

Intergenerational Acculturation of Moroccan Immigrants in the Netherlands

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Abstract

In this paper the interaction between receiving societies' integration ideologies and Moroccan immigrants' socio-cultural adaptation patterns are examined. A large bulk of research on acculturation has been done in immigrant receiving societies in the last decades. In spite of the huge amount of research in the field, immigrant integration continues to dominate the social, political, and scientific agenda of immigrant receiving societies. Integration requires the mutual co-ordinated efforts of both the host and the immigrant groups. In that respect, there are two sides to this whole matter:

- 1) Receiving society institutions – policies and host community members' acculturation attitudes
- 2) Immigrant minorities' acculturation attitudes and their actual integration patterns.

The second dimension has been investigated extensively but the research on the first dimension in combination with the second is almost nonexistent. In spite of certain conceptual and methodological problems inherent in acculturation research, social integration of various immigrant groups in different national contexts have been researched at length. Integration is multidimensional and host community's attitudes towards immigrant integration have certain effects on the immigrant groups' acculturation attitudes. In order to identify the link between acculturation patterns of immigrants and the receiving society's integration ideology, a survey study has been carried out. One hundred Moroccan immigrants participated in the study. 63 of the informants were born in Morocco while 37 were born in the Netherlands. They completed the Multiculturalism Index survey and Acculturation orientations survey. The global results show that there are very small differences between the generations with respect to their sociocultural orientations and acculturation patterns.

Introduction

This paper deals with acculturation patterns of Moroccan immigrants in the Dutch context. The study it reports upon is a replication of a similar study conducted on Turkish immigrants in France (Akinçi and Yagmur, to appear). As such, large parts of the earlier paper are reproduced here, especially those dealing with the literature on acculturation and the design of the study.

When immigrants leave their homeland and settle in a new cultural context, they are faced with a substantial number of difficulties. First of all, they have to learn a new language and adapt to a new culture. The familiar norms and traditions are not there anymore. Unfamiliar institutions, structures and whole new set of behaviours surround the newcomers, which turn out to be extremely stressful for some people. The socio-cultural, linguistic, and psychological consequences of immigration have been studied extensively. Sociolinguistic studies examined the linguistic consequences of immigration. In order to systematically investigate the impact of language contact situations on immigrant minority languages, various language use typologies have been proposed (Kloss, 1966; Giles, et al 1977; Smolicz, 1981; Conklin and Lourie, 1983; Fishman 1991; Edwards, 1992; and Bourhis 2001). Each of

these frameworks considers particular linguistic and social factors to be essential for an accurate description of language contact situations. Immigrant minority groups are generally known to shift to the mainstream language within three generations (Appel & Muysken, 1987; Gonzo & Saltarelli, 1983).

Moving into a new context, immigrants go through cultural changes as well. Inevitably, the immigration experience results in varying degrees of acculturation. In the literature on cultural integration, acculturation refers to the process of adaptation along two dimensions: (a) adoption of ideals, values, and behaviours of the receiving culture, and (b) retention of ideals, values, and beliefs from the culture of origin (Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind, & Vedder, 2001). Acculturation studies mostly employ the methods used in mainstream psychology to reflect upon cultural change and socio-cultural adaptation of immigrants. In most cases, conceptual frameworks of most acculturation studies are based on mainstream psychology and the focus is on the individual. However, without having an understanding of the acculturation context, intergroup dynamics and social processes, reflecting only on immigrants' acculturation orientations would give incomplete answers. In this study, before reflecting on Moroccan immigrants' ethnic identification patterns and cultural orientations, contextual information with respect to Dutch policies and public attitudes towards immigrants is presented so that intergroup dynamics can be contextualized.

Identity reconstruction and ethnic identification

A large bulk of research on acculturation has been done in immigrant receiving societies in the last decades. In spite of numerous findings on the topic, immigrant integration continues to dominate the social, political, and scientific agenda of immigrant receiving societies. Integration requires the mutual co-ordinated efforts of both the host and the immigrant groups. Our intention therefore is to study this agenda from two different angles:

- 1) Receiving societies' institutions and policies and host community members' acculturation attitudes.
- 2) Immigrant minorities' acculturation attitudes and their actual integration patterns.

