



# IDENTITY SETTLEMENT OF TURKISH MIGRANTS

An analysis of Turkish migrants about how their religious  
identities are related to their personal experiences of integrating  
in a new Western environment

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MASTER THESIS PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

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## Preface

As a household we decided to accompany refugees as volunteers, helping them practising the Dutch language and orienting them through the city. Here I met Mohammed, a Syrian Muslim boy, who sacrificed everything in his hometown. War took his home, his livelihood, and separated him from his mother, father, sisters, brothers, other family and friends, his work, education and maybe his love. He was forced to leave his life behind, escaping for war, seeking for a safe environment through threatening sea journeys. He arrived in the Netherlands, received a refugee status, felt the safety comparing to his hometown, but the practicalities of life as a refugee were worrying. He isolated himself from others and was only in contact with authorities of Alifa, an institution who regulates the settlement of refugees. Since we have heard this, we spent time with him. During our conversations he explained that he feels desperate sometimes, and told us that due to this he became another person.

This was the starting point to define the subject of my master thesis in order to graduate for my Master study Public Administration. As a 3th generation female Turkish migrant, with a Muslim identity, this topic was very close to me, because my parents and grandparents always told me stories about their struggles when settling in the Netherlands. Despite of their struggles, I think they brought up us toward a successful life. Therefore I want to thank them and dedicate this graduation to my family.

I can understand you can't wait to read this research, but first I would like to say thanks to my supervisor, dr. Jörgen Svensson, for his excellent support and guidance during this process. His experiences and involvement in the topic was an ending source of inspiration for me. Thereby I want to thank my second supervisor too, dr. Luisa Marin. I did not know her personally, but my sincerest thank for being part of my graduation committee.

I also wish to thank all of the respondents for trusting me and sharing their private feelings and experiences. Without whose cooperation, I would not have been able to conduct this analysis. Finally, my parents' dream was always to see their daughter finishing her Master degree. Well, I have done it. Thanks mum and dad for your support, motivation, love and most important for your prayers!

I want to close this preface with a meaningful quote that I want to share with all my readers, enjoy your reading:

*" Living among others is a cause for blessing, while seclusion is the cause of torment."*  
(Sayings of Prophet Muhammad, translated by Kabir Helminski)

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## 1. Introduction

The Netherlands is home to a diversity of cultures, ethnic backgrounds and religions. In the last decades the influx of migrants has contributed to the change of The Dutch population into a multicultural and colourful society. The increasing diversity validates the essence to create an environment where all those diverse people, each with their own identity, could live together. In order to improve and regulate the increasing diversity in society, the Dutch government realized that various readjustments had to be made. In the end of 1970s the starting point was to introduce the so called 'minority policy', which was related on the assumption that the integration of migrants was temporary and manageable. Afterwards, this policy has taken a different approach and evolved into the 'integration policy' and integration became a complex problem, or as it is called, an unmanageable issue (Rein & Schon, 1994). Although integration of migrants is recognised as a social problem, there is still no clarity, determination and even discord about the definition of this issue. One describes it as emancipation or integration with preservation of identity, adaptation, participation or segregation. In fact, integration is a concept that eventually has led to controversies in scientific research as in politic debates due to normative opinions on this matter. To mention some of these, according to Robert Putnam (2007), the more diversity in society, the more this negatively affects trust and social cohesion. On the contrary an other scientific research challenges Putnam's conclusion by revealing that not diversity affects trust, but that disadvantage is responsible for lower level of trust (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015). From a political viewpoint, there are political parties which consider diversity of society as a problem and see the Netherlands (Dutch identity) as unchangeable, with a static culture and uniform identity in an environment where migrants have to adapt, whereas other parties see diversity as an added value for a changeable society with a common identity (KIS, 2016).

To live in a country with diverse identities (one could identify oneself with at least one thing like ethnicity, nationality, race, religion or a particular belief) in dynamic environments, everyone (natives, migrants or refugees) tries to shape their personal identity. The formation of identity is a dynamic process that depends on circumstances, the sense of unity and belonging as a result of group membership and the period we live in. So, the integration policy could contribute in several ways to the specific normative conceptions of a common identity of the nation state. Contrary, the integration policy depends on the established identities that are formed by social integration. In an age dominated by discussion of inflows of refugees from different countries, cultures and religions, an understanding of their settlement in a new 'western' environment needs to be developed within the context of what kind of consequences their settlement have had for their identity formation in the Dutch society. A remarkable point of the so-called 'new inflow' of most refugees from the last decade is their religious (Muslim) identity. Some studies argue that Muslim identity is not compatible with the 'Western' civilization, among other things due to the manifestation of Islamophobia (Yasmeen, 2008). Thereby another report of the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance has concluded that the settlement of Eastern European migrants in the Netherlands and the increasing manifestation of Islam and Muslims, are conceived as a threat to Dutch society by politicians and media (Andriessen, Fernee & Wittebrood, 2014). Hence, integration has become broadly conceived in academic and policy discourse.

Another important acceptance is that there is no general theory about how integration of migrants can be achieved, because values and norms of immigrant integration are constantly

fluctuating and often connected to specific normative conceptions of a particular country (Scholten, 2007). Despite this importance there is even no clarification why some particular groups or categories of migrants are included in defining migrants that had to be 'integrated' (for example Chinese or Western-European migrants are not labelled as minorities who had to integrate).

Connecting the acculturation of Muslim identity in a Western society to the unclearness and ambiguity of immigrant integration of particular groups in a plural society, and since these problems as described above have been a discourse in academic and political arena, these subjects received more attention in research. Therefore the research of J.W. Berry should not be avoided in this introduction. He presented in his work the process of migrant adaptation about four acculturation strategies, in which integration takes part as one of the four acculturation options (Berry, 1992). He defines acculturation as a 'cultural change that results from continuous, first-hand contact between two distinct cultural groups'. In his other study Berry gave a social-psychological addition to it, by referring to changes by individuals and life negotiations of them in a continuing and evolving pluralistic society (Berry, 2005). Berry (1992) also remarks that most of these group or individual changes mostly occur in the non-dominant (migrating) group, whereas the dominant group (society of settlement) takes an influencing role in this change process. That is why in this research emphasis will be put on the non-dominant groups in trying to link acculturation experience to individual outcomes among migrants. Eventually he lined out four acculturation options that can operate as both strategies and outcomes: integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization.

Assimilation is defined as the relinquishment of one's cultural identity and moving into the larger society, by way the established dominant group absorbs the non-dominant group, or the process whereby many groups merge to form a new society. Integration means maintaining the cultural identity and thereby the movement to join the dominant group. When ethnic identity and traditions will be maintained and substantial relations with the dominant society disconnect, segregation or separation occur. This depends upon if the dominant or non-dominant group does have the control on the process. Finally marginalization implies the situation whereby groups are losing their identity and where groups give up their cultural and psychological contact with their original culture or that from the larger society (Berry, 1992).

Despite the clarifying acculturation options of the adaptation process by Berry that could be used in the integration process of migrants, there is still a gap in the knowledge that concentrates on the own perceptions of migrants of their integration. It is important to indicate what the objective factors are of integration/adaptation such as employment, income or socio-economic mobility, but it is also equally important as the feelings of migrants about their experiences of integration. This is recommended in a study of Korac (2003, p.53), where she has studied the settlement of refugees in Italy and the Netherlands. This important finding of Korac, the value of migrants' perspective on their integration, confirms the loss in refugee experience, cautioned by Eastmond (1998, p.178), where he asserted that even though 'transformation and change are part of the refugee experience, not all change is perceived as loss or defined as problematic or unwelcome by the refugees

themselves''. This affirms even more to the beneficial of a qualitative study among migrants about their expectations and experiences of integrating in a Western society.

From a political viewpoint the importance of migrants' perspective on integration is meaningful since they form the primary role in their own integration. This is confirmed by a study of Valtonen (1998) about Middle Eastern refugees in Finland, where she signifies the necessity of understanding refugees' perceptions on resettlement. She clarified this by using the viewpoint of refugees themselves, that although refugees have goals for life in resettlement, this is not always parallel to their actual conditions. This reflects to the practical (institutional) limitations, whereupon goals and conditions are not running in parallel. Her approach of analysing the viewpoint of refugees can play a significant role in conducting policy. According to her, "institutions have a direct impact on the resettlement" and refugees form the centre of all stakeholders in the process of resettlement. Consequently, their 'own priorities and goals have influence upon their style of engagement with the surrounding society' (p. 41). This is why the gap in the knowledge regarding migrants' perspective has to be filled, because otherwise it can generate misconceptions at not only organizational and institutional levels, but at individual level too.

Globalisation has still a big role in making the motivations of migration much easier. The effects of the waves of migrant flows that has actually been taking place for millennia (due to colonization, war, economic and political reasons etc.), became more interesting when large ethno cultural populations in most countries, with diverse identities were involved in a long-term process. The question rises how migrants attempt to live together in such culturally plural societies? How do migrants relate to other groups? Does this have an effect on their (religious) identity, in such case, what kind of effects does the change have? To answer these questions, a more qualitative approach will be used in this research to allow Muslim migrants speaking liberally about their feelings, understanding their own thoughts and opinions about their settlement and acculturation in the Western society.

So in summary, identities of migrants that are to be integrated do matter for scientific, political as for social reasons. This research aims to unravel if identities of migrants, and especially if religious identities of migrants have consequences for themselves since they are settled in a Western country with Western values, as it has an effect on integration itself from the viewpoint of migrants. It does not aim to explain if the immigrant integration goal of the government is accomplished. The real-world significance of this topic could therefore be translated in the next research question:

*How are religious identities of Turkish migrants who live in the Netherlands related to their personal experiences of integrating in a new Western environment?*

To get an answer to the research question, more insight has to be given in some concepts. Therefore theories will be introduced about identity settlement of migrants, how identity is shaped, and which possible effects identities have on integration. But before this step, the next sub questions are formulated that will lead to answer the main question in this research:

1. How has Dutch integration policy developed over the past forty years?

2. What are the backgrounds of migrants who are settled in the Netherlands regarding their religious identities and what were the motives to migrate to the Netherlands?
3. To what extent are migrants satisfied with their religious identity before and after their settlement in the Netherlands?
4. To what extent do migrants think their religious identity is consistent with the integration in Dutch Western civilization?
5. What kind of struggles do migrants experience when integrating in Dutch society and how do they think to tackle these difficulties?

The first sub question is about how Dutch integration policy has reacted to several migration waves in the Netherlands. These developments allow a better understanding to which problems are defined regarding the settlement of migrants, which factors caused changes in the integration policies, what kind of interventions were implemented to achieve the integration policy goals and which of them succeeded and failed. Thereby, this sub question will give a profile of the identities of migrants too, who are considered as the target group to manage the defined problem. Eventually, this sub question about the Dutch integration policy could give an explanation if it associates with thoughts and experiences of migrants themselves.

The second sub question needs to be answered to draw a profile of migrants about their culture, country of origin, the time and space they migrated and the reasons why they had to leave their country of origin. It reflects on the motives of migrants, why they had to leave their 'home' and which prospects they have had regarding their migration to the 'West'. This sub question is partly based on facts and partly on thoughts and expectations of migrants.

The third and fourth sub questions need answering in more detail the thoughts, needs and beliefs about identities of migrants themselves, and especially of their religious identity. The level of satisfaction about practising and carrying their religious identity in the country of origin and the host country will be compared to each other to find any correlation with regarding to their settlement in a Western civilization. The prospect is to link their experiences and thoughts about their religious identity to their perception of integrating in the Dutch Western society. Policy is made to achieve certain goals, but if it does not comply with the thoughts, experiences, needs and capacities of migrants themselves, than it will be very difficult and could it therefore erode not only the established society, but could affect the religious identity of migrants too.

When making policy, not only thoughts of politicians have to take into account to solve a problem. Implementing an effective policy demands a deliberation with the target group too. That is why sub question five is added. Like exploring the struggles experienced by migrants, the narrow mindedness of further Dutch integration policy could be prevent and could deliver improvements and alternatives to achieve policy integration goals more effective.

The aim of this research is to find an answer to the question of how Turkish migrants experience the relation between their personal religious identity and the integration in the Netherlands. In addition to the literature above about the settlement issues of migrants and

their options how they could settle in a Western society, this study will hereafter start with developing a proper theoretical framework that will be needed before conducting data for this research. The theoretical framework in chapter two of this research will be needed to construct concepts of existing theories. Because this research will have a qualitative approach, open-ended questions will be used in the semi-structured interviews to describe and explain what migrants' perspectives are on their integration in the Western society. The concepts will draw up the themes of these questionnaires and will be used as a guideline during the interviews with the respondents. Chapter three will include the conceptualization of these themes and how these concepts could be operationalized to get an answer on the research question. Chapter four discusses the significant findings and analyses after consulting migrants about their religious identity in relation to their integration in Dutch Western civilization. The last chapter highlights the conclusion and provides recommendations in order to guideline future research or policy about this topic.



