"Do you have to wear a headscarf?"

The development of a questionnaire on subtle discrimination against people with a migration background from Türkiye living in Germany

Ulrich Klocke, Pelin Atay, Selin Gök (Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin)

Laura Scholaske (DeZIM Berlin, Medical School Berlin)

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Research on Perceived Discrimination

- Overt discrimination probably declining (Wong et al., 2014)
- (In Germany) Research focuses on overt discrimination (e.g., Beigang, 2017)
  - "I have been physically assaulted."
  - "I have been insulted or called names."
  - "My performance has been comparatively rated lower or belittled.“
- … and asked respondents for attribution
    - "Because I belong to group X, I was treated Y.“

Overt vs. Subtle Discrimination

Discrimination = unequal treatment based on categorization that leads to or perpetuates social disadvantage (adapted from Scherr, 2016)

Overt

Low ambiguity
= high agreement …

Subtle

High ambiguity
= low agreement …

… between target and non-target group and within groups that a certain event is discriminatory

Unequal treatment ambiguous

Example: "Sorry, we have to cancel on you."

Disadvantage ambiguous

Example: „Your German is really good.“

Examples:

Calling Turks "Kanake.“

"We don't hire Turks."

Our Aims

1. Develop a questionnaire on individual (not structural) subtle discrimination of people with a migration background from Türkye living in Germany (PMTG)
2. … in order to separate overt and subtle discrimination with regard to …
   a) possible effects (e.g., on well-being, self-esteem, sense of belonging to Germany, support by others)
   b) predictors (e.g., migrant generation, gender, (non-) academic background)

Develop and Select Items That …

- represent the whole construct (all categories)
- have sufficient factor loadings for both male and female PMTG
- distinguish between PMTG and Germans without a migration background (G0) with regard to
  - the frequency of experience ➪ unequal treatment as a defining feature of discrimination
  - the judgment that it is discrimination when PMTG experience such behavior ➪ ambiguity as a defining feature of subtlety
- have high residual variance of discrimination judgment ➪ ambiguity
- are representative of item difficulties
- have minimum correlations with other items of the same category

Our Assessment Approach

Separate …

1. Frequency of experience

Behavioral formulations without causal attribution ~~("Because I belong to group X …?")~~

Example: „While shopping, I am observed by security staff.“

"How often have you experienced this in Germany in the last 12 months?"

- "never"
- "once"
- "several times"
- "several times a month"
- "several times a week"
- "daily"

2. Evaluation

"How did you feel about this event? (If you have never experienced such an event, leave the answer blank.)“

- “very unpleasant"
- "rather unpleasant"
- “partly/ didn't care“
- "rather pleasant"
- "very pleasant."

Questionnaire Development by a Combination of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods

1. Study 1: Qualitative interviews with 21 PMTG on their experiences because they were perceived as Turkish/Non-German (Görlich, 2020)
2. Development of 73 items from (sub-)categories mentioned most frequently (Görlich, 2020; Neuhauser, 2021)
3. Study 2: Survey with 407 PMTG
   - by organizations of PMTG (e.g., associations, mosques) and social media, predominantly online (Neuhauser, 2021; Erdogan, 2022)
   - assessed own frequency of experience and evaluation
4. Study 3: Survey with 398 PMTG and 403 G0
   - by Respondi/Bilendi, online
   - assessed own freq. of experience (205 PMTG and 208 G0)
   - assessed judgment of discrimination *when experienced by a person perceived as Turkish / PMTG* (193 PMTG and 195 G0)

Study 1: 13 Categories With 48 Subcategories Based on the 21 Interviews

Category	Subcategory
Complain about culture/ religion	No pork, headscarf, religious holidays, language
Deny discrimination	Color blindness, group membership no cause, negation, not meant that way, exaggeration
Foreigner in own country	Origin, name, language
Prevent contact	Exclude from a group, move away, exclude nonverbally, skip
Withhold resources	Deny help, withhold service, deny access
Subtyping	Make stand out positively from a group
Treat unkindly	Admonish, make fun, arrogant

Category	Subcategory
<u>Confront with stereotypes</u>	
Antisocial	Aggressive, living at state expense, delinquent, thieving, bad mannered, unkempt, untrustworthy
Incompetent	
Conservative	Marriage plans, rich in children, conservative, headscarf, strict parents, oppression of women
Positive attributes	Exoticize, multilingualism, Turkish expertise
Religion	Diet, religious holidays
Other generalizations	"With you Turks", profession, slang, Turkey vacation, Turkish-Arab-Pakistani....

