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# How subtly it works

Trends and differences of perceived labour market discrimination  
among intersectional identities in the Netherlands

**Master Thesis Social Policy and Public Health**

Thesis based on existing data

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### **Abstract**

Previous research on labour market discrimination in the Netherlands has largely focused on the role of ethnicity. The goal of this study was to investigate trends in labour market discrimination, taking into account a more nuanced distinction between multiple ethnic groups in the Netherlands as well as the role of intersectional gender and ethnic identities. Two contrasting expectations were drawn up, the first one states that labour market discrimination has declined over time in the Dutch context, while on the other hand, it was expected that labour market discrimination has increased. Further, this study included an intersectional approach by taking into account the effects of gender and ethnicity. According to the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis, it was expected that females with a non-western migration background faced more discrimination on the Dutch labour market than their male counterparts. On the other hand, it was expected that being male was positively related to perceived discrimination, based upon the Subordinate Male Target Hypothesis. This study used data of the NELLS and by running a moderation model in SPSS through ANOVA via GLM the relations are tested. The results show that discrimination in the Dutch labour market has increased slightly between 2009 and 2013. Besides, two trends over time were found; the role of ethnicity and the role of gender have become more important over time concerning perceived discrimination. The degree of perceived discrimination varies between different ethnicities and genders, thereby highlighting once again the importance of an intersectional approach. The results show that particularly males experience discriminatory practices when applying for a job and in the labour market. This effect differs for males of different ethnic backgrounds. Particularly Moroccan males are oftentimes victims of labour market discrimination in the Netherlands. Moreover, the second generation Moroccan males are most often subject to perceived labour market discrimination. These findings suggest the existence of intergenerational differences, a subject that future research could look into more closely.

**Keywords:** labour market discrimination – ethnicity – gender – intersectionality

## Introduction

In the Netherlands, you hear that applicants are rejected because they have a foreign name. So far, no one can show me a case in which this has been proven. You shouldn't just accuse people of discrimination. You have to look closely at the reason why someone has been refused. Isn't that because he or she doesn't have a sufficient command of the Dutch language? (Rita Verdonk, Trouw, 2005).

In 2005 former Dutch Minister of Integration, Rita Verdonk, denied that ethnic labour market discrimination took place in the Netherlands. However, labour market discrimination on grounds of ethnicity is not a recent phenomenon in the Dutch context. Ethnic discrimination occurs when people with a migration background are systematically less likely to find a job than people with a Dutch background, despite equal suitability and in similar circumstances (Bertrand & Duflo, 2017). Veenman (2003) stated that ethnic labour market discrimination takes place at different moments in the selection process and in various forms. Ethnic discrimination occurs during the first stage of the selection process: the application procedure. Applicants with a migration background receive less positive responses to their applications compared to applicants with a Dutch background, even though the applicants have identical competencies (Thijssen, Coenders & Lancee, 2019). Various field experiments established that both employers (Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos & Faulk, 2012; Andriessen, Nievers, Dagevos & Faulk, 2010) and employment agencies (Andriessen et al., 2012) prefer candidates with a Dutch background to candidates with a migration background. Ethnic labour market discrimination also occurs during later phases of the selection process. Some employers pay people with a certain ethnic background less than people with a Dutch background or limit ethnic diversity in the workplace (Chiswick, 1995).

An intersectional approach of discrimination is essential because of the context of this study: the labour market. Studies of ethnic groups often ignore gender issues. There is a relative scarcity of research that deals with ethnicity and gender issues simultaneously (Reid & Comas-Diaz, 1990). However, female labour market participation has increased strongly over time in the Netherlands (Statistics Netherlands, 2019). According to different hypotheses, this can imply different things. On the one hand, the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis states that the extent of discrimination experienced by females has increased over time. Females with a non-western migration background are likely to experience more discrimination than females without a migration background, because discrimination can occur on different grounds. On the other hand, the Subordinate Male Target Hypothesis argues that males with a migration background experience more discrimination than females with a migration background, because males pose a greater threat to the social and labour market position of the dominant group in society.

This article contributes to the literature on perceived labour market discrimination in a number of ways. First, it examines the extent to which the experience of discrimination varies between various groups in the Netherlands. Second, the role of intersectional identities is taken into account. The scope of this research are people with a non-western migration background. The definition of Statistics Netherlands is applied: a person with a non-western migration background is someone with a migration background from one of the countries in Africa, Latin America and Asia (excluding Indonesia and Japan) or Turkey (Statistics Netherlands, n.d.).

The goal of this research is to analyse trends in perceived labour market discrimination, taking into account a more nuanced distinction between multiple ethnic groups in the Netherlands as well as the role of intersectional gender and ethnic identities. The research question that takes a central place in this paper, is: *To what extent has perceived labour market discrimination in the Netherlands changed over time, and what role do intersectional identities play?*

### **Theoretical framework**

The current study focusses on perceived discrimination, the extent to which individuals feel discriminated against. In order to experience an event as discriminatory, an individual must experience negative treatment. This treatment is perceived as unjust and relates to prejudice or prevailing stereotypes about the group to which the individual belongs (Major, Quinton & McCoy, 2002). A negative treatment that the individual attributes to their own personal identity (own capacities, skills, etc.) does not count as discriminatory, nor situations in which it is considered legitimate to make a distinction between certain groups. A distinction is made between perceived discrimination and actual discrimination. The former relates to 'the unfavourable treatment of individuals because they belong or are considered to belong to a particular group' (Köbben, 1985; Veenman, 2003). This is expressed by actions by individuals or institutions that systematically harm members of marginalized groups (Faegin, 2000).