## 2. Theoretical framework

Nowadays it is important to identify oneself with at least one thing (like ethnicity, nationality, race, religion, or a particular belief) to fit or adapt into a complex environment that affects altruistic and cooperative behaviour (Abascal & Baldassarri, 2015, p. 758). Especially when migrants settle in a new (Western) environment, their identities become more meaningful because of their adaptability. The increasing emphasis on identities got extra attention by the increasing number of refugee waves in the beginning of the 21st century. That is one of the main reasons to make identities, as a concept and its whole context with migrants' life, more visible and explicable. Traditional identities in society were mainly based on traditional religious morals and beliefs, which were projected in individual's daily life. However sociologists considered a declining movement in participation in traditional activities of religion (like less church visits or denominations) in Western Europe. This occurrence is also known as secularisation (Eastmond, 1998, p. 165; Felling, Peters and Schreuder, 1987, p.15). The question that arises from this occurrence is what kind of consequences religious involvement will actually have for the normative integration in a social system. What is the role of religious identity to social integration in a Western country and vice versa which effects does the established society have on migrants in the Netherlands as a Western country (and especially on their religious identity). This theoretical framework will be based on these effects to get a better understanding in the existing views within social theories regarding religious identity and its consistency with migration in a Western environment. Eventually, within this theoretical framework an explanation could be given whether personal experience of migrants is in keeping with these theories. Hereafter I will begin to assert the general meaning of identity, and how it could be made more understandable whereby shifts in identity formation will be explained. This general conceptualization of identity is necessary to explain in the second part of this chapter why religion is an important factor for identity formation. By describing three contexts in which religion could have a significant role of identity formation, the effect to personal and social meaning of religious identity will be clarified. In the last part of this chapter this clarification will be used to point out what the effects are of globalization and (thus) migration to religious identities. So starting from an individualistic approach where identity takes a meaningful role to get structure and stability in person's life, I will continue by clarifying that people could have beneficial effects of religious identity for integration and close this chapter by explaining that a integrated society needs coherence, trust and consciousness among individuals in response to globalisation and migration.

### 2.1 What is identity?

"Identity is a process, identity is split. Identity is not a fixed point but an ambivalent point. Identity is also the relationship of the Other to oneself".  
(Stuart Hall, 1989)

Identity is a concept that has been vigorously questioned in social theory. The argument is that old identities, which basically regulate the social world, will regress to make place to new identities where modern individuals loose consciously or unconsciously the grip of traditional visions and reform as a consequence to mixed values. Homosexuality for example forms a 'new' modern identity that is reasonably different than traditional identities. Such conceptualization of identity is seen as an uninterrupted process of change that destabilizes frameworks, which gave grip to individuals in society. Individual identity in that sense is

needed to get a structured and stable position, but due to differentiations in time and space, this process of change to get a fixed identity became fragile and unpredictable for individuals as for society. In other words, identity is known as a kind of disarranged space, wherein different discourses cross each other, so that unresolved questions remain. Prior to this conception, identity was incorrectly known as fixed feelings, thoughts and being, which leads to specific actions, like a kind of a 'true self' logic (Hall, 1989). Supplementary to this, Kobena Mercer (1994) says in his book that 'identity only becomes an issue when it is in crisis, when something that assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty'. This experience could come from the individual itself, or from the viewpoint of others. Therefore, a distinction is made in research between subjective and objective identity. Bilgrami (2006, p.5) says that subjective identity is what a person self conceives to be, whereas objective identity is how others might view you independently of how you see yourself, using certain social or biological facts about you.

### 2.1.1 Understanding identities

Different authors discussed developments in modern societies about the definition of identity. These developments end up in different definitions of 'identity' as a concept. To make these differences more transparent, like what is meant by which identity concept and which factors influenced these differences, different positions and frames of the concept will be discussed later on. It is important to mention that there could not be give a clear fixed definition of the concept 'identity', because developments and trends are too recent and too ambiguous, whereas the concept itself is too complex, too underdeveloped, and too little understood in the world of sociology. But to understand slightly the visions of migrants, influences on personal identity have to be made more transparent by outlining the way of thinking by human beings about their identities. Hopefully, by defining the developments of the conceptualization of identity, the underlying essence of migrant's life, and a better explanation of their existence as human beings could be outlined.

### 2.1.2 The three concepts of identity

Identity as a concept could be recognized in three different ways (Hall, 1992). Hall distinguishes ways of 'thinking' by human beings by showing that there is a shift in conceptualization of 'identity' too. In more detail, the next three stages of the development of identity conceptualization will be exposed: the effect of the *Enlightenment*, *sociological* perspective and *post-modern* influences.

In the first period of the Enlightenment during the end of the seventeenth century, Enlightenment philosophers like John Locke said about the basis of personal identity; 'to find wherein personal identity consists, we must consider what person stands for; which, I think, is a thinking intelligent being, that has reason and reflection, and can consider itself as itself, the same thinking thing, in different times and places; which it does only by that consciousness which is inseparable from thinking, and, as it seems to me, essential to it' (Locke, 1689, p. 318). This means that consciousness was one of the crucial points of moral accountability, which creates personal identity (the similar as rational being). This personal identity reaches the total of thinking backwards to any past action or thought. So the Enlightenment way of thinking was 'individualist', where individuals as completely centred and unified, bestowed with all the capabilities of reason, consciousness and actions, whose basis is the inner core which started from birth throughout the whole life. So, according to this concept of identity, personal identity is a fixed understanding, despite of different times

or places. Translating this to the distribution of migrants from hometown to another place in the world, it should not influence their personal identity, consciousness or reasoning, no matter what.

The sociological perspective makes a little difference in the above-described Enlightenment conceptualization of identity. This perspective rose when the complexity of the modern society was clearly marked. It negates that the inner core of the individual is an autonomous and self-acting symptom, but is more a realization occurred by the interaction to others. This relation to 'others' is significant, because they 'mediated to the subject the values, meanings and symbols – the culture – of the worlds he/she inhabited' (Hall, 1992, p. 275). One of the grounders of the concept of identity and the 'self' is C.H. Cooley, a sociologist who elaborated the theory about the self-concept. This perspective defines the self as 'a reflexive phenomenon that develops in social interaction and is based on the social character of human language' (Gecas, 2011, p.3). This means that interaction between society and the self becomes the mind of the individual, still retaining his/her inner core or the essence of the self-being. It is such organized, so that the so-called social attitudes occur rather than roles of separate individuals. The concept of identity from this sociological viewpoint forms an open window, a binding process between the 'inside' and the 'outside', and between the personal and the public worlds. Conducting this to a migrant's perspective means that migrating and becoming part of a host country is a changing process that needs opportunities for the fusion of selves. The personal self from the home country of a migrant does not disappear, but is rather a durable strand including the migrant 'self' and the 'self' in the host country, stretching to a new existence (Ives, 2007, p. 56). Such conceptualization of identity makes it possible to step into new cultural identities, and gives 'ourselves' the opportunity to learn and involve the new meanings and values, so that subjective feelings equate with objective places they inhabit. This will eventually lead to more structure of identity that balances the being and the new cultural world and makes them more unified and obvious (Hall, 1992, p. 276).

The former identity of the individual, which was very fixed, stable and unified, shifted to an identity that crumbled in separate parts. Identities became multiple and resulted sometimes in contradictions or uncertain identities. In other words, the subjective 'self' and the objective 'needs' of the new environment conspired, however broke up when structural and institutional changes occur. This shift results in an identification process, which develops very unrestricted, variable and difficult. In Hall's eyes this is the so-called post-modern variant of the conceptualization of identity. He notes that 'identity becomes a moveable feast: formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us' (Hall, 1992, p.277). Identity in this sense is not prescribed from birth, but rather defined by historical steps. It is a recognition that ones have different, contradictory identities in a range of time and place, and so is not only surround by a rational 'self'.

### **2.1.3 How is personal identity shaped?**

Through the above-described three conceptualizations of identity we could find out how identity could be recognized and how conceptualizations of identity are transformed. These transformations are also shifting personal identities. The next question that has to be elaborate is how personal identity could be shaped.

Fearon (1999) used in his research Taylor's<sup>1</sup> interpretation of personal identity, but made afterwards counterexamples to clarify that Taylor's definition was not complete. According to Taylor, personal identity is a 'personal moral code or compass, a set of moral principles, ends, or goals that a person uses as a normative framework and a guide to action'. Firstly, Fearon rejected this statement because the moral component was too narrow. He completed the interpretation about personal identity as: 'Personal identity is a set of attributes, beliefs, desires, or principles of action that a person thinks distinguish her in socially relevant ways and that; the person takes a special pride in; or the person takes no special pride in, but which so orient her behaviour that she would be at a loss about how to act and what to do without them; or the person feels she could not change even if she wanted to' (p. 25). So, spoken from the position of migrants, their personal identities could be shaped by a set of aspects and attributes. These attributes could be physical (e.g., have a white or black skin colour), or aspects in social categories labelled as personal beliefs, goals, desires or moral values. Beyond these attributes and aspects, migrants could shape their personal identity when they at least know and are conscious of which distinguish her/him from at least some others. It is for example odd to say as a migrant that being a human being is a crucial part of his identity.

## 2.2 Religious Identity

In the first part of this chapter an understanding about the developments of identity and of its meaning was outlined. In this second part of this chapter, an explanation will be given why religion is an important factor for identity formation. Research has showed the effect of the correlation between religion and identity formation among adolescents (King, 2003). Before, this was already confirmed by Erikson (1964). He qualified that religion is an essential aspect in identity development of the sociohistorical model. He proved that religion is one of the oldest and most lasting traditions that result in fidelity, the commitment and faithfulness to an ideology in times of the crisis of identity formation. He adds, that religion is not only virtuous and stimulates moral beliefs and behavioural norms of that ideology, but is also a substantive for the ideological norms in a community. Therefore according to Erikson, such belief systems give meaning to actions and experiences. Reading these results about the association of religion and identity formation, it becomes extra interesting to use these theories as a description of experiences of migrants about their integration in the Netherlands.

However, religion is very broad and has multiple meanings and dimensions. Hereafter, the changing forms of the dimensions of religion will be described to get a better understanding in the belief systems of migrants and how these dimensions forms a conceptual framework for their identity exploration and involvement.

### 2.2.1 The 'classic' dimensions of religion

In research various conceptualizations of religion have been made. Religion was categorized in four expressions, better known as: beliefs, morals, practices and feelings (Thung, Laeyendecker, Van Tillo, Dekker, Munters, Van Otterlo, & Vrijhof, 1985). But Glock, who analysed it more accurate, explored that expression of religion has one more dimension. These dimensions provided by Glock (1972, p.39) are:

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<sup>1</sup> Taylor, C. (1989). *The making of the modern identity*. Harvard University Press.

- 1) *Experiential*: this refers to the religious experience in the form of subjective and emotional expressions (like peace, fear, happiness, humility etc.) of the religiosity of any person.
- 2) *Ideological*: this refers to the acceptance of any religious person of the certain belief system. In general, the expectation which followers of any belief system have to adhere that certain belief.
- 3) *Practical*: this refers to the specific ritual religious activities, wherein the 'believer' participates (such as praying, fasting or giving charity).
- 4) *Knowledge*: this means that the religious person is expected to know at least the basic tenets of the belief system.
- 5) *Consequential*: this refers to the interactions between the religious person and others as an ethical consequence of the other above-described dimensions and includes the prescriptions derived from the particular belief system. Glock things this dimension is the principal one of religious commitment.

### 2.2.2 The reduction of dimensions in context of religion

There were some critics to these five basic dimensions of religion. Mainly the consequential aspect was criticized because it was not entirely clear and difficult to measure to what extent which religious consequence was part of a religious commitment or not. Later on, others added one extra dimension to the basic ones. This was the communion aspect of religion, which was meaningful because of the social contacts with other religious people (Fichter, 1969). However, scholars have eventually reduced the number of dimensions of religion, to get a stable quality on empirical and statistical settings of an abstract concept like religion and to exclude subjectivity (Nudelman, 1971; Mueller 1980). In the role of identity formation, religion could have a significant role in three contexts. These environments are provided by *ideological*, *social* and *spiritual* contexts according to King (2003, p. 198-201).

