

"Where Do You Really Come From?"

A Questionnaire on Subtle Discrimination Against People With a Migration Background From Turkey Living in Germany

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Research on Perceived Discrimination



- Open discrimination probably declining (Wong et al., 2014)
- (In Germany) Research focuses on open 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."

Open vs. Subtle Discrimination



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

Open

Low ambiguity
= high agreement ...

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

Subtle

High ambiguity
= low agreement ...

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 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."

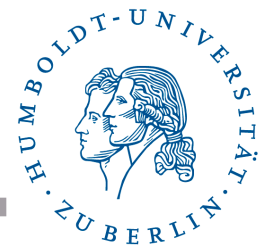
Our Aims



1. Separate between
 - a) open vs. subtle discrimination
 - b) frequency vs. evaluation
2. ... with regard to
 - a) possible effects (e.g., on well-being, self-doubts, sense of belonging to Germany)
 - b) predictors (e.g., migrant generation, gender, (non-) academic background)
3. Determine (dis)agreement within and between groups about whether events are discriminatory
 - ⇒ Awareness interventions

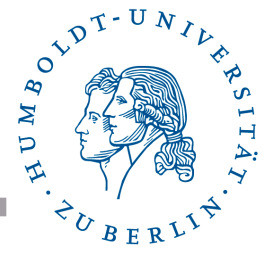
(Focus on individual experiences, not structural conditions)

Questionnaire Development by a Combination of Qualitative and Quantitative Methods



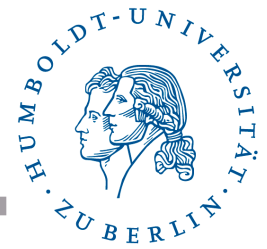
1. Qualitative interviews with 21 people with a migration background from Turkey living in Germany (PMTG) (Görlich, 2020)
2. Development of 83 items from (sub-)categories mentioned most frequently (Görlich, 2020)
3. Cognitive interviews with 8 PMTG to improve comprehensibility (Neuhauser, 2021)
4. Reformulation and reduction to 73 items (Neuhauser, 2021)
5. Survey with 407 PMTG, predominantly online (Neuhauser, 2021; Erdogan, in Vorb.)
6. Item analyses
7. Aggregation to one total scale and two subscales
8. Correlations with demographic variables

13 Categories With 48 Subcategories Based on the 21 Interviews



Category	Subcategory	Category	Subcategory
Complain about culture/ religion	No pork, headscarf, religious holidays, language	<u>Confront with stereotypes</u>	
Deny discrimination	Color blindness, group membership no cause, negation, not meant that way, exaggeration	Antisocial	Aggressive, living at state expense, delinquent, thieving, bad mannered, unkempt, untrustworthy
Foreigner in own country	Origin, name, language	Incompetent	
Prevent contact	Exclude from a group, move away, exclude nonverbally, skip	Conservative	Marriage plans, rich in children, conservative, headscarf, strict parents, oppression of women
Withhold resources	Deny help, withhold service, deny access	Positive attributes	Exoticize, multilingualism, Turkish expertise
Subtyping	Make stand out positively from a group	Religion	Diet, religious holidays
Treat unkindly	Admonish, make fun, arrogant	Other generalizations	"With you Turks", profession, slang, Turkey vacation, Turkish-Arab-Pakistani....

Respondents of the Survey



- Recruited via organizations of people with Turkish origin (e.g., associations, mosques) and social media
- 22 respondents excluded (e.g., because they rated several events as *very pleasant* that they had *never* experienced or that are explicitly negative) ⇨ 395 analyzed

Gender: 67.8% female, 31.4% male, 0.5% diverse

Age: $M = 33$ years, $SD = 11$ years

Migrant generation: 19% 1./1.5., 79% 2./2.5. und 1% 3.

Ethnic self-classification: 45% non-German (Turkish a.o.), 50% hybrid German-non-German

Perc. ethnic other-classification: 75% non-German, 19% hybrid German-non-German

Religion: 76% Islam, 20% none

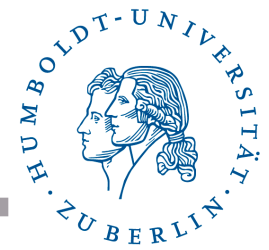
Women wearing headscarf in public: 75% never, 22% always

Highest (aspired) school degree: 71% university entrance qualif.

Highest professional degree: 26% Bachelor, 28% Master, 4% doctorate

Main activity: 38% white-collar worker, 33% university student, 6% self employed, 4% civil servant, 3% blue-collar worker

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



No	Item wording	Frequency (1 = never to 6 = daily)					Evaluation	
		FA 1	FA 2.1	FA 2.2	M	SD	M	SD
		Loading	DA	UA				
31	Someone asks me if a female person in my environment (e.g., my sister, mother or wife) wears a headscarf.	.65	.80		2.4	1.2	2.3	0.9
55	Someone expresses the assumption that my parents are/were strict, or asks if they are/were.	.66	.76		2.4	1.2	2.2	0.9
26	Someone uses the expression "with you Turks".	.73	.72		3.3	1.3	1.9	0.9
5	Someone asks me where I am from.	.67	.69		3.4	1.1	2.7	1.0
48	Someone expresses the assumption that men of Turkish origin are dominant or authoritarian (decisive, setting the tone).	.66	.65		2.8	1.2	2.0	0.8
20	Someone asks me what I think about the political or social situation in Turkey.	.65	.60		3.5	1.2	2.3	1.1
25	Someone tells me that I am different from other people of Turkish origin.	.52	.59		3.3	1.3	2.4	1.1
23	Someone expresses the assumption that I am warm, passionate, courageous or proud because I am of Turkish origin.	.51	.47		2.1	1.3	3.2	1.2