Labour market discrimination occurs when people experience disadvantageous treatment in the labour market because they belong to a particular group (Veenman, 2003). Since hiring is a multi-stage process, discrimination may occur at multiple decision points across the recruitment and selection procedures (Pager, Bonikowski & Western, 2009). Examples are during the point of initial hire: unequal treatment of certain job applicants in comparison to others with similar credentials by employers, personnel workers, or recruiters. Discriminatory vacancy requirements can be demanded, such as a maximum age (Bielby & Baron, 1986). In addition, a non-diverse composition of the application committee can limit the room for diversity policies. This can result in implicit prejudices, which can lead to people of native descent being more likely to get the job. Another example arises in the workplace itself, by scolding or bullying employees. Furthermore, dismissal procedures can also be discriminatory, for example if a female is fired because of her pregnancy (Byron & Roscigno, 2014).

#### ***Assimilation Theory***

The level of discrimination in a society at a given time, is affected by contemporary societal circumstances (Coenders & Scheepers, 1996). Assimilation theorists (Park & Burgess, 1924; Park, 1950) assume that when the majority group in a society is confronted with an ethnic minority group, there will be friction and conflict between these groups. These conflicts will diminish over time, because ethnic minorities would, to a certain extent, adapt to the ethnic majority (Gordon, 1994). In summary, the classic assimilation paradigm states that discrimination should decline as immigrants assimilate culturally (Flores, 2015). Becker's work on the Economics of Discrimination (1957) includes the implication that increased competition in the market will reduce discrimination against females and minorities in the long run. According to Becker (1957), strong competition would drive discriminating companies out of the market. Employers have to compete vigorously with others in order to trap the candidates. Thus, there is no room to allow discrimination, and the discriminating employer would be priced out of the market. These theories would suggest that the extent of labour market discrimination experienced by people with a non-western migration background was larger in the past, and will decrease over time. Coenders and colleagues (2010) found a decline of perceived discrimination among Moroccans, Turks, Surinamese and Antilleans between 2005 and 2009. Despite reports of a hardening of the social climate, the degree of perceived discrimination based on country of origin, religion and skin colour has not increased in the last four years (Coenders et al., 2010). This could point in the direction of a more general acceptance towards different ethnic groups within society. Following the assimilation theory and the economic theory of discrimination, the following hypothesis is formulated:

*Hypothesis 1: Persons with a non-western migration background faced less discrimination in the Dutch labour market in 2013 in comparison to 2009*

#### ***Societal circumstances***

It is important to take into account the political, economic and social context of 2009 and 2013, the time scope of this study. From 2007 until 2010, the Netherlands has been governed by a coalition cabinet (Balkenende IV) made up of dominantly Christian parties, namely the Christian Democratic Union (CDA), the Christian Union (CU) and the Party of Labour (PvdA). In the coalition agreement of the cabinet, battling discrimination is mentioned as an important spearhead. It states that: 'More attention

will be given in the coming years to investigate and prosecute discrimination in practice, for example in the labour market or in nightlife.' (Wijffels, 2007). The Action Programme of 2009 focused particularly on countering xenophobia and anti-Semitism. Attention was also paid to the importance of reporting discrimination (Hirsch Ballin, 2010). However, during this time, the Dutch government did not have a comprehensive National Action Plan against discrimination. The government announced that such a plan would be put in place in the first half of 2008, but that never happened. Although certain measures regarding discrimination were mentioned in the Action Programme, the importance of combating discrimination on grounds of race, language, nationality, national or ethnic origin, and religion, however, remained underexposed (ECRI, 2012). Furthermore, the rise of right-wing populist parties, for example the PVV, since 2010 has sharpened the relations between ethnic groups in society (Rooduijn, 2014).

From 2012 until 2017, the Netherlands has been governed by a minority coalition cabinet (Rutte II) made up of ideological rivals, namely the conservative-liberal People's Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD), and the Party of Labour (PvdA) (Hoppe, Jeliaskova, Woldendorp & Bandelow, 2018). The coalition agreement of the VVD and the PvdA did contain passages about equal treatment, but not a word was devoted to tackling discrimination. During the 2012 campaign, the political debate was mainly about solving the economic crisis and relatively little was said about immigration, integration and discrimination.

The financial crisis that started in the summer of 2007 led to a dramatic deterioration in the Dutch economy. The Dutch economy seems to have been highly exposed to the effects of the financial crisis, both in absolute and in relative terms (Masselink & Van den Noord, 2009). The Dutch labour market suffered severely from the Great Recession. In general, immigrants are more exposed to the consequences of economic downturns, and this is also the case in the Netherlands. In a deep recession, with increased competition for scarce resources, immigrants may be especially likely to be perceived as competing with members of the host society (Esses, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001). Individuals may perceive more threat and competition from minorities, particularly if the economic context entails competitive conditions (Schneider, 2008). Coenders and colleagues (2008) found that ethnic discrimination became more widespread in periods of high immigration and when the unemployment level had risen strongly. Therefore, arguing that the economic crisis in the Netherlands still had its aftermath in 2009, the following contrasting hypothesis is formulated:

*Hypothesis 2: Persons with a non-western migration background faced more discrimination in the Dutch labour market in 2009 in comparison to 2013*

### **Intersectionality**

Most studies on labour market discrimination take only one demographic feature or social group to which an applicant or employee belongs into account. However, individuals belong to several social groups at the same time, which are prone to stereotyping and potential discrimination (Derous, 2011). Although people are accustomed and inclined to separate, for example, gender and racial discrimination, in reality they are oftentimes interrelated. Gender and ethnicity, but also age, sexual orientation, religion and disability are social ordering principles that give people a position in society, either of structural advantage or structural disadvantage. These principles determine a person's identity, someone's place in public life and the meanings and expectations placed on their position. This is the idea behind the concept of *intersectionality* (Botman, Jouwe & Wekker, 2001).