To start with the ideological contexts, King says that beliefs, worldview and values of religious traditions provide people with the ability to think about meaning, order and place in the world that is essential for identity formation. Such religion 'codes' contribute to create any values, moral principles and beliefs that are necessary for the belief system of the individual. For young religiously raised people, King points out that they could have a greater sense of shared vision, worldview, beliefs, values and goals with regard to elderly persons, friends and others outside the family than those who are less raised and practiced with religious aspects. Thereby worldviews that provides meaning and perspective to young people, who are active in religious communities, can help themselves to deliberate about solutions when they are in an identity crisis (p. 198). In short, when young people are confused about different ideologies, being part of any congregation may be helpful to create a consistent ideological framework.

Religion supplies a social context too, that is needed for the evolvment of identity. In the period of adolescence, people are stimulated to personal integration, not only by the ideology itself but by applying it too. Like this, the opportunity will be created to interact, to share ideological principles and to build a good relationship with peers or with other generations. In religious environments, people get introduced to spiritual models, which helps to build up their self-being. Examples of these models are leaders of religious institutions, fellow worshipers or prophets (founders of a particular belief). Participating in religious communities activates the network with others. This relationship in a religious

network contributes eventually to socialization and a higher trust level with others in which they could share common values, beliefs and goals. These dialogues and interactions, where young people could experience a trustful setting, constitute a perfect environment to get grip on issues of identity (p. 199). Being part of a religious network setting could also provide social experiences that adolescents could adapt in their identity and forms in that way an aspect of personal integration. 'An adolescent can take on leadership within the youth ministry, act as small group leaders for peers or for younger aged children, lead in congregational worship, and sometimes participate in the governing body of the congregation' (p. 200). The experiences that youth gain by involving in such religious networks, is like an exercise to them to their conceptions of themselves. It stimulates different aspects of their identity such as manager, believer or helper.

The last context to be described is the spiritual context. Religion is an influencing aspect in the life of young people in spiritual sense to discover issues related to identity formation. This could be better described as the experience of transcending the inner being. Being spiritual loaded causes consistency with divine, human or other natural beings and gives young people an opening to involve in connection with God, community of believers or nature. Awareness of the 'self' in this sense, gives explanations of meaning and belonging in life, which will be need afterwards in the adolescent period to stabilize identity. With spirituality a believer could feel very unique, valued or respected that has great effects for his/her identity. In Judeo-Christian spirituality for example, the followers believe that they are in a special relationship with God. According to Jewish identity, they claim and believe that they are the chosen and beloved ones from God (Firestone, 2008, p. 6). Christians identify themselves as 'son or daughters of God for example, and Muslims believe that all the prophets came to their people with the same proclamation (Quran 11:50) but that prophet Muhammad is the last beloved messenger of God. Thus a Muslim do not believe that you do have to be a 'beloved' one to have a spiritual relationship with God, but that following the last Messenger is sufficient. Thereby could religious rituals affect, confirm and gather the sense of identity of a young believer, just like they could recognize their belonging within their faith community. 'The social context is understood as the potential resources of social influence central to identity formation. Whereas the spiritual context refers to opportunities to experience a profound sense of connectedness with either supernatural or human other that invokes a sense of awareness of self in relation to other' (King, 2004 p.201). In abstract the consciousness and attentiveness of the self in these contexts, produces a lifestyle that affects the life of self, others and/or the divine.

### 2.3 Religious identity and modern nations

In this research the religious identity of migrants in consistency with integration in a Western society will be discussed from their own perspective. The first two paragraphs of this chapter considered what the concepts of identity are, how identity could be shaped and what the dimensions of religion are from an individualistic approach. It is not necessarily that all identities of individuals together form the national culture of a particular nation, because modern Western (Europe) societies will always have different identities since West Europe were the centre of empires, and has no nations with inhabitants of only one group, one culture or ethnicity. Despite national identities in modern Western societies are dislocated and globalized all over the world, for a peaceful society, without revolts or clash of personalities, different national cultures and national identities has to be unified, or at least 'constituting a discursive device which represents difference as unity or identity'



(p.297-299). A unified culture could be reached when the cultural characteristics (such as language, tradition, feeling for nation) in that nation could be expressed as 'one people' and shared by the inhabitants. However, living in the 21st century, means living in a modern world, whereby cultures are not inside the borders of a country, but moreover through globalization and migration it turns out a myth to have a unified nation. Hall expresses this like 'Western Europe has no nations which are composed of only one people, one culture or ethnicity. Modern nations are all cultural hybrids' (Hall, 1992, p.297).

### 1.3.1 Globalisation and its effect to migrants

Because of the globalising world, where people migrate to other countries due to different reasons, integration of these migrants became a politic discourse. Hall (1992, p. 299) notes that 'those processes, operating on a global scale, which cut across national boundaries, integrating and connecting communities and organizations in new space-time combinations, making the world in reality and in experience more interconnected'. Therefore, globalization causes distance of the traditional sociological perspective about society as a controllable system, and transforms to the idea that social life is ordered across time and space. Scholten (2007, p.5) says that integration of migrants could be defined by many societal values. It is also a very subjective, valuable concept that is in proportion with specific normative conceptions of the nation state itself. In practice, the nation itself determines the definition of global migration and determines also to what extent immigrants will be account as a social problem. This means that in many countries there is a correlation between the definition of migrants, the method and policy towards immigrant integration, and the conceptions of the nation. In the Netherlands for example, it is very common not to count Chinese migrants and migrants from West-Europe as minorities who have to 'integrate' (p. 5). It has all to do with legacies of the nation, such as the example of pillar system in history and tolerance toward religious and cultural differences.

Hall continued his research where he points out that globalization is one of the main aspects of affecting cultural identities. Since the seventies of the twentieth century, the scope and pace of migration on global level have impressively increased. Settlement of migrants to new countries from the other side of the world, literally and figural, activated the linkages and flows between nations. Hall simplifies three possible consequences of globalization on cultural identities (1992, p.300):

- 1: Due to the increasing cultural homogenization and the global post-modern world, national identities are being damaged.
- 2: Due to the contradiction to globalization, national and other "local" or particularistic identities are being strengthened.
- 3: New identities of hybridity replace the declining national identities.

These three possible consequences show a general effect on the process of globalization, namely a decrease in the relevance of national forms of cultural identity. This means, the strong identification with the national culture has moreover shifted, and made place for building up other cultural ties and loyalties. In other words, national identities are still making sense like legal and citizenship rights, but local, regional and community identities got more attention and importance (Hall, 1992, p.302). Eventually, the global interdependence causes the collapse of all strong cultural identities and leaves behind a division of cultural beliefs, which become temporary and multiple in styles with thus emphasis on contrast and plural cultures. This is how Hall (1992) call it a post-modern

process of cultural flows. Despite the distance in time and space, people are assembled in this globalization process where they give rise to a sharing system of identities, traditions and practices of life in that particular nation. Like this cultural identities become fragile because of more external influences, and this results as Hall says in the difficulty 'to preserve cultural identities intact, or to prevent them from becoming weakened through cultural bombardment and infiltration'. This phenomenon of cultural homogeneity and its effect on moral beliefs of individuals is also included in the theory of Emile Durkheim. In his study about 'the division of labour', he explored that when the structure of a population changes, this will trigger social organizational changes, which in turn end in moral changes (Kivisto, 1998, p.97). Durkheim compares this process within modern industrial societies, which develop a complex interdependency because of the increased differentiation and complexity of society, and thereby the growing level of individual dependence). He was concerned about the social problems that were consequences of such industrial societies and argued that 'moral vacuum was created due to the demise of mechanical solidarity prior to the foundation of binding organic moral constraints' (p.97). Merton's further elaboration in a micro sociological level on this theory made clear that societies define goals to achieve value system goals to which individuals should aspire and accept. But when individuals accept these goals but find that their opportunities to achieve them by legitimate, socially sanctioned methods are hindered, strain occurs. Eventually, a disproportion between goals and methods results in an anomic state where individuals take part (p. 107).

The answer of Durkheim to give moral unity to such disintegrating society could find in the functions of religion. He pointed out functions of religion and Harry Alpert summarized these in four major functions that will solve the source of strain and rebuild an integrated society and create standards for a homogeneous culture in modern industrial societies (equated to Western states). These functions that have social benefits and thus assists migrants to inhabit in a Western society are (Johnstone, 2016):

- Disciplinary function: Religious rituals prepare men for social life by imposing self-discipline and a certain measure of asceticism
- Cohesive function: Religious ceremonies bring people together and thus serve to reaffirm their common bonds and to reinforce social solidarity.
- Vitalizing function: Religious observance maintains and revitalizes the social heritage of the group and helps transmit its enduring values to future generations
- Euphoric function: Religion serves to counteract feelings of frustration and loss of faith and certitude by re-establishing the believers' sense of well-being, their sense of the essential rightness of the moral world of which they are a part.

## 2.4 Conclusion

The above described theoretical framework consist of three sections; an individualistic approach where identity takes a meaningful role to get structure and stability in a individuals' life; another approach that shows the importance of religious identity of individuals as it has benefits for their integration in a western environment; the third approach contains the influence of globalization and migration to both national and individual levels.

The first part contains a conception of what identity means, and how personal identity in general could be shaped. We see here that identity is not fixed, but is constantly displaced by the experience of *doubt* and *uncertainty*. Mercer makes a distinction in how identity



could be interpreted, whereby subjective identity means what a person conceive him/her to be, and objective identity means how others might view a migrant independently of how a migrant sees itself.

Identity could then be recognized in three different transformations. These concepts could be used whether migrants consider a difference in their identity over time and space. From the *enlightenment* perspective, consciousness forms an essential of moral accountability, which creates personal identity, whereby a person's understanding is always fixed despite of different times or places. From the *sociological* perspective, the 'self' develops in social interaction, whereby social attitudes occur rather than a role as separate individuals. One get then the opportunity to learn and involve new meanings and values. From a *post-modern* perspective, identity transforms continuously whereby ones have different, contradictory identities in a range of time and place.

The second part of the theoretical framework argues that religion is an essential aspect in identity development. To mention the personal meaning, religious identity stimulates moral beliefs and behavioural norms whereas the social meaning of religious identity forms a substantive for ideological norms in a community. Religion has thereby benefits in three different contexts. These are: ideological, social and spiritual contexts provided by King. From an *ideological* perspective, when a person is religiously raised and practiced with religious activities, it helps to create a consistent ideological framework and provide solutions when they are in an identity crisis. Religion supplies a *social* context too, which stimulates personal integration and participation in religious communities. This relationship in a religious network contributes eventually to socialization and a higher trust-level with others and share common values, beliefs and goals. Being spiritual loaded causes consistency with divine, human or other human beings, that invokes a sense of awareness of self in relation to others.

In the last part of this chapter, modern nations and the effects of globalization and migration to identities are included. Because modern Western societies have different identities, a unified culture could be reached when cultural characteristics in such nations could be expressed as 'one people' and where differences could be represented as unity or identity. Globalization could have three possible consequences on cultural identities; due to homogenization in post-modern societies, national identities could be damaged; due to the contradiction to globalization identities are being strengthened; or new hybrid identities replace declining national identities. Because cultural homogeneity changes moral beliefs of individuals, and due to the demise of solidarity, a disintegrating society will be created. To solve the source of strain and rebuild an integrated society four functions of religion could have social benefits and assist migrants to inhabit in a Western society. These are: *disciplinary, cohesive, vitalizing and euphoric* function.

So one of the important findings in this chapter is that personal identities could be shaped, and that identity is not necessarily a fixed understanding. This knowledge is useful for this research because views of migrants about their identities could be recognized. The aim with this theory is to say something about the influence of migration on their personal identities could be discovered. This information brings a further step to the research question that is about how religious identities of Turkish migrants are related to their personal integration in Dutch society. Therefore a second important conclusion of this chapter is the theory that

shows the influences of religious identity to a more positive integration and communication with other communities. This information forms basically the main goal of this research: describe and explain what migrants' personal experiences are on their integration in Western society. This research will try to find an answer which identity of migrants are important for themselves and which role these important identities have for the integration in Dutch society. Like this we could find out if interactions as described in the theoretical framework about religious identity and integration correspond with the experiences of migrants. The reason why much emphasis is put on religious identities of migrants is because beliefs, worldview and values of religious traditions provide a person the ability to think about meaning, order and place in the world that is essential for identity formation. A third main conclusion of this theoretical framework is the possible consequences of globalization and so homogenous nation to cultural identities. Like this the interaction and influence of migration to personal identities or national identity could be described and explored.