FA = Factor analysis (maximum likelihood)

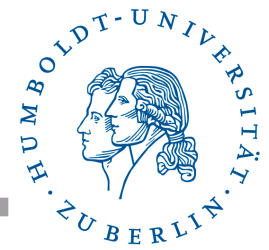
FA 1 = One-factor solution (61 items with loadings > .50)

FA 2 = Two-factor solution

DA = Disadvantage ambiguous (21 items with loadings > .50)

UA = Unequal treatment ambiguous (22 items with loadings > .50)

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



No	Item wording	Frequency (1 = never to 6 = daily)					Evaluation (1 = very unpleas. to 5 = very pleas.)	
		FA 1	FA 2.1	FA 2.2	M	SD	M	SD
		DA	UA	DA				
Loading	Loading	Loading						
70	Someone says that there is no discrimination.	.65	.37	.35	2.8	1.5	1.5	0.9
76	I am ignored in a discussion or conversation.	.52		.74	2.0	1.2	1.6	0.8
69	Someone treats me arrogantly or "from above".	.67		.66	2.6	1.4	1.5	0.8
63	While shopping, I am observed by security staff.	.51		.66	1.9	1.2	1.8	0.9
81	I am treated more unfriendly than people who are perceived as German.	.62		.65	2.7	1.4	1.5	0.6
65	Someone moves away when I sit next to them on public transportation.	.56		.63	1.5	0.8	2.0	1.1
58	I am admonished for a small mistake; a person perceived as German, on the other hand, is not.	.64		.61	2.1	1.2	1.6	0.7
79	Someone does not help me even though I need help.	.56		.57	1.7	1.0	1.7	0.8

FA = Factor analysis (maximum likelihood)

FA 1 = One-factor solution (61 items with loadings > .50)

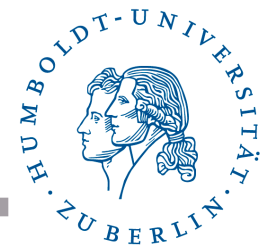
FA 2 = Two-factor solution

DA = Disadvantage ambiguous (21 items with loadings > .50)

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Prediction of Frequency and Evaluation by Demographic Variables

(β -Coefficients From Multiple Regressions)



	Frequency: sum	Frequency: disadvantage ambiguous	Frequency: unequal treatment ambiguous	Evaluation: sum	Evaluation: disadvantage ambiguous	Evaluation: unequal treatment ambiguous
Age	-0.03	-0.14 *	0.03	0.02	0.02	0.02
Male (vs. female/diverse)	0.09	-0.01	0.19 **	0.24 ***	0.28 ***	0.19 **
Academic (student/university degree)	-0.12 *	-0.17 **	-0.06	-0.20 ***	-0.16 **	-0.10
Employed	-0.03	0.01	-0.07	-0.08	-0.12 *	-0.02
No. inhabitants of residence	-0.01	-0.02	-0.01	0.02	0.00	-0.02
Migrant generation	0.09	0.08	0.06	0.02	-0.02	0.05
Religiosity	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.07	0.08	0.01
Headscarf in public (men = "never")	0.00	-0.09	0.13 *	0.03	0.10	0.05
Pc. ethnic other-classif.: German	-0.24 ***	-0.18 **	-0.27 ***	0.11 *	0.08	0.06
Ethnic self-class. German/hybrid (vs. non-German/none)	0.06	0.07	0.04	-0.06	-0.09	-0.05
Frequency: sum				-0.48 ***		
Freq.: disadvantage ambiguous					-0.27 ***	-0.08
Freq.: unequal treatment ambig.					-0.25 ***	-0.28 ***

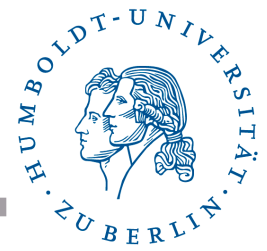
* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Summary and Conclusion



- German residents of Turkish origin differ in how often they experience and how they evaluate events that are ambiguous regarding the two defining characteristics of discrimination
 1. Unequal treatment (due to social categorization)
 2. Disadvantage
- The two-factor solution corresponds to these two defining characteristics.
- Being categorized as non-German ⇔ more frequent experience and more negative evaluation
- More frequent experience ⇔ more negative evaluation
- Women and people with an academic background ⇔ less frequent experience, but more negative evaluation
- Surprisingly: No effects of migrant generation

Next Steps in Developing a Questionnaire on Subtle Discrimination



- Develop version in Turkish language and test equivalence
- Compare people of Turkish and German origin
- “How likely is it, that this is discriminatory?”
- Select items for a short version based on
 - representativeness for all (sub)categories
 - factor loadings
 - differences in frequency between people of German and Turkish origin ⇨ unequal treatment as a defining feature of **discrimination**
 - low agreement on discriminatory ratings ⇨ high ambiguity as a defining feature of **subtlety**
- Test convergent, divergent, and incremental validity

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Thank you very much for
your attention!
Questions?
Comments?