

Title: To what extent are migrants from the Islamic world and their descendants discriminated against in the Dutch labour market?

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Abstract

This study explores the discrimination of individuals from the Islamic world in the Dutch labour market. There are about 800.000 people of Moroccan and Turkish descent living in the Netherlands which make up the majority of Muslims. It is seen that these minority groups experience discrimination, difficulties integrating and being left out. This has translated to the labour market as it is proven with a strong significance that individuals of Turkish, Moroccan, Egyptian and Iranian descent have 50 per cent lower odds to be invited for a job interview than native Dutch people. Moderating variables were used to test the relationship between ethnicity and invitation. These were whether applicants had good/no grades, were social or were hardworking. These moderating variables showed no significant moderating relationship. This startling difference between natives and people from the Islamic world can partially be attributed to the rise in political and societal Islamophobia in the Netherlands. Some politicians have demonized Muslims and their sacred religion since the start of the millennium. This has likely hurt the image of Muslims in the Netherlands and it is probable that this has had a negative effect on their chances of being hired.

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1. Introduction

The Islam religion was founded in the early 7th-century ad. For most of history, the religion played only a role in the middle eastern world. As globalization became more prevalent, Islam and its Muslim followers settled all over the world. The general Dutch public was first introduced to the religion of Islam and its followers in the late 1940s when a small group of Moluccan Muslims came from Indonesia to the Netherlands. But the Dutch were introduced to Islam when in the 1960s and 1970s groups of Moroccan and Turkish migrant workers were imported to the Netherlands to work low-skilled jobs (Rietveld-van Wingerden et al., 2019).

When these migrant workers first came here there was no movement against Islam as it was first the idea that these migrant workers would return home after a few years. This first started to change in the 1990s when the leader of the VVD Frits Bolkestein expressed that he thought the religion of Islam was a threat to the liberal Dutch democracy (Vasta, 2007). Het Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (2005) reported that a considerable amount of the Dutch population has a negative view towards immigrants. More than half of the Dutch population would rather not live next to an immigrant family. These views are even more extreme against Muslim immigrants in the Netherlands.

Negative views regarding Muslims in the Netherlands have risen since the start of the millennium. The horrendous attacks by Islamic fundamentalist groups on Western nations may have played a role in this. Furthermore, populism in the Netherlands plays a significantly larger role in the Dutch political climate than twenty years ago (van Es, 2018).

This possible discrimination may also be seen in the labour market. Table 1 gives an overview of the rate of unemployment of the largest relevant groups. It is clear that, although all people taken into account are all born in the Netherlands, people of Turkish or Moroccan descent are more likely to be unemployed. The numbers are decreasing across all three ethnicities. In the eight years measured here, all categories have broadly halved although the population of Moroccan descent have caught up to the population of Turkish descent, they are still lagging behind the native Dutch population. Bouma et al. (2011) outline that these differences can be explained by five different causes. Language proficiency, support from their social environment, difficulties turning education into a job, problems with multiculturalism and societal stereotypes. Especially these last three reasons can be linked to types of discrimination.

It will be explored in this paper whether Muslim migrants are getting discriminated against in the Dutch labour market. Furthermore, the role some politicians play in creating a climate where Muslim hate is accepted will be explored as a partial explanatory factor of this possible discrimination.

Year	Total Population	Turkey	Morocco	Netherlands
2013	8,2	17,2	20,5	6,6
2014	8,3	18,8	21,4	6,7
2015	7,9	19,3	22,3	6,3
2016	7	15	15	5,7
2017	5,9	10,3	12,6	4,7
2018	4,9	9,7	7,5	4
2019	4,4	7,1	10,6	3,4
2020	4,9	7	9	3,8
2021	4,2	9,4	9,4	3,2

Table 1 Unemployment based on ethnicity, born in the Netherlands (CBS, 2023)

2. Research problem

This paper aims to answer the research question: ‘To what extent are migrants from the Islamic world and their descendants discriminated against in the Dutch labour market?’. The first logical secondary question that arises from this research question is: How extensive is this negative image of Islam and the Arabic world in Dutch society? This secondary question will be a detailed account of whether Muslims and the Arabic world are viewed negatively by broader Dutch society. Another secondary question that needs answering is: How are Arabic migrants discriminated against when applying for a job? This secondary question will be answered by a logistical regression analysis of the data. This data will also be used to further delve into detail whether religion and ethnicity are intertwined when Arabic migrants are applying for a job. Or that one of these two variables is used more when discriminating. With these two secondary questions, there is confidence that the research question can be answered. This research will focus mostly on Turkish and Moroccan immigrants as they are by far the largest non-native and Muslim majority ethnic groups.

