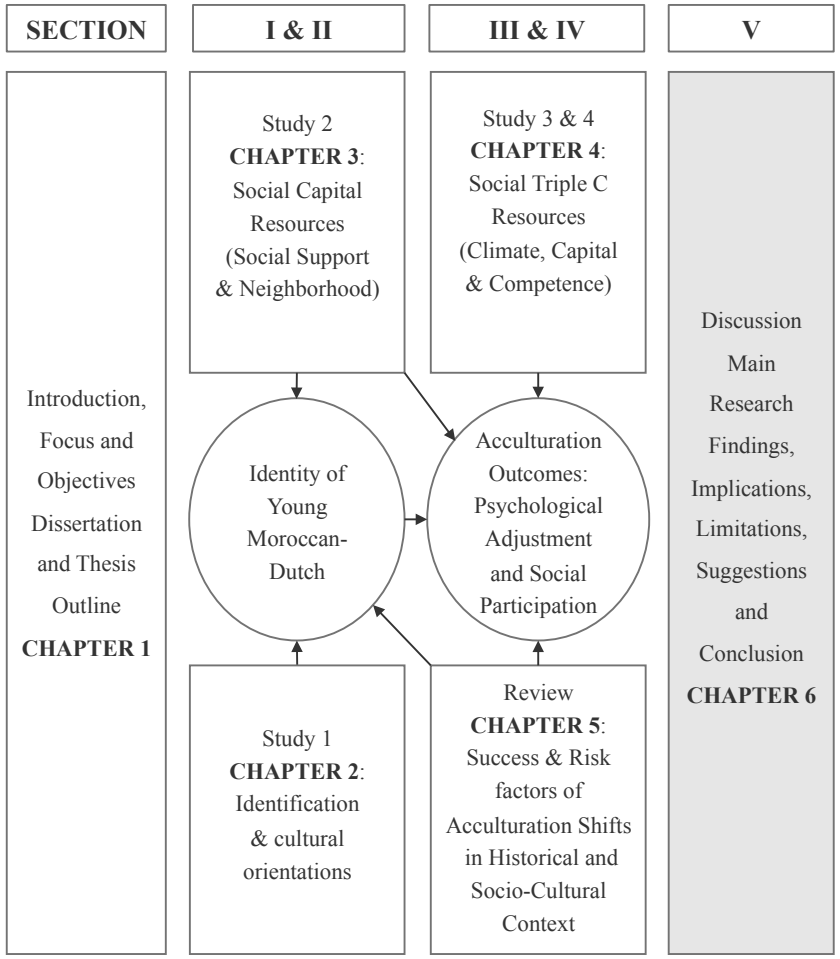
Conclusion

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.

Figure 1 *Overview of the Dissertation*



6. General Discussion

This dissertation investigated the acculturation process and outcomes of the offspring of Moroccan men who arrived in 1960s in the Netherlands. The leading question of this thesis was what impacts young Moroccan-Dutch while acculturating and participating in the Dutch society and who or what according to the social science literature and the two studied samples (i.e., young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers) empowers or hinders their social participation. The main objective was to find the most relevant and critical factors behind the identity and participation patterns of young Moroccan-Dutch that had impact on their acculturation context and explore how social workers can improve their clients' social participation in the Dutch society. In total 258 young Moroccan-Dutch (86 via in-depth interviews and 172 via a self-completion questionnaire) and 193 social professionals (148 via an open questionnaire and 45 via in-depth interviews) participated in four studies. Overall, the results of these four empirical studies and the review suggest that this thesis can be summarized roughly in four main findings as discussed in this fifth section, Chapter 6. In addition, this last chapter pays attention to the implications and limitations of this research, followed by some suggestions for further research and ends with a conclusion.

Main Research Findings

In the first section, Chapter 2, we investigated to which extent young Moroccan-Dutch, when describing their identities, are oriented towards the Dutch and/or Moroccan community compared to their native Dutch and native Moroccan peers. In-depth interviews and

the Twenty Statements Test (Kuhn & McPartland, 1954), in which participants filled in 'I am...' 20 times, were used as qualitative measures for this purpose. We also studied how the acculturation orientation of young Moroccan-Dutch and the way they use and value their languages and social network participation is associated in both cultures. The first finding is that *identification* (i.e., how they describe themselves as an individual or as a group and view their double culture identity) and their *cultural orientation* towards their double cultural backgrounds play a significant role in how young Moroccan-Dutch define and value themselves and to whom they feel more attached.

In the second section, in Chapter 3, we explored how young Moroccan-Dutch with more co-ethnic support differed in identity and outcomes compared to co-ethnics with more Dutch support and what role neighborhood played in their identification and outcomes. We used a quantitative approach and developed a mediation model to seek answers for our two research questions of the second empirical study. In this model identity was a mediating variable between family and community level resources as antecedents and acculturation outcomes. The second main finding is that different access of young Moroccan-Dutch to *social capital resources* (i.e., supportive networks among family, friends and neighborhood) influences their identity formation, which has as a key factor impact on their acculturation outcomes.

In the third section, Chapter 4, we examined in two studies who or what hinders or improves social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch according to themselves and mainstream Dutch social workers. We conducted in-depth interviews that produced quantifiable data, which we used for calculating chi-square tests to investigate possible links between different variables, such as SES and social engagement. Our third finding is that their participation relates with their *social Triple C resources* (climate, capital and competence), whereby these resources on three different levels (macro, meso and micro) have impact on the acculturation outcomes of young Moroccan-Dutch.

In the fourth section, Chapter 5, we discussed from a historical perspective, based on insights from notably the immigration and acculturation literature, the impact of acculturation conditions and orientations on the acculturation outcomes of Moroccan-Dutch. At the end of this Chapter 5 we summed up six important factors that played salient roles (negative or positive) in their outcomes. The fourth finding is that in the acculturation context of Moroccan-Dutch those *success and risk factors* on three domains (i.e., migration, sociolinguistic situation and social environment) continue to impact the identity development and social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch. These four main findings are discussed below more in details.

Identification The exploration of the double cultural identity of young Moroccan-Dutch in Chapter 2 has resulted in two insights. The first involves the strengths of ties within the Moroccan and Dutch communities and their associations between their cultural orientation and communication and participation in both cultures. Their cultural identity refers to the positive feelings (of pride) or negative feelings (of value clashes) they associate with their dual cultural heritage (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005). We highlight the two terms that we have used frequently throughout this thesis: culture and identity. While there are many ways to define culture, it refers here to a group of people who share a way of life (e.g., Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002). Also, culture in social work is often referred as the totality of ways being passed on from generation to generation (NASW, 2015). A group that shares a way of life and/or looking at the world also shares an identity (Weaver & Mendelson, 2008). Identity itself is -as a construct- difficult to fully comprehend since there exists no universally shared definition in the social science and intercultural communication literature (Ashmore, Deaux, & McLaughlin-Volpe, 2004; Jameson, 2007; Schwartz

et al., 2012). Ethnic identity refers here to ethnically or culturally based practices, values and identifications (Schwartz et al., 2013). The identification with either or two groups, who are in contact with each other for a longer period, has impact on their acculturation process and participation (Liebkind, 2006; Phinney, 1990).

To assess how young Moroccan-Dutch identified themselves in our first empirical study they filled in the Twenty Statements Test by completing twenty times the sentence "I am..." before starting the in-depth interviews with each one personally. This self-identification or self-categorization is widely recognized as the heart of collective identity and social identity theory (SIT) (e.g., Brewer & Gardner, 1996). These two theories can shed more light on the concept of identity. According to collective identity (Ashmore et al., 2004) and social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979) theory, a person has many choices for identifying or categorizing himself or herself as a member of a particular group.

However, SIT makes a distinction between personal identity, which includes for example the individual competences and personal values or ideas, and social identity, which includes the self-concept that is based on membership of a social group (Luthanen & Crocker, 1992). What is fundamental to SIT is that social relations between people become more salient when they are compared between the in-group and the out-group (Ashmore et al., 2004). According to the social identity theory a member who is connected to a group gives that particular person a sense of belonging that leads to a positive feeling (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Also, within social identity theory there is an assumption that people like to accentuate their differences in interpersonal contact and compare themselves with others to define their membership to a social group (Van Oudenhoven & Eisses, 1998). When people categorize themselves in the same group, however, it does not mean that they agree about how they label this grouping the best.

In our research we found that the ethnic (Moroccan-Islamic) identity of young Moroccan-Dutch was most salient. Hence, compared to a reference group of native Dutch and native Moroccans they were more proud of their ethnic identity and had also more positive feelings about the Moroccan community and culture than about the Dutch community and culture.

Cultural Orientation We have used Berry's model in this thesis, which is dominant in the acculturation literature, to get a better grasp on how different orientations in mainstream society relate to variation in outcomes and ethnic identity of the Moroccan-Dutch immigrant youth. This two-dimensional model defines four orientations that have an impact on identity development. In this model people differ in cultural orientations towards the ethnic and mainstream cultures that may result in separation, assimilation, marginalization or integration. Immigrants, who maintain strongly their ethnic culture, separate whereas persons, who identify only with the host culture, assimilate. Individuals who refrain from both cultures marginalize and people who identify with both integrate.

In Chapter 2 most young Moroccan-Dutch reported to be culturally more attached to the Moroccan culture and community than to mainstream Dutch culture and community. With regard to the associations between their orientation and language usage and social network participation in both (Moroccan/Dutch) community and cultures we observed that in the language domain, the group is fully assimilated and has adopted the Dutch language as dominant. However, despite the fact that Dutch has become their first language within one generation and is more dominant in daily life than the spoken language of their parents (Moroccan-Arabic or Berber), they nevertheless felt themselves more Moroccan (and also Muslim) than Dutch. They felt more at home in the Moroccan community because of its perceived warmth. As a consequence their social network was limited to co-ethnic ties and their participation in the Dutch society low. Also, many dreamt of a future in Morocco.

This feeling of being Moroccan rather than Dutch strongly characterized the social and cultural identity of young Moroccan-Dutch. Cultural identity itself involves various aspects of human life and is one of the two most commonly studied dimensions of identity; the other one is personal identity (Schwartz et al., 2012). The diversity among people, that includes all the demographic variables of race, social class, religion, nationality and sexual identity, contributes to cultural identity. These dimensions, such as gender, age and ethnicity, too are all interconnected. Depending on the self-description of how an identity can be perceived, particular aspects, for example the cultural, ethnic or gender background, are more (or less) pronounced than others. In our research the cultural and religious backgrounds of young Moroccan-Dutch were more prominent than other identity markers. 'I am Moroccan' and 'I am Muslim' were one of the two most mentioned markers when describing their social identity using TST. This is in line with earlier research (Ketner, 2008).

When young Moroccan-Dutch compared the mainstream Dutch and Moroccan cultures, they praised the Dutch openness, but blamed the Dutch for their negative attitude towards Moroccan-Dutch and stereotyping from which they suffered. This led to a situation that many young Moroccan-Dutch were not motivated to participate in the Dutch community. The negative Dutch attitude and stereotypes have led them even to reinforce their orientation to co-ethnics and emphasize more their Moroccan and Muslim background. This emphasis is in line with the rejection-identification model of Branscombe et al. (1999), which predicts a more salient ethnic identity under more negative conditions.