In short, this chapter provided a framework where identity takes a meaningful role to get structure and stability in person's life and argues that people could have beneficial effect of religious identity for integration. To form an integrated society, coherence, trust and consciousness among individuals is needed in response to globalisation and migration. As a solution, religion forms a social institution that may or may not help to rebuild the stability on both individual and the collective level, and between private and public trust level. The expectation in this research is that this framework is enough to establish the importance of religious identity in migrants' life. Thereby, migrants might experience integration in the West and their religious identity in a quite different manner due to the uninterrupted process of change that destabilized such conceptualizations. The above described conceptualizations provides thus an expectation, a possible answer to the research question, where we could place the experiences and thoughts of migrants. It can lead to new additions of these concepts too regarding religious identity and the consistency with the integration in a new Western environment by exploring through the lens of migrants' experiences.

## Methodology

The aim of this research is to describe and explain what migrants' personal experiences are in relation between their personal religious identity and integration in the Western society. This research would provide Turkish migrants the chance to express their thoughts and experiences on integration. This will amplify policy researches, which did not involve them enough and used only objective factors of integration like employment. The theoretical framework contains possible consequences of interactions between identity and integration, but in this research space will provide for multiple interpretation of experiences of Turkish migrants in relation to integration and identity formation. Thereby this research could examine the consistency of these experiences with the existing integration policy implementations and goals. In this chapter I will first begin to describe the methods of data collection and will go on by explaining how the respondents are selected for this study. Then I will use the concepts of the theoretical framework chapter to clarify how these concepts could be operationalized, to get an answer on the research question. The aim of this research is to explore and to describe migrants' experiences and thoughts. Thereby, by explaining the connection between the ideas behind developed integration policies and the perceptions from respondents, this could provide meaning to answers from the respondents. By using the concepts from the theoretical framework, insights will be given of possible relations between experiences and thoughts of migrants about their religious identity and their perception of integrating in the Dutch Western society.

### 3.1 Methods of data collection

In order to describe experiences and thoughts of migrants, a qualitative case study approach has been adopted. The reason why I have used this approach is because I want to cover contextual conditions of migrants who settled in the Netherlands and I believe these personal experiences of them are relevant to clarify the relation between their religious identity and their integration in a new Western environment. Thereby, it is not yet clear if experiences of migrants themselves about integrating in a Western civilization comply with the government expectations from the implemented Dutch integration policy.

To determine the main subject and focus in this qualitative research, the research question is the essential part to be analysed. As described in the introduction, there are already researches about the extent of integration of migrants from the government's viewpoint. But, it is more interesting to investigate this from migrants' viewpoint, because they have the principal control on their actions in integrating in a Western civilization regarding their religious identity. These respondents are analysed by using semi-structured interviews with 10 respondents and is held by a Turkish researcher, who was born and raised in the Netherlands. Because Islam is right now the most discussed concept within the Western society, the researcher made the choice to analyse Muslim migrants with a Turkish background. The reason why particularly is chosen to interview Turkish migrants has to do with the native Turkish language the researcher speaks, which is very practical to understand respondents who are not all capable to speak in Dutch or English. Like this, answers of respondents could be interpreted much easier. The interviews were held face-to-face with migrants in their home so that they could feel convenient in a quiet and comfortable place.

Furthermore, to have a reasonable scope in this research, I am interested in the actions of Turkish migrants who are settled in a Western environment like the Netherlands. Normally,

when talking about religious identity, a variety of beliefs spring to mind (Judaism, Christianity, Islam etcetera). But in this research the variety is reduced to respondents of one religion, Muslims. To eliminate the situation that all of the Muslim respondents will be generalized, respondents are selected varying by age, duration, gender or religious activities as far as possible. A scope like this is maybe very broad, but respondents' experiences could be compared like this in year, age, gender, migration motive or the integration policy that was implemented in a particular time space. A disadvantage of this scope in years is that there is a possibility that identities and memories of these respondents fade in time when they live for a long time in the Netherlands. To clarify the units of analysis, it is my intention to describe how different individuals (migrants) have attributes as groups, comparing as main characteristic their religious identities. But noting more characteristics (like the level of religious practice, age, region of birth, culture and so forth) of these individual migrants who live in the Netherlands and combining these descriptions, could provide a composite picture of these descriptions of the group the individuals represent.

To collect data, I have used an obtrusive data collection method. This means that the respondents, Turkish Muslim migrants who settled in the Netherlands, are aware of the fact they are being studied. A disadvantage of this manner is that they could give a socially desirable answer. To minimize this disadvantage, respondents are told before the interview that there is no wrong answer, and that for this study only their own perceptions and experiences are important. For this research, open-ended interviews are taken, whereby unstructured and structured interview questions are blended. This means that questions are broadly defined, but it can differ per subject and can depend on the given answers of previous questions. The respondents are told that the interview will be anonymous. All the interviews were recorded, with the intention to process it afterwards into transcriptions.

Case selection is an essential part of empirical research because it defines the extent to which the results of the research can be generalised to the larger population. In this research respondents are Turkish Muslim migrants. The intention is to select these respondents by using the acquaintances of the researcher. But there are few criteria to select the respondents. Religion is a very sensitive subject to talk about because the researcher could influence the possible answers about religion (acquaintances of the researcher could give humble answers to the way they practise Islam for example). Therefore, respondents are selected who are acquaintances of the acquaintances, and not of the researcher. A selection of Muslim migrants will be made, but only in and nearby the city Enschede due to practical reasons. Respondents will be distinguished as much as can in gender, age, duration of their settlement in the Netherlands, and most important in the level of practising their Muslim belief system, so that this research has mixed Muslim identities when selecting the respondents. When taking the interviews of course, these things will be asked and taken into account for the analysis of the results. The next table illustrates the differences between the respondents.

**Table 3.1: Overview of all respondents**

Respondent	Gender	Age/generation	Duration of settlement	Estimate of level of practising their belief system
Respondent 1	Man	43 years / Temporary	5 years	High
Respondent 2	Man	70 years / 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	47 years	Low
Respondent 3	Woman	67 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	37 years	From low to high
Respondent 4	Woman	43 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	28 years	Low
Respondent 5	Man	31 years / 1 <sup>st</sup> generation	4 years	Low
Respondent 6	Man	40 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	11 years	From low to high
Respondent 7	Woman	50 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	38 years	High
Respondent 8	Woman	39 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	Born in the Netherlands	High
Respondent 9	Man	48 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	43 years	High
Respondent 10	Man	57 years / 2 <sup>nd</sup> generation	35 years	High

### 3.2 Operationalization

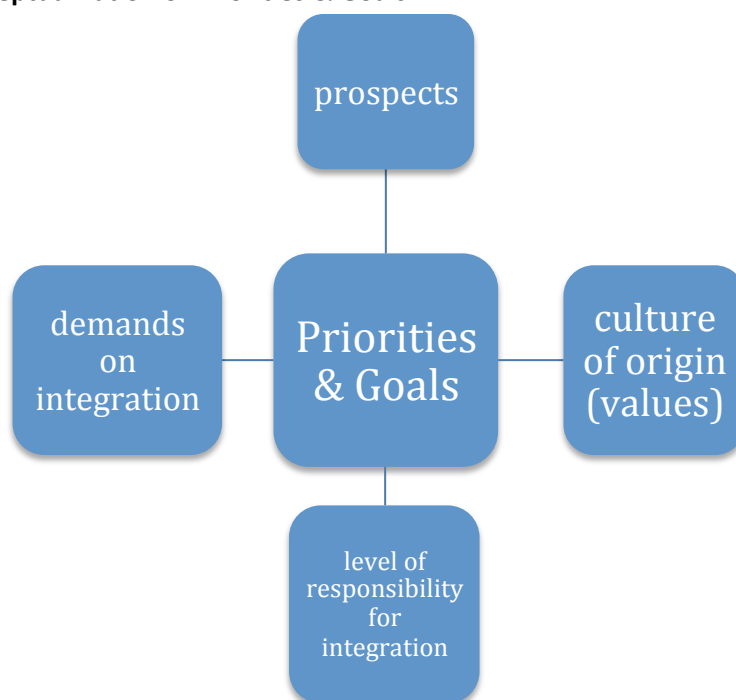
The research will have a qualitative approach, open-ended questions will be used in 10 semi-structured interviews to describe and explain what migrants' personal experiences are on their integration in the Western society. The concepts will draw up the themes of the questionnaire and will be used as a guideline during the interviews with the respondents. There is an advantage of using semi-structured interviews because questions are prepared before to highlight the themes, but are not fixed, and leave a margin to order the questions during the interview and give space to add some sub questions within the area of the themes. Two main themes will be focused on: priorities & goals, and engagement with surrounding society. The themes are divided in categories drawn up on the basis of the concepts from the theoretical framework. In every category of the themes, respondents are asked if they experienced a difference between the host country and the country of origin. In each category it is also stressed out what the contribution and role of religion is and what migrants think about the consequences for themselves as individual as it has for society.

#### *Priorities and goals*

The theoretical framework highlights the importance of priorities and goals of migrants. The reason why this theme is included is because migrants form the centre of all actors in the process of settling and integrating in the Dutch Western society. We have read in the theoretical framework that although migrants could have goals for life in resettlement, this

is not always parallel to their actual conditions. Clarifying this will give insight in how their personal identity is formed too, since a person uses these priorities and goals as a normative framework and as a guide to action to shape their personal identity. The importance of knowing about personal priorities and goals underlines that this information could show if strain occurs. After all, when migrants find that their opportunities to achieve their priorities and goals are hindered by legitimate, socially sanctioned methods, strain occurs. Priorities and goals are attended with prospects of migrants too. By clarifying prospects of migrants about their settlement in the 'West' and the host country, and the expectations of migrants of their belief system could underline to what extent they adhere that certain belief and experience it like it should be according to them. Some social studies mentioned in previous chapters argue that people who practise their belief and are raised with it have a greater sense of shared vision, worldview, beliefs, values and goals with regard to elderly persons, friends and others outside the family than those who are less raised and practiced with religious aspects. That is why it is important to ask migrants about their culture of origin and their values. Interrogate to these category gives also information about demands migrants have on integration. Knowing if their values and their belief systems are closed up with integration in a Western society, will show us to what extent they experience struggles in settlement. Integration has to be in two directions. Not only government has to implement correct policy for a perfect integration system, migrants have to take responsibilities too if they want to tackle obstacles and difficulties. Therefore the conceptualization of this theme and its subcategories is visible in figure 3.1.

**Figure 3.1: Conceptualization of Priorities & Goals**



#### *Engagement with surrounding society*

According to the theoretical framework, the more a migrant is practising a certain belief system, the more he/she can live together with others in a plural society. For the adaptation in such plural society migrants could make use of four acculturation options like integration, assimilation, separation and marginalization. So knowing about the level practising the

religious aspects means knowing about to what extent they are engaged with the dominant society. Religion supplies a social context too, that is need for the evolvment of identity. In the period of adolescence, people are stimulated to personal integration, not only by the ideology itself but by applying it too. Like this, the opportunity will be created to interact, to share ideological principles and to build a good relationship with peers or with other generations. So by knowing their communication with other communities means to what extent they build up a good relationship with others from the dominant group. Eventually, such ideal integration by having good relationships with others and big networks, could create a greater sense of belonging and trust. When a person feels he/she belongs to a certain society, integration will be much easier. Having a role model is also very important because when religious people get introduced to spiritual models, it helps to build up their self-being. Like this the so-called social attitudes occur rather than roles of separate individuals. The concept of identity from this sociological viewpoint forms an open window, a binding process between the 'inside' and the 'outside', and between the individual and society. The more this binding process occurs, the more migrants share Dutch values. This means asking migrants about their knowledge of the culture of the host country, could say something about their engagement with society. The conceptualization of this theme and its subcategories is visible in figure 3.2.

**Figure 3.2: Conceptualization of engagement with surrounding society**



### 3.2.1 Data analysis



These main themes will be questioned in the interviews. The interviews are recorded to process it later on in transcripts. The interviews will not be used for other purposes than for data analysis only, so it is totally anonymous due to sensitive subjects. Then by reading and re-reading, these transcripts were manually analysed in order to discover or label categories and their interrelationships. The first step to 'discover' categories was to use open coding to point out the most important fragments and later on to summarize them in codes. The second step contains axial coding, where the chosen concepts and subcategories are used while re-reading the transcripts to confirm that the chosen codes accurately represent



interview responses and to explore how these codes are related. The last step includes selective coding, which is based on grouping the chosen fragments in order to identify links between the different categories.