The second dimension has been investigated extensively but the research on the first dimension in combination with the second is almost nonexistent. In spite of certain conceptual and methodological problems inherent in earlier acculturation research, social integration of various immigrant groups in different national contexts has been investigated at length. Integration is multidimensional and host communities' attitudes towards immigrant integration appear to have certain effects on the immigrant groups' acculturation attitudes and practices. Especially in some European countries, immigrants and asylum seekers are posed as aliens and invaders who threaten the integrity and homogeneity of national identity (Crowley & Hickman, 2008). As a result, immigrants' position as outsiders is strengthened in the public psyche; consequently managing migration and promoting social cohesion appear to be a greater challenge than ever.

In their seminal work, Redfield, Linton, & Herskovits, (1936) defined acculturation as the process of cultural change that results from continuous contacts between people from different cultures. In line with a number of acculturation models, including unidimensional and bidimensional, a number of acculturation measures have been developed. The discussion over which model captures the acculturation process accurately and whether existing instruments assess acculturation properly still preoccupies researchers (Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006; Kang, 2006; Phinney, 1990). The unidimensional model views acculturation as the process of moving from one cultural identity to the other over time (Gordon, 1964). In this

approach, ethnic minorities do not have the full freedom in choosing their cultural identities. They either have to choose for their ancestral group or the mainstream majority group. Because people might easily identify themselves with two or more cultures and biculturalism is quite common, especially among second- and third-generation immigrants, the unidimensional model turned out to be inadequate. Given the restrictive nature of the unidimensional model, the bidimensional model gained more ground in acculturation research. The bidimensional model proposes that the maintenance of ethnic identity is independent from the development of mainstream cultural identity, i.e., individuals might maintain ancestral cultural habits while adopting new cultural habits from the receiving society.

It is possible for an individual to have a sense of belongingness in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity. Clement & Noels (1992) suggested that ethnolinguistic identity is viewed as dynamic and situationally dependent, and the ability to develop and maintain competence in both cultures and to shift between them as required by contextual demands is crucial for psychological well-being. In this line of reasoning, especially among second-generation immigrants, developing hybrid identities or choosing the better of the two worlds is always possible. Nevertheless, the ethnic and national identities of immigrants and their role in adaptation can best be understood in terms of an interaction between the attitudes and characteristics of the immigrants and the response of the receiving society. As long as immigrants do not feel that they are fully accepted by the host society members, their integration will always be problematic.

Ethnic identity is a dynamic and very complex concept, which refers to one's sense of self-perception as a member of a group. Ethnic identity is mostly associated with a common ancestry, language, origin and sometimes with religion. It is a rather fluid concept because ascribed versus subscribed nature of ethnic identity may not always overlap. Ethnicity is understood as a group's self-recognition (*subscribed*) as well as of its recognition in the eyes of the outsiders (*ascribed*) (Fishman, 1989). Ethnic identity basically refers to an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group. Ethnic identification and host group identification are important dimensions of our design in that how the Moroccan informants view their ethnicity, what they think others think of them, and the relationship between the two views. Because ethnicity is basically a sense of belonging to an ancestral group, the focus will be on informants' self-identification, feelings of belongingness, commitment to a group, a sense of shared values, and attitudes towards one's own ethnic group. As indicated by Liebkind (2006: 80) "Changes in self-identification during acculturation involve issues similar to those used to identify acculturation attitudes, such as whether or not to adopt the host country label and whether or not to retain the ethnic label." As a matter of fact, ethnic self-identification alone would not tell us how much a person actually identifies with the self-applied category. Nevertheless, the level of identification is a serious indication for acculturative attitudes, which will be tested across in the Dutch context to see intergenerational differences among Moroccan immigrants.

The Moroccan Community in the Netherlands

The following section gives an overview of the demographic and social position of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands. When using the term 'Moroccan' we do not necessarily refer to someone with only the Moroccan nationality, nor does the term exclude people who consider themselves as Dutch. The term is used to refer to anyone with a Moroccan ancestry.

Demographic overview

The last decennia have witnessed a rise in the number of Dutch citizens with a Moroccan background. Especially the number of so-called second generation (with either or both parents born in Morocco) has increased rapidly in the last decade (75% increase from 1998 to 2008), while that of the first generation has increased with a mere 15%. The following table gives an overview of the number of Moroccans in The Netherlands and illustrates this development.