3. Theoretical framework

3.1 Othering

Othering is a concept where two groups are created in society. The first group is the in-group, this group views themselves as to how society and its members should act. The second group that then automatically gets created is an out-group. This group does not follow the rules or vision set out by the ‘in-group. This implicitly means that the in-group has a feeling of superiority over the others (Brons, 2015). This in-group attributes themselves with positive characteristics, therefore, enhancing their strong feeling toward their group and culture. This can subconsciously and deliberately lead to a more negative view of the other group. Which in part has a direct negative impact on the othered groups.

In the Netherlands, this concept is felt extra strongly towards Muslim immigrants as studies have shown. Verkuyten and Zaremba (2005) mention that the in-group, which is generalized here to Dutch society as a whole, most favour northern European immigrants. Then follow southern European immigrants and ex-colonial groups such as Surinamese and Antilleans. And last, the in-group has the least positive feeling towards Islamic groups such as Turkish and Moroccan migrants and their descendants. This is maybe best exemplified by Dutch populist politician Geert Wilders his famous 'Minder Marokkanen' speech. A speech where he pleaded for fewer Moroccans in Dutch society and that as he put it they need to go back to their own country (Boon, 2014).

3.2 Integration

Integration is defined as the involvement of racial and religious minorities, in a group and individual context, in a societal environment of a host nation. All the while these minorities retain the possibility to conserve some of their characteristics relating to their heritage (Shadid, 1991). This definition of integration is considered a pluralistic view of integration. As it doesn't conform to one of the two perspectives of integration discussed in the paper. The conflict perspective suggests that immigrants are in a constant battle to retain their identity and freedom. As they, according to this perspective, are in a constant losing position when it comes to their survival. The system perspective, on the other hand, puts the focus on the roles ethnically different migrants fulfil in the hosts' society (Shadid, 1991). The definition of the above disregards neither perspective. It takes a compromising middle position.

The definition of integration at face value is not too difficult to ascertain. It gets more challenging when talking about levels of integration and levels of interdependence that are established between the group that is integrating and the host society. As with integration an almost infinite amount of factors (housing, identity, education, marital status etc.) need to be looked at to get a clear picture (Lindo, 2005). Lindo (2005) divides levels of integration into three levels: the micro, median and macro levels. The micro level concerns all interactions between individuals. How individual people feel and consciously and subconsciously act towards each other. The median level is concerned with how already established institutions and new institutions within new societal groups interact with each other. And how these institutions communicate with individuals, if this is mostly cooperative or hostile. Processes on the macro level are mostly processes individuals are subjected to but as an individual do not have a grip over them. These are decisions taken by politicians mostly. On the macro scale, this anti-Islamist rhetoric is most visible to the public eye. Since the late 1990s populism has risen in the Netherlands. The first politician to become successful with this anti-Islamist rhetoric was Pim Fortuyn. In the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, he became a prominent figure in Dutch politics. He was the first mainstream politician who opposed integration by claiming Muslim culture was backward and formulating that Muslims were a threat to the accepting and emancipating Dutch society (Uitermark, 2012). Up to 2002, these remarks were widely criticized by prominent figures in the Dutch political and media climate. Fortuyn claimed he was demonized and went on to say that if something were to

happen to him the political elite would be to blame. When he was murdered two months later, it was blamed on this exact political leftist elite Fortuyn had been pointing to. This murder led to an election victory of the party of Fortuyn and had lasting consequences on the political climate. The media and political landscape became more accepting of anti-Islam rhetoric. This was further helped by the murder of controversial filmmaker Theo van Gogh. He was assassinated by a Dutch Islamic fundamentalist for making an anti-Islam film (Oudenampsen, 2013; Uitermark 2012). This paved a path for others to follow. The most prominent anti-Islam politician in the past 15 years has been Geert Wilders. His PVV (Freedom Party) was in the government coalition from 2010 to 2012. This further normalized discrimination against Muslim minorities in the Netherlands. The leader of the Christen Democratic Party (CDA), who was part of the government coalition, called Wilders' concerns regarding Muslim migrants 'understandable' and 'legitimate' (Oudenampsen, 2013). Wilders held his infamous 'minder Marrokanen' speech in 2014, where he pled for fewer Moroccans in the Netherlands. And he has introduced concepts such as banning the Quran or closing all Mosques to the Dutch discourse (Fennema, 2016).