The two themes priorities & goals and engagement with surrounding society all measure to which extent the respondents experience their personal identity and integration in the Netherlands. These two themes and the associated subcategories are derived from the previous theoretical framework. For the integration category, the basic aspects of the integration model from Esser (2003) is used and further specified in subcategories. These four basic aspects of the integration model consist: cultururation (obtain the basic skills and knowledge needed to live in society), positioning (the position gained by societal and economic participation), interaction (social interaction with other communities) and identification (loyalty, identification and the sense of belonging to the society as a whole). For this research, it is important to discover the interaction between personal religious identity and integration (see table 3.2).

**Table 3.2 interactions between personal (religious) identity and integration**

Personal (religious) identity		Integration
Gender		Knowledge of Dutch language
Age		Knowledge about Dutch society
Education		Social and economic participation
Values and norms (priorities & goals)		Communication with others
Country of origin & migration motive		Sense of belonging to the Netherlands
Belief (Ethnical and religious background)		Confirming Western values
Duration in the Netherlands		Own experience of quality of life in the Netherlands

These subcategories will be used when analysing and explaining the results. The subcategory knowledge of the Dutch language describes to what extent migrants have Dutch language skills. Mastery of the language is seen as a requirement for integration. The more a migrant manages the Dutch language the more he/she is integrated. Knowledge about Dutch society indicates to what extent a migrant knows the basic rules and information of the Dutch society that normally non-migrants could answer as well. The more a migrant is familiar with the Dutch society the more he/she is integrated. Social and economic participation indicates to what extent migrants participate among other networks, and give an indication about their independency and self-determination. Communication with others indicates to what extent a migrant lives isolated or not. Sense of belonging is another important code because it describes to what extent a migrant feels home in the Netherlands. The more he/she feels home in the host country the more integration process will be successful. Confirming Western values indicates to what extent traditional values play a great part in the life of respondents. The more traditional values take an important role for migrants, the more the integration process will be difficult. Experience of quality of life describes how migrants feel in general. When experiencing a high quality, integration will be easier. When feeling unhappy in life, it will interfere the integration process. The aim of this research is exploring



and describing experiences and thoughts of Turkish (Muslim) migrants. To get an objective view of their integration process, answers of these migrants will be coded through the subcategories described above.

### 3.3 conclusion

This chapter has given a clear insight about methods and how data will be collect and analysed in this research. Concepts are clarified and operationalized, that will be used as the main themes and guideline of the interviews. Then the concepts of the existing theoretical framework and their possible interactions are used in coding schemes. For the integration category, the four aspects of the integration model from Esser (2003) is used and further specified in subcategories. With the use of the grounded theory method, integration policies will be compared and linked to experiences and thoughts of the respondents about their integration. Eventually this will develop new insights of possible relations about experiences and thoughts of migrants about their religious identity and their perception of integrating in the Dutch Western society.

The analysis of the research question will be conduct as follows. First, data from the interviews will be analysed by using the sequence of the themes explained in this chapter. In the conclusion part of this research, not only the main findings will be described, also the evolvment of the last four decades of the Dutch integration policy will be short outlined. By using different academic researches, explanations are given why these policies developed, on which issues emphasize have been put and which approach is used for the integration of migrants. The research will be closed with recommendations for new integration policies.

## 4. Analysis

After presenting a theoretical framework in chapter 2, concepts are created from existing theory. Because this research has a qualitative approach, interviews were held to describe and explain what migrants' perspectives are on their integration in the Western society. In chapter three are two main categories made, which will be used in this analysis. These subcategories, will be used in the interpretation of migrants' answers. In every category of the themes, respondents are asked if they experienced a difference between the host country and the country of origin. In each category it is also stressed out what the contribution and role of religion is and what migrants think about the consequences for themselves as individual as it has for society. The aim of this chapter is to outline the important answers in order to answer the research question: *How are religious identities of Turkish migrants who live in the Netherlands related to their personal experiences of integrating in a new Western environment?* . By using quotes of migrants, migrants' answers will be analysed and will be explained by linking it to the theoretical framework. First, backgrounds of migrants will be analysed. Then the developments of migrants' personal identities will be outlined. In the end, influences of respondents' personal identity on integration in Western society will be analysed.

### 4.1 Backgrounds of migrants

Identity and integration are two concepts, which actually are very broad in interpretation. In the theoretical framework is explained that the focus in this research is on the religious identity of migrants, because in the last decades especially this form of identity got attention in public and politic spheres. Thereby the reason why emphasis is put on the religious aspect is because some studies argued that Muslim identity is not compatible with the Western civilization. Even integration is a concept that still is seen as a complex problem and became an unmanageable issue. Although integration of migrants is recognised as a social problem, there is still no clarity, determination and even discord about the definition of this issue. When asking migrants about these concepts, they wanted clearness what is meant by. Especially for these Turkish migrants, integration is a concept that is quite modern and new. In turkey they have not experienced this concept at all, only from the moment that integration policy was implemented during their settlement in the Netherlands.

When starting the interviews, respondents are asked to tell something about their personality, who they are, where they come from, their culture, age, duration of their settlement in the Netherlands and migration motive. Thereby questions are asked about their prospects regarding their migration to the 'West'. Except for one respondent, all respondents grew up in a Turkish (Islamic) environment. These Turkish migrants varied in age and generation. Some of them came to the Netherlands when they were very young and have a large family in the Netherlands in the meantime.

*'I lived my first 15 years in Turkey, in Ankara. We had a rustic and pleasant life, and it felt never boring. My mother bought everything we wanted and had therefore a comfortable life. We had a close family and a close relationship with our neighbours and frequently visited each other. I went to the primary school till the fifth group'. [Resp. 4]*

The young age gave them the possibility to get an education and to learn and adapt to the new Western environment. They were even required to get an education in the Netherlands

due to the public education law. This was an excellent opportunity for them to learn the Dutch language. The motivation why they came to the Netherlands was mainly because their parents, mostly only their father was a guest worker and due to family reunion they migrated later to the Netherlands too. A remarkable point here was that only one of the respondents had a poor or unhappy life in Turkey.

*'I lived in a village till 10 years old. I was a shepherd after my school time. My loss therefore was that I have had no friends in my childhood and no benefits from social contacts. That is why I do not like parties for example, simply because I do not know how to do, and had never experience that in my childhood. I wanted to finish the high school too, because I did not like to be a shepherd. So I wanted to get a degree to leave the village life. After a couple of years I run away to Istanbul to work in the construction industry. Here I earned a lot of money, worked hard and spend money minimal. My economic position was thus good in that period, but the future vision was promising. [Resp. 10]*

Most of the respondents think positively about their childhood during their period in Turkey. Some of the respondents were born in the 'West' and moved to turkey in their childhood and came back to the Netherlands for marriage or because the reunion with family. They see Turkey still as a country where you can get an religious education for your child and bring them up with cultural tenets, or as a country where you can count on in crisis times, without worries.

*'In turkey I was restful in every respect, a good job, there was social cohesion among citizens, when arrived in the Netherlands I lost sometimes the serenity'. [Resp. 1]*

*'When I was 11 years old, my mothers motive was to send me to Turkey to follow a 4 years religious education. We were on vacation in Turkey and last minute I was told that I had to stay there. After crying couple of days, I got used to it, and afterwards even liked Turkey. I had a lovely family who supported me in everything, but only had struggles with the Turkish language and therefore I became very introvert'. [Resp. 8]*

*'I was born in Germany, from 8 years old we moved to Turkey due to feelings of discrimination towards my brother. A year after us, my father moved to turkey too, because our company in Germany went bankrupt. The period in turkey I had a life in isolation, because I could not speak the Turkish language. The roads, the people, their behaviours and acts were very different. In Germany for example when we got a trashing from our parents it happened only within doors, but in Turkey this happened in public. It was a hard period, but I learned and got used to it. Later I finished high school'. [Resp. 6]*

Priorities and goals are attended with prospects of migrants too. Before their migration, most of these respondents had not any expectations how their life will look like in the Netherlands. They did not hear about the 'West', because in that time there was no computer or Internet to seek information, or they were too young to think about it. Although most respondents did not have the time to think about migration at all, because their parents made suddenly the decision to leave their country to live along with the father/husband/family. Their migration was for them always a temporary movement. Mostly for economic reasons they were forced to leave their hometown. Earn money, save money,

and spend it in the country of origin, was the motto of most respondents. One respondent even said that his dream was to go to Germany. When I asked what kind of image he had about Germany, he answered:

*'Germany was in that period the gateway to a good life, everybody spoke about it and said positive things. Guest workers came with a nice suit and tie when they visited their hometown. They migrated from a poor economic situation and returned rich' [resp. 2].*

*'Despite my wife was born in the Netherlands, we had plans to live in Turkey. This changed when my brother's wife, who moved from Germany to Turkey, explained the bad conditions of Turkey. So we decided then to live in the Netherlands. I have heard from others that earning money in illegal ways was very easy in the Netherlands. That is why I warned myself to withhold me from that path. In my mind I had more negative thoughts, like unrestrained lives, sex, drugs and weed were terms I associated with the Netherlands because of the media, just as they have right now a very negative image of president Erdogan. But after a couple of months staying in the Netherlands, it was not that bad at all'. [Resp. 6]*

*'I had no idea about the Netherlands, that is why we planned to stay only for one year, at least till we earned back the costs of our wedding ceremony'. [Resp. 10]*

*'In my view, the Netherlands had a advanced level of life conditions, values of the West, human rights, technological development, was impressive and materially more developed than Turkey. I experienced the country indeed as technical qualitative, but was disappointed about their view on foreigners. [Resp. 1]*

The striking thing in all the answers of respondents about their background and expectations is that they all had plans to return to Turkey, but despite that, all of them stayed here in the Netherlands and still miss their country of origin. Meanwhile, second, third and even the fourth generation have settled in the Netherlands, and because their family members increased in numbers, leaving them behind became more difficult.

#### 4.2 Development of personal identity

All of the respondents do believe in the Islam. But they practice and interpreted their belief in their own way. One of the respondents for example believes to be part of the Alevism (a religious sub-ethnic and cultural community of Turkey). After finishing all the interviews, a distinction could be made between respondents who practising a high level of religious activities and respondents who practising a low level of religious activities. Because identity not necessarily is a fixed concept, it could be shaped in a range of time and place, and so is not only prescribed from birth. Thereby personal identity could be formed in many fields, like economic identity, emotional identity, religious identity, social identity etc. During the interviews a more general question is asked about how they could describe their identity. Most of them linked immediately this question to the distinction between being and feeling a Turkish or Dutch citizen. When was explained that identity could have different types like, economical, social, emotional, religious etc., they understand and explained much more. Expressly was waited to ask straightaway the question if respondents could describe their religious identity. By asking a general question which identity is most important to them, or

the question to describe their identity, the most important identity for them could be discovered which at first came up in their minds.

Respondents with a high level of practising their religious identity are living according to the Enlightenment thinking of personal identity. They have a fixed understanding. Despite of different times or places. They are centred and unified, bestowed with all the capabilities of reason, consciousness and actions, whose basis is the inner core, which started from birth throughout the whole life. The interactions with society did not influence their inner 'religious' core nor their religious activities. Although some respondents have experienced discrimination because of their religious belief, the situation still did not withdraw them to practise their belief. An example is the discrimination of a respondent because of her headscarf. Despite she was born here, finished her study pharmaceutical assistant, she still got discriminated and received mean reactions. She did not feel convenient with some people or institutions. When her school for example had present an internship in a neighbourhood centre, she was refused because of her headscarf. Or when she wanted to enrol in an employment agency, they showed her the door, because with a headscarf her chance to find a job was zero according to them. So she wanted actually to participate in society but because of her headscarf she was refused all time.

*'My religious identity is the most important in my life, when I educated myself more in religious aspects and used these religious theories in practice, I saw that it eventually has benefits. I have got a better communication with others, and have had always in my mind that when you find a door locked in some situations, other windows will open for you, so I never lost hope. That is what I have learned from my religion, my religious identity and my trust in Allah. My moral in life is the consciousness that all bad as good times comes from Allah, and in mean situations I am conscious that this is a test from Allah. That is why I have never changed my religious identity; I have never considered to put off my headscarf even though I was refused for it. [Resp. 8]*

*'I support the idea that you should not lose your identify anyhow, anyway and anytime. In my opinion, you should weigh how you could combine the norms and values of the society, but without losing your own identity. For example if I do not want to eat pork meat because of my religion, nothing could force me to do. I will never change this principle to belong in a society or group with others. When I want to belong to something or someone, my principle is to learn the language, have a proper job and so not trying to be burden on a person or society. [Resp. 9]*

I received also answers, especially from respondents who are not participating in labour, that they have never been charged or discriminated regarding their religious practices. There was nothing that could withhold tem from their belief principles.