Social Capital Resources In Chapter 3 we found that as a consequence of the strong ties of Moroccan-Dutch with co-ethnics, their social engagement with the Dutch and social participation in the Dutch society were low. These research findings based on a sample of 172 Moroccan-Dutch students underlined the outcomes in Chapter 2 where we observed a low participation in the Dutch community among our much smaller Moroccan-Dutch sample. However, in Chapter 3 we discussed in particular how different access to two social capital resources (supportive networks and neighborhood) and social identity of young Moroccan-Dutch associated with their outcomes. The result was that both resources are strong predictors of adjustment of young Moroccan-Dutch in the Dutch society. A path analysis showed that Moroccan-Dutch youth who engaged more with mainstreamers and had broader social networks in terms of having more Dutch mainstream or ethnic diverse ties, including the so-called 'bridging ties' that went beyond their family or co-ethnic friends, participated more often successfully in the Dutch society than those who were more oriented to co-ethnics and relied merely on their bonding ties within the Moroccan community. Whether social capital is indeed the missing link in achieving social cohesion or is an obstacle to integrate within mainstream community is also studied elsewhere, such as among Moroccans in London (Cherti, 2008).

Our assumption that young Moroccan-Dutch who live in an ethnically diverse and poor neighborhood have more bonding ties and show low participation in the mainstream Dutch community was confirmed. Living in such ethnically diverse neighborhoods is often related to low social capital resources (e.g., Putnam, 2007). Also, it should be noted that these significant links between high bonding and low participation in the Dutch society could reinforce each other in both directions. Similar significant relationships between living in a low SES neighborhood and labor participation were found elsewhere. For example, low-income residents who live in poor neighborhoods in the Dutch city of The Hague have more problems in finding work because they rely on other disadvantaged neighbors for job information and access (Pinkster, 2009).

In addition, those young Moroccan-Dutch adults who lived in such low-income neighborhoods and refrained from the mainstream Dutch were more likely to fail in participation within the Dutch

society due to a lack of a diverse network. Their strong emphasis on the Moroccan-Islamic identity and their dominant co-ethnic support on which they relied associated positively to exclusion problems. Eventually, as a result it associates negatively with their participation and well-being within the Dutch society. Our research findings in Chapter 3 also indicated that living in an ethnically diverse and poor neighborhood is positively associated to co-ethnic participation and negatively to mainstream Dutch participation.

Moreover, an important conclusion from the quantitative analysis of our data in Chapter 3 is that most young Moroccan-Dutch adults are either oriented towards co-ethnic or mainstream Dutch culture and ties. Only a small number achieved successful integration (combining two cultures) leading to positive life outcomes, which came as a surprise as this outcome pointed exactly to the other direction than predicted. The orientation to the Moroccan culture and community prevailed among most young Moroccan-Dutch, up to two-thirds. This orientation of Moroccan-Dutch to co-ethnic ties confirmed that the identification with the majority group and minority group can be either strong or weak (Phinney, 1990). In our case the identification of young Moroccan-Dutch with mainstream Dutch was weak whereas with co-ethnics it was strong.

This strong identification of young Moroccan-Dutch to co-ethnics is mostly linked to positive and negative life outcomes (e.g., Schwartz, 2005). In our research we found that the dichotomous preferences for either the Moroccan or Dutch culture are related to their acculturation success or failure in participation (i.e., how well they feel and perform in the Dutch society). These two acculturation paths generate opposite outcomes in their sociocultural and psychological adjustment, whereby young Moroccan-Dutch who engage more with the Dutch and have more supportive Dutch support participate much better in the Dutch society than those who separate. We observed that those who engaged more with Dutch and had more Dutch social support showed better outcomes in psychological and sociocultural adjustment compared to peers who engaged more with co-ethnics. This observation challenges the dominant view in the acculturation literature that the integration option, a mixed (double) orientation, leads to best acculturation outcomes (Berry et al., 2006).

Social Triple C Resources In Chapter 4 we examined what according to young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers are the success and failure factors in social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch. We found that 'social Triple C resources', which stands for Climate, Capital and Competence, on three levels (macro, meso and micro) have an enormous impact on their acculturation and social participation. Young Moroccan-Dutch in transition within the Dutch society, who face acculturation challenges and problems, are often confronted with low or a lack of positive resources, such as the negative Dutch climate or attitude, low SES neighborhood and low engagement with the mainstream Dutch or poorly developed social competences.

These findings underscored the results in Chapter 3 where we already discussed the impact of the two studied social capital resources on the identity formation and adjustment of young Moroccan-Dutch. Apart from weak social resources, our data revealed that low participation is also related to the negative experiences and expectations among around a third of the young Moroccan-Dutch in contact with the Dutch that could lead to self-exclusion due to the self-fulfilling prophecies.

Young Moroccan-Dutch who engaged more with co-ethnics and had limited social resources experienced more negative feelings and exclusion in contact with the Dutch and were less successful in schools and labor market than co-ethnics who had a broader social network and positive experiences with the Dutch. Furthermore, we have found support, using chi-square tests, that the better educated young Moroccan-Dutch who did not live in a dominant low SES neighborhood and engaged either more with the Dutch or a mixed

(multicultural) group, were more likely to participate successfully. Yet, according to Moroccan-Dutch and social workers this observation does not prevent Moroccan-Dutch youth who do well in schooling from being confronted as a whole group with the same participation obstacles in the Dutch society. However, we noticed that those individuals who were more active and intrinsically more motivated to participate in the Dutch society had better developed competencies and created more chances for successful participation than the unsuccessful peers.

In the section where the implications are addressed we will discuss further what social workers and young Moroccan-Dutch can do in order to change positively the social resource factors at three levels that contribute to successful participation of young Moroccan-Dutch with a disadvantaged position.

Success and Risk Factors in the Acculturation Context of Moroccan-Dutch Chapter 5 described the historical and social-cultural context of the acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch in the Moroccan and Dutch society. In addition, we investigated in this context what success and risk factors played a role in their acculturation outcomes. Firstly, a modified model of Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver (2006) was used to present the historical overview of the acculturation context of Moroccan-Dutch. This model helped us to determine how their acculturation conditions related to their acculturation orientations and outcomes. Secondly, we wanted to explore what factors had a positive or negative influence on their outcomes on three levels (macro, meso and micro).

We integrate here all the important factors from our four empirical studies and one review what influenced the acculturation outcomes of young Moroccan-Dutch positively or negatively. We found six factors as most critical of which two factors on macro level impacted negatively the acculturation of Moroccan-Dutch and their offspring. The first factor, which is influential from the start of migration of Moroccans to the Netherlands, is formed by the contrasting views and policies on migration of Morocco and the Netherlands. The second factor is a lack of understanding the complex cultural and linguistic diversity of the Moroccan-Dutch by Dutch policy makers, which for decades led to a continued assimilation policy of *Arabization* of Moroccans abroad. The third factor on meso level that hindered their acculturation process is related to the low level of resources of Moroccan-Dutch due to their poor social and economic backgrounds. We conclude that these three factors are all risk factors with a negative impact on the acculturation of young Moroccan-Dutch. They are important determinants in variation in acculturation outcomes. Yet, they do not always explain the many disparities -compared to mainstream Dutch- that still remain as we discuss below.

Whether the remaining three factors play either a success or risk factor strongly depends on how Moroccan-Dutch are attached to both cultures and how they deal personally with different participation obstacles, such as the negative Dutch attitude towards them and the victim-blaming attitude. The fourth and fifth factors refer respectively to the degree of their social participation in public domain (e.g., labor participation) and participation barriers they perceive (e.g., exclusion) within the Dutch society. In this thesis we found that young Moroccan-Dutch who were more open to the mainstream Dutch, engaged more with them and were highly intrinsically motivated to prove otherwise had the best chances to adjust well and to participate successfully. They were also better educated. This was in contrast with their peers who were not always motivated to improve their situation and contributed so to their self-exclusion by separating themselves. This latter group faced more risk factors that may lead to all kind of behavioral problems. The sixth factor on a micro-level had to do with how well their life skills and social competencies are developed to deal with participation challenges and to overcome cultural differences with the Dutch mainstreamers. Those young Moroccan-Dutch who had well developed skills and

competences and showed more resilience in dealing with difficult situations while acculturating were more likely to succeed in the Dutch society than those who were lacking or had poorly developed skills and competences.

In sum, the three first factors have indeed worsened their disadvantaged backgrounds and acculturation process at a group level (e.g., low SES). However, whether all these six factors are negative or positive for the outcomes on an individual basis depends on the way each young Moroccan-Dutch deals with participation problems, which reflect on how he or she identifies with co-ethnics or mainstream Dutch, having mostly an orientation on either the Dutch or Moroccan culture. The variation in mastering important life skills and their attitudes and orientations towards participation obstacles and mainstream Dutch –leading to isolate from or reject the mainstream society and believe in self-fulfilling prophecies on one hand or being resilient and determined to succeed on the other hand- explain perhaps for the most part why they show such divergent acculturation outcomes.

Implications The shift from a welfare state to a participative society has necessitated Dutch citizens to become less dependent on the government for their well-being and more responsible to participate to the Dutch society. As a result of this new policy many services in the field of care and well-being have been decentralized, notably since 2015, to municipalities. Nowadays, the Dutch administration on local level decides who gets social or financial support for their participation in the local community. This transition is consistent with the underlying idea that the Dutch society is 'maakbaar' (a Dutch word referring to the idea that a good society can be made by adequate social engineering) (Van de Vijver & Arends-Tóth, 2001). However, this fundamental shift that transformed the Netherlands to a pedagogical civil society has a significant impact on the way participation of minorities, such as the Moroccan-Dutch group, can be improved. Below we mention what implications our four main research findings have in practice and what six stakeholders could do to enhance the situation of young Moroccan-Dutch.

First, social professionals working with young Moroccan-Dutch 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 with them a sustainable relationship based on trust. For establishing such relationships social workers need not only to have more knowledge about the complex situation of young Moroccan-Dutch as described in this thesis (e.g., identification processes) to understand better their acculturation context, but also master a minimum set of intercultural competencies, such as cultural empathy. Social workers, who work in disadvantaged neighborhoods where a high density of Moroccan-Dutch live, should not underestimate the complexity of acculturation of the second generation Moroccan-Dutch. They should be informed on this topic and their backgrounds when they want to work with this youth and enhance their participation.

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). Furthermore, social workers underlined to avoid self-exclusion that is related to the victim-blaming attitudes and self-fulfilling prophecies within the Moroccan-Dutch community. Involvement of their parents in social activities and use of role models were regarded by social workers as very important to improve the participation of Moroccan-Dutch youth. What social workers also emphasized was challenging young Moroccan-Dutch

to do better, stimulate their positive thinking and share with them more knowledge about the Dutch and the Moroccan culture and, last but not least, treat them equally.

Second, schools should pay more attention to the risk factors of this particular group and teach young Moroccan-Dutch relevant competences, such as dealing with their acculturation challenges and networking. However, this message to deal better with a diverse school population in the Netherlands is not merely directed to the Dutch primary and secondary schools, but also to colleges and universities. One of their biggest responsibilities and challenges is to assist these first migrant students in a disadvantaged position and avoid the high school drop-outs, finish successfully their schooling and help them to find work by teaching them the necessary skills and enlarging their network with the Dutch. We observed in our research that they are worse off compared to the native Dutch peers, because they live often more in a low SES neighborhood and have weak social resources and networks. Third, the Dutch administration can do much more to implement an effective policy of inclusion at local and national level and combat the negative hindrances, such as 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 can consider conducting a positive job policy that gives young Moroccan-Dutch equal 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 of implementing this policy. The fifth stakeholder, the Moroccan-Dutch community, should promote positive parenting, activate young Moroccan-Dutch to work harder than mainstream Dutch (to overcome various obstacles including discrimination), stimulate their ambitions and teach them to be resilient. Also, working closer with other stakeholders and organizing sessions or events with young Moroccan-Dutch to address topics that are in the interest of young Moroccan-Dutch, such as how to deal with participation obstacles and cultural differences, lead to improvement of the situation of their off-spring.