All this is likely to harm the integration of Arabic Muslim migrants and their descendants into Dutch society. Stock and Zock (2016) touch upon the feelings of individuals with a Turkish or Moroccan background living in the Netherlands. This study explores the feelings of home and identity Dutch Moroccans and Turks have regarding the Netherlands and Turkey/Morocco. A 38-year-old Dutch man with Turkish roots who was interviewed said: 'Especially things certain people say on television, make you feel like whoa, yep, they're talking about us again. (...) So you do actually feel at home here, 38 years old, born here. And then some weirdo comes along who tars everybody with the same brush, and then everyone is bad all of a sudden. At times like that, yeah what do I think? I don't feel at home'. This is a single example but exemplifies the struggles of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants and their descendants. Furthermore, it was found that the people interviewed with Turkish and Moroccan roots felt that they needed to 'defend' when asked about their culture. Their colleagues or people at school would ask questions as if these individuals were the sole representative of a larger group, in most cases Dutch Muslims. These people felt that they constantly had to defend their norms and beliefs and that they would need to distance themselves from Islamist fundamentalists every time they committed a heinous crime. This can feel very alienating and can cause further segregation between ethnicities (Stock and Zock, 2016).

3.3 Discrimination

Discrimination against minorities in society can be experienced in many different ways. Bouma et al. (2011) outline four types of discrimination that can occur during the hiring process. Direct discrimination is discrimination where an employer will not hire someone purely based on the colour of their skin or their ethnicity. Indirect discrimination is when an employer makes demands that are not relevant to the job but have the aim of excluding certain groups. For example, to require applicants to speak perfect Dutch while that is not necessary for the job. Thirdly, institutional discrimination occurs when employers happen to use certain established organizations in the hiring process that are less likely to resonate with certain societal

groups. This can mean using channels to publish job vacancies where people of foreign descent already have a disadvantage from the start. There is also statistical discrimination. This can happen consciously or unconsciously. But it means attributing stereotypes you have of a group to the person that is applying for a job. This can often have negative impacts on people of foreign descent (Bouma et al., 2011; Niever and Andriessen, 2010). Often it is not one type of discrimination that occurs but a combination. It can also be challenging to tackle issues such as institutional and unconscious statistical discrimination as they are rooted in institutions and societal perceptions. These types of discrimination can only be changed slowly and steadily over decades (Dovidio et al., 2010).

4. Hypothesis

Based on the research question ‘To what extent are migrants from the Islamic world and their descendants discriminated against in the Dutch labour market?’ and the theoretical framework that outlines a politically motivated rise in anti-Islam oratory, it is expected that this discrimination will translate to the labour market. This research aims to examine the extent of discrimination faced by Arabic Muslim migrants and their descendants in the Dutch labour market.

This research uses a dataset where fictitious CVs of applicants with different ethnicities were sent to employers. It is expected that applicants from MENA (Middle East and North Africa) countries will be less likely to be invited for an interview. Furthermore, it is expected that applicants who mentioned that they were Muslim on their CV are less likely to be invited for an interview than people who practice a different religion or do not mention their religion at all.

These expectations are based on the theoretical framework of this paper. This research aims to empirically prove that Arabic Muslims and their descendants are discriminated against in the Dutch labour market by using a dataset that simulates real-world hiring practices.

5. Conceptual model

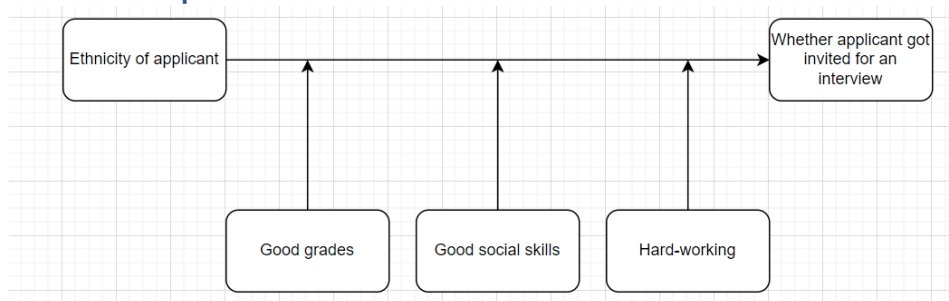


Figure 1 Conceptual model

The conceptual model is a visual representation of what will be tested in this research and can be seen in Figure 1. The most important relationship is the one between the ethnicity of the applicant and whether they got invited for the interview or not. The literature has already shown that discrimination against Muslims in the Netherlands

does happen. Therefore it needs to be seen how strongly this occurs in the job market. The three factors that are seen as beneficial (good grades, good social skills and being hard-working) are seen as moderating factors in this relationship.