Table 1: demographic development of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands

Year	First generation (born in Morocco)	Second generation (born in the Netherlands)		Total of first and second generation Moroccans
		One parent born in Morocco	Both parents born in Morocco	
1998	145 604	8 074	88 304	241 982
1999	149 269	8 850	94 174	252 293
2000	152 540	9 626	100 055	262 221
2001	155 669	10 621	106 462	272 752
2002	159 605	11 716	112 803	284 124
2003	163 280	12 982	119 070	295 332
2004	166 464	14 347	125 408	306 219
2005	168 400	15 924	131 497	315 821
2006	168 504	17 580	137 155	323 239
2007	167 893	19 234	142 366	329 493
2008*	167 258	20 998	146 952	335 200

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008. Reproduced from Lansbergen 2008.

Regarding their geographical distribution, About 75% lives in 4 provinces of The Netherlands, as illustrated by table 2.

Table 2: Geographical distribution of the Moroccan community in the Netherlands

2007	First generation (born in Morocco)	Second generation (one or both parents born in Morocco)	Total
Groningen	691	813	1 504
Friesland	1 043	1 110	2 153
Drenthe	650	714	1 364
Overijssel	1 960	2 232	4 192
Flevoland	4 357	4 818	9 175
Gelderland	9 723	9 492	19 215
Utrecht	23 172	21 717	44 889
N-Holland	46 739	42 812	89 551
Z-Holland	51 991	49 533	101 524

Zeeland	1 017	1 102	2 119
N-Brabant	18 103	19 198	37 301
Limburg	8 447	8 059	16 506

Source: Central Bureau of Statistics, 2008. Reproduced from Lansbergen 2008

Social participation

By social participation we mean the degree to which the Moroccan Community participates in the social sphere (as opposed to the private sphere), by taking part in and/or initiating different sorts of organisations.

Van Heelsum (2001) reports that in 2000 there were 681 Moroccan organizations in the Netherlands, 25% of which were religious Islamic organizations and mosques. In 2000 there was approximately 1 organization for every 400 Moroccans in the Netherlands. In 2002, only 1% of Moroccans was a member of a religious organization, but 25% of Moroccans say that they participate in one or more activities offered by religious organizations (Phalet & Ter Wal, 2004).

Regarding contacts with the Dutch autochthonous population, a 83% of Moroccans state that they have friends from the autochthonous community. However, the percentage reflecting home visits to each other is much lower. 41% of the first generation Moroccans and 22% second generation Moroccans say they never invite/receive guests from the Dutch community. Regarding contacts during free time (outside work contexts), 10% first generation and 35% second generation say they frequently have contacts with the Dutch autochthonous population.

Table 3: Contacts with the autochthonous population (in percentages)

	Moroccans	Turks	Surinamers	Antilleans
	Never receive autochthonous Dutch in own home:			
1 st generation	41	45	19	23
2 nd generation	22	24	11	7
	Have frequent contacts with autochthonous in free time:			
1 st generation	10	8	43	42
In-between generation	19	19	42	58
2 nd generation	35	26	66	74

Source: van Praag (2006).

Dutch Language Policies Concerning Linguistic Minorities

Nowadays, issues of integration, unemployment, school dropouts, criminality and so on are associated with immigrant groups in the media. Such media representation is not always well founded. According to Brands et al. (1998), almost without exception, immigrants are always associated with problems in the Dutch media. As two major Islamic groups, Turkish and Moroccan communities seem to get the highest share in this negative projection. The prevalent attitude in the Netherlands is against the maintenance of immigrant minority languages. Extra and Verhoeven (1993: 22-23) indicate that: "It is a common Dutch attitude that ethnic minority families should give up their home language and should switch to Dutch, and that ethnic minority children should spend all their energy on second language learning instead of wasting time on first language maintenance. In this conception, multilingualism is seen as a problem, not a resource." Such views find even more political and public support in recent years. Boeschoten, Dorleijn, and Leezenberg (1993: 132) suggest that: "in the