The mainstream Dutch citizens form our last stakeholder. 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.

Finally, all stakeholders should take into consideration that some critical factors, especially on the macro level, that from the start of migration of the first Moroccans to the Netherlands impacted the acculturation process are hardly changeable in the short term, such as the negative Dutch climate towards migrants. Therefore, young Moroccan-Dutch should not focus too much on these factors as they still influence their acculturation process and social participation and continue to do so for at least the next two generations. However, many other critical factors on meso and micro level as discussed in this thesis can be positively changed in the short term when the six mentioned stakeholders join their efforts and actions to enhance the acculturation outcomes of young Moroccan-Dutch.

Limitations The first important limitation of studies described in this thesis is that our samples sizes (of young Moroccan-Dutch and social professionals) were small and not representative to generalize our results. In addition, the statistical power of significant links and differences that we have found between different studied variables is limited as our sample size was small. Most of the Moroccan-Dutch participants that we involved in our studies had a university education and most of the social workers worked in the southern part of the Netherlands. The Moroccan-Dutch samples, who were higher

educated, do not represent all young Moroccan-Dutch. However, our findings indicate that their educational level does not protect them from participation problems in the Dutch society. Our data suggest that when this successful group, in terms of their high schooling, is confronted by such barriers to participate it can be assumed that the situation is even worse among co-ethnic peers who have a lower educational level or are school drop-outs.

The second limitation with regard to in particular our second empirical study is that we collected online quantitative data, but could not always control who completed the questionnaire despite the fact that we mailed each one personally. The third limitation may be related to the geographical location where we have conducted our interviews and spread the questionnaires. In the Netherlands young Moroccan-Dutch have said to feel more Moroccan. However, it remains unclear what the outcome was if the questionnaires would have been administered to Moroccan-Dutch who were in Morocco for a holiday or visit their family and interviewed there. Most of the people are not aware of their own cultural identity until they meet people who are culturally different or leave their comfort zone (e.g., Weaver, 2014; Weaver & Mendelson, 2008). For those people who travel abroad or leave their comfort zone and meet people with other identities it can lead to fine-tuning of their identity. It may be the case that most young Moroccan-Dutch, born and raised in Holland, who think of themselves being more Moroccan than Dutch in their behavior and mentality in the Netherlands could have been showed exactly the opposite when they are in Morocco. This limitation, however, is not limited to young Moroccan-Dutch as this applies for many other migrant groups that leave their host country to visit their country of origin for a short or longer period of time.

Some Suggestions for Further Research In our research we found support for the notion that in the collectivistic societies and groups identity is more based on the social network to which one belongs socially and culturally, whereas in individualistic societies identity seems to be more personal and depends on individual achievements. The collectivistic orientation prevailed among Moroccan-Dutch when we classified all the self-descriptors as agentic or communal. While agency is a predictor of fulfilling self-interests and individual achievement and success, communion is a predictor of involvement in social relations and interests in others (Abele & Wojciszke, 2007). This outcome is in line with how people can differ in the way they describe their identity: either more personal or individual-oriented or more social or collective-oriented (Triandis, 1989).

Several studies have examined the concepts of collective identity in relation to communication, especially in the domains of intercultural and business communication (e.g., Feghali, 1997; Hofstede, 2001; Jameson, 2007; Jandt, 2004). Since the values are deeply rooted and hidden in our subconscious, and form the essence of our cultural identity, they are unlikely to change easily compared to attitudes in the process of acculturation (Arends-Tóth & Van de Vijver, 2006). Previous studies indicated that basic cultural values have more permanent and significant impact on how people think and behave, in particular when compared to related concepts such as needs, preferences and attitudes (Schwartz, 1994). The assumption is even made that values are more fundamental within a person's makeup and that values are solid determinants of attitudes and behavior. Additionally, values have always been important to scholars exploring the identity of an individual and the individual's relationship to groups and society; values are important indicators of one's ties to a group or sense of belonging (Phinney & Ong, 2007).

The fact that underlying values, dimensions or beliefs motivate the behavior of people (Hofstede, 2001; Trompenaars & Hampden-Turner, 1998) is also observed among young Moroccan-Dutch in our research who try to link up with the host society. Some shared values by young Moroccan-Dutch and native Dutch peers, such as openness, were differently interpreted when we asked to describe what these meant for them in daily life. For example, *openness* was

among Moroccan-Dutch strongly associated with hospitality (be welcome and kind to strangers) whereas for Dutch it was linked to honesty (be direct and tell what you think). The different meaning of some shared values also explains why Moroccan-Dutch, tough they speak fluently Dutch, may experience problems in adapting their communication style to the mainstream culture. This outcome, where meanings of the same values as perceived depend on their cultural background and preferences, is in line with the individual-collectivist dimension that predicts whether people prefer either direct communication or indirect communication (Brew & Cairns, 2004).

In the collectivist cultures we see often that indirect communication is dominant. The use of indirect communication with the family members, such as parents, and their engagement outdoors with the hosts who use mainly the direct communication, such as the Dutch peers and native social professionals, can cause confusion among Moroccan-Dutch youth. It may also jeopardize their acculturation as their culturally determined communication can be misunderstood in a dominant individualistic society. It should be noted that our research findings suggest that intercultural interactions and contact with members of the host country along with necessary conditions, such as cultural empathy, awareness and appreciation of cultural differences associate with social participation of young Moroccan-Dutch.

Individuals who communicate in a direct and open manner have to reflect more on their identity, because they get more challenged and inspired by hearing new or other ideas, opinions, views and so forth. This process of 'open' communication may lead at the end to mutual influence, mutual understanding, creativity, change or even loss of certain aspects of one's own identity, depending on the extent to which the individuals perceive it. This leads to creating new relationships with new members outside their group. The opposite of this open communication is limiting the contact and interference with members of the host culture to the minimum and separate.

In Chapter 4 we have observed that Moroccan-Dutch who found open-mindedness important, (i.e., being open towards an out-group and different cultural norms and values) were more successful than those who separated themselves or were closed-minded. People who are open-minded are willing to share their views or discuss their conflicts, which sometimes is due to the cultural differences (Tjosvold, 2002). The degree of being open-minded or closed-minded, such as being tolerant or not tolerant, may result for example in having different amount of contact with hosts (e.g., Van de Vijver, Breugelmans, & Schalk-Soekar, 2008). Viewed from this angle we may link open-mindedness with people who are in favor of multicultural experience (Leung, Maddux, Galinsky, & Chiu, 2008) and closed-mindedness with people who are more ethnocentric (Van de Vijver, 2001). Hence, there is a relationship between open and closed-mindedness: people who are closed-minded show less tolerance compared with open-minded people (Hunt & Miller, 1968). More open-minded assumes more contacts with hosts.

Although we found in chapter 2 that the preferred communication style among Moroccan-Dutch, which includes verbal and non-verbal aspects, associates with how they engage with Dutch mainstreamers and how they participate in the Dutch society new research is scarce concerning the study of the linkage between acculturation and communication (e.g., Lakey, 2003; Van den Berg & Jiang, 1998). Future research should focus more on studying this linkage among non-western immigrant youth, such as young Moroccan-Dutch, in a disadvantaged position as this is strongly related to what is essential of one's participation in the host society. Finally, we also recommend doing more in-depth research to understand why successful young Moroccan-Dutch seem not to be negatively affected by the same conditions that adversely impact their peers. This new research should not only examine what they describe as success factors, but also what they can do to contribute to successful participation of peers who still perceive difficulties.

Finally, it would be interesting to compare our findings of what native Dutch social workers and young Moroccan-Dutch both view as critical factors for social participation, which according to them hinder or improve the situation of young Moroccan-Dutch, with the views of Moroccan-Dutch social workers who also work with these young Moroccan-Dutch adults.

Conclusion

Our research findings suggest that young Moroccan-Dutch and social workers should both invest in improving the social resources, such as enhancing social engagement of young Moroccan-Dutch with the Dutch mainstreamers by enlarging their social networks. An additional focus should be to combat the negative Dutch climate and attitude, such as exclusion and negative stereotypes, and teach young Moroccan-Dutch relevant life skills, such as networking and being resilient, to overcome the possible cultural and participation barriers. Finally, the best intervention for social workers who work with this bicultural group to contribute to their successful participation lies in strengthening their social resources.

Summary

In this thesis we focused on young Moroccan-Dutch who study or make their first steps in the labor market and social workers engaging with these youngsters. We studied not only the acculturation process of young Moroccan-Dutch, but also how social workers can make a difference for many Moroccan-Dutch youth with a disadvantaged position who perceive participation barriers in the Dutch society. To understand what challenges they face on their acculturation path and who or what enhances their social participation according to themselves and social workers we conducted four empirical studies as described more in-depth in this thesis.

In our first study we examined to what extent Moroccan-Dutch (N = 25) between 15 and 32 years are oriented towards the Dutch and Moroccan community when describing their identities. We compared their orientations with young native Dutch (N = 20) and Moroccan peers (N = 25). The *Twenty Statements Test* and in-depth interviews were used as instruments to find out what young Moroccan-Dutch have in common with or differ from these two native peers. Our analysis showed the double orientation of Moroccan-Dutch towards the Dutch and Moroccan community. The results indicated that most young Moroccan-Dutch emphasized more their Moroccan-Islamic culture than the Dutch culture. Although they praised the Dutch openness, which they lacked within the Moroccan community, they were more proud of their Moroccan identity compared to their Dutch identity and also strongly attached to Islamic faith. We also studied how their acculturation orientation is associated with their communication (notably language usage) and participation in both communities. Though their Dutch language is dominant, they felt most at home in the Moroccan community, largely because of its

perceived warmth and because they suffered from negative stereotyping by Dutch. They did not feel motivated to participate in the Dutch community and many Moroccan-Dutch dreamt of a future in Morocco. We concluded that despite positive improvements, such as school success, young Moroccan-Dutch still face negative outcomes, such as prejudice, that jeopardize their social participation in the Dutch community. Their orientation on the Moroccan community is reinforced by the negative Dutch view. These research findings reveal some communication and participation problems this group experiences.

In our second study we examined how different access to social capital (supportive networks among family, friends, and neighborhood) and social identity of Moroccan-Dutch students (N = 172) aged 17 to 33 years are associated with their acculturation outcomes. The research findings confirmed what we already observed with a much smaller sample in the first study. Young Moroccan-Dutch emphasized more their bonding ties (with family and other co-ethnics) than their bridging ties (mainstream Dutch). A path analysis showed that those with a stronger Moroccan-Islamic identity had more negative outcomes and less contact with mainstream Dutch. Co-ethnic support was related negatively to mainstream identity, but positively to co-ethnic ties and perceived exclusion problems in contact with Dutch. Conversely, Dutch support was negatively associated with ethnic identity and exclusion, but positively with Dutch ties and well-being. Participants had an orientation on either the Dutch or Moroccan culture. Based on our results of our second study we concluded that young Moroccan-Dutch do not pursue integration (combining two cultures), and that those who adjust well had more supportive Dutch and social networks, felt and did much better in the Dutch society than those who separated.