6. Methodology

6.1 Dataset

The main dataset used in this research is from the GEMM (Growth, Equal Opportunities, Migration and Markets) project (Lancee et al., 2021). This dataset was created to research hiring discrimination in different European countries, including the Netherlands. It contains the answers the researchers received from employers after sending them fictitious job applications. These fictitious job candidates were from different ethnic backgrounds, including candidates originally from the Islamic world. The researchers didn't randomly assign countries to applicants. They chose a large number of natives obviously and also looked at large immigrant groups in each country and then overrepresented them in the dataset. Thus for the Netherlands, this meant that there were significantly more Moroccan, Turkish, Polish and Bulgarian applicants. In the Netherlands, the largest majority Muslim minorities are by far people of Moroccan and Turkish descent with about 400.000 people each. After that, it is the Iraqi minority with about 50.000 people (CBS, 2016).

The dataset includes over 4000 applications sent to different types of jobs in the Netherlands. The researchers initially choose six jobs that varied in customer interaction and education required and that the tasks during employment would be similar in the different countries. These six jobs were cook, store assistant, payroll clerk, receptionist, sales representative and software developer. Later, however, due to the lack of vacancies in some countries, including the Netherlands, four other jobs were added. These were carpenter, hairdresser, plumber and electrician (Lancee et al., 2021).

The main independent variable in the dataset is the ethnicity of the applicant. The country of origin was made clear through different features on their CV. For every country, the most popular last name was given to all applicants who were originally from said country. For every country, a female and male first name was chosen. These would mostly be the most popular name in the country of origin between 1991-96, however, religious names, names of popular figures and gender-neutral names weren't used. Furthermore, the researcher choose names that would be easy to pronounce for Western employers to remove further callback bias. The ethnicity of an applicant was also shown through the mention of speaking a foreign language on their CV (Lancee et al., 2021).

The main dependent variable in this dataset is a binary variable that just tells us if an applicant got invited for an interview or not. The researchers identified ten different types of responses. Three of these responses were incomplete application, detection and other. These show up as missing in this dependent variable and have been deleted from the dataset. The responses coded as invitation and pre-invitation are coded as invitation in this variable. Pre-invitation means that the applicant passed an

early selection process done by the employer. The other five variables are all coded as no invitation. These are rejection, confirmation of receipt, no response, missed call and additional info wanted (Lancee et al., 2021).

Three moderating variables were chosen for this research. To test whether mentioning positives on their CV would impact the relationship between ethnicity and whether they got invited for an interview. Each applicant had a 50 per cent chance of getting these attributes on their CV. These coin tosses were all made individually from each other and thus it would be possible to have all three or none on your CV. These variables were named 'grade', 'warmth' and 'performance'. These were the three parameters chosen by the research team to see whether the ethnicity of the applicants mattered when the same skills were shown on their CVs. These three variables mean:

- Warmth: The applicant had a small Alinea on their CV that they were social and worked well in groups
- Performance: the applicant had a small Alinea on their CV that they were hardworking and productive
- Grade: the applicant had mentioned on their CV that they got good grades in school

Moderation analysis will be employed to test whether the relationship between the ethnicity of an applicant and whether they got invited to the job interview varies for different moderation variables. The three moderating variables are qualities that would be a positive on a CV. If, therefore, a significant moderation effect is seen this would suggest that the relationship between ethnicity and interview invitation is conditional upon the value of good grades, being hardworking or being particularly social.

There are also some control variables that will be used. Control variables are necessary to accurately attribute the effects tested to the main independent variable. The control variables are labelled below.

- Gender: the applicant could be either male or female
- Migration status: this could either be native, first-generation immigrant or second-generation immigrant. This was mentioned in the cover letter that was sent with their CV
- Qualmismatch: this is a manually coded variable that indicates whether an applicant is underqualified/under skilled, a good match or overqualified/over skilled for the job
- Religion: Each applicant had fifty per cent chance of being religious. If the applicant is religious the majority religion for the country of origin is chosen. This means that for the Netherlands all religious participants are Christian and the applicants from the Islamic world are all Muslim. This was mentioned on their CV. The researchers mentioned on all CVs that applicants were involved in some youth project/community. If the applicant was religious it would be a Christian/Muslim/Buddhist youth project/community.

The religion variable will also be used as an explanatory variable in a crosstabulation as religion and ethnicity are often intertwined when it comes to Muslims in the Netherlands.

In this paper, a binary logistic regression will be utilized to analyse the significance of the relationship between the dependent and independent variables while also using control and moderating variables to further test this relationship. This will be done in SPSS. The significance level will be set to the standard $p < 0.05$.