*'Our family has been discriminated a lot because of our Turkish identity, but this has never disturbed my religious identity. I have never felt difficulty because of my headscarf for example. [Resp. 3]*

When I asked her then how she could describe her religious identity, she explained that although she not always have been a practicing Muslim when she was younger, she is a

practising Muslim right now. She continued her description suddenly by accentuating her Turkish cultural identity. This means that she sees her religion as her ethnic/cultural identity as a whole.

*'I am a practising Muslim, I am Turkish, I speak Turkish, and I expect that others respect the way I want to speak Turkish. In the first years of settlement, the school of my children forced me to stop speaking with my native language to my children, they forced me to speak Dutch with them. Teachers have put a lot of pressure to me whereas I wanted to teach my children, who were born here, their native Turkish language. As a reaction to this pressure, I became obstinate; I did not want to learn Dutch anymore. When I would follow their requirement, my children would have grown up impersonal without their native identity. We decided then that my husband would speak Dutch with our children, and I Turkish. [Resp. 3]*

Respondents with a low level of practising their religious identity are living according to the sociological perspective of the conceptualization of identity according to Hall (p.12). It negates that the inner core of the individual is an autonomous and self-acting symptom, but is more a realization occurred by the interaction to others. This perspective suits to respondents in the interview who do have a low practising level of Islam. As individuals, living in a different environment than their country of origin, they mediate to the standards, the values, meanings and symbols – the culture – of the host country. There are also examples of respondents who are conscious of their low practising level, and have still the belief in their inner core and know that the principles of their own belief requires things like praying, not drinking alcohol etc. But despite of this consciousness they know that they are not obeying the principles of their belief. Answers of respondents, gave the insight that not only migration or religious education influenced the practical side of their belief, but it refers also to the interaction between the respondent and others in Dutch society (consequential dimension by Glock). Migrants enrolled in a society where the social control mechanism as in Turkey disappeared in the Netherlands.

*'I have a Muslim identity. In turkey we had not a nightlife and we did not often go outside, we mostly spent our time at home. My mother and father were both very practising Muslims, pray 5 times a day etc. Because we lived in turkey in a small borough, everyone knew each other and everybody controlled each other. But when I came here in the Netherlands, we did not know anybody, people were different, they had a different culture; we are Muslims and they Christians. Here I spend most of the time outside, go to cafes, restaurants etc. I was used to practice my religion in Turkey like fasting or praying, but when we came here I actually did not put emphasis on it anymore. But I am still a Muslim thank God'. [Resp. 4]*

*'I was born and lived till 27 years in Istanbul in Turkey. Istanbul is a very big, busy and chaotic city. I worked hard, had a nightlife, spend a lot of time hanging out with friends. 2 years I went into the military service in Sirnak, a city in east Turkey. I was witness of many battles and have lost many friends who became martyrs. Of course this have had mental effects for me. That is why I have got a very nationalist identity. My parents have tried to raise me religiously, but because of the chaotic and busy environment in Istanbul, and*



*because I mainly append my time outside, not my religious belief but my prayers became negligent'. [Resp. 5]*

Migrants could shape their personal identity when they at least know and are conscious of which distinguish her/him from at least some others. Turkish migrants in the Netherlands are very conscious about the point that Islam is not compatible with most norms and values of the Dutch and West culture. This recognition of contradictory identities that respondents have since their migration had influences to their identities in historical steps. In Hall's eyes (see paragraph 2.1.2.), this is the so-called post-modern perspective of identity process. Like this, some aspects of their religious identity are formed and transformed to the ways they are represented or addressed in the Dutch cultural system. According to the respondents, are some religious tenets of their belief system (not the basic tenets of Islam) damaged because of this transformation to their post-modern identity.

*'In the West culture, people think and act very individual like; I am here, I am the most important. In the West culture, people do not consider much their neighbours, do not care much about their friends, and try to stay only on their own two feet, not helping freely other people. In our belief it is the principle to take care for yourself, but more for others. I experienced degradation in respecting elderly by children who were born here. When for example someone comes for a visit in your home, I expect from my child that he greets the visit, and ask him/her permission when he wants to leave. But in most Turkish families I considered that their child does not even come downstairs, does not talk, does not greet, and does not make a conversation. This is something that is influenced by the West to Turkish people. I also believe Turkish people in the Netherlands do not know and practice sufficient their religion. The West culture is more dominant in some cases. See for example the extensive weddings with mixed men and women dancing and partying in the same hall. This is not the manner that our prophet has learned us. [Resp. 1]*

*'In the Netherlands it is very common to celebrate your birthday or Mothers day. Automatically we copy these habits in some way to participate in society. This is actually a loss for my religious identity, because according to my belief we have to be kind every single day to our parents, or we have to be blessed for every single day. So I can say that integrating in the Netherlands in this sense has damaged my religious identity'. [Resp. 10]*

Besides the post-modern influence of migration and Dutch integration to the religious identities of the respondents, culturally they feel somewhat in the middle of two cultures. Some respondents felt uncertainty in situations when they felt living between two cultures. Respondents assume that they share the Turkish as the Dutch cultural identities and practices in the Netherlands. As Hall says, this is the globalization effect of a post-modern process of cultural flows. This even resulted for some respondents in experiencing doubt and uncertainty. While other respondents see this divide in identity as positive for their own personal life experience.

*'It is still quite hard to live between two identities. When I was in Turkey, people accounted me and looked at me as a 'Dutch' woman, my family still see me like a Dutch. On the contrary in the Netherlands, people consider me as a Turkish woman. So I will always stay in the middle. Like this I felt always not been accepted by both sides and that is why I*

*feel that something is missing in my cultural identity as a person. In Turkey for example everybody has a day off on national holidays, and celebrating it all together with family and friends, on streets etc. Even in the Netherlands you get your day off because of a Turkish or religious holiday, but I have never taste the same quaint and old-fashioned atmosphere as in Turkey'. [Resp. 8]*

*'We as Turkish migrants are in somehow westernized with everything. In my view this is good, because you pick up both the good and positive things of the Turkish as of the Dutch Western culture. The good and positive things of Turkey are for example the warm-hearted culture, taking care for each other and the religion that I will never change. Even though I experience negative reactions of Dutch society and Dutch media about Muslims, Turkish people and outsiders, I will never change my Muslim identity. For me, religion is something that I will take along everywhere. I will not loose my grip on it. The good thing of the Dutch culture is for example the freedom. I feel free in the Netherlands. This means I will never assimilate, but adapt to the norms and values of the Netherlands. I can't distinguish the two cultures. For example, I make a lot of sentences where I speak half of the words in Turkish and the other half in Dutch. We grew towards a new culture in this sense. We can learn a lot from each other. In the Netherlands people live and act very individual, whereas Turkish people live very collective, and that is a good characteristic of our Turkish culture'. [Resp. 7]*

*'Since I live in the Netherlands, I try to arrange between two cultures. In the long run you own a lot of thing because you live between two different cultures. An example of this is when we do the polonaise on weddings besides Turkish music. But this is only like 20 % of my identity that I take into account other cultures, for the other 80 % it is my moral to live like I really am as a Turkish and Alevi person'. [Resp. 9]*

#### 4.2.1 Conclusion

This paragraph provide information that despite all Turkish respondents are conscious of and experience a different cultural and religious environment between Turkey and the Netherlands, the migration of most respondents had no big influences to their religious identities. They do not feel less religious since their migration, or unhappy in their religiosity. In contrary, respondents who are raised with religious aspects in their childhood are now much more committed to their religion (Islam) than in Turkey. The difficulties in society that they have experienced and their feeling to be part of the minority group in the Netherlands, has caused a stronger religious identity for most of these respondents and helped them to feel strong inside their religious communities. Remarkable was the point that how longer these Turkish respondents are settled in the Netherlands, the more their religious aspect become important in daily life. Respondents who are not much raised with religious aspects in their childhood are also ideologically not influenced by the migration to the Netherlands. They have knowledge about the rules of their religion and are accepting their religious identity my means of accepting the Islam, the belief system, and its tenets, but do not practices the basic tenets in daily life like praying five times a day. The reason to neglect the practical side of their identity is not only an influence of migration and religious education, but it refers also to the interaction between the respondent and others in Dutch society (consequential dimension by Glock). The social control mechanism in Turkey disappeared in the Netherlands, whereby migrants enrolled in a society, which was based on individual living standards. The analysis of the interviews provided also information about the influence of migration to the cultural identities of most Turkish respondents. Culturally they



feel between two cultures and identities. Being not accepted as totally Dutch in the Netherlands as not accepted as totally Turkish in their country of origin caused for some respondents doubt and uncertainty, which is clearly a globalization effect of a post-modern process of cultural flows, while other respondents see this divide in identity as positive for their own personal life experience.

#### 4.3 How personal identity influences integration in Western society

In the previous paragraph about influences of migration and integration to personal identities, some things have already been said about respondents' experiences of integration to the Netherlands. Also the theoretical framework of this research provided a possible outcome of the effect of religion to integration. In this paragraph this integration will be further elaborated on. With the use of the subcategories from the integration model from Esser (see paragraph 3.2.1), answers of respondents will be analysed.

A unified culture could be reached when cultural characteristics (such as language) could be expressed as 'one people' and shared by the inhabitants of that particular country. Turkish migrants who came to the Netherlands as guest workers, with the prospect to stay temporary did not put much emphasize to learn the Dutch language. Most of them feel sorry for not speaking fluent the Dutch language. It was quite difficult for them to learn a foreign language and they confirm it as a problem for a perfect integration in society. Most of the respondents went to a Dutch language course because it was obligated, mostly for a period of one year. But because they have been only in their own Turkish network, they could not practice and develop the Dutch language.

*'My father did not want to send me to school, probably because of his ignorance. Because of the education law, he had no other choice. I was very excited to go to school. It was very hard to learn the Dutch language, because I was like 13 or 14 years, and did not learn the language on the street, I had to learn every single word by myself. This was because we had only Turkish people in our surrounding. In school, after school, in the classroom, we spoke all the time Turkish. When I had homework, I could not ask my family to help me with questions. We had no contact with Dutch people, and made my homework on the stairs of our flat, hoping that Dutch neighbours walk alongside so that I could ask them. My parents did not know the Dutch language, because they had not the intention to stay in the Netherlands. Thereby they were fine with the Turkish community. There were one or two Turkish linguists who helped them, linguists at work etc. They did not know other communities; they stayed inside the Turkish networks'. [Resp. 7]*

*'The most negative experience in the Netherlands was probably learning the Dutch language. It was very hard for me that I could not communicate with others, and I still experience this problem even though I still follow Dutch language courses on my age. Dutch courses were held in neighbourhood centres, but I could not practice the language because the course followers were migrants too. Thereby in the very beginning I neglected the language because we planned to go back to Turkey soon. It was very difficult to live with a language deficiency, but my husband was a Dutch linguist, and helped me with translating everything.' [Resp. 3]*

*'It is my responsibility to learn the Dutch language, but I still do not know the Dutch language sufficient. It was the most important difficulty I have experienced when integrating*

*in the Netherlands. But beside that I believe I am respectful regarding the government, obey Dutch laws etc.'. [Resp. 6]*

*'When I came to the Netherlands, Dutch courses were not obligatory for newcomers. In the beginning I did not go to any language courses because for me finding work was more important. I had to spend time outside; otherwise I would be felled bored at home the whole day. [Resp. 5]*

*'I was very young when I started at the primary school in the Netherlands. This resulted in speaking fluent Dutch right now. In former times it was enough to express yourself with only 4 words. Nowadays you have to be a linguist to express yourself, so that the opposite could understand you. But language is something you can always learn and it never implies something about my identity or about my integration. The most important for me is my religion. [Resp. 9]*

Having knowledge about Dutch society indicates to what extent a migrant knows about basic rules and information of Dutch society. The more a migrant is familiar with the Dutch society, the more he/she feels satisfied with integrating in a new Western environment. All of the respondents are unanimous about the Dutch values and expectations of society. According to these respondents, speaking or learning the Dutch language is a very important value or standard in the Dutch society. They mentioned that when a migrant is active in paid labour or volunteering work, and will not burden somebody or the state with illegal actions, it would be sufficient to integrate.