Study 2 and 3: Respondents Included in the Analyses

		Study 2	Study 3	
		395 PMTG	398 PMTG	404 G0
Gender	Female	68%	64%	42%
Age	*M* (*SD*)	33 (11)	35 (11)	55 (15)
Migrant generation	1./1.5.	19%	21%	1%
	2./2.5.	79%	74%	2%
Ethnic self-classification	Non-German+	45%	44%	2%
	Hybrid German-non-German+	50%	48%	1%
Perceived ethnic other-classification	Non-German+	75%	52%	2%
	Hybrid German-non-German+	19%	36%	1%
Highest (aspired) school degree	University entr. qualification	71%	43%	36%
Highest professional degree	University exam	58%	32%	35%
Main activity	Employed	51%	64%	53%
	University student	33%	13%	2%
Residence	< 20.000 inhabitants	10%	24%	44%

PMTG = people with a migration background from Türkye living in Germany. **G0** = Germans without migr. backgr. **Non-German+** = Neither German nor other north/west/middle European

Item Analyses: Results of *Example* Items (1 of 2)

No.	Item wording	Frequency of experience (1 = never to 6 = daily) PMTG (S2 & S3) PCA loadings 1	2.1	2.2	PMTG (S3) *M*	*SD*		G0 (S3) *M*	*SD*	Judgm. of discrimination (from 1 = clearly no to 7 = cl. yes) PMTG (S3) *M*	*SD*		G0 (S3) *M*	*SD*
20	Someone asks me what I think about the political or social situation in Türkiye.	.65	.73		3.0	1.33	***	1.6	0.90	3.3	1.80	***	2.0	1.38
53	In a conversation, someone states that women are oppressed in Türkiye/Germany.	.68	.72		2.5	1.31	***	1.4	0.91	5.0	1.83	***	3.0	1.61
46	Someone complains that I speak Turkish/German with someone else.	.63	.56		2.1	1.20	***	1.1	0.54	4.9	1.94	***	3.7	1.87
25	Someone tells me that I am different from other people of Turkish origin / Germans.	.56	.72		2.9	1.42	***	1.4	0.90	4.1	1.83	#	3.3	1.66
11	Someone refers to me as a "Turk" or "Turkish".	.63	.68		2.9	1.46				3.2	1.93		3.0	1.84
58	I am admonished for a small mistake; however, a [different] person perceived as German (paG) is not.	.67	.30	.47	1.8	1.17	**	1.2	0.71	6.0	1.35	#	5.8	1.60
68	Someone looks at me arrogantly or "from above".	.67	.33	.43	2.3	1.33		1.8	1.03	5.8	1.45	*	5.4	1.59
61	Someone accuses me of being aggressive.	.61	.31	.38	1.8	1.23		1.4	0.80	5.1	1.69		4.7	1.76

S2 = Study 2, S3 = Study 3

1 = One-factor solution, 2 = Two-factor solution

2.1 = Disadvantage ambiguous

2.2 = Unequal treatment ambiguous

Differences between PMTG and G0 contr. for gender, age, academic backgr., employed, number of inhabitants of residence

# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Item Analyses: Results of *Example* Items (2 of 2)