In our third and fourth study, we investigated respectively the views of Dutch social professionals and young Moroccan-Dutch on success and failure factors in social participation of the latter group in the Netherlands. In the third study, professionals (N = 148) emphasized ties and life skills. In the fourth study, we compared perspectives on participation via in-depth interviews with Moroccan-Dutch (N = 61), aged 18 to 34 years, and Dutch social workers (N = 45), aged 20 to 64 years. Both groups emphasized inclusion, integration, schooling, skills, working harder, positive feedback, relationship of trust and motivation. However, stigmatization, victim-blaming attitude, poor parenting, weak skills, limited ties and access to social work hampered participation. Weak Dutch engagement was due to exclusion according to professionals and to cultural barriers according to Moroccan-Dutch. We found significant differences in engagement with co-ethnics, native Dutch or a mixed group, education, SES and between successful and unsuccessful Moroccan-Dutch. Professionals advised not to focus on the anti-immigrant climate as this is resistant to short-term change but underlined combatting exclusion. Moroccan-Dutch respected professionals who supported them unconditionally.

We ended this thesis with a review where we used research findings on migration and acculturation research to examine the historical and social-cultural acculturation context of Moroccan-Dutch. When Moroccan laborers and their families started migrating to the Netherlands from the 1960s the Dutch administration at national, regional and local level had no integration policy upon their arrival. However, when most first generation Moroccan-Dutch men worked longer than anticipated and their families joined them to reside in the Netherlands too the Dutch authorities favored a multicultural policy. It was 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 changed to assimilation policy, which reinforced the negative factors, such as exclusion, segregation and low social capital resources. Compared to other non-western migrants in the Netherlands, Moroccan-Dutch still score high on some vital participation

domains (e.g., education), but also high on risk factors (e.g., unemployment and health). Studying these factors related to migration, sociolinguistic situation and social environment contribute to a better understanding how acculturation changes impact their adjustment as those factors form strong predictive indicators of having success or problems in participating in the Dutch society.

The main conclusion of our research findings is that social resources have a huge impact on acculturation outcomes on three different levels (Climate, Capital and Competence), which are related to their migration, social backgrounds and double cultural identity, and the way they deal with their identity issues and participation problems. Also, a lack of positive resources among Moroccan-Dutch community is negative for their participation degree in the Dutch society. Therefore, social workers, who work with young Moroccan-Dutch and want to contribute to successful participation, should be aware of how to help them avoid the critical risk factors that this youth face daily and enhance the positive factors that lead to successful participation within the Dutch community. The best intervention of social workers is to strengthen the social resources of young Moroccan-Dutch in close collaboration with other stakeholders, such as policy makers, members of the Moroccan-Dutch community, schools and Dutch employers.

Samenvatting

In dit proefschrift stonden jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders die studeren of hun eerste stappen zetten op de arbeidsmarkt en sociaal werkers die met deze doelgroep werken centraal. We bestudeerden niet alleen het acculturatieproces van jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders, maar ook hoe sociaal werkers een verschil kunnen maken voor veel Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren met een achterstandspositie die te maken hebben met participatieproblemen in de Nederlandse samenleving. Om te begrijpen met welke uitdagingen ze geconfronteerd worden bij hun acculturatieproces en wie of wat positief kan bijdragen aan hun sociale participatie volgens henzelf en sociaal werkers, hebben we vier empirische studies uitgevoerd zoals meer diepgaand beschreven in dit proefschrift.

In onze eerste studie hebben we onderzocht in hoeverre Marokkaanse Nederlanders (N = 25) tussen 15 en 32 jaar gericht zijn op de Nederlandse en Marokkaanse gemeenschap bij het omschrijven van hun identiteiten. We vergeleken hun oriëntaties met jonge autochtone Nederlanders (N = 20) en Marokkaanse leeftijdsgenoten (N = 25). De *Twenty Statements Test* en diepte-interviews werden gebruikt als instrumenten om te achterhalen waarin jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders overeenkomen of verschillen met deze twee autochtone referentiegroepen. Onze analyse toonde de dubbele oriëntatie van de Marokkaanse Nederlanders naar de Nederlandse en Marokkaanse gemeenschap aan. Uit de resultaten bleek dat de meeste jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders meer gericht zijn op de Marokkaans-islamitische cultuur dan de Nederlandse cultuur. Ondanks dat ze de Nederlandse openheid prezen, die zij vonden ontbreken binnen de Marokkaanse gemeenschap, waren ze meer trots op hun Marokkaanse identiteit in vergelijking tot hun Nederlandse

identiteit en ook meer verbonden met het islamitische geloof. We hebben ook bestudeerd hoe hun acculturatie-oriëntatie is gerelateerd tot hun communicatie (met name taalgebruik) en participatie in beide gemeenschappen. Hoewel het Nederlands onder jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders dominant is, voelden ze zich het meest thuis in de Marokkaanse gemeenschap, grotendeels vanwege de warme gevoelens die zij koesterden en omdat ze kampten met negatieve stereotypering van de Nederlanders. Ze voelden zich niet gemotiveerd om te participeren in de Nederlandse gemeenschap en veel Marokkaanse Nederlanders droomden over een toekomst in Marokko. We concludeerden dat ondanks de positieve verbeteringen, zoals het schoolsucces, jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders nog steeds geconfronteerd worden met negatieve uitkomsten, zoals vooroordelen, die hun sociale participatie in de Nederlandse gemeenschap in gevaar brengt. Hun oriëntatie op de Marokkaanse gemeenschap wordt nog eens versterkt door de negatieve kijk van de Nederlanders. Deze onderzoeksresultaten maken zichtbaar welke communicatie- en participatieproblemen deze groep meemaakt.

In onze tweede studie onderzochten we hoe zij het verschil in toegang tot sociaal kapitaal (ondersteunende netwerken onder familie, vrienden en de buurt) en sociale identiteit van de Marokkaans-Nederlandse studenten (N = 172), in de leeftijd van 17 jaar tot 33 jaar, associeerden met hun acculturatie uitkomsten. De onderzoeksresultaten bevestigden wat we al hebben geobserveerd met een veel kleiner aantal respondenten in de eerste studie. Jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders benadrukten meer hun *bonding*, de binding met familie en andere Marokkaanse Nederlanders, dan *bridging*, het slaan van bruggen door verbinding aan te gaan met autochtone Nederlanders. Een pad analyse toonde aan dat jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders met een sterkere Marokkaans-islamitische identiteit meer negatieve uitkomsten hadden en minder contact met de Nederlanders. Co-etnische steun was negatief gerelateerd aan de Nederlandse identiteit, maar positief aan de etnische banden en het ervaren van problemen van uitsluiting in contact met Nederlanders. Omgekeerd was de

Nederlandse steun negatief geassocieerd met hun etnische identiteit en uitsluiting, maar positief met de Nederlandse banden en het welbevinden. Respondenten hadden hetzij een oriëntatie op de Nederlandse of de Marokkaanse cultuur. Op basis van onze resultaten van onze tweede studie concludeerden wij dat jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders het lastig vinden om integratie (het combineren van twee culturen) na te streven, en dat degene die zich goed aanpaste meer steun hadden van de Nederlanders en sociale netwerken, zich beter voelde én beter presteerde in de Nederlandse samenleving dan degene die zich afzonderde.

In onze derde en vierde studie hebben we respectievelijk de visies van Nederlandse sociale professionals en jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders ten aanzien van succes- en faalfactoren van sociale participatie van de laatste groep in Nederland onderzocht. In de derde studie benadrukten professionals (N = 148) banden met de Nederlanders en relevante levensvaardigheden. In de vierde studie vergeleken we perspectieven op participatie via diepte-interviews met Marokkaanse Nederlanders (N = 61), in de leeftijd van 18 tot 34 jaar, en Nederlandse sociaal werkers (N = 45), in de leeftijd van 20 tot 64 jaar. Beide groepen benadrukten inclusie, integratie, opleiding, vaardigheden, harder werken, positieve feedback, vertrouwensband en motivatie. Echter, stigmatisering van de groep, een houding van slachtofferschap, ondermaatse opvoeding, zwakke vaardigheden, beperkte banden met de Nederlanders en beperkte toegang tot het sociaal werk belemmerden participatie. De zwakke banden van jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders met autochtone Nederlanders was te wijten aan uitsluiting in de Nederlandse samenleving volgens professionals en aan culturele belemmeringen volgens Marokkaanse Nederlanders. We hebben significante verschillen gevonden tussen het omgaan met hetzij meer Marokkaanse Nederlanders, autochtone Nederlanders of een gemixte groep, opleiding, sociaaleconomische klasse en tussen succesvolle en niet succesvolle Marokkaanse Nederlanders. Sociale professionals adviseerden jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders zich niet blind te staren op het anti-immigran-

ten klimaat, omdat dit moeilijk te veranderen is op korte termijn, maar onderstreepten wel bestrijding van uitsluiting. Marokkaanse Nederlanders betoonden respect voor professionals die hen onvoorwaardelijk ondersteunden.

We eindigden dit proefschrift met een review, waarbij we gebruik hebben gemaakt van onderzoeksresultaten op het gebied van migratie- en acculturatieonderzoek, om de historische en sociaal-culturele acculturatiecontext van Marokkaanse Nederlanders te bestuderen. Toen de Marokkaanse gastarbeiders en hun families vanaf de jaren ’60 naar Nederland migreerden had de Nederlandse overheid op nationaal, regionaal en lokaal niveau geen integratiebeleid bij hun aankomst. Echter, toen bleek dat de meeste Marokkaanse Nederlanders langer werkten dan verwacht en hun gezinnen zich ook in Nederland vestigden pleitte de Nederlandse overheid voor een multicultureel beleid. Het was gebaseerd op integratie met behoud van eigen identiteit. Dit stond in contrast met het Marokkaanse beleid: Marokkanen in het buitenland kregen te horen dat ze niet in de Nederlandse samenleving moesten integreren, maar wel in Marokko investeren. Door de zwakke participatie en een negatieve houding van de Nederlanders ten aanzien van migranten is de focus veranderd in assimilatiebeleid, dat de negatieve factoren versterkte, zoals uitsluiting, segregatie en gebrek aan sociale kapitaalbronnen. In vergelijking tot andere niet-westerse migranten in Nederland scoren Marokkaanse Nederlanders nog steeds hoog op sommige vitale participatie domeinen (bijvoorbeeld het onderwijs), maar ook hoog op risicofactoren (bijvoorbeeld werkloosheid en gezondheid). Studie van deze factoren die verband houden met migratie, sociolinguïstische situatie en sociale omgeving dragen bij tot een beter inzicht in hoe acculturatie veranderingen hun aanpassing beïnvloeden, aangezien deze factoren in sterke mate voorspellende indicatoren vormen bij het succesvol of problematisch participeren in de Nederlandse samenleving.