Netherlands (as in most European countries) neither the general public, nor politicians and policy makers have much sympathy for the languages, and indeed separate cultural identities of immigrant minorities.” Scholars and policy makers explicitly expressed their negative attitudes to the teaching of immigrant minority languages during school hours (Driessen, 1997). With the latest legislation concerning the teaching of immigrant minority languages, the Dutch government has decided to close down mother tongue classes as of August 2004. Diversity and multilingualism are seen as threats to social cohesion. With such prohibitive measures, policy makers want to speed up the integration of immigrants into the mainstream society. In this respect, the current trend in the Netherlands is highly comparable to “English only movement” in the USA (Barker et al. 2001). Just as the English-only movement in the USA, Dutch-only tendency aims at limiting the use, maintenance, promotion, and salience of immigrant minority languages. Along with many other factors, mastery of Dutch was seen to be the most fundamental aspect of the acculturation process because language is considered to be the overarching value to achieve social cohesion and national unity in the Netherlands. Given the circumstances, one would hardly expect first language maintenance among younger immigrants. Accordingly, the linguistic assimilation of Moroccan immigrants is shown to be quite high in the Netherlands but concerning sociocultural orientation and religious affiliation Moroccan immigrants turn out to be highly in-group oriented (Extra & Yagmur, 2004; in press).

Present Study

In the literature on acculturation, ethnic identity is considered as an aspect of acculturation. The focus has been on how individuals relate to their own group and to the host society in terms of their cultural orientation. In line with the research on acculturation, two basic models were employed in research: linear and two-dimensional models. In the linear model, ethnic identity is described along a continuum from complete identification with the in-group to complete identification with the out-group (Phinney, 1990). In the two-dimensional model, the identification with the in- and out-group is considered to be independent. In this model, ethnic minority group members might have a strong or weak identification with one or both groups. Strong identification with the in-group does not necessarily suggest a weak identification with the out-group. The person might have strong bicultural identification. In order to investigate the dynamics of ethnic identity construction across generations, bipolar model of ethnic identification is employed in this study and the following set of questions and hypotheses are formulated to tap ethnic identification among Moroccan immigrants:

- 1) What is the extent of in- and out-group identification among Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands?
 - a) Second-generation immigrants will identify strongly with the host group compared to the first-generation informants.
 - b) First-generation immigrants will be more religiously oriented compared to the second-generation informants.
- 2) To what extent is generation a predictor of self-identification?
- 3) What are the factors contributing to Moroccan ethnic identification?

In order to find answers to the above questions, the “Language, Culture and Identity Questionnaire” is employed, which includes seven sub-sections. For the purposes of this paper, only the ethnic identification section of the questionnaire is utilized. In the first part of the questionnaire, background information is collected by means of 12 questions on gender, age, country of birth, the number of years lived in the host country, the father’s and mother’s

birth countries, place of residence, education received (diploma), profession, marital status, if married, the partner's birth country, and finally how often does the person visit the homeland. Ethnic identification scale is based on Phinney's (1990; 2003) ethnic identity and acculturation framework, and Verkuyten's (2005) ethnic identification approach. Two-dimensional ethnic identification scale included three sub-sections with a total of 21 questions. In the first question, the informants choose their ethnic identification from the given four choices as shown below:

- 1) Different people live in The Netherlands. To which group do you think you belong to?
 - 0 The Moroccan group
 - 0 The Dutch group
 - 0 Both Moroccan and Dutch
 - 0 Other, namely:

The second and third questions are in an endorsement format using five-point Likert scales:

	I definitely don't agree	I don't agree	Neutral	I agree	I definitely agree
2) I feel Moroccan	1	2	3	4	5
3) I feel Dutch	1	2	3	4	5

In order to examine the factors contributing to feeling Moroccan or Dutch, in the bipolar fashion, 10 questions for Moroccan identification and 8 questions for Dutch identification are formulated. Ascribed and subscribed dimensions of ethnic identification (Fishman, 1989) as well as core values theory of Smolicz (1981) were considered in choosing identification dimensions, such as language, religion, ancestry, cultural orientation, and in-group norms and values. The questions in the bipolar scales are almost the same both for Dutch and Moroccan but in the Moroccan one, there are questions on religious identification. The questionnaire was offered to informants in Dutch.

Informants

Almost in all acculturation studies informant selection turns out to be a serious issue. In order to have a representative sample, researchers should be able to reach people from all walks of life so that all kinds of ethnic and cultural orientation can be established. However, due to a number of reasons, using a completely random sampling is beyond reach. Moroccan Arabic and Amazigh (Berber) speaking people can be contacted through their social networks, cultural organisations, religious organisations or Mosques, which means through completely Moroccan networks. In this way, only people who are in some way connected with Moroccan community are included in the study.