No.	Item wording	Frequency of experience (1 = never to 6 = daily)								Judgm. of discrimination (from 1 = clearly no to 7 = cl. yes)				
		PMTG (S2 & S3) PCA loadings			PMTG (S3)			G0 (S3)		PMTG (S3)			G0 (S3)	
		1	2.1	2.2	*M*	*SD*		*M*	*SD*	*M*	*SD*		*M*	*SD*
63	I am observed by security staff while shopping.	.57		.68	1.8	1.24	**	1.2	0.70	5.4	1.66	***	4.1	1.78
81	I am treated more unfriendly than [other] persons who are paG.	.65		.54	2.3	1.38	***	1.2	0.74	6.1	1.38	*	5.7	1.65
18	S.o. rates my performance lower than comparable perf. of [other] colleagues or fellow students who are paG.	.67	.33	.43	2.1	1.31	**	1.3	0.79	6.0	1.39		5.8	1.49
76	I am ignored in a discussion or conversation.	.58		.64	1.9	1.17		1.7	1.06	5.8	1.48	**	5.1	1.74
54	Someone makes a derogatory comment about me being with several children.	.58		.45	1.8	1.22	*	1.7	1.25	5.8	1.52	*	5.3	1.73
79	Someone does not help me, although I need help.	.59		.62	1.6	1.11		1.5	0.90	5.8	1.55	#	5.4	1.78
10	A German person speaks to me in English.	.33		.45	1.5	0.86		1.4	0.85	3.6	1.87	#	2.8	1.61
83	Someone tells me that s/he does not see any skin colors and that for him/her all people are equal.	.39			2.2	1.21		1.8	1.11	2.3	1.81		2.1	1.66

S2 = Study 2, S3 = Study 3
1 = One-factor solution, 2 = Two-factor solution
2.1 = Disadvantage ambiguous
2.2 = Unequal treatment ambiguous

Differences between PMTG and G0 contr. for gender, age, academic backgr., employed, number of inhabitants of residence
# $p < .10$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
* with controls: G0 > PMTG

Items Selected for the *Subtle Discrimination of PMTG Scale* (SuDiT)

Preliminary translation from German to English

Disadvantage ambiguous (Omega = .90)

1. So. says that there is no discrimination.
2. So. uses the expression "with you Turks".
3. So. complains that I speak T. with so. else.
4. So. emphasizes that my name is not German or "foreign".
5. So. tells me that I speak good German.
6. So. expresses as if there is no difference between people of T. origin and people of other backgrounds (e.g. Arab or Pakistani).
7. So. expresses the assumption that men of T. origin are dominant or authoritarian.
8. So. asks me if a female person in my environment (e.g., my sister, mother or wife) wears a headscarf.
9. In a conversation, So. states that women are oppressed in Türkiye.
10. So. asks me what I think about the political or social situation in Türkiye.
11. So. asks me if I drink alcohol or eat pork.
12. So. tells me that I am different from other people of Turkish origin.

Unequal treatment ambig. (Omega = .85)

1. I am ignored in a discussion or conversation.
2. I am not served in a store.
3. I am observed by security staff while shopping.
4. So. rates my performance lower than comparable performance of colleagues, classmates or fellow students who are perceived as German.
5. I am treated more unfriendly than persons who are perceived as German.
6. So. treats me arrogantly or "from above".

Total scale (Omega = .93). Additional items:

1. So. says that Turkish children are behaving badly.
2. So. expresses the assumption that my parents are/were strict, or asks whether they are/were.
3. So. suspects that I or a member of my family have a job that is considered typical for people from Türkiye (e.g. car salesman, security guard, kebab store owner, housewife).

Summary and Conclusion

- We developed a 21-item ***questionnaire on subtle discrimination of people of Turkish origin living in Germany*** **(SuDiT)**
  - by focusing on observed behaviors without requiring attributions
  - based on 21 qualitative interviews and quantitative assessment of frequency, evaluation, and judgments of discrimination
  - selecting behaviors PMTG experience more often (➪ defining discrimination) and judge as more discriminatory (➪ defining subtlety) than G0
- **Two factors**: PMTG differ in how often they experience behaviors that are ambiguous regarding the two defining characteristics of discrimination
  1. Unequal treatment (due to social categorization)
  2. Disadvantage

Next Steps

- Test convergent, divergent, and incremental validity
- Identify differences of overt and subtle discrimination‘s effects and predictors
- Develop version in Turkish language and test equivalence

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Thank you very much for your attention!

Questions?

Comments?