6.2 Limitations

While the dataset is unquestionably detailed and complete on the part of the applicant, this is the obvious outcome of creating fictitious applicants, this research does have some limitations nevertheless. Nine out of the ten jobs chosen could be done with only an MBO education (MBO Rijnland, 2023). The jobs can be seen in Figure 2. Only sales representative is a job that would require an HBO education. This is a major limitation of the study as it can be argued that this study only encapsulates part of the labour market. As a large portion of the labour market is not properly represented in this research. Especially since the number of higher educated people between the ages of 15-75 has risen from 11,1 per cent in 1981 to 35,5 per cent in 2021 (van der Mooren & de Vries, 2022). This excludes a significant part of the labour market. This is made worse by the fact that Fouarge et al. (2017) argues that the demand for more complex jobs is on the rise. This means that there is a growing need for higher educated people. Therefore the study of whether discrimination takes place against Arabic migrants and their descendants is limited by the fact that it is not possible to analyse, through the data used in this paper, whether this happens in jobs where higher education is required.

The study is further limited by the fact that the researchers did not do any more than send out applications and wait for an answer. When employers asked for more information this was not given nor did the researchers pick up the phone when employers called. This is not a substantial limitation as the research still gives a clear indication if discrimination occurs when employers go through CVs irrespective of the further job application process.

Another limitation of the study is that the CVs are all fictitious. It can be a concern that the CVs are not representative of the real world, however only five CVs were detected as fake by employers in the Netherlands. Therefore, this should not be a problem.

Code	Label	ISCO-08 Code(s)	ISCO name	Sampling
1	Cook	512	Cooks	
2	Electrician	7412	Electrical Mechanics and Fitters	Not in Germany and Spain
3	Payroll Clerk	3341 3343 3344 411 412 4311 4313	Office Supervisor Administrative and Executive Secretaries Medical Secretaries* General Office Clerks Secretaries (General) Accounting and Bookkeeping Clerks Payroll Clerks	
4	Plumber	7126	Plumbers and Pipe Fitters	Not in Germany and Spain
5	Receptionist	4224 4226	Hotel Receptionists Receptionists (General)	
6	Sales Representative	2431 2433 2434 3322	Marketing professionals Technical and Medical Sales Professionals (excluding ICT) Information and Communications Technology Sales Professionals Commercial Sales Representatives	
7	Software Developer	2512 2513 2514	Software Developers Web Developers Applications Programmers	
8	Store Assistant	5223 5221 5222 5230	Shop Sales Assistants Shopkeepers Shop Supervisors** Cashiers and Ticket Clerks	
9	Hairdresser	5141	Hairdressers	Not in the UK
10	Carpenter	7115	Carpenters and Joiners	Not in Germany, Spain and the UK

Figure 2: the ten possible jobs for the applicants

7. Results

7.1 Descriptive statistics

The dataset consists of 4402 cases. In Table 2, the ethnicities of the participants are shown. As it can be seen the largest group are Dutch natives. The second and third largest groups are applicants of Turkish or Moroccan ethnicity. These are the majority Muslim nations with by far the largest amount of applicants. And they are also the largest non-native ethnicities in the Netherlands (CBS, 2016).

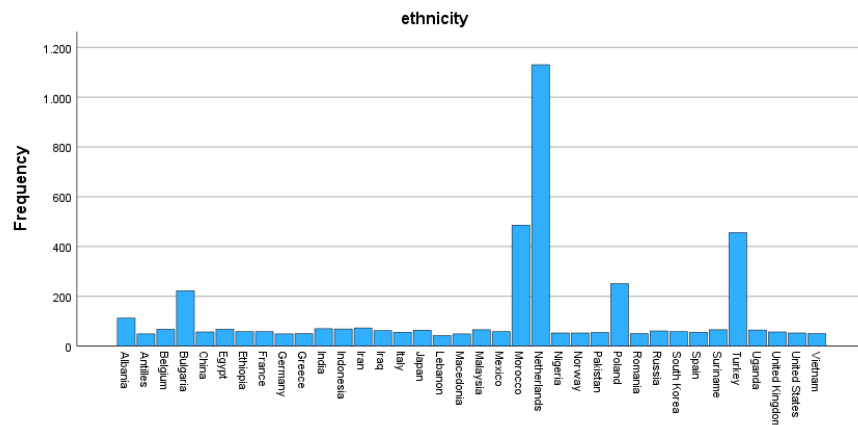


Table 2 Spread of ethnicities in dataset

The dataset is recoded using recoding into the same variables. The variable ethnicity was recoded for all countries except the Netherlands and MENA countries into 'other'. This way the tables and graphs will stay clear and comprehensible and will only display data necessary for this research.