In order to have access to informants, a number of Moroccan organisations in a number of cities, where Moroccan people are found in majority, were contacted. The purpose of the survey was explained and collaboration was asked. In some cases, some individuals refused to fill in the questionnaire because some questions, especially the section on religion, sounded highly personal to them. Questions in the cultural orientation section and religious identity section were found to be sensitive by some informants as these questions dealt with personal faith. We presume that informants were concerned whether the data were to be used for political purposes, which is a highly sensitive issue in the Moroccan community. In spite of

the difficulties we were able to reach, 61 first-generation and 39 second-generation informants. Tables 4 and 5 summarise informants' characteristics.

Table 4 Gender and Generation distribution of Informants (N=100)

	Female	Male	Total
First-generation	25	36	61
Second-generation	24	15	39
Total	49	51	100

Because of the conceptual content of the questions, some informants reported that they had no understanding of the issues that were asked from them. Even though we took all the measures in rephrasing the wording of the questions, education turned out to be an important factor. Unless informants had a certain level of literacy, it was not possible for them to fill in the questionnaires on their own. where possible, some informants were helped. Ultimately, the participation of elderly first-generation informants remained limited. Table 5 summarises age and generation distribution of informants.

Table 5 Mean ages of the informants across generations

	N	Mean	Std. D.
First-generation	61	41,08	9,74
Second-generation	39	22,87	3,70

Results

In line with the research questions, data were analysed using *SPSS* Statistical package (Version 16). In order to find out the extent of in- and out-group identification among Moroccan immigrants in The Netherlands (Question 1), descriptive statistics procedures were done first. Table 6 shows the result of cross tabulation between generation and ethnic identification:

Table 6 Ethnic identification across generations (number of persons)

Generation	Moroccan Group	Dutch Group	Both Groups	Another Group
First-generation	31	1	25	4
Second-generation	16	1	19	3
Total	47	2	44	7

As seen from Table 6, 50,8% of the first-generation and 41% of the second-generation choose their ethnic identification as Moroccan. Two informants identify themselves as Dutch only. In line with our Hypothesis 1a, the results show that irrespective of generation, a portion of Moroccan immigrants identify equally with the Dutch and Moroccan ethnicities together, which is supportive of the bi-polar model. While 41% of the first-generation choose for double identification, 48,7% of the second-generation chooses for both groups. In order to find answers to our second and third research questions as well as the second hypothesis, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) between generations concerning their ethnic identification was carried out. Table 7 shows the result of ANOVA test.

Table 7 ANOVA results across generations for Moroccan identification (N = 100)

	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
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1. Feeling as a Moroccan	FG	61	4.16	.800	.915	.341
	SG	39	4.31	.614		
2. Feeling Moroccan because I speak a Moroccan language	FG	61	3.62	1.293	.001	.977
	SG	39	3.62	1.269		
3. Feeling Moroccan because I am Muslim	FG	58	3.71	1.298	.101	.751
	SG	37	3.62	1.233		
4. Feeling Moroccan because I know a lot about my religion	FG	61	3.64	1.304	.576	.450
	SG	39	3.44	1.314		
5. Feeling Moroccan because I live according to my tradition	FG	61	3.87	1.087	.486	.487
	SG	39	4.03	1.112		
6. Feeling Moroccan because my parents are Moroccan	FG	61	4.25	1.011	1.785	.185
	SG	39	4.51	.914		
7. Feeling Moroccan because I was brought up as a Moroccan	FG	61	4.18	.922	.016	.899
	SG	39	4.21	1.005		
8. Feeling Moroccan because I look like Moroccan	FG	61	3.97	1.064	.092	.762
	SG	38	3.89	1.290		
9. Feeling Moroccan because I feel more comfortable among the Moroccans	FG	61	3.72	1.067	4.756	.032
	SG	38	3.21	1.234		
10. Feeling Moroccan because other people consider me as a Moroccan	FG	61	3.95	1.244	.283	.596
	SG	38	3.82	1.205		
11. Feeling Moroccan because Dutch culture doesn't suit me	FG	61	2.07	1.078	4.723	.032
	SG	38	1.63	.751		

As seen from Table 7, our second hypothesis (1b) is not confirmed, namely that both the first-generation and second-generation immigrants are equally religiously oriented. Both groups consider their religious identity as an important dimension of their Moroccan ethnic identification. The difference between the first and second-generation is *not* insignificant ($F(1, 99) = .101, p = .751$). Contrary to our expectations, there seem to be no significant differences between the generations concerning their ethnic identification and the components of that identification.