De hoofdconclusie van onze onderzoeksbevindingen luidt dat sociale hulpbronnen een enorme impact hebben op acculturatie uitkomsten en wel op drie verschillende niveaus: klimaat, kapitaal en competentie (ook wel bekend als de Triple C resources waarbij de drie C’s staan voor *Climate, Capital* en *Competence*). Deze zijn gerelateerd aan hun migratie, sociale achtergronden en dubbele oriëntatie, en de wijze waarop ze omgaan met hun identiteitsvraagstukken en problemen in de participatie. Daarnaast is een gebrek aan positieve hulpbronnen onder de Marokkaans-Nederlandse gemeenschap negatief voor hun participatiegraad in de Nederlandse samenleving. Vandaar dat sociaal werkers die werken met jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders en willen bijdragen aan hun succesvolle participatie zich bewust moeten zijn hoe ze kunnen helpen bij het voorkomen van de risicofactoren, waarmee deze jongeren dagelijks geconfronteerd worden, en het positief bevorderen van factoren die leiden tot succesvolle participatie in de Nederlandse gemeenschap. De beste interventie van sociaal werkers is het versterken van de sociale hulpbronnen van jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders in nauwe samenwerking met verschillende belanghebbenden, zoals beleidsmakers, leden van de Marokkaans-Nederlandse gemeenschap, scholen en werkgevers.

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Youssef Azghari

Appendix

Vragenlijst 1 (studie1).

Vragenlijst 1a: Marokkaanse Nederlanders.
(*Vooraf invullen TST* dat begint met 'Ik ben...' x 20)*

I. VRAGEN OVER IDENTITEIT: 14

1. Welke 5 antwoorden uit de TST beschrijven het best jouw identiteit?
2. Welke minimaal 4 van de 20 antwoorden beschouw je als typisch Nederlands OF Marokkaans? (Dus minimaal 2 typisch Nederlands en 2 Marokkaans TST)
3. Wat vind je belangrijk om te vermelden over je Marokkaans-Nederlandse identiteit? (antwoorden komen uit TST of daarbuiten)
4. Hoe zien mensen jou die jou NIET goed kennen? (nadruk op jouw identiteit)
5. Welke personen of zaken hebben direct invloed op jouw Marokkaanse identiteit? (bv. ouders, vrienden, school, leerkracht, sportclub, kleding, media, muziek, tv-series, films, eten, verhalen, humor etc.)
6. Wat aan deze identiteit inspireert jou (het meest)?
7. Welke rol speelt religie in jouw leven? (bv. moskeebezoek)
8. Wanneer voel jij je meer Marokkaans dan Nederlands OF andersom? (geef een voorbeeld wat je doet en waar je bent!)
9. Wat vind jij belangrijk OF niet zo belangrijk aan je Marokkaanse OF Nederlandse identiteit?
10. Met welke belangrijkste waarden of normen ben je thuis opgevoed? *(bv. respect, op tijd komen, mondigheid, je afspraken nakomen, hoge cijfers, vriendelijk zijn, gehoorzaam, vrijheid, zelfstandigheid etc.)*
11. Welke belangrijkste waarden of normen, waar je thuis mee opgevoed bent, geef je zelf wel OF niet door als je later kinderen hebt? In het geval dat je de waarden of normen van thuis niet doorgeeft, welke komen daarvoor in de plaats?
12. Denk aan een Nederlander of Nederlandse van dezelfde leeftijd en geslacht: welke belangrijkste verschillen zie jij tussen jou en hem of haar?
13. Wat waardeer je wel OF niet zo aan Marokkanen OF Nederlanders, Marokkaanse OF Nederlandse cultuur, Marokko OF Nederland?
14. Wat maakt je trots OF niet zo trots aan je Nederlandse OF Marokkaanse identiteit?

II. VRAGEN OVER COMMUNICATIE: 9

15. Welke taal of talen spreek je met wie in het dagelijkse leven?
16. In welke taal of talen kun je je verbaal het beste uitdrukken?
17. Geef per domein aan wanneer en waar welke taal jouw voorkeur geniet? (private vs publieke domeinen)
• Nederland: thuis, school, werk, straat of openbare plaatsen, zoals café etc.
• Marokko: familie, straat of openbare plaatsen, zoals markt, café, bioscoop etc.
18. Over welke onderwerpen praat je met wie bij voorkeur in welke taal?
19. Hoe waardeer je je moedertaal OF de Nederlandse (school)taal?
20. Beschrijf een recente gebeurtenis waarin sprake was van meningsverschil/conflict met een ander en beantwoord de vragen: HOE bespreek je of pak je dat aan met:
• je vader OF moeder,
• je broer OF zus,
• je familie in Nederland OF Marokko,
• je Marokkaanse OF Nederlandse vriend/vriendin,
• kennis of buren in Nederland OF Marokko,
• professionals uit Nederland OF Marokko?
21. Wat waardeer OF waardeer je niet zo aan Marokkanen OF Nederlanders hoe zij met elkaar omgaan?
22. Wat vind jij belangrijk als het gaat om contact maken of omgaan met de ander? (vragen naar concrete gebeurtenissen)
23. Wat is jouw ervaring met contact maken of omgang met Nederlandse OF Marokkaanse professionals? (bv leerkrachten, jeugdwerkers of mensen in uniform)

III. VRAGEN OVER PARTICIPATIE: 17

24. Beschrijf hoe een dag van je weekend en 1 dag door de week qua bezigheden eruit zag? (bv. studie, werk, boodschappen, vrije tijd, zoals sport, bezoek familie/vrienden, vrijwilligerswerk)
25. Welke personen motiveren jou om welke activiteiten te doen? (Denk bv aan voorbeelden als het gaat om wat ze doen)
26. Met wie onderneem jij regelmatig samen activiteiten?
27. Wie of wat zie jij als een geslaagd OF niet zo geslaagd voorbeeld van de Marokkaanse OF Nederlandse samenleving?
28. Welke activiteiten (noem minstens 3) maakt je trots OF niet zo trots?
29. Welke activiteiten of gebeurtenissen vergroten OF verkleinen de afstand tot jouw Marokkaanse OF Nederlandse cultuur?
30. Welke activiteiten doe je graag? (bv. hobby's, op vakantie gaan, offerfeest?)
31. Welke activiteiten zie je als een plicht? (bv. ouders helpen, koken, bezoek familie?)
32. Welke activiteiten doe je met tegenzin? (bv. afwassen, ramadan vasten?)
33. Hoeveel Marokkaanse en Nederlandse vrienden heb je en met wie ga je meer om?
34. Hoe vaak heb je contact met familieleden in Nederland OF Marokko?
35. Welke persoon benader je meestal als eerste als je een persoonlijke vraag of probleem hebt?
36. Wie of wat zie je als een obstakel OF kans om mee te doen in de Nederlandse OF Marokkaanse cultuur?
37. Wat zijn je ambities in Nederland OF Marokko?
38. Waar zou je je toekomst willen opbouwen als je mocht kiezen tussen Nederland of Marokko?
39. Wat heb je minimaal nodig om succesvol mee te doen in de Nederlandse OF Marokkaanse samenleving?
40. Wat is jouw ervaring met Nederlandse OF Marokkaanse professionals die jou willen stimuleren om mee te doen met de Nederlandse OF Marokkaanse samenleving? (bv contact leerkrachten, jeugdwerkers of mensen in uniform)

Vragenlijst 1b: Nederlanders (native).
1. Welke 5 antwoorden uit de TST beschrijven het best jouw identiteit?
2. Welke 4 van de 20 antwoorden beschouw je als typisch Nederlands?
3. Wat vind je belangrijk om te vermelden over je Nederlandse identiteit? (antwoorden komen uit TST of daarbuiten)
4. Hoe zien mensen jou die jou NIET goed kennen? (nadruk op jouw identiteit)
5. Welke personen of zaken hebben direct invloed op jouw Nederlandse identiteit? (bv. ouders, vrienden, school, leerkracht, sportclub, kleding, media, muziek, tv-series, films, eten, verhalen, humor etc.)
6. Wat aan deze identiteit inspireert jou (het meest)?
7. Welke rol speelt religie in jouw leven? (bv. kerkbezoek)
8. Wanneer voel jij je het meest Nederlands? (geef een voorbeeld wat je doet en waar je bent!)
9. Wat vind jij belangrijk OF niet zo belangrijk aan je Nederlandse identiteit?
10. Met welke belangrijkste waarden of normen ben je thuis opgevoed? *(bv. respect, op tijd komen, mondigheid, je afspraken nakomen, hoge cijfers halen op school, vriendelijk zijn, gehoorzaamheid,*

vrijheid, zelfstandigheid etc.)
11. Welke belangrijkste waarden of normen, waar je thuis mee opgevoed bent, geef je zelf wel OF niet door als je later kinderen hebt? In het geval dat je de waarden of normen niet doorgeeft, welke komen daarvoor in de plaats?
12. Welke waarden, die jij als typisch Nederlands beschouwt, houd je wel OF niet zo van? (geef voorbeelden!)
13. Wat waardeer je wel OF niet zo aan Nederlanders, Nederlandse cultuur en Nederland?
14. Wat maakt je trots OF niet zo trots aan je Nederlandse identiteit?
15. Welke taal of talen spreek je met wie in het dagelijkse leven?
16. In welke taal of talen kun je je verbaal het beste uitdrukken?
17. Wanneer en waar geniet welke taal jouw voorkeur? (private vs publieke domeinen)
18. Over welke onderwerpen praat je met wie bij voorkeur in welke taal?
19. Hoe waardeer je je moedertaal OF de Nederlandse (school)taal?
20. Beschrijf een recente gebeurtenis waarin sprake was van meningsverschil of conflict met een ander en beantwoord de volgende vragen: HOE bespreek je of pak je zo'n meningsverschil of conflict aan met je vader OF moeder, broer OF zus, familielid, vriend of vriendin, kennis of buren of professional?
21. Wat waardeer OF waardeer je niet zo aan Nederlanders hoe zij met elkaar omgaan?
22. Wat vind jij belangrijk als het gaat om contact maken of omgaan met de ander? (vragen naar concrete gebeurtenissen)
23. Wat is jouw ervaring met contact maken of omgang met professionals? (bv leerkrachten, jeugdwerkers of mensen in uniform)
24. Beschrijf hoe een dag van je weekend en 1 dag door de week qua bezigheden eruit zag? (bv. studie, werk, boodschappen, vrije tijd, zoals sport, bezoek familie/vrienden, vrijwilligerswerk)
25. Welke personen motiveren jou om welke activiteiten te doen?
26. Met wie onderneem jij regelmatig samen activiteiten?
27. Wie of wat zie jij als een geslaagd OF niet zo geslaagd voorbeeld van de Nederlandse samenleving?
28. Welke activiteiten (noem minstens 3) maakt je trots OF niet zo trots?
29. Welke activiteiten of gebeurtenissen vergroten OF verkleinen de afstand tot jouw Nederlandse cultuur?
30. Welke activiteiten doe je graag? (bv. hobby's, op vakantie gaan, carnaval?)
31. Welke activiteiten zie je als een plicht? (bv. huishoudelijke taken, bezoek familie?)
32. Welke activiteiten doe je met tegenzin? (bv. afwassen, opruimen?)
33. Hoeveel Nederlandse OF buitenlandse vrienden heb je en met wie ga je meer om?
34. Hoe vaak heb je contact met familieleden in Nederland?
35. Welke persoon benader je meestal als eerste als je een persoonlijke vraag of probleem hebt?
36. Wie of wat zie je als een obstakel OF kans om mee te doen in de Nederlandse cultuur?
37. Wat zijn je ambities in Nederland?
38. Waar zou je je toekomst willen opbouwen als je mocht kiezen tussen Nederland of daarbuiten?
39. Wat heb je minimaal nodig om succesvol mee te doen in de Nederlandse samenleving?
40. Wat is jouw ervaring met Nederlandse professionals die jou willen stimuleren om mee te doen met de Nederlandse samenleving? (bv leerkrachten, jeugdwerkers of mensen in uniform)