7.2 Crosstabulation

		ethnicity									Total
		Egypt	Iran	Iraq	Lebanon	Morocco	Netherlands	Other	Turkey		
invitation	Invitation	Count	13	17	23	12	133	498	763	132	1591
	Expected Count		24,6	26,4	22,4	15,5	175,7	408,4	753,2	164,8	1591,0
	No invitation	Count	55	56	39	31	353	632	1321	324	2811
	Expected Count		43,4	46,6	39,6	27,5	310,3	721,6	1330,8	291,2	2811,0
Total	Count		68	73	62	43	486	1130	2084	456	4402
	Expected Count		68,0	73,0	62,0	43,0	486,0	1130,0	2084,0	456,0	4402,0

Table 3 Crosstabulation of the variables 'ethnicity' and 'invitation'

A crosstabulation, seen in Table 3, was run together with a Chi-Square test to distinguish whether a significant relationship was to be observed between the binary variable 'invitation' and the recoded nominal variable 'ethnicity'. It is observed that for all MENA countries except Iraq, the expected count to be invited for an interview is lower than the actual count. The expected count in a crosstabulation represents the anticipated cases in each cell based on the assumption that the variables are independent from one another. For the Netherlands, this is reversed. The actual count is significantly higher than the expected count. This crosstabulation already shows that applicants from MENA countries have lower chances of being invited for an interview. However, this table does not utilize any control or moderation variables. We can, therefore, not yet draw any conclusions from this. The Chi-Square test, see Table 4, was

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	72,477 ^a	7	<,001
Likelihood Ratio	74,049	7	<,001
N of Valid Cases	4402		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The
Table 4 Chi-Square tests result of aforementioned crosstabulation

run to determine whether the crosstabulation had significance and if there is a meaningful relationship between the variables 'invitation' and 'ethnicity'. The Chi-Square test is significant. Furthermore, the Chi-Square value is quite high in regard to the degrees of freedom. This would suggest a substantial relationship between the two variables. However, Wildemuth (2017) argues that while being a useful test for a variety of reasons there is probably no statistical method that has been misapplied so much. It is argued that there are three areas of caution when analysing a Chi-Square test. Firstly if the values of the variables are too low (i.e., less than five) the test may not be significant. Secondly, if the sample size is quite large the Chi-Square value goes up accordingly, this means that you can detect a relationship that is not really there. Thirdly the Chi-Square test only indicates that a relationship does exist but does not tell you anything about the relationship. Individual cells need to be looked at to determine this relationship (Wildemuth, 2017). None of these concerns are valid in the context of this research. Thus it can be confidently said that without controlling or moderating variables discrimination of people from the Islamic world occurs in the Dutch labour market.

7.3 Religion

invitation * religion Crosstabulation

			religion				
			Buddhist	Christian	Muslim	No religious affiliation	Total
invitation	Invitation	Count	42	509	221	819	1591
		Expected Count	31,8	453,2	297,1	808,9	1591,0
	No invitation	Count	46	745	601	1419	2811
		Expected Count	56,2	800,8	524,9	1429,1	2811,0
Total		Count	88	1254	822	2238	4402
		Expected Count	88,0	1254,0	822,0	2238,0	4402,0

Table 5 Crosstabulation of variables 'religion' and 'invitation'

A crosstabulation together with a Chi-Square test was run again to determine whether the religion of the applicant affected the chance of being invited for an interview. In this crosstabulation, the variable 'religion' is put up against the binary variable 'invitation'. It can be observed in Table 5 that for the Buddhist, Christian and non-religious groups, the count is higher than the expected count of being invited for an interview. The Muslim group's count is significantly lower than the expected count and the difference between groups is unmistakably notable. This again would suggest that people from the Islamic world have a significantly lower chance of being invited for an interview.

A Chi-Square test was also run together with the crosstabulation. As seen in Table 6. The Chi-Square test is significant and the Chi-Square value is high in comparison to the degrees of freedom. This would again point to a significant relationship between the religion of an applicant and being

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	46,582 ^a	3	<,001
Likelihood Ratio	47,651	3	<,001
N of Valid Cases	4402		

a. 0 cells (0,0%) have expected count less than 5. The
Table 6 Chi-Square tests results of aforementioned crosstabulation

invited for an interview. The three concerns regarding the Chi-Square test are again not relevant here. However the results of both test point in a direction that cannot be ignored. The results of these crosstabulations and Chi-Square tests would suggest that there is a relationship between the ethnicity and religion of an applicant and being invited for an interview. This relationship takes a discriminatory nature against people from the Islamic world. It seems that they are less likely to be invited based on ethnicity and religion. But this does not take into account any controlling or moderating variables, therefore a binary logistic regression will be run.