Crenshaw (1989) coined the term intersectionality as a way of describing how multiple experiences intersect to create a unique experience for every individual (Verloo, 2006). Intersectionality is about social power differences, i.e. who is embedded in a particular context, and who is excluded, based on certain criteria (Hermans, 2002). The concept of intersectionality was developed mainly in considering the intersection between race and gender (Verloo, 2006). Crenshaw (1989) states that the tendency to treat race and gender as mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis can have problematic consequences, because this tendency is perpetuated by a single-axis framework which will overlook the problems that occur on a multiple-axis framework. Gender and ethnicity are social constructs, that shape and organize the social reality of human beings. According to Komter (1985), order principles like gender and ethnicity are divided into unequal dichotomies. One category is the norm, while the other

one is the exception. Regarding gender, being male is the norm and regarding ethnicity, the standard is to belong to the ethnicity of the majority group.

### ***Double Jeopardy Hypothesis***

Crenshaw (1989) mentions how discrimination affects black, migrant and refugee females at the labour market in several ways. Sometimes this group gets affected because they are female, sometimes they get affected because they are non-white. This phenomenon is known as the Double Jeopardy Hypothesis and argues that the combined negative effects of occupying two stigmatized statuses are greater than occupying either status alone (Berdahl & Moore, 2006). People who occupy stigmatized statuses are negatively perceived by employers because of prevailing negative images and prejudices about these groups. Female jobseekers and employees with a migration background experience a double burden, because they have to deal with both gender discrimination and ethnic discrimination in the labour market. The Double Jeopardy Hypothesis states that membership of a low status group has a negative effect on the social position of the individual, and that these negative consequences accumulate (Berdahl & Moore, 2006; Nelson & Probst, 2004). Research has confirmed The Double Jeopardy Hypothesis: being a female of colour is different from being a white female. Females of colour encounter racial as well as gender discrimination (Williams, 2014). Berdahl and Moore (2006) found out that females were subject to double jeopardy at work, experiencing workplace harassment because they are both female and member of a minority group. When someone belongs to an ethnic minority group (low status group 1) and is female (low status group 2), the negative effects of the separate low status groups add up (Arai, Bursell & Nekby., 2011). Based on these findings, the following hypothesis is formulated:

*Hypothesis 3: Females with a non-western migration background faced more discrimination in the Dutch labour market than their male counterparts*

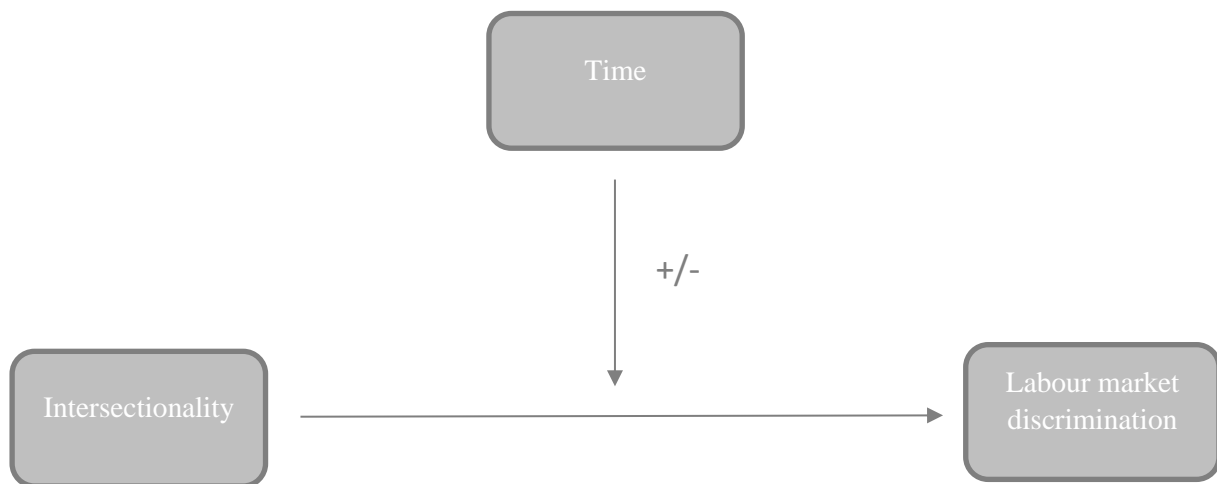
### ***Subordinate Male Target Hypothesis***

In contrast, some scientists hold different views concerning job opportunities in relation to the ethnicity and gender of the jobseeker. According to Social Dominance Theory, Hagendoorn (1995) states that there is a hierarchical order of all social groups in society. The hierarchy is based on different characteristics, such as age, ethnicity and gender. The dominant group in society are people who belong to the ethnic majority in that particular society. They hold positions at the top of the hierarchy. Positions of other groups within the hierarchy are related to the degree of negative stereotypes about these groups and to what extent these groups have adapted to the culture of the dominant social group. The group that poses the largest threat to the position of the dominant social group, is positioned at the bottom of the hierarchy. The lower the position of a social group in the hierarchy, the more discrimination this group will face. Based on the Social Dominance Theory, Sidanius and Pratto (1999) have developed the 'Subordinate Male Target Hypothesis'. This hypothesis states that males with a migration background are more discriminated against than females with a migration background because they pose a greater threat to the social and labour market position of the dominant group. The Subordinate Male Target Hypothesis has been supported throughout international literature (Veenstra, 2013; Navarrete, McDonald, Molina & Sidanius, 2010). A study by Veenman (2003) showed that among the Moluccan population in the Netherlands, males reported discrimination far more often than females from the same population group. Based on these insights, the following contrasting hypothesis is formulated:

*Hypothesis 4: Males with a non-western migration background faced more discrimination in the Dutch labour market than their female counterparts*

The question this study will aim to answer is: *To what extent has perceived labour market discrimination in the Netherlands changed over time, and what role do intersectional identities play?* Based on literature, it is expected that trends over time can either have a positive or a negative moderating effect on the relationship between intersectionality and labour market discrimination. Model 1 shows the expected directions.