In order to find an answer to the third research question, a number of statistical procedures had to be followed to see whether generation was a predictor of self-identification. As seen in Table 7 in terms of Moroccan identification there is no difference between the generations in general. On the basis of Moroccan identification patterns, we cannot claim that generation is a predictor of self-identification. However, to provide a two-dimensional picture, in Table 8, the informants' Dutch-identification patterns are presented.

Table 8 ANOVA results across generations for Dutch identification (N = 100)

	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Feeling as a Dutch	FG	61	2.90	1.060	3.186	.077
	SG	38	3.29	1.037		
2. Feeling Dutch because I speak Dutch	FG	58	3.36	1.135	.789	.377
	SG	38	3.58	1.222		
3. Feeling Dutch because I know Dutch mentality	FG	58	3.09	1.144	2.530	.115
	SG	38	3.47	1.202		
4. Feeling Dutch because I live according to Dutch tradition	FG	58	2.28	1.039	1.788	.184
	SG	38	2.58	1.154		
5. Feeling Dutch because I was brought up as a Dutch	FG	58	1.83	.819	1.919	.169
	SG	38	2.08	.941		
6. Feeling Dutch because I look	FG	58	1.24	.540	2.543	.114

like Dutch	SG	38	1.45	.724		
7. Feeling Dutch because I feel more comfortable among the Dutch	FG	58	2.19	1.034	1.348	.249
	SG	38	2.45	1.108		
8. Feeling Dutch because other people consider me as a Dutch	FG	58	1.62	.895	1.615	.207
	SG	38	1.87	.991		
9. Feeling Dutch because Moroccan culture doesn't suit me	FG	58	1.36	.742	.017	.896
	SG	38	1.34	.708		

Upon examination of the figures in Table 8, it is easily seen that there are no differences between the generations concerning identification with the Dutch. Apparently, both groups feel that they speak Dutch and that they know Dutch language and mentality, which contributes to their identification with the Dutch. Awareness of cultural differences and feeling of 'knowing' the other culture turn out to be important for cross-cultural understanding. Nevertheless, when it comes to social contact and feeling comfortable among the Dutch, as well as living in accordance with Dutch cultural norms, both generations are equally detached from the Dutch. On the basis of Dutch identification patterns, we again cannot claim that generation is be a predictor of self-identification among Moroccan immigrants.

Finally, in order to understand the factors contributing to Moroccan ethnic identification, a factor analysis was done on the Moroccan identification scale. In order to identify internal-consistency estimation of the items, the Moroccan scale was subjected to a *Reliability Analysis*. The Reliability coefficient obtained was very high.: $Alpha = .81$ for the Moroccan scale and $Alpha = .75$ for the Dutch identification scale. Given insignificant differences between the first- and second-generation informants, all informants were included together in the factor analysis to explore the underlying dimensions for the whole group. Eleven variables in the Moroccan identification scale were subjected to Principal Component Analysis, followed by a Varimax rotation. On the basis of rotated component matrix a two-factor solution emerged. Based on KMO and Bartlett's Test, a high score of sampling adequacy was obtained (.71). Table 9 presents the loadings on the two factors.

Table 9 Factor Structure of the Moroccan identification scale

	Core values of Moroccan identification	Ascribed characteristics
Feeling Moroccan because other people consider me as a Moroccan		.85
Feeling Moroccan because I look like a Moroccan		.76
Feeling Moroccan because I feel more comfortable among the Moroccans	.42	.68
Feeling Moroccan because I know a lot about my religion	.85	
Feeling Moroccan because I speak a Moroccan language	.80	
Feeling Moroccan because I am Muslim	.77	
Feeling Moroccan because I live according to my tradition	.72	
Feeling Moroccan because I was brought up as a Moroccan	.71	

Feeling Moroccan because my parents are Moroccan	.64	
Feeling Moroccan because Dutch culture doesn't suit me	.45	
Feeling myself as a Moroccan	.42	

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis. Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization. (Rotation converged in 3 iterations.) * Loadings with values less than .40 are suppressed.