*'Values of Dutch society that I picked up to be accepted in society were for example: try to not be known to the police, do not steal, do not deal or smoke drugs etc.'. [Resp. 9]*

*'I think Dutch society expect that we learn the Dutch language and educate ourselves. Thereby they expect that we respect and follow the rules, and be honest all the time. I know that I am a good example of a good Turkish migrant. I could illustrate this with an example of my work experience. When I felt sick on Wednesday, my supervisors send me home. When I felt better on Friday, I came spontaneously back to work. My Dutch colleges asked why I came back for the day before the weekend. I told them that this is what my Muslim identity requires me to do; when I feel healthy, I have to complete my work. So, I feel responsible for my work. I have a religion that typifies righteousness and justice in every sense; at home, at work, in the bathroom, in sexual relations etc.'. [Resp. 6]*

*'I do not know much about Dutch values due to language problems, but I know that Christmas and Easter are very important for Dutch society'. [Resp. 1]*

*'When you do your work properly, nobody will interfere you, only when you do illegal things. In Dutch society you should get along with your neighbours and friends'. [Resp. 2]*

*'Dutch society appreciate when you learn Dutch and when you are active in paid labour. I think I have fulfilled Dutch values because I have still a job since I live in the Netherlands, I have bought my own house, and I have raised my children and took care for*

*their education. So I think I am correctly adapted in Dutch social system, but culturally and religiously there is still a big gap'. [Resp. 10]*

*'In my opinion Dutch mentality wants that I participate in paid labour, that I do not lean back and could make a conversation in Dutch. I was always active in these things, so I think I properly adapt to Dutch society'. [Resp. 8]*

Social and economic participation indicates to what extent migrants participate among other networks, and give an indication about their independency and self-determination. Besides two respondents, all other respondents are right now active in paid labour. One of the respondents has said that her husband was socially but also economically very active, even more active than other Dutch citizens. But the striking thing is that she experienced the feeling that the government sabotaged them in being economically successful because of their Turkish identity. Even other respondents have spoken about the experience that their Turkish and Muslim identity had a negative influence on their participation in paid work.

*'We did not expect that the municipality would discriminate us because of our Turkish identity. My husband was owner of a lot of buildings, had a good job, was active in the union and helped Dutch as well as Turkish people and gave them advice were needed without asking money for it. He was a well-known person in Enschede as in the municipality. He was a good linguist, did not cheat the government and paid all the taxes. In short he earned all his properties by working hard, he was socially very successful and was even more integrated than Dutch people themselves. But unfortunately the municipality did not accept that he was so successful, they oppressed him very much, through which he lost most of his properties. This had consequences for my identity too. I always got the feeling that the municipality suppress us because of our Turkish identity'. [Resp. 3]*

*'When I was younger, my social activities in the Netherlands were visiting my Turkish friends and doing a lot of handwork (embroidery) with them. Only at ISK (international transitional class) I took part in swimming lessons for three years, school trips and ice-skating for example. These social activities were very unknown for my father, because he knew only Turkish people in his network. Right now I am an administrative worker in the municipality, but I am discriminated many times at work because of my Turkish and religious identity. In the trial period of my work, a college said literally: Must that Turk really has to work here? They did not accept that a Turk got the same position and are jealous when this happen. Nowadays this situation is even worse. My daughter who has got two different bachelor degrees and a well-done curriculum vitae is still unemployed'. [Resp. 7]*

Social participation is for the most of the respondents influenced by their religious or Turkish identity. The striking point is that the Islam commands to be socially active and that their Turkish culture learned them to participate in society and work together with others. However, some cultural morals formed obstacles to participate in work or in society and some religious values made it more difficult to socialize.

*'I had difficulties with accepting that my wife worked among Dutch people and that she went to work in the early morning. I have not seen such circumstances in Turkey, especially not in the village life. So when we got children, we decided that she will be a*

*housewife and I would take care for a secure income. I am still the only breadwinner, and we have thanks to God no difficulties with that. There are some religious prohibitions like pork meat, dancing with other woman or alcohol, causing a less suitable situation with other social activities with Dutch colleges for example. When I do not want to adapt in this sense to such social activities as a Muslim, colleges or other Dutch people became detached'. [Resp. 10]*

*'I do not participate in social activities in the Netherlands, because there is nothing to do outside that I know and like as in Turkey. The food doesn't taste the same; there are no mussel sellers on the streets for example; and the relationship with friends is very detached in the Netherlands'. [Resp. 5]*

Communication with others indicates to what extent a migrant lives isolated or not. During the interview, respondents state many times about feeling alone during the beginning of their settlement. They experienced a lot of isolation, did not know anyone, and because they did not know the Dutch language they could not involve in conversations with Dutch people either. They have mentioned that it was quite hard to integrate in other networks, mainly because they did not know how to get involved in other networks. In fact, they wanted to be close with their neighbours or colleges for example, but felt some distant from others. Their communication with others in their county of origin was different and more intense than they have seen and experienced in the Netherlands. A low communication with other networks has also to do with having a Muslim or Turkish identity according to some respondents. Respondents mentioned that they do not trust others because a lot of negativity is spoken behind their backs about their Turkish or Muslim identity.

*'I was only for three years on ISK. I think when school have had stricter rules of learning the Dutch language, like extra out-of-school language lessons or out-of-school social activities. Like this I could come into contact with more Dutch friends and by playing with them I could educate myself more in Dutch language. School did not make effort to widen or construct our networks. Currently this issue is over, but I have to mention that the trust in the government or in the media has decreased. Media spreads only negative news about Muslims, Turkish people and outsiders. Therefore most Dutch people are negative reacting towards us too. As a result, I do not make a lot of conversations anymore with my colleges at work and withhold myself to participate in their discussions'. [Resp. 7]*

Eventually this respondent spoke the Dutch language fluent, had a paid job, was a very ambitious person, and was very easy to get hold of something. But in her marriage, her husband, who migrated later from Turkey, did not like her competencies at all. He bothered the fact that she was more successful than him.

*'He made comments to almost everything. He did not like that I could speak Dutch and he not, that I had to translate everything, and that I made the most decisions in our household. It does not fit to a Turkish man, that a woman regulates almost everything'. [Resp. 7]*

*'I have had a difficult time when I came here in Holland. The social life in Turkey was better. I experienced an important cultural difference. In the Netherlands everyone lives very*

*individually, everyone is only concentrating on his or her work. Dutch Neighbours are only greeting, and do not put effort to ask how I am doing for example. Because the hollow-hearted actions of Dutch people, I communicated mostly within my own Turkish network'.*

**[Resp. 10]**

Sense of belonging is another important code because it describes to what extent a migrant feels home in the Netherlands. The more a migrant feels home in the Netherlands, the more the integration process will be successful. The striking point here is that migrants who came as a young child have a more sense of belonging to the Netherlands than to Turkey. They live in freedom, have a stable economic life right now, but still consider Turkey as their home country.

*'I was only 5 years when we migrated to the Netherlands, so I do not know other circumstances. I feel more like a foreign in Turkey as in the Netherlands. In Turkey the struggle for life is more. Like a shoeshine boy who cheated me by asking a higher price because I came from Holland. It is our fate to live in two different worlds. I am conscious about this fact and learned in somehow how to deal with it'.* **[Resp. 9]**

*'I feel home in the Netherlands. As a divorced woman I can do everything I want, nobody retain me when I want to go to the city. I am free, nobody disturbs me, and that is what I like of Holland. Like I live here in the Netherlands, I could never imagine in Turkey because the social interference there is more'.* **[resp. 7]**

There is even a respondent who has that kind of belonging, where he is willing to serve for the country when needed. His nationalist Turkish identity provided a sense of belonging to the Netherlands.

*'Turkey gets the first principal place in my life. When in the Netherlands battles occur, I will willingly lay down my life too. This is now my second home. The military service in Turkey has a big role in forming my nationalist identity'.* **[Resp. 5]**

Respondents who spend their youth in Turkey still reasoning their duration as temporary, and are stating that due to cultural differences they never felt being home or felt only belong to Holland just because to feel themselves better.

*'I feel belong to Holland, because I live here. I feel Dutch because I am part of the society and earn money here. I can only feel happiness when I say in myself to belong here. Because of my religious education I learned to open the window like this; being tolerant, being vigorously and accommodate myself in a new environment'.* **[Resp. 1]**

*'I never felt home here, because I grow up in Turkey. Therefore I miss cultural activities in society, like parties, weddings, going out, food and drinks. To explain it in more detail, weddings are here in saloons, while I used to weddings outside on a field or open space. Here invitations are numbered, while in Turkey unlimited. After 35 years being here in the Netherlands, I know this is my second home, but culturally my place to be is where I was born'.* **[Resp. 10]**

*'We are still temporary here in the Netherlands. When Holland turn us back, we have to leave. But I do not fear about it, because I know and am conscious about the fact that we are still guests in this country'. [Resp. 4]*

Confirming Western values indicates to what extent traditional values take an important role for migrants. The more traditional values take an important role for migrants, the more the integration process will be difficult. When asking respondents about their values in life, most of them are conscious that there are big cultural and religious differences with values in the West. Despite of these big differences, they mention that their belief system educate and prescribe them to be and feel equal to others. Although the gap in cultural and religious similarity, respondents accepted the situation in the West society they live in.

*'I am not raised religiously, my father did not use a strict regime, we were very open-minded. But it is for me very strange when a girl comes home with her boyfriend. I think I would not like that. I think Dutch people are more liberal to some aspects. But on the contrary some liberal appearances of thoughts are deceptive for most Dutch people. See for example the acceptance of homosexuality. I think 80 % of Dutch population would not like to have a homosexual child'. [Resp. 9]*

*'The most important values for me is my religion. For me this refers to truthfulness and life quality, in which we try to raise our children in accordance with righteousness. I never differentiated my son or daughter, and I always teach them and let them feel that there is never a differentiate between genders, just equivalent'. [Resp. 6]*

*'A Muslim would never hurt someone, that is Allah's order. Our religion prohibits distinguishing people. We behave equally to all people. Real Muslims would act like this. True Jihad is the Jihad that one have with his/her own ego, and not by applying pressure to others. We have to be serve as a good role model in this country'. [Resp. 3]*

*'I am very active in religious activities, like participating in religious communities. We always warn the youth that the Netherlands is also our nation. We warned them always to be respectful, honest and to stay away from crime'. [Resp. 10]*

Experience of quality of life describes how migrants feel in general. When experiencing a high quality, integration could be easier. When feeling unhappy in life, it could interfere the integration process. When the question was asked to respondents about how they feel in general in the Netherlands, their answers were not very positive. They do not like that they are labelled as migrants or Muslims all the time, despite of their success in participation and integration in Dutch society according to them. Most of them are disappointed about the fact that politics and media are constantly stigmatizing Muslims and migrants. They mention that this will lead to prejudices that eventually cause negative relations between networks. For respondents who are religiously active, the Islam works as a remedy to neglect negative personal feelings and withhold themselves from desperateness.

*'When you hand oneself over to Allah, He will always lead you to the straight path and you will never feel desperate in a foreign country'. [Resp. 1]*



*'My religion has made me a stronger person. The Islam has withhold me from committing suicide in bad moments of life, it became my release'. [Resp. 7]*

But respondents who are less religious active, consider a negative mental effect of feeling miserable about living in a new West environment, especially when they are negatively labelled as migrants or Muslims all the time.

*'During an economic crisis, Dutch people will always point at migrants to blame. When newspapers inform about debit in the national budget, an average Dutch person would be jealous when a migrant in the same time rides in a lux car. I will further be the person who will receive all the negative reactions. I feel like being blamed for others' mistakes. Even if we would live here for 50 years, we will always be those persons with black hair'. [Resp. 9]*

*'When I listen to politics and hear them speaking about us deprecating, I get a negative feeling about Holland. As a result I worry about the futures of my children, and concern about the possibility of deportation'. [Resp. 3]*

#### **4.3.1 Conclusion**

So even though respondents wanted return to their home country and saw their migration as temporary, they build up a kind of new life in the Netherlands. Unfortunately almost all of the respondents, feel sorry about the fact they did not put emphasize on Dutch language because they would return to Turkey. Now they are conscious about living between Dutch and Turkish culture, and feel a deficiency of Turkish values. This reflects their experience of quality of life in the Netherlands too. They are missing the solidarity of society, and experiencing a bad feeling of the continuously publicity of negative news about their most important personal identity, being a Muslim and being Turkish. The fact they do not speak fluent Dutch, the lack of solidarity and Turkish values in society, the negative prejudices towards their Muslim and Turkish identity caused to stay attached within their own Turkish networks. And because they were only active in their own Turkish network, they could not practice and develop the Dutch language either.