### Model 1. Theoretical model



### Methods

A quantitative research design was used to test how intersectional identities are related to the extent of perceived labour market discrimination. An advantage of using a quantitative approach was that it can provide quick insight into developments and trends over time, which was a good match to this particular research (Field, 2013).

#### Data

##### *Study design*

The hypotheses and the research question were tested via data of the Netherlands' Life Course Survey (NELLS). The survey focused on the perspective of the life-course (Tolsma, Kraaykamp, Graaf, Kalmijn & Monden, 2014). NELLS has several defining elements. First of all, it is a longitudinal panel study, containing two waves, conducted in 2009 and 2013. It combined prospective with retrospective methods and is large-scale. Data for both waves have been collected by face-to-face interviews and self-completion questionnaires. Respondents that participated in the survey were residing in the Netherlands, age varying between 14 and 49 years old ( $M = 36.00$ ;  $SD = 9.08$ ) (Tolsma et al., 2019). In the dataset of the NELLS, ethnic minorities were systematically oversampled, which made the data of the survey particularly suitable to test the hypotheses of this study. 'Ethnic minorities' refers to first and second-generation migrants. According to the definition of Statistics Netherlands, first-generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants are individuals who were born in Morocco or Turkey, and of whom one or both parents were born in Morocco or Turkey. Second generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants are defined as individuals who were themselves born in the Netherlands, and of whom one or both parents were born in Morocco or Turkey (Keij, 2000). Furthermore, the data contain a comparison group of natives, which allowed me to describe group differences. A person was classified as native, or being of Dutch origin (here: a person without a migration background) if both parents are born in the Netherlands (Tolsma et al., 2014).

##### *Recruitment*

When collecting the data of Wave 1, two-stage stratified sampling was applied. The first stage was a quasi-random selection of 35 municipalities in the Netherlands, stratified by region and degree of urbanization. The second stage was a random selection from the population registry based on age and country of birth of the respondent and his/her parent (De Vroome, Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2014). From the municipal registers, three random samples of individuals were selected: (1) inhabitants who were born in Morocco or whose father or mother was born in Morocco; (2) inhabitants who were born in Turkey or whose father or mother was born in Turkey; (3) inhabitants who do not belong to group (1) and (2) (Kalmijn, 2019). In wave 1, Turkish people ( $N=1.137$ ), Moroccan people ( $N=1.164$ ) and Dutch



people participated ( $N=2.556$ ). In wave 2, Turkish people ( $N=452$ ), Moroccan people ( $N=431$ ) and Dutch people participated ( $N=1717$ ).

### **Measures**

For this study, the questions in the dataset assessing labour market discrimination, gender and ethnicity were used. Time is also included in the dataset of the NELLS and was a subject of this study as well. Furthermore, level of education was included as a control variable. This is due to the fact that earlier research shows that higher educated migrants experience more discrimination and also feel less accepted in the Netherlands (Coenders, Boog & Dinsbach, 2010).

*Discrimination.* Labour market discrimination is the dependent variable within this study. It is constructed by combining two measures of discrimination: discrimination in the workplace and discrimination in applying for a job or internship. The variable was turned into a Likert-scale, ranging from 2 (the lowest amount of perceived discrimination) to 6 (the highest amount of perceived discrimination). To assess whether respondents perceived discrimination in these domains, they were asked 'Have you ever experienced discrimination based on your ethnic origin in one of the following situations?'. Respondents could answer 'no, never' (1), 'yes, sometimes' (2), or 'yes, quite often' (3). In the second wave, this item was not measured among people with a Dutch ethnicity.

*Ethnicity.* Ethnicity was measured by self-reported country of birth. The respondents were asked: 'In which country were the following persons born?', with the following categories: 'yourself' (a), 'your father' (b), 'your mother' (c), 'your grandfather [on your mother's side – your mother's father]' (d), 'your grandmother [on your mother's side – your mother's mother]' (e), 'your grandfather [from your father's side – your father's father]' (f) and 'your grandmother [from father's side – your father's mother]' (g). The respondents could answer: 'The Netherlands' (1), 'Morocco' (2), 'Turkey' (3), 'Surinam' (4), 'The Netherlands Antilles' (5), or 'other country, namely' (6). This was converted by the researchers to: 'Moroccan, 1<sup>st</sup> gen' (1), 'Moroccan, 2<sup>nd</sup> gen' (2), 'Turkish, 1<sup>st</sup> gen' (3), 'Turkish, 2<sup>nd</sup> gen' (4), 'Non West, 1<sup>st</sup> gen' (5), 'Non West, 2<sup>nd</sup> gen' (6), 'West, 1<sup>st</sup> gen' (7), 'West, 2<sup>nd</sup> gen' (8) and 'Dutch' (9).

*Gender.* Gender was a nominal variable. Respondents were asked: 'What is your gender?' and the answer options were 'male' (1) and 'female' (2). This was coded as male (0) and female (1).

*Age.* In the self-completion questionnaire, respondents were asked: 'What is your date of birth?', and they had to fill in the day, month, and year of birth.

*Time.* Time has been measured by the researchers of the NELLS, by filling in the year in which the survey took place.