Vragenlijst 1c: Marokkanen (native).
1. Welke 5 antwoorden uit de TST beschrijven het best jouw identiteit?
2. Welke minimaal 4 van de 20 antwoorden beschouw je als typisch Marokkaans?
3. Wat vind je belangrijk om te vermelden over je Marokkaanse identiteit? (antwoorden komen uit TST of daarbuiten)
4. Hoe zien mensen jou die jou NIET goed kennen? (nadruk op jouw identiteit)
5. Welke personen of zaken hebben direct invloed op jouw Marokkaanse identiteit? (bv. ouders, vrienden, school, leerkracht, sportclub, kleding, media, muziek, tv-series, films, eten, verhalen, humor etc.)
6. Wat aan deze identiteit inspireert jou (het meest)?
7. Welke rol speelt religie in jouw leven? (bv. moskeebezoek)
8. Wanneer voel jij je het meest Marokkaans? (geef een voorbeeld wat je doet en waar je bent!)
9. Wat vind jij belangrijk OF niet zo belangrijk aan je Marokkaanse identiteit?
10. Met welke belangrijkste waarden of normen ben je thuis opgevoed? *(bv. respect, op tijd komen, mondigheid, je afspraken nakomen, hoge cijfers halen op school, vriendelijk zijn, gehoorzaamheid, vrijheid, zelfstandigheid etc.)*
11. Welke belangrijkste waarden of normen, waar je thuis mee opgevoed bent, geef je zelf wel OF niet door als je later kinderen zou hebben? In het geval dat je de waarden of normen niet doorgeeft, welke komen daarvoor in de plaats?
12. Welke waarden, die jij als typisch Marokkaans beschouwt, houd je wel OF niet zo van? (geef voorbeelden!)
13. Wat waardeer je wel OF niet zo aan Marokkanen, Marokkaanse cultuur en Marokko?
14. Wat maakt je trots OF niet zo trots aan je Marokkaanse identiteit?
15. Welke taal of talen spreek je met wie in het dagelijkse leven?
16. In welke taal of talen kun je je verbaal het beste uitdrukken?
17. Wanneer en waar geniet welke taal jouw voorkeur? (private vs publieke domeinen).
18. Over welke onderwerpen praat je met wie bij voorkeur in welke taal?
19. Hoe waardeer je je moedertaal OF de Nederlandse (school)taal?
20. Beschrijf een recente gebeurtenis waarin sprake was van meningsverschil of conflict met een ander en beantwoord de volgende vragen: HOE bespreek je of pak je zo'n meningsverschil of conflict aan met je vader OF moeder, broer OF zus, familielid, vriend of vriendin, kennis of buren of professional?
21. Wat waardeer OF waardeer je niet zo aan Marokkanen hoe zij met elkaar omgaan?
22. Wat vind jij belangrijk als het gaat om contact maken of omgaan met de ander? (vragen naar concrete gebeurtenissen)
23. Wat is jouw ervaring met contact maken of omgang met professionals? (bv leerkrachten, jeugdwerkers of mensen in uniform)
24. Beschrijf hoe een dag van je weekend en 1 dag door de week qua bezigheden eruit zag? (bv. studie, werk, boodschappen, vrije tijd, zoals sport, bezoek familie/vrienden, vrijwilligerswerk)
25. Welke personen motiveren jou om welke activiteiten te doen?
26. Met wie onderneem jij regelmatig samen activiteiten?
27. Wie of wat zie jij als een geslaagd OF niet zo geslaagd voorbeeld van de Marokkaanse samenleving?
28. Welke activiteiten (noem minstens 3) maakt je trots OF niet zo trots?
29. Welke activiteiten of gebeurtenissen vergroten OF verkleinen de afstand tot jouw Marokkaanse cultuur?
30. Welke activiteiten doe je graag? (bv. hobby's, op vakantie gaan, offerfeest?)
31. Welke activiteiten zie je als een plicht? (bv. huishoudelijke taken, bezoek familie?)
32. Welke activiteiten doe je met tegenzin?
33. Hoeveel Marokkaanse OF buitenlandse vrienden heb je en met wie ga je meer om?
34. Hoe vaak heb je contact met familieleden in Marokko?
35. Welke persoon benader je meestal als eerste als je een persoonlijke vraag of probleem hebt?
36. Wie of wat zie je als een obstakel OF kans om mee te doen in de Marokkaanse cultuur?
37. Wat zijn je ambities in Marokko?
38. Waar zou je je toekomst willen opbouwen als je mocht kiezen tussen Marokko of daarbuiten?
39. Wat heb je minimaal nodig om succesvol mee te doen in de Marokkaanse samenleving?
40. Wat is jouw ervaring met Marokkaanse professionals die jou willen stimuleren om mee te doen met de Marokkaanse samenleving? (bv leerkrachten, jeugdwerkers of mensen in uniform)

***Twenty Statements Test (TST)**: Schrijf beknopt 20 verschillende antwoorden op de vraag 'Wie ben ik?'. Het maakt niet uit wat je schrijft en in welke volgorde, zolang jij vindt of voelt dat het beschrijft wie je bent. In het interview kun je ze verder toelichten. Geef jezelf 5 minuten de tijd om spontaan de antwoorden te geven.

Algemene gegevens:

Naam :……..(optioneel)
Geboortedatum :…….
Geslacht : m/v
Naam opleiding & jaar :……..
Grootte gezin (aantal broers/zussen) :……..
Beroep vader :……..
Beroep moeder :……..
Woonplaats :……..
Mailadres/telefoon :……..(optioneel)

Ik ben……
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Ik ben……

Vragenlijst 2 (studie 2)

Deze vragenlijst start met algemene vragen over je achtergrond. Daarnaast bevat deze enquête ook stellingen om je identiteitskwesties en ervaringen te peilen. Je bent vrij in je antwoorden. Er bestaan geen goede of foute antwoorden. Resultaten worden anoniem verwerkt. Het invullen duurt ongeveer 20 minuten. Neem bij vragen contact op met drs. Youssef Azghari: y.azghari@tilburguniversity.edu of bel 06-53372022. Hartelijk dank voor het meedoen!

Ben je een man of een vrouw? Man/vrouw
Woonplaats:…….
Geboorteplaats:……
Geboorteland moeder: Marokko/Nederland/Anders, namelijk…
Geboorteland vader: Marokko/Nederland/Anders, namelijk…
Hoe oud ben je?.....

Kruis aan welke opleiding je nu volgt of recent hebt gevolgd?
VMBO/HAVO/VWO/MBO/HBO/WO

Welk beroep wil je na je opleiding uitoefenen of oefen je nu uit?
……

	Hieronder volgen stellingen. Er bestaan geen goede of foute antwoorden. Kruis aan wat voor jou van toepassing is. **1= Helemaal mee oneens** **2= Niet mee eens** **3= Noch eens, noch oneens** **4= Mee eens** **5= Helemaal mee eens**					
1	Ik beschouw mezelf als Nederlands	1	2	3	4	5
2	Ik voel me sterk verbonden met mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
3	Ik word er gelukkig van dat ik lid ben van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
4	Het is voor mij belangrijk Nederlander/Nederlandse te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
5	Als ik plannen maak, luister ik naar mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
6	Ik heb veel tijd doorgebracht met het ontdekken van mijn islamitische gemeenschap (bijv. de rituelen, geschiedenis en tradities)	1	2	3	4	5
7	Ik neem deel aan Nederlandse culturele praktijken (bijv. evenementen met bepaald soort eten, muziek en gebruiken)	1	2	3	4	5
8	Het is voor mij belangrijk lid van mijn familie te zijn.	1	2	3	4	5
9	Ik beschouw mijzelf als deel van een moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
10	Ik zie problemen van mijn familie ook als mijn problemen	1	2	3	4	5
11	Ik beschouw mijzelf als Marokkaan	1	2	3	4	5
12	Ik ben er trots op lid te zijn van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
13	Het is voor mij belangrijk Marokkaans te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
14	Lid van mijn familie zijn is een belangrijk onderdeel van mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
15	Ik neem deel aan Marokkaanse culturele praktijken (bijv. evenementen met bepaald soort eten, muziek en gebruiken)	1	2	3	4	5
16	Ik steun en zorg voor mijn familie, ook als het buitengewoon veel tijd kost	1	2	3	4	5
17	Ik neem deel aan islamitische verenigingen	1	2	3	4	5
18	Ik werk vrijwillig voor Marokkaanse organisaties	1	2	3	4	5

19	Het is voor mij belangrijk lid van een moslimgemeenschap te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
20	Ik voel me sterk verbonden met mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
21	Ik beschouw mezelf als deel van mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
22	Ik word er gelukkig van dat ik lid ben van de Nederlandse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
23	Ik zie mezelf als Berber (Amazigh/Tamazight)	1	2	3	4	5
24	Ik breng veel tijd door met leden van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
25	Ik heb veel tijd doorgebracht om meer over de Nederlandse cultuur te weten te komen (bijv. de geschiedenis, tradities en gewoonten)	1	2	3	4	5
26	Ik bespreek mijn problemen met mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
27	Ik zie mezelf als Nederlander/Nederlandse	1	2	3	4	5
28	Lid zijn van mijn familie is een belangrijk deel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
29	Ik beschouw mijzelf als lid van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
30	Ik voel me sterk verbonden met Nederlandse mensen	1	2	3	4	5
31	Als iemand iets negatiefs zou zeggen over Marokkanen, zou ik me aangesproken voelen	1	2	3	4	5
32	Ik word er gelukkig van dat ik lid ben van mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
33	Lid zijn van mijn moslimgemeenschap is een belangrijk onderdeel van mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
34	Ik vind dat Nederlander/Nederlandse zijn, waardevol is	1	2	3	4	5
35	Ik breng veel tijd door met Marokkaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
36	Ik zie problemen van mijn moslimgemeenschap als mijn problemen	1	2	3	4	5
37	Ik zie mezelf als een lid van mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
38	Lid zijn van mijn moslimgemeenschap is een belangrijk deel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
39	Wanneer ik hulp nodig heb, kan ik rekenen op de Marokkaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
40	Ik vind dat het waardevol is onderdeel te zijn van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
41	Ik word er gelukkig van dat ik lid ben van de Marokkaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
42	Ik ben er trots op lid te zijn van mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
43	Ik zie mijzelf als wereldburger	1	2	3	4	5
44	Ik ben er trots op lid te zijn van mijn Imazighen (berber)gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
45	Ik waardeer het gevoel om heel hecht met mijn moslimgemeenschap te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
46	Ik beschouw mijzelf als deel van mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
47	Nederlander/Nederlandse zijn is een wezenlijk onderdeel van mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
48	Bij mijn familie horen, is een essentieel deel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
49	Nederlands zijn heeft veel te maken met hoe ik mij over mezelf voel	1	2	3	4	5
50	Ik zoek vaak Nederlandse mensen op	1	2	3	4	5
51	Ik doneer aan goede doelen die met de Marokkaanse gemeenschap te maken hebben	1	2	3	4	5
52	Ik vind dat het waardevol is om Marokkaans/Marokkaanse te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
53	Lid zijn van mijn familie heeft veel te maken met hoe ik mij over mezelf voel	1	2	3	4	5
54	Ik voel me sterk verbonden met Marokkanen	1	2	3	4	5
55	Ik zie mezelf als een lid van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
56	Ik beschouw mezelf als deel van de Nederlandse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
57	Ik zie problemen van Nederlandse mensen als mijn problemen	1	2	3	4	5
58	Ik voel een sterke verbondenheid met mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
59	Lid zijn van mijn moslimgemeenschap heeft veel te maken met hoe ik over mezelf voel	1	2	3	4	5
60	Ik ben er trots op dat ik lid ben van de Nederlandse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
61	Ik waardeer het gevoel heel hecht met mijn familie te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
62	Ik geef geld aan moslimorganisaties	1	2	3	4	5
63	Behoren tot mijn moslimgemeenschap vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
64	Als ik hulp nodig heb kan ik rekenen op mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
65	Ik vind dat lid zijn van mijn familie, waardevol is	1	2	3	4	5
66	Ik waardeer het gevoel heel hecht te zijn met Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
67	Mijn familie heeft een heel grote invloed op mijn beslissingen	1	2	3	4	5
68	Ik beschouw mezelf als een lid van de Marokkaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5