7.4 Binary logistic regression

Before the binary logistic regression was run, the four countries with the least applicants (Iran, Iraq, Lebanon and Egypt) have been recoded as MENA other. This has been done to keep it comprehensible when introducing moderation. In Table 7, the selected results of a binary logistic regression are shown. The results are significant for all categories. The Exp(B) is the most important explanatory factor. It indicates the change in odds of being in one of the categories of outcome when the value of a predictor (the independent variable) increases by one unit (Baker et al., 2020). It can be observed that the odds of being invited for an interview are approximately 50 per cent lower for Turkey, Morocco and the other MENA countries in comparison to the Netherlands. Furthermore, it can be seen that the odds of being invited are also notably lower for the MENA countries compared to all other countries combined. This confirms what was already observed in section 7.2. Nonetheless, it still needs to be tested with control variables

Parameter estimates

Parameter	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	<, 001	0,788	0,701	0,886
MENA other	<, 001	0,456	0,335	0,619
Morocco	<, 001	0,478	0,379	0,603
Other	<, 001	0,733	0,633	0,849
Turkey	<, 001	0,517	0,409	0,653
Netherlands			1	

Table 7: selected results of binary logistic regression

7.5 Binary logistic regression with control variables

In Table 8 the selected results of the binary logistic regression with control variables can be observed. It is noteworthy that the odds of being invited for an interview have positively changed for Morocco, Turkey and the other MENA countries when accounting for control variables. Although they are still well below the Netherlands and all the other countries combined. When looking at religion it can be observed that the results for Muslims have turned significant. It can be observed that the Muslim population has lower odds than the Christian, Buddhist and non-religiously affiliated groups. The Christian group does not have significant results but the large difference in odds ratio can still be seen.

Parameter estimates

Parameter	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	, 016	0,824	0,704	0,965
MENA other	<, 001	0,536	0,385	0,746
Morocco	<, 001	0,578	0,442	0,758
Other	, 003	0,775	0,654	0,919
Turkey	<, 001	0,621	0,472	0,816
Netherlands		1		
Female	, 578	1,035	0,914	1,173
Male		1		
Overqualified	, 041	0,825	0,686	0,992
Underqualified	<, 001	0,390	0,291	0,522
Fit		1		
First generation immigrant	, 212	0,911	0,786	1,055
Second generation immigrant		1		
Native		1		
Buddhist	, 032	1,611	1,042	2,490
Christian	, 492	1,054	0,907	1,224
Muslim	, 011	0,774	0,636	0,942
No religious affiliation		1		

Table 8: selected results of binary logistic regression with control variables

7.6 Binary logistic regression with moderation variables

Creating interaction variables in SPSS is not possible with categorical data, thus dummy variables for each country had to be created. In Table 9, the results of the binary logistic regression with moderation variables can be observed. None of the interactions have turned significant results. This would lead us to believe that there is no clear correlation between any of the moderation variables and the chosen ethnicities. Even though the results have not turned significant the odds ratios can still be noteworthy. However, this is not the case. No clear pattern can be observed in the interactions. This would confirm what was observed in section 7.2 that the ethnicity of the applicant is the main reason for lower invitation rates. Even when applying control and moderation variables it still seems that the ethnicity of an applicant is the main determinant of whether they get invited for an interview or not.

7.7 Discussion

The results of this research show a clear difference between applicants of Dutch ethnicity and applicants from the Islamic world when applying for a job. It is clear that applicants from Turkey, Morocco and the other MENA countries are far less likely to get invited for a job interview than native Dutch applicants. The research feels that these countries are representative of the Islamic world. Therefore, it is concluded that people from the Arabic world experience large amounts of difficulties when applying for a job. This research only looked at the chances of getting invited for a job interview and they are significantly lower for people from the Islamic world. But it can only be imagined that this discrimination is commonplace throughout the Dutch labour market. Di Stasio et al. (2019) also concluded that Muslims in the Netherlands were heavily discriminated against in the Dutch labour market on a dishearteningly large scale. Thijssen et al. (2020) also came to similar results but concluded that discrimination in the Dutch labour market was particularly high against applicants from the Middle East, Africa and Latin America. These studies used the same dataset as this research, however, Zorlu (2003) also noted that from the 8 largest minority groups in the Netherlands ethnic Moroccans had the highest wage gap when controlling for occupational status, type of work and education among other things. Religion might also play a role in this discrimination. In table 5 and 6, it can clearly be seen that people who mention their affinity with the Islam religion on their CV were significantly less invited than was expected in comparison to other religions or no religious affiliation. This also matches earlier research that the Islam religion is something that Dutch people feel contempt for. As Fleischmann & Phalet (2017) described that Muslim youth in the Netherlands were observed to have the lowest level of (Dutch) national identification of any minority group. Native Dutch people as a group also favour people Turkish and Moroccan the least (Verkuyten and Zaremba, 2005). This discrimination that occurs can be partially explained by larger factors. Since the beginning of the millennium