*Educational level.* The NELLS data contains twelve items asking for the respondent's highest completed education. This ranges from having no diploma to obtaining a doctoral degree. Based on these twelve variables, three categories have been created that differentiate between a low level of education (1), a medium level of education (2) and a high level of education (3). Respondents who did not obtain a diploma, have been removed from the sample. Educational level is included in the analysis as a continuous variable.

*Intersectionality.* Intersectionality is not included as a variable in the NELLS dataset. I created an interaction term of gender and ethnicity to measure intersectionality.

### **Participants and sampling**

A couple of selections have been made from the dataset. Because of the interest in the extent of labour market discrimination in the Netherlands, the focus was placed on respondents who are 18 years or older (adults of working age). Thus, respondents between age 14 and 17 years of age were excluded from the sample. Respondents who had missing values on the variables of interest were also deleted from the sample. Additionally, respondents whose ethnicity differed from that of Dutch, Turkish or Moroccan origin were excluded from the sample.

### **Data analysis**

The statistical software program IBM SPSS version 26 was used to run the model. A paired samples t-test was conducted to compare the extent of discrimination in both waves. An analysis of variance (ANOVA) via General Linear Model was conducted to compare discrimination between the various identities. An ANOVA is the most suitable statistical method, because the dependent variable, discrimination, is interval data and this method allows me to draw conclusions based on group differences (Field, 2013). Within this study, a significance level of  $\alpha = .05$  was used.

It is appropriate to use the ANOVA test, if assumptions of normality and homogeneity of variance are met. After preparing and recoding my data, I will first address the normality and homogeneity of variance assumptions by performing a visual inspection of a range of data plots (Allen & Bennett, 2012). Two separate GLM's are performed to draw conclusions about trends over time, one GLM containing the data of 2009 and one containing the data of 2013. Additional Post Hoc Tests of the variables showing significant and marginally significant main effects are carried out. A Tukey Post Hoc Test is used, because the variances are equal.

### **Data management**

The data of the first two waves of the Dutch Life Course Study (NELLS) were publicly available via EASY. The data was managed according to the Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences protocol. The data of NELLS was managed and analysed on my computer through tools provided by Utrecht University through Myworkplace (SPSS), securely stored on the protected servers of Utrecht University, using my U-drive. The data were deleted from my U-drive when I completed writing my thesis.

### **Results**

Table 1 shows the means and standard deviations of the continuous variables and the frequencies of the categorical variables. 53 percent of the respondents of the first wave are female. In the second wave, 55 percent of the respondents are female. Around 53 percent of the respondents of wave 1 are of Dutch origin. This means that 47 percent of the respondents of wave 1 have a different ethnicity. In wave 2, approximately 66 percent of the respondents are of Dutch origin. 34 percent of the respondents of wave 2 have a different ethnicity.

**Table 1.** Descriptive statistics of the independent, dependent and control variables.

	<b>N</b>	<b>Min</b>	<b>Max</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
<b>Age, wave 1</b>	4883	18.00	49.00	32.63	8.15
<b>Age, wave 2</b>	2829	19.37	53.02	36.01	9.08
<b>Ethnicity, wave 1</b>	4857	1.00	5.00		
Moroccan, 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	740				
Moroccan, 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	424				
Turkish, 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	401				
Turkish, 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation					
Dutch	2556				
<b>Ethnicity, wave 2</b>	2600	1.00	5.00		
Moroccan, 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	272				
Moroccan, 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	159				
Turkish, 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	259				
Turkish, 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	193				
Dutch	1717				
<b>Educational level</b>	2765				
Low	551				
Medium	1302				
High	912				
<b>Gender, wave 1</b>	5312				
Male	2508				
Female	2804				

<b>Gender, wave 2</b>	2829				
Male	1262				
Female	1567				
<b>Discrimination, wave 1</b>	2383	2.00	6.00	2.68	1.03
<b>Discrimination, wave 2</b>	1093	2.00	6.00	2.71	1.03

First of all, a paired samples t-test was conducted to compare the extent of discrimination in 2009 (wave 1) to discrimination in 2013 (wave 2). There was a significant difference in the scores for the first wave ( $M = 2.63$ ,  $SD = 0.96$ ) and the second wave ( $M = 2.70$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ );  $t(1063) = -2.28$ ,  $p = .023$ . The significant results show that the number of reports regarding discrimination has increased between the first and the second wave, but only slightly.

The ANOVA via GLM analyses the effect of intersectionality on discrimination. The results of the first wave show two trends towards statistical significance. The analysis revealed a marginally significant main effect of ethnicity on discrimination,  $F(4, 808) = 2.26$ ,  $p = .061$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .011$ . It appears to be that the ethnicity of the respondent affects the degree of discrimination that is reported. Significant differences exist between various ethnic groups. Results of the Post Hoc Test show that second generation Moroccans ( $M = 2.67$ ,  $SD = 0.94$ ) report significantly higher levels of discrimination than second generation Turks ( $M = 2.57$ ,  $SD = 0.92$ ),  $p = .005$ . Furthermore, second generation Turks ( $M = 2.57$ ,  $SD = 0.92$ ) significantly report lower levels of perceived discrimination than first generation Turks ( $M = 2.80$ ,  $SD = 1.03$ ),  $p = .039$ .