On the basis of the factor analysis two clear-cut dimensions emerge for the Moroccan ethnic identification. Apparently, most of the variables have equal loadings for informants' subjective feeling of being Moroccan. Their religion, language, ancestry, and sense of membership in the Moroccan group, all turn out to be interrelated for the informants' ethnic identification. The second factor clearly emerges as a single variable with a very high loading on the ascribed characteristics such as 'feeling Moroccan because other people consider me as Moroccan' and 'because I look like a Moroccan'. Intriguingly, 'feeling comfortable among other Moroccans' emerges under the ascribed characteristics. Nevertheless, when we consider the intergroup setting, the underlying motivation still emerges as the comparison with the out-group. Religion and language turn out to be main elements of Moroccan identification.

Discussion and Conclusions

In this study, self-identification patterns of Moroccan immigrants across generations were explored. One's self-identity is very much in line with one's social identification. Tajfel (1981: 255) described social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to membership." In line with social identity theory, the informants in this study reported that they value their membership in the Moroccan group. Both first- and second-generation's ethnic identification is dominantly Moroccan. In many respects, they feel some cultural distance between themselves and the Dutch society. On the other hand, a large portion of Moroccan informants is bicultural in many respects as they have orientation to both cultures. In social psychology, social identity theory predicts that in response to their low status position, minority group members will stress their ethnic identity by emphasizing their desirable distinctions (Tajfel and Turner, 1986). The cultural distance between the Dutch and the Moroccan group is large. Moreover, in some media reports, there is some negative stereotyping about most immigrant groups, which might have an effect on intergroup relations. In the face of stigmatisation, some group members stick more to their heritage culture while some individuals might identify themselves as members of the majority group so that they avoid negative identity imposition.

Acculturation suggests adaptation of the norms and values of the receiving society. In this respect, we need to examine what 'norms and values' mean and whether it is possible to adopt a new set of norms and values when moving into a new society. According to Kluckhohn (1951: 395), "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." Schwartz (1992) emphasizes that values are cognitive representations of three universal human requirements: (a) biologically based organism needs, (b) social interactional requirements for interpersonal coordination, and (c) social institutional demands for group welfare and survival. Most researchers agree that values are evaluative

beliefs that synthesize affective and cognitive elements to orient people to the world in which they live (Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). Schwartz identified ten universal values present in 70 cultures: Hedonism, Power, Achievement, Stimulation, Self-direction, Universalism, Benevolence, Conformity, Tradition and Security. Each culture has its own set of priorities in terms of these values. Immigrant parents are often forced into a conflict between transmitting their children values they find important and encouraging values prevalent within the new society (Kuzynski et al. 1997 cited in Hitlin and Piliavin, 2004). To the extent that immigrants adopt the values of the receiving society, their acculturation is achieved. As opposed to politicians expectations', adopting new society's norms and values is not a straightforward process because cultural assimilation is a rearrangement of value structures. Research in the Dutch context show that most immigrant groups make a distinction between private and public domain; while they support full integration in the public domain; they are in favour of ethnic norms and values to be followed in the private domain (Arends-Toth, 2003). Immigrants sticking to their norms and values should not be seen as a sign of cultural conflict. Acculturation literature shows that immigrants can function in two different cultures quite competently, for which reason they are called bi-cultural. Biculturalism is a daily fact of life for many immigrants but most mainstream people consider this situation to be a threat for social cohesion in the society. In that reasoning, immigrants must show their loyalty to their country of residence by adopting the norms and values of the receiving society and they need to give up their old practices completely.

As shown in this study, ethnic identity basically refers to an individual's sense of self in terms of membership in a particular ethnic group. Ethnic identification and host group identification turned out to be important dimensions in showing intergenerational differences. Most of the second-generation Moroccan informants view their ethnicity similar to the first-generation but their orientation to the Dutch culture and society is somehow different from the first generation. For some of the informants, strong identification with both groups is indicative of integration and also of biculturalism.

Before closing this discussion, a word of caution about the differences between the first and the second generations is in place. The first generation here is mostly educated and proficient in the Dutch language. It is possible that if we looked at the combination of generation and education other results would have emerged. One can hypothesize that the differences between uneducated first generation and educated second generation are larger than between educated first generation and educated second generation. The fact that most questionnaires were filled online has 'filtered out' potential informants from the first generation. In a follow up study, we will look at this factor more closely.

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