69	Leden van mijn moslimgemeenschap hebben een heel grote invloed op mijn beslissingen	1	2	3	4	5
70	Mijn leven is nauw verbonden met het leven van Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
71	Ik voel een sterke verbondenheid met mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
72	Ik ben trots om lid te zijn van de Marokkaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
73	Lid zijn van de Nederlandse gemeenschap vormt een belangrijk deel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
74	Als ik hulp nodig heb, kan ik rekenen op mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
75	Nederlands zijn vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
76	Ik voel mij gerespecteerd door Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
77	Mijn leven is nauw verbonden met het leven van mijn familieleden	1	2	3	4	5
78	Ik heb een sterke verbondenheid met de Marokkaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
79	Ik waardeer het gevoel heel dicht bij de Marokkanen te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
80	Marokkaanse vrienden hebben een heel grote invloed op mijn beslissingen	1	2	3	4	5
81	Als ik hulp nodig heb kan ik rekenen open mijn Nederlandse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
82	Ik zie mezelf als Europeaan	1	2	3	4	5
83	Ik zie mezelf als Marokkaan	1	2	3	4	5
84	Ik praat over mijn problemen met mijn Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
85	Ik heb veel tijd doorgebracht om meer over de Marokkaanse cultuur te weten te komen (bijv., de geschiedenis, tradities en gewoonten)	1	2	3	4	5
86	Ik voel mij gerespecteerd door mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
87	Mijn leven is nauw verbonden met het leven van leden van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
88	Marokkaan zijn vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
89	Ik heb veel tijd doorgebracht om meer over de Imazighen cultuur te weten te komen (bijv. de geschiedenis, tradities en gewoonten)	1	2	3	4	5
90	Ik breng veel tijd door met mijn Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
91	Als iemand iets slechts zegt over Nederlanders, voel ik mij aangesproken	1	2	3	4	5
92	Behoren tot de Marokkaanse gemeenschap vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
93	Ik doe vrijwilligerswerk dat in dienst staat van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
94	Ik praat vaak over islamitische zaken met mensen	1	2	3	4	5
95	Ik voel mij gerespecteerd door Marokkanen	1	2	3	4	5
96	Als iemand iets slechts zegt over mijn familie, voel ik mij aangesproken	1	2	3	4	5
97	Ik praat over mijn problemen met leden van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
98	Ik doe vrijwilligerswerk bij Nederlandse organisaties	1	2	3	4	5
99	Ik praat over mijn problemen met Marokkaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
100	Ik doneer aan goede doelen die te maken hebben met de Nederlandse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
101	Ik zoek vaak Marokkaanse mensen op	1	2	3	4	5
102	Nederlandse vrienden hebben een heel grote invloed op mijn beslissingen	1	2	3	4	5
103	Als iemand iets slechts zegt over de moslimgemeenschap, voel ik me aangesproken	1	2	3	4	5
104	Mijn leven is nauw verbonden met het leven van Marokkanen.	1	2	3	4	5
105	Ik zie problemen van Marokkanen als mijn problemen	1	2	3	4	5
106	Marokkaan zijn heeft veel te maken hoe ik over mezelf voel	1	2	3	4	5
107	Ik zie mezelf als Arabier	1	2	3	4	5
108	Ik voel mij gerespecteerd door leden van mijn moslimgemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
109	Ik heb een sterke binding met de Imazighen (berber) gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
110	Ik heb een sterke binding met de Nederlandse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
111	Ik voel me sterker verbonden met de mensheid dan met leden van mijn eigen etnische groep	1	2	3	4	5
112	Ik help mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5
113	Berber zijn vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
114	Marokkaan zijn vormt een belangrijk onderdeel van mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
115	Ik zou vrienden kunnen zijn met mensen van veel verschillende nationaliteiten	1	2	3	4	5
116	Ik zou vrienden kunnen zijn met mensen van veel verschillende religies	1	2	3	4	5
117	Ik word er gelukkig van dat ik lid ben van de Imazighen (berber)gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5

118	Ik word er gelukkig van dat ik lid ben van de Arabische gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
119	Ik heb veel tijd doorgebracht om meer over de Arabische cultuur te weten te komen (bijv. de geschiedenis, tradities en gewoonten)	1	2	3	4	5

	Hoe vaak heb je het gevoel dat… **1= Nooit** **2= Bijna nooit** **3= Soms wel, soms niet** **4= Bijna altijd** **5= Altijd**					
1	Omdat ik Marokkaan ben, denk ik niet dat Nederlanders me helemaal zullen accepteren	1	2	3	4	5
2	Omdat ik moslim ben, denk ik niet dat Nederlanders me helemaal zullen accepteren	1	2	3	4	5
3	Nederlanders behandelen mij positief	1	2	3	4	5
4	Mijn docent behandelde mij onrechtvaardig omdat ik Marokkaan of Marokkaanse ben	1	2	3	4	5
5	Mijn docent behandelde mij onrechtvaardig omdat ik moslim of moslima ben	1	2	3	4	5

	Lees de stellingen goed door en kruis aan wat voor jou van toepassing is. **1= Helemaal mee oneens** **2= Niet mee eens** **3= Een beetje niet eens** **4= Noch eens, noch oneens** **5= Een beetje eens** **6= Mee eens** **7= Helemaal mee eens**							
1	Op de meeste punten is mijn leven bijna perfect	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Mijn levensomstandigheden zijn uitstekend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Ik ben tevreden met mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	Tot nu toe heb ik de belangrijkste dingen die ik in het leven wil ook bereikt	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Als ik mijn leven nog eens over mocht doen zou ik bijna niets veranderen.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

	Lees de stellingen goed door en kruis aan wat voor jou van toepassing is. **1= Helemaal mee oneens** **2= Niet mee eens** **3= Noch eens, noch oneens** **4= Mee eens** **5= Helemaal mee eens**					
1	Over het algemeen ben ik tevreden met mezelf	1	2	3	4	5
2	Bij momenten denk ik dat ik helemaal niet deug	1	2	3	4	5
3	Ik heb het gevoel dat ik een aantal goede kwaliteiten heb	1	2	3	4	5
4	Ik ben in staat dingen even goed te doen als de meeste andere mensen	1	2	3	4	5
5	Ik heb het gevoel dat ik niet veel heb om trots op te zijn	1	2	3	4	5
6	Het is ongetwijfeld zo dat ik me bij momenten nutteloos voel	1	2	3	4	5
7	Ik heb het gevoel dat ik een waardevol iemand ben, minstens evenwaardig aan anderen	1	2	3	4	5
8	Ik wou dat ik meer respect voor mezelf kon opbrengen	1	2	3	4	5
9	Al bij al ben ik geneigd mezelf een mislukkeling te voelen	1	2	3	4	5
10	Ik neem een positieve houding aan ten opzichte van mezelf	1	2	3	4	5

	Lees de stellingen goed door en kruis aan wat voor jou van toepassing is. **1= Helemaal mee oneens** **2= Niet mee eens** **3= Noch eens, noch oneens** **4= Mee eens** **5= Helemaal mee eens**					
1	Over het algemeen waren mijn vrienden met wie ik opgegroeid ben Marokkaans	1	2	3	4	5
2	Over het algemeen waren mijn vrienden met wie ik opgegroeid ben Nederlands	1	2	3	4	5
3	Over het algemeen waren mijn vrienden met wie ik opgegroeid ben van verschillende culturen	1	2	3	4	5
4	Ik ben opgegroeid in een arme buurt met meeste bewoners met lage inkomens en hoge werkloosheid	1	2	3	4	5
5	Ik ben opgegroeid in een rijke buurt met meeste bewoners met hoge inkomens en lage werkloosheid	1	2	3	4	5
6	Ik ben opgegroeid in een buurt met meeste bewoners van verschillende culturen	1	2	3	4	5
7	Ik ben opgegroeid in een buurt met meeste mensen met een niet-westerse afkomst	1	2	3	4	5

8	Ik ging naar een basisschool waar meer dan de helft van de leerlingen van oorsprong niet-Nederlands is	1	2	3	4	5
9	Ik ging naar een basisschool waar meer dan de helft van de leerlingen van oorsprong Nederlands is	1	2	3	4	5
10	Ik kon bij problemen altijd rekenen op steun van mijn docent(e)	1	2	3	4	5
11	Ik had het probleem dat mijn ouders mij niet konden helpen omdat zij het Nederlandse onderwijssysteem niet snapten	1	2	3	4	5
12	Ik had problemen op school omdat ik de regels op school niet snapte	1	2	3	4	5
13	Ik had problemen op school omdat leerkrachten mijn cultuur niet snapte	1	2	3	4	5
14	Ik had problemen op school omdat ik niet voldoende respect voelde voor mijn culturele achtergrond	1	2	3	4	5
15	Mijn beste vrienden zijn Marokkaans	1	2	3	4	5
16	Mijn beste vrienden zijn Nederlands	1	2	2	4	5
17	Mijn beste vrienden zijn familieleden (neven, nichten)	1	2	3	4	5
18	Mijn beste vrienden zijn moslims	1	2	3	4	5
19	Mijn beste vrienden zijn niet religieus	1	2	3	4	5
20	Mijn beste vrienden hebben verschillende religies	1	2	3	4	5