In addition to the main effect, there also was a marginally significant interaction effect in the first wave,  $F(4, 808) = 2.18$ ,  $p = .069$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .010$ . This means that the difference between genders in the degree of perceived discrimination is influenced by the ethnicity of the respondents. It also works the other way around: the difference between ethnicities in the degree of perceived discrimination is influenced by the respondents' genders. The results show that overall, among every ethnic group, males report higher numbers of discrimination than females. Second generation Moroccan males report the highest numbers of each group and second generation Moroccan females report the highest numbers of the female groups. When looking at the first generation Moroccans, the differences of the reports of discrimination between genders are the greatest. First generation Turkish males report the median score and first generation Turkish females report the second highest score of the female groups. Second generation Turks have the smallest difference between both genders. Furthermore, native Dutch report the lowest levels of discrimination of all ethnic groups, however, the males report higher scores than the females. Table 2 shows the scores on discrimination, distinguishing between the first and the second wave, gender and ethnicity. Due to the interaction effect, 1.0% of the variance is explained, that is a small effect.

The results of the second wave revealed two significant main effects. The first significant main effect is the effect of gender on discrimination,  $F(1, 815) = 18.26$ ,  $p = .000$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .022$ . The results revealed that males ( $M = 2.96$ ,  $SD = 1.12$ ) report significantly higher numbers of discrimination, compared to females ( $M = 2.65$ ,  $SD = 0.97$ ). The second significant main effect is the effect of ethnicity on discrimination,  $F(3, 815) = 3.75$ ,  $p = .011$ ,  $\eta_p^2 = .013$ . Again, significant differences between ethnic groups were found. The Post Hoc Tests revealed that first generation Moroccans ( $M = 2.68$ ,  $SD = 1.00$ ) reported significantly lower numbers of perceived discrimination in comparison to second generation Moroccans ( $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ),  $p = .004$ . Furthermore, second generation Moroccans ( $M = 3.03$ ,  $SD = 1.11$ ) reported significantly higher numbers of discrimination than second generation Turks ( $M = 2.79$ ,  $SD = 1.05$ ),  $p = .039$ .

**Table 2.** Descriptive statistics of the scores on discrimination, wave 1 and wave 2.

		<b>Wave 1</b>			<b>Wave 2</b>		
	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>S. D.</b>	<b>N</b>	<b>Mean</b>	<b>Standard Deviation</b>
<b>Male</b>	Moroccan, 1st gen	106 <sup>a</sup>	3.05	1.18	105 <sup>c</sup>	2.99	1.11
	Moroccan, 2nd gen	63 <sup>b</sup>	2.86	1.11	65 <sup>d</sup>	3.26	1.12
	Turkish, 1st gen	117	2.91	1.10	119	2.90	1.16
	Turkish, 2nd gen	83	2.59	.92	85	2.78	1.03
	Dutch	5	2.60	1.34			
<b>Female</b>	Moroccan, 1st gen	144 <sup>a</sup>	2.49	.84	146 <sup>c</sup>	2.47	.86
	Moroccan, 2nd gen	88 <sup>b</sup>	2.53	.79	91 <sup>d</sup>	2.87	1.09
	Turkish, 1st gen	121	2.69	.95	123	2.67	1.03
	Turkish, 2nd gen	105	2.56	.93	105	2.69	.89
	Dutch	5	2.60	.89			

<sup>1</sup> Percentages showing the same superscript (a,b,c or d) differ significantly from each other

## Conclusion and discussion

This study, using data from the NELLS, analysed to what extent perceived labour market discrimination in the Netherlands has changed over time. Thereby taking into account a more nuanced distinction between multiple ethnic groups in the Netherlands as well as the role of intersectional gender and ethnic identities. The results show that the extent of discrimination has increased slightly over time.

The results of the first wave revealed two trends towards statistical significance. First of all, the main effect of ethnicity on discrimination shows a marginally significant effect. The ethnicity of the respondent affects the degree of discrimination that is reported. Significant differences exist between various ethnic groups. Second generation Moroccans report higher levels of discrimination than second generation Turks. However, second generation Turks report lower levels of perceived discrimination than first generation Turks.

In addition to this main effect, there also was a marginally significant interaction effect in the first wave. The differences between genders in the degree of perceived discrimination is influenced by the ethnicity of the respondents and vice versa. Among every ethnic group, males report higher levels of perceived discrimination than females. Second generation Moroccan males report the highest numbers of each group and second generation Moroccan females report the highest numbers of the female groups. When looking at the first generation Moroccans, the differences of the reports of discrimination between genders are the greatest. First generation Turkish males report the median score and first generation Turkish females report the second highest score of the female groups. Second generation Turks have the smallest difference between both genders. Furthermore, native Dutch report the lowest levels of discrimination of all ethnic groups, however, the males report higher scores than the females.

The results of the second wave revealed two significant main effects. First, gender has a significant effect on discrimination, males report higher numbers of discrimination in comparison to females. Second, ethnicity has a significant effect on discrimination. Again, significant differences between ethnic groups were found. First generation Moroccans reported lower numbers of perceived discrimination in comparison to second generation Moroccans. Furthermore, second generation Moroccans reported significantly higher numbers of discrimination than second generation Turks.

Perceived labour market discrimination has slightly increased between 2009 and 2013 in the Netherlands. This is in line with the second hypothesis, thereby rejecting the first hypothesis that stated that discrimination has declined. Different explanations may be suggested. First of all, in the aftermath of the economic crisis in 2009 discrimination may have increased. Individuals may perceive more threat and competition from minorities, particularly if the economic context entails competitive conditions (Schneider, 2008). Second, conflict theorists (Olzak & Nagel, 1986) argue that ethnic discrimination also increases at a time of strong, and/or sudden immigration growth. According to the statistics of Statistics Netherlands, the migration balance was negative from 2003 to 2007 in the Netherlands: there were fewer immigrants than emigrants. Shortly thereafter, the number of immigrants started to rise, from 146.378 immigrants arriving in the Netherlands in 2009 to 164.772 in 2013 (Statistics Netherlands, n.d.). The immigration growth can be an explanatory factor for the increase in discrimination over time.