Parameter	Sig.	Exp(B)	95% Wald Confidence Interval for Exp(B)	
			Lower	Upper
(Intercept)	,111	0,823	0,648	1,045
MENA other	,003	0,386	0,207	0,718
Morocco	<,001	0,370	0,231	0,593
Other	,008	0,669	0,497	0,900
Turkey	<,001	0,399	0,243	0,656
Netherlands		1		
Other x Warmth	,961	0,996	0,832	1,191
Other x Perf	,066	1,182	0,989	1,413
Other x Grade	,495	0,940	0,786	1,124
MENA other x Warmth	,797	0,928	0,526	1,639
MENA other x Perf	,446	1,248	0,705	2,209
MENA other x Grade	,766	1,090	0,616	1,930
Morocco x Warmth	,187	1,310	0,877	1,957
Morocco x Perf	,974	0,993	0,666	1,483
Morocco x Grade	,426	1,177	0,788	1,756
Turkey x Warmth	,108	1,400	0,929	2,110
Turkey x Perf	,896	1,035	0,688	1,556
Turkey x Grade	,892	1,029	0,684	1,546
Netherlands x Warmth	,469	1,091	0,862	1,380
Netherlands x Perf	,919	0,988	0,781	1,250
Netherlands	,197	0,857	0,677	1,084

Table 9: selected results of a binary logistic regression with interaction terms

Dutch populism has been on the rise. Anti-Islam rhetoric has been prevalent in the Netherlands ever since. With the most prominent figure being Geert Wilders. His political plans include banning the Quran and shutting down all Mosques (Fennema, 2016). Migrants from the Arab world are often labelled as criminals who need to be deported. He has compared Islam to the Trojan horse entering Europe and has compared the Quran to Hitler's Mein Kampf (Kaya and Tecmen, 2019). Despite the discriminatory and derogatory language he and his predecessors (Pim Fortuyn & Theo van Gogh) use, it has become somewhat normalized in Dutch society (Oudenhampen, 2013). These normalizations and stereotypical attributions can affect the larger society and specifically the labour market. Employers themselves can have discriminatory feelings towards Muslims. But the discrimination can also be more subtle and sometimes unconscious (Niever and Andriessen, 2010). A situation can be imagined where customers of a company might not like it when people of Arab descent come to their service or there could be colleagues at that company who have strong feelings against Muslims. Employers can then opt to just choose a Dutch applicant as it saves them trouble or conflict in the work environment.

8. Conclusion

This study explored the question: to what extent are migrants from the Islamic world and their descendants discriminated against in the Dutch labour market? Based on the results of this study it can be concluded that individuals from the Islamic world experience significantly more difficulties when getting a job. It was proven with $p < 0.05$ that applicants from Morocco, Turkey and the other four MENA countries combined were far less likely to be invited for a job interview than their Dutch counterparts. It was also observed that when applicants mentioned religion on their CV, only the individuals who affiliated with the Islam religion were seriously less likely to be invited than Christian, Buddhist or non-religiously affiliated individuals. This was in line with the expectations of this research, however, it was not expected that these differences would be so blatant. The study tested for moderating effects such as the mentioning of good grades, being social or being hardworking, but found that they had no effect on the relationship between the ethnicity of the applicant and the likelihood of being invited for an interview. This can be linked to concepts of othering, difficulties integrating and conscious and unconscious discrimination. Muslim youth are the minority group with the least feelings of Dutch nationalization (Fleischmann & Phalet, 2017). This makes them feel an out-group in Dutch society. Since the early 2000s, Islamophobia has risen in the Netherlands. This has been partially fuelled by politicians who demonize Muslims for political gain. This has led to the normalization of Islam hate. Politician Geert Wilders has been the face of this and has proposed all sorts of outlandish and discriminatory ideas to get the Islam religion out of the Netherlands (Oudenhampen, 2013). This translates to the labour market, as employers are either consciously or unconsciously discriminatory against people of Arab descent. This is something that needs to be addressed by politicians, employers and society as a whole. But it takes decades to realise slow and steady change

regarding stereotypes and (un)intended discrimination (Dovidio et al., 2010). But this will be necessary as these discriminatory hiring practices cannot be solved overnight.

8.1 Future research

It has been proven that people from the Arab world are discriminated against in the Dutch labour market, but more research is necessary into what role religion plays in that. More research can be done to distinguish whether people are discriminated against based on their ethnicity or religion or more likely a combination of these factors. But more important future research should be done to solve problems that can tackle the issues presented here. Future research could provide small and large solutions to the discrimination of individuals of Arab descent. Because it is believed that the solution to discriminatory practices in the Dutch labour market stretches much farther than the labour market towards society as a whole.

8.2 Reflection

It is felt that the research reached its intended goals. The data analysis and the theoretical framework combined coherently. It would have been better to also use religion as a main independent variable to better understand whether the discrimination is based on ethnicity or religion or more likely a combination of both.

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