	Lees de stellingen goed door en kruis aan wat voor jou van toepassing is. **1= Nooit** **2= Bijna nooit** **3= Soms wel, soms niet** **4= Bijna altijd** **5= Altijd**					
1	Buitenshuis herkennen mensen dat ik Marokkaan of Marokkaanse ben (bijv. door mijn accent of uiterlijke verschijning, zoals hoe ik praat of gekleed ben op school of op straat)	1	2	3	4	5
2	Als iemand iets slechts zegt over Marokkanen, voel ik mij persoonlijk gekwetst	1	2	3	4	5
3	Ik bid elke dag	1	2	3	4	5
4	Ik vast tijdens de Ramadan	1	2	3	4	5
5	Ik bezoek de moskee	1	2	3	4	5
6	Ik drink alcohol (bijv. bier of wijn)	1	2	3	4	5
7	Buitenshuis herkennen mensen dat ik moslim of moslima ben (b.v. door mijn uiterlijke verschijning, zoals hoe ik gekleed ben op school of op straat)	1	2	3	4	5
8	Mijn gedrag is typisch van die van een wereldburger	1	2	3	4	5
9	Mijn gedrag is typisch Marokkaans	1	2	3	4	5
10	Mijn gedrag is typisch Berbers	1	2	3	4	5
11	Mijn gedrag is typisch Arabisch	1	2	3	4	5
12	Mijn gedrag is typisch Nederlands	1	2	3	4	5
13	Mijn ouders vertelden mij dat ik meer moest omgaan met Marokkanen	1	2	3	4	5
14	Mijn ouders vertelden mij dat ik meer moest omgaan met Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
15	Over het algemeen zijn mensen die mij bezoeken of die ik bezoek Marokkanen	1	2	3	4	5
16	Over het algemeen zijn mensen die mij bezoeken of die ik bezoek Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
17	Over het algemeen zijn mensen die mij bezoeken of die ik bezoek van verschillende culturen	1	2	3	4	5
18	Thuis vieren wij offerfeest	1	2	3	4	5
19	Thuis vieren wij Sinterklaas	1	2	3	4	5
20	Ik eet Marokkaanse gerechten (bijvoorbeeld couscous, merquez, tajine, schourba of harira)	1	2	3	4	5
21	Ik eet halal	1	2	3	4	5
22	Ik eet Nederlandse gerechten (bijvoorbeeld stamppot, boerenkool of andijvie)	1	2	3	4	5
23	Ik eet internationaal (bijvoorbeeld shoarma, Chinees, McDonalds, KFC, Burger King)	1	2	3	4	5
24	Het voedsel dat ik eet is gekocht bij een islamitische winkel (bijvoorbeeld Marokkaanse of Turkse slager)	1	2	3	4	5
25	Het voedsel dat ik eet is gekocht bij een Nederlandse winkel (bijvoorbeeld supermarkt)	1	2	3	4	5
26	Het voedsel dat ik eet is gekocht bij een internationale winkel (bijvoorbeeld Indische Toko of Surinaamse winkel)	1	2	3	4	5

	Kruis aan hoe vaak je afgelopen week via telefoon of digitale en social media (bijvoorbeeld via e-mail, whatsapp, skype, twitter, facebook, instagram) contact heb gehad met je: **1= Nooit** **2= 1 keer per week** **3= 2 keer per week** **4= 3 keer per week** **5= 4 keer per week** **6= 5 keer per week** **7= Bijna dagelijks (6 keer per week of meer)**							
1	Marokkaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	Moslimvrienden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

4	Familieleden	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	Docent(e)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	Jeugdprofessional (bijvoorbeeld jongeren-werker)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Vul hieronder je e-mailadres en/of mobiel als je mee wilt doen in een mogelijk vervolgonderzoek. Schoukran bezzaf! Hartelijk dank voor je medewerking!

Vragenlijst 3 (studie 3): sociale professionals 'Identiteit, communicatie & participatie'

Naam (optioneel) :……..
Geslacht : m/v
Leeftijd :…….....
Etniciteit :……..
Beroep :…….
Mailadres (optioneel) :……..

IDENTITEIT

Welke 5 woorden omschrijven het beste jouw identiteit?

Welke omschrijvingen van jouw identiteit beschouw je als typisch Nederlands?

COMMUNICATIE

Wat vind jij belangrijk in contact of omgang met de ander?

Welk dominant beeld heb jij van de Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren vanaf 15 jaar?

PARTICIPATIE

Wat kunnen Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren, die relatief weinig participeren in de Nederlandse samenleving, minimaal doen om dit te verbeteren?

Wat kan de Marokkaanse gemeenschap in Nederland zelf doen om de participatie te bevorderen van Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren?

Hoe is hulpverlening aan Marokkaans-Nederlandse jongeren te verbeteren?

Welke rol zie jij daarin voor jezelf als hulpverlener?

Vragenlijst 4 (studie 4): jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders en sociaal werkers.

Algemene vragen:
Kun je kort vertellen wie je bent? (Denk aan naam & leeftijd)
Wat doe in je dagelijkse leven? (Denk aan studie, vrije tijd of functie)
Relevante vragen: SES, opleiding, gezinssamenstelling, beroep ouders, woonplaats en/of buurt/wijk.

I. Social Engagement:
1. Beschrijf kort je belangrijkste activiteiten (min.2, max.5) van afgelopen week.
2. Hoe evalueer of waardeer je deze genoemde activiteiten?
3.a Geef voorbeelden waar je trots op bent: op iets wat je in je leven gedaan hebt of doet?*
3.b Geef voorbeelden waar je trots op bent: op iets wat je in je leven gedaan hebt of doet in contact met Marokkaanse Nederlanders?**
4.a Geef voorbeelden over iets wat je zelf hebt gedaan en waar je ontevreden over bent?*
5.a. Hoe had je het (zie 4a) beter of anders kunnen doen om dit te voorkomen?*
4.b Geef voorbeelden over iets wat je zelf hebt gedaan en waar je ontevreden over bent in contact met Marokkaanse Nederlanders?**
5.b Hoe had je het (zie 4b) beter of anders kunnen doen om dit te voorkomen?**
6. Wat is voor jou de betekenis van de band die je met je familie hebt (denk aan krachten en/of lasten)? Geef voorbeelden.
7. Als je de waarde van je familieband vergelijkt met jouw ouders: wat valt je op?
8. Wat zie jij als een voordeel van je familieband?
9. Wat zie jij als een nadeel van je familieband?
10. Wat zie je als een voordeel van je Marokkaanse achtergrond?*
11. Wat zie je als een nadeel van je Marokkaanse achtergrond?*
12. Met hoeveel Marokkaanse Nederlanders heb je gisteren (op een doordeweekse dag) en 1 dag in het weekend contact gehad (persoonlijk/sociale media)?*
13. Met wie heb je meer contact: Marokkanen of Nederlanders (fysiek/virtueel)?*
14. Leg aard van het contact uit: wat doe je samen zoal? (denk aan huiswerk maken, bezoek* bioscoop/moskee, samen eten, welke activiteiten nog meer?)
15. Noem een persoon (kan iedereen zijn) of ontmoeting die voor jou een verschil heeft gemaakt waardoor je leven een andere wending heeft genomen (positief of negatief).
16. Noem een belangrijke persoon (geen familie) die een positieve invloed op jou heeft (gehad). Denk aan rolmodel of een goed voorbeeld binnen je interne en/of externe netwerk.
17. Leg aard van het contact met deze persoon uit.
18. Wat zie je als een voordeel van je Nederlandse achtergrond?
19. Wat zie je als een nadeel van je Nederlandse achtergrond?
20. Met hoeveel Nederlanders heb je gisteren (op een doordeweekse dag) en 1 dag in het weekend contact gehad (persoonlijk/sociale media)?*
21.a Hoeveel Nederlandse vrienden heb je?*
21.b Hoeveel collega's en/of vrienden met een Marokkaanse achtergrond ken je?)**
22. Leg aard van het contact uit: wat doe je samen zoal?

II. Sociaal kapitaal
23. Naar wie ga je toe als je hulp, vraag of advies nodig hebt?
24. Van wie zou je graag (extra) steun of hulp willen hebben?
25. Welke voordelen zie jij in je buurt om je (maatschappelijke) positie te verbeteren?*
26. Welke nadelen zie jij in je buurt om je (maatschappelijke) positie te verbeteren?*
27. Hoe is jouw contact met mensen in jouw buurt? (Denk bv: directe buren)*
28.a Welk beeld denk je dat Marokkanen in Nederland over jou hebben?**
29.a In hoeverre klopt dit beeld?**

28.b Welk beeld denk jij dat Nederlanders over jou hebben?*
29.b In hoeverre klopt dit beeld?*
30.a Wat voor beeld heb jij (op basis van eigen ervaring of via iemand anders gehoord) van hulpverleners (bv. maatschappelijk werkers, opbouwwerkers of jongerenwerkers)?*
31.a In hoeverre klopt dit beeld?*
30.b Wat voor beeld heb jij (op basis van eigen ervaring of via collega's) van jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders?**
31.b In hoeverre klopt dit beeld?**
32.a Hoe denk jij dat Nederlanders je waarderen?* Geef voorbeelden.
32.b Hoe denk jij dat Nederlandse Marokkanen je waarderen?** Geef voorbeelden.
33. Beschrijf succesfactoren (voorbeelden waar het goed liep) wat werkt in contact met Marokkaanse Nederlanders om hun sociale participatie te vergroten?
34. Beschrijf faalfactoren (voorbeelden waar het fout liep) wat niet werkt om de participatie onder jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders te vergroten?
35. Beschrijf middels voorbeelden welke uitdagingen je ziet om de participatie onder jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders te vergroten?
36. Wat is jouw ervaring buitenshuis in contact met Nederlanders?* (Denk aan sportclub, school en/of straat)
37. Wat is jouw ervaring met het zoeken van stage of werk?*
38.a Welke goede ervaring heb jij (zelf meegemaakt of gehoord via een andere Marokkaanse Nederlander die jij kent) gehad in contact met hulpverleners?*
38.b Welke goede ervaring heb jij (zelf meegemaakt of gehoord via iemand anders die jij kent) gehad contact met Marokkaanse Nederlanders?**
39.a Welke slechte ervaring heb jij (zelf meegemaakt of gehoord via een andere Marokkaanse Nederlander die jij kent) gehad in contact met hulpverleners?*
39.b Welke slechte ervaring heb jij (zelf meegemaakt of gehoord via iemand anders die jij kent) gehad in contact met Marokkaanse Nederlanders?**
40. Welke kansen zie jij voor Marokkaanse Nederlanders om beter te presteren in de Nederlandse samenleving, bijvoorbeeld bij het vinden van stage of werk?
41. Welke hindernissen zie jij voor Marokkaanse Nederlanders om beter te participeren?
42. Wat zie je van jezelf als een talent of kwaliteit?*
43. Wat wil je graag bereiken?*
44. Waar zie je jezelf over 5 jaar het liefst werken?*
45. Hoe kan je talent of je kwaliteit jou daarbij helpen?*
46. Welke rol kunnen hulpverleners spelen in het meehelpen realiseren van ambities van jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders?
47. Welke rol kan de Marokkaanse gemeenschap spelen in het meehelpen realiseren van ambities van jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders?
48.Welk advies -gericht aan de hulpverleners- geeft de grootste kans aan jonge Marokkaanse Nederlanders die het minder goed doen om beter te slagen in de Nederlandse samenleving?
49. Welk advies geeft de grootste kans aan Marokkaanse Nederlandse jongeren om minimaal zelf te doen om beter te slagen in de Nederlandse samenleving?
**Vragen alleen gericht aan Marokkaanse Nederlanders.*
*** Vragen alleen gericht aan hulpverleners (sociaal werkers).*

THE OVERALL AIM OF THIS THESIS IS TO EXAMINE WHAT FACTORS HAVE IMPACT ON THE IDENTITY AND PARTICIPATION PATTERNS OF YOUNG MOROCCAN-DUTCH AND HOW MAINSTREAM DUTCH SOCIAL WORKERS CAN IMPROVE SOCIAL PARTICIPATION OF THIS BICULTURAL GROUP IN THE DUTCH SOCIETY.

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