The results suggest that the role of ethnicity in explaining perceived discrimination has increased over time. Results of the first wave show only a marginally significant effect, while results of the second wave show a stronger significant effect. People with a non-western migration background report higher levels of discrimination in 2013 in comparison to 2009. In the first wave, first generation Turks report the highest number of perceived discrimination. In the second wave, the highest number is reported by second generation Moroccans. A study by Coenders and colleagues (2010) found similar results. Respondents who have worked in the past twelve months were asked whether they experienced discrimination at work during that period. Especially Turkish and Moroccan respondents appear to experience discrimination: 16 percent of the Turks and 23 percent of the Moroccans reported having experienced discrimination at work (Coenders et al., 2010). A possible explanation of the increase of the importance of the role of ethnicity in explaining discrimination over time, is the fact that discrimination is strongly associated with ethnic discrimination. The strong association between ethnicity and discrimination may indicate that discrimination on other grounds is less common, less quickly recognised and designated as discrimination.

The degree of perceived discrimination varies between various ethnicities and genders. In the first wave, no main effect has been found for gender. However, the results of the second wave show a significant main effect for gender. In four years, ranging from 2009 until 2013, the role of gender has become much more important in relation to discrimination in the Dutch context. When looking more closely into this effect, the results show that particularly males experience discriminatory practices when applying for a job and in the labour market. A study by Andriessen and colleagues (2020), found an increase of reported perceived discrimination on grounds of gender, among both males and females. An increase of discrimination on grounds of gender may be associated with multiple explanations. In the Netherlands, there has been a shift towards greater awareness of gender discrimination. This is accompanied by stricter norms in society, about what is just and what is not, and by greater openness, whereby people are less reluctant to attribute situations to discrimination (Andriessen et al., 2020). The fact that males are more likely to experience gender discrimination, may have to do with certain measures that have been implemented over time, for example a gender quota. Because the privileged position held by males is not always seen or recognised, the proposed measures for greater equality may sometimes feel like deprivation and fewer opportunities for males. This may explain why discrimination on the grounds of sex is also experienced more frequently by males (Andriessen et al., 2020). Summarizing, the third hypothesis that stated that females with a non-western migration background experienced more labour market discrimination than their male counterparts, is rejected. The fourth hypothesis that stated that males with a non-western migration background faced more discrimination in the Dutch labour market than their female counterparts, is partly confirmed. Partly, because this effect varies for males of different ethnic backgrounds. In particular Moroccan males are oftentimes victims of labour market discrimination.

There were also some unexpected findings. Moroccan males from the second generation experience significantly more discrimination than Moroccan males from the first generation. Findings of these intergenerational differences are consistent with findings from a previous study by Omlo (2011). Second-generation adolescents in the Netherlands indicate that they 'like to belong', but in everyday interactions, they constantly receive signals that they are 'different' (Omlo, 2011). Children who belong to the second generation feel less at home in the Netherlands than their parents (SCP, 2016). Young people of the second generation are more pessimistic about the acceptance of migrant groups in the Netherlands. These adolescents experience feelings of exclusion, whereas they were often born in the Netherlands and have a strong bond with Dutch society (Duyvendak, 2011). In short, it is the second generation of adolescents with a migration background who are particularly hit by the polarising nature of discourse and discrimination practices in Dutch society. Future research could look more closely into intergenerational differences of perceived discrimination.

The results of the present study must be interpreted with care. Data used in this study to measure the extent of discrimination were self-reported. Self-reporting can lead to several complications. First of all, because discrimination is a sensitive topic, it is likely to be susceptible to social desirability. This may result from feelings of shame experienced by the respondents, or simply because respondents do not wish to share this information. But, because participation of the study was voluntarily and answers were fully anonymous, researchers hope that this was not a problem in this study. Second, native Dutch were not included in the analysis of the second wave, because they had missing values on the questions related to discrimination. It is important to mention, because the effects of the two waves are not fully comparable. In the first wave, the majority group is included, but in the second wave, they are excluded. However, this is not problematic because the scope of current study focused on people with a non-western migration background.

In literature, a distinction is made between perceived discrimination and actual discrimination. Perceived discrimination does not always have to correspond with actual discrimination (Felten, Taouanza & Keuzenkamp, 2016). However, distinguishing between actual discrimination and perceived discrimination seems unnecessary, given that phenomena perceived to be real are real in their consequences (Thomas & Thomas, 1928). Even when there is no actual discrimination underlying perceived discrimination, the experience itself is sufficient to negatively affect people's behaviour and

feelings (Andriessen, Hoegen Dijkhof, Van der Torre, Van den Berg, Pulles, Iedema & De Voogd-Hamelink, 2020). Moreover, a strength of self-reported data is that it taps into the experience of discrimination, which can lead to information that goes beyond more objective numbers. Perceived and actual discrimination are phenomena that complement each other, rather than mutually exclude one another.

The present study has several strengths. It fits into an upcoming strand of research in which intersections of membership categories have been studied. This approach makes it possible to study discrimination in all its complexity, as well as to identify segments and groups that are most susceptible to discrimination (Andriessen, Nievers & Dagevos, 2012). This study distinguishes between types of gender and ethnic identities in the context of the Dutch labour market, using a dataset with an oversampling of ethnic minorities. The large-scale character of the dataset allows me to draw conclusions based on a large sample.

Various policies and solutions are being developed to combat ethnic and gender discrimination in the labour market, such as anonymous applications and training for recruiters (Walz, 2020). Besides that, the introduction of a gender quota has been topic of the public debate for the past years (Kruisinga & Senden, 2017). It remains to be seen whether such measures will actually have the desired effect.

This study highlighted the importance of taking into account an intersectional perspective when studying discrimination in all its complexity. Identifying intersections of membership categories allowed me to become aware of groups that are most susceptible to discrimination. It is important for future discrimination research and social policies targeting discrimination to be aware of gendered and racialized perceptions of discrimination. Thereby adapting to a modernized, intersectional approach, is essential. Humans are complex social animals who cannot be put in only one box.

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## Appendix 1. Syntax

\* Encoding: UTF-8.

GET

FILE='C:\Users\maren\Documents\Masterthesis\NELLS panel nl v1\_2 (1).sav'.

DATASET NAME DataSet2 WINDOW=FRONT.

DESCRIPTIVES w1cage w2cage w1cethnic w2cethnic w1csex w2csex w1scg9a w1scg9b w2scg9a w2scg9b .

FREQUENCIES w1cage w2cage w1cethnic w2cethnic w1csex w2csex w1scg9a w1scg9b w2scg9a w2scg9b .

RECODE w1cage (18=18) (19=19) (20=20) (21=21) (22=22) (23=23) (24=24) (25=25) (26=26) (27=27) (28=28) (29=29) (30=30) (31=31) (32=32)

(33=33) (34=34) (35=35) (36=36) (37=37) (38=38) (39=39) (40=40) (41=41) (42=42) (43=43)

(44=44) (45=45) (46=46) (47=47) (48=48) (49=49) (ELSE=SYSMIS) into w1cagenew .

FREQUENCIES w1cagenew .

RECODE w1cethnic (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (9=5) (ELSE=SYSMIS) into w1cethnicnew .

RECODE w2cethnic (1=1) (2=2) (3=3) (4=4) (9=5) (ELSE=SYSMIS) into w2cethnicnew .

FREQUENCIES w1cethnicnew w2cethnicnew .

COMPUTE opleidingsniveau = w2fa102.

RECODE opleidingsniveau (1,2,3,12 = 1) (4,5,6,7,13 = 2) (8, 9,10, 11, 14 =3) (ELSE=SYSMIS).

FREQUENCIES opleidingsniveau.

VALUE LABELS

opleidingsniveau

1 'laag'

2 'midden'

3 'hoog' .

FREQUENCIES opleidingsniveau.

FREQUENCIES opleidingsniveau.

COMPUTE laag = opleidingsniveau = 1.

COMPUTE midden = opleidingsniveau = 2.

COMPUTE hoog = opleidingsniveau = 3.

FREQUENCIES laag midden hoog.

FREQUENCIES w1csex .

recode w1csex (1=0) (2=1) into w1csexnew .

FREQUENCIES w1csexnew .

FREQUENCIES w2csex .

recode w2csex (1=0) (2=1) (ELSE = SYSMIS) into w2csexnew .

FREQUENCIES w2csexnew .

COMPUTE discriminatie1 = w1scg9a + w1scg9b .

COMPUTE discriminatie2 = w2scg9a + w2scg9b .

FREQUENCIES discriminatie1 discriminatie2.

DESCRIPTIVES w1cagenew w2cage w1cethnicnew w2cethnicnew w1csexnew w2csexnew discriminatie1 discriminatie2 opleidingsniveau laag midden hoog .

T-TEST PAIRS=discriminatie1 WITH discriminatie2 (PAIRED)

/CRITERIA=CI(.9500)

/MISSING=ANALYSIS.

GLM

```
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/METHOD = SSTYPE(3)  
/EMMEANS = TABLES(w1csexnew*w1cethnicnew) compare (w1csexnew)  
/EMMEANS = TABLES(w1csexnew*w1cethnicnew) compare (w1cethnicnew)  
/PRINT = DESCRIPTIVE ETASQ HOMOGENEITY  
/CRITERIA = ALPHA(.05)  
/DESIGN = w1csexnew w1cethnicnew opleidingsniveau w1csexnew*w1cethnicnew.
```

GLM

```
discriminatie2 by w2csexnew w2cethnicnew opleidingsniveau  
/METHOD = SSTYPE(3)  
/EMMEANS = TABLES(w2csexnew*w2cethnicnew) compare (w2csexnew)  
/EMMEANS = TABLES(w2csexnew*w2cethnicnew) compare (w2cethnicnew)  
/PRINT = DESCRIPTIVE ETASQ HOMOGENEITY  
/CRITERIA = ALPHA(.05)  
/DESIGN = w2csexnew w2cethnicnew opleidingsniveau w2csexnew*w2cethnicnew.
```

UNIANOVA discriminatie1 BY w1csexnew w1cethnicnew

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/METHOD=SSTYPE(3)  
/INTERCEPT=INCLUDE  
/POSTHOC=w1cethnicnew(TUKEY)  
/PLOT=PROFILE(w1csexnew*w1cethnicnew) TYPE=LINE ERRORBAR=NO  
MEANREFERENCE=NO YAXIS=AUTO  
/PRINT ETASQ DESCRIPTIVE  
/CRITERIA=ALPHA(.05)  
/DESIGN=w1csexnew w1cethnicnew w1csexnew*w1cethnicnew.
```

UNIANOVA discriminatie2 BY w2csexnew w2cethnicnew

```
/METHOD=SSTYPE(3)  
/INTERCEPT=INCLUDE  
/POSTHOC=w2cethnicnew(TUKEY)  
/PLOT=PROFILE(w2csexnew*w2cethnicnew) TYPE=LINE ERRORBAR=NO  
MEANREFERENCE=NO YAXIS=AUTO  
/PRINT ETASQ DESCRIPTIVE  
/CRITERIA=ALPHA(.05)  
/DESIGN=w2csexnew w2cethnicnew w2csexnew*w2cethnicnew.
```