But the remarkable thing is their understanding of the integration process. Respondents' view on integration is based on having a job, not laying back, speaking sufficient Dutch, obeying the laws and rules and paying taxes. All of the respondents think they have passed this integration process. Except speaking fluently Dutch, these respondents do not think they have to work further on the integration process. Most of them are already settled for an average of 30 years and developed themselves very well (by buying their own house for example) and have raised and educated their children, so that second and third generation of their family also gain a good life in the Netherlands. They mentioned that they are not disturbing others in society. On the contrary, they work hard to earn their own money and are not feeling that they burdened others with their Muslim identity.

## 5. Conclusion and recommendations

This research has tried to find an answer to the question of how Turkish migrants experience the relation between their personal religious identity and integration in the Netherlands. Existing policies and theories of scholars have already indicated some possible interactions between integration and identities of migrants, but this research tried to fill the gap in the knowledge that concentrates on the own perceptions of migrants to their integration in a West society by putting emphasize on their own views, abilities and needs. Ten Turkish migrants, with a Muslim background, were interviewed in order to bring out their views on the subject. During the interviews I have tried to lead the conversation within two main themes about personal identity and integration in the Netherlands. I have divided the results in three parts. I begun with describing the background of respondents, then analysed the developments of migrants' personal identities and ended with describing influences of respondents' personal identity on integration in Western society.

Integration policies in the Netherlands have experienced notable changes over the past decades (see appendix for more details about these policy developments) (Scholten, 2007). For a long time, the Netherlands was distinguished for the success of its multiculturalist approach. However, the successful period changed in a discourse whereby more attention is given on integration and adaptation to Dutch norms and values. The motto of the integration policy in the 1970s and before was maintaining migrants' own identity. This welfare policy had two goals: remigration and accommodation of guest workers. Integration was pursued in social-economic domains, whereas in social-cultural domain migrants were stimulated to keep themselves apart from Dutch society. In the 1980s, due to the increasing family migration and economic crisis, the integration policy changed into the Ethnic Minority policy. Here emphasize was put to stimulate the minority's emancipation within the community. Education, housing, labour market were three themes which got more attention. Because the Scientific Council recommended putting more measures in the lacking areas of labour and education, less focus was on cultural facilities and rights of migrants and more emphasis on obligations of migrants. Therefore integration policy in the 1990s concentrated on fighting unemployment and making migrants responsible to participate and integrate in society. Then concerns regarding national values and norms and the incompatibility with Islam resulted in assimilationism policy since 2002. Focus shifted from active citizenship with a strong universalist implication, to common or shared citizenship to minimize the social and cultural distance between Dutch society and migrants.

These developments show the importance that Dutch government gave to retain national norm and values. Because of media broadcasting and international influences of terror attacks, more issues altered whereby groups were put against each other. The continuity of society would then be at stake when large parts of the minority population would not actively participate in the economy. For Turkish migrants this meant that they first have to defend and prove themselves just because they are charged with prejudice about Muslims. In the interviews respondents mentioned that they do not like to be forced to fight back against these anti-clerical bias of the media. They assume that these negativities against them cause less interaction with other networks and even withhold them for finding paid labour. So there is one paradox in the developed policies. While on the one hand integration



policy concentrated on the bridging of differences and continuity of society, the policy discourse about the incompatibility of Islam and Dutch society increase, which lead to more distance between communities. Respondents assume that Islam is a peaceful religion and that it prohibits disturbing others and that it spread rightness and justify, which should reject the prejudices about mean/terror Muslims. Some respondents think and feel not accepted for paid jobs, despite their high education in the Netherlands. So even when the Scientific Council recommended putting more measures in the lacking areas of especially participation in labour, the influence of prejudices created by politicians and media is huge according to the respondents and therefore not parallel to the main aspects of integration policy. To deconstruct these prejudices which has a reversed effect, the first recommendation in this research is to involve migrants more in the policy making process. Like this, their needs, struggles and views regarding to integration could be known. It was very clear that all of the respondents in this research are willing to be active in society. They know for example exactly their Dutch language deficiency and what they need to interact with other communities. But unfortunately current policies are however not enough encouraging to achieve a certain level of belonging in Dutch society. Therefore including migrants in the policymaking process will not only adopt them more, it will motivate them too by let them feel their views are being respected.

#### *Development of personal identity*

The striking aspect in the influence of integration on personal identity is the point that integration has no big effect on the basic tenets of Muslim and Turkish migrants, because they believe Islam is even needed to neglect negative personal feelings in a new environment where you belong to a minority. Dutch integration policy has even provided buildings and mosques where migrants could pray and gave possibilities to form a community with their fellow Turkishmen. So they did not feel less religious since their migration, or unhappy in their religiosity. Respondents gave also the insight that their religious identity became stronger since their migration, and even became a more practising Muslim than in Turkey. Thus they confirm the theory that religion forms a social institution that helps to rebuild the stability on individual level.

The difficulties in society that they have experienced and their feeling to be part of the minority group in the Netherlands, has caused a stronger religious identity for most of these respondents and helped them to feel strong inside their religious communities. Remarkable was the point that how longer these Turkish respondents are settled in the Netherlands, the more their religious aspect become important in daily life. Respondents who are not much raised with religious aspects in their childhood are ideologically also not influenced by the migration to the Netherlands. They have knowledge about the rules of their religion and are accepting their religious identity my means of accepting the Islam, the belief system, and its tenets, but do not practice the basic tenets in daily life like praying five times a day. The reason to neglect the practical side of their identity is not only an influence of migration and religious education, but it refers also to the interaction between the respondent and others in Dutch society (consequential dimension by Glock).

During the interviews differences in views between respondents with a high and low level of practising their religious identity was found. Respondents with a high level of practising their religious identity are living according to the Enlightenment thinking of personal identity.

Within this vision, these migrants have a fixed understanding, despite of different times or places. They are centred and unified, bestowed with all the capabilities of reason that started from birth throughout the whole life. These Turkish migrants say they are conscious of their religion's demands. The interactions with Dutch society did not influence their inner 'religious' core nor their religious activities.

Respondents with a low level of practising their religious identity are living according to the sociological perspective of the conceptualization of identity. It negates that the inner core of the individual is an autonomous and self-acting symptom, but is more a realization occurred by the interaction to others. This perspective suits to respondents in the interview who do have a low practising level of Islam. As individuals, living in a different environment than their country of origin, they mediate to the standards, the values, meanings and symbols – the culture – of the host country. They get the opportunity to learn and involve new meanings and values. This was visible by respondents who were influenced when the social control mechanism which was present in Turkey disappeared in the Netherlands, whereby migrants enrolled in a society, which was based on individual living standards.

The analysis of the interviews provided also information about the influence of migration to the cultural identities of most Turkish respondents. Culturally they feel between two cultures and identities. Being not accepted as totally Dutch in the Netherlands as not accepted as totally Turkish in their country of origin caused for some respondents doubt and uncertainty, which is clearly a globalization effect of a post-modern process of cultural flows. While other respondents see this divide in identity as positive for their own personal life experience. This recognition of contradictory identities that respondents have since their migration had influences to their identities in historical steps. In Hall's eyes (see paragraph 2.1.2.), this is the so-called post-modern perspective of identity process. Like this, some aspects of their religious identity are formed and transformed to the ways they are represented or addressed in the Dutch cultural system.

The striking thing in all the answers of respondents about their background and expectations is that they all had plans to go back to Turkey, but despite of that, all of them stayed here in the Netherlands and still missing their country of origin. Their migration was for them always a temporary movement. They were forced to leave their hometown mostly for economic reasons. Earn money, save money, and spend it in Turkey, was the motto of most respondents. Meanwhile, second, third and even the fourth generation have settled in the Netherlands, and because their family members increased in numbers, leaving them behind became more difficult. This research brought the insight that the engagement with their family forms a meaningful reason to stay in the Netherlands while they feel belong to Turkey.

#### *How personal identity influences integration in Western society*

So even though respondents wanted to return to their home country and saw their migration temporary, they build up a kind of new life in the Netherlands. Unfortunately almost all of the respondents, feel sorry about the fact they did not put emphasize on Dutch language because they would return to Turkey. Now they are conscious about living between Dutch and Turkish culture, and still feel a strong deficiency of Turkish values. This reflects their experience of quality of life in the Netherlands too. They are missing the solidarity of society, and experience a bad feeling of the continuously publicity of negative

news about their most important personal identity, being a Muslim and being Turkish. The fact they do not speak fluent Dutch, the lack of solidarity and Turkish values in society, the negative prejudices towards their Muslim and Turkish identity caused to stay attached within their own Turkish networks. And because they were only active in their own Turkish network, they could not practice and develop the Dutch language either.

Despite of the acceptance of living between two cultures, and the difficulties with Dutch language, Turkish respondents experienced their religious identity as the most important pillar to integrate in a new Western society. Because Turkish migrants are trying to hold on their Muslim and Turkish values, they experienced that their identity influenced their participation in paid work too. They mentioned a couple of times their feeling that Dutch people do not like to see them in the same position at work and that Dutch society blame them soon as being problematic citizens in times of economic crisis despite they working hard for example. But this research gives the insight that this will lead to prejudices that eventually cause negative relations between networks. For respondents who are religiously active, the Islam works as a remedy to neglect negative personal feelings and withhold themselves from desperateness and stimulates and even commands to be socially active. Thereby, respondents argue that their Turkish culture learned them to participate in society and work together with others. But respondents who are less religious active, consider a negative mental effect of feeling miserable about living in a new West environment, especially when they are negatively labelled as migrants or Muslims all the time. This research gives insights that this negativity about their Turkish or Muslim identity affects their trust-level towards others and let them stay in the same Turkish/Muslim society.

But the remarkable thing is their understanding of the integration process. Respondents' view on integration is based on having a job, not to benefit from governments' unemployment supplement, speaking sufficient Dutch, obeying the laws and rules and paying taxes. All of the respondents think they have passed this integration process. Except speaking fluently Dutch, these respondents do not think they have to work further on the integration process. They even said to slow down with living like Western values with the prospect of do not lose their original Turkish and Muslim values (not celebrating birthdays or Mother days for example). Most of them are already settled for an average of 30 years and developed themselves very well (by buying their own house for example) and have raised and educated their children, so that second and third generation of their family also could gain a good life in the Netherlands. They mentioned that they are not disturbing others in society. On the contrary, they work hard to earn their own money and are not feeling that they burdened others with their Muslim identity. So they think these Dutch values (have a job, speak in Dutch, do not be a burden to others) are sufficient to integrate in society.

These conclusions lead me to insights that migrants do not want to loose their grip on their religious and cultural values, and that living in a West environment will not influence that strongly. They do not like that they are labelled as migrants or Muslims all the time, despite of their success in participation and integration in Dutch society according to them. Most of them are disappointed about the fact that politics and media are constantly stigmatizing on Muslims or migrants. They argue that this will lead to prejudices that eventually cause negative relations between networks. So they only want to be accepted and respected in society, which could open doors for them to enter other networks as well.

*Recommendations listed:*

- Involving more migrants in the policy making process to gain information about their needs, struggles and views on integration. This research has interviewed ten Turkish migrants. To have a clear insight of a larger population of Turkish migrants, more respondents should be interviewed in the future. Thereby the variety of the respondents showed differences in experiences and thought of Turkish migrants. It will be very interesting, when in future research not only experiences of Turkish migrants will be analysed in a larger scale, but also when migrants will be included from other religious and cultural different identities.
- Producing encouraging policy and expressing appreciation for their performance to motivate migrants more in communicating with other networks. This recommendation is made because respondents have stated a couple of times in their answers that despite they want to have a better communication with others, they could not involve in a conversation with others (because they do not speak fluent Dutch) and feel some kind of distant from others too. Government or municipalities could provide policy where migrants and non-migrants could work together in some local neighbourhood projects for example.
- Not involving religious aspects into politics or in integration policy by acknowledging their religious identity and integration are positive related. This recommendation is made because migrants do not see a negative relation between their religious identity and integration in the West. But due to negative politics and media publications about Islam they feel sometimes disappointed and do not feel welcomed.
- Developing an integration policy that avoids placing target groups in categories and avoids dichotomized classification like allochthonous/autochthonous. This is mentioned many times by respondents and stated that this kind of categories are disrespecting them. They do not like to be labelled as minorities, because they think that they achieved a sufficient integration level in the Netherlands. According to them, they work hard, pay taxes, bought their own houses etc. as non-migrants also do.
- Not only Dutch government has to implement correct policy, integration has to be in two directions of course. Migrants have to take responsibilities too when they want to tackle obstacles and difficulties like Dutch language deficiencies. They have to take the language courses more seriously, and have to find their own manner to practice the Dutch in other networks.

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## Appendix

### Dutch integration policy from the 1970's until now

Integration policies in the Netherlands have experienced notable changes over the past decades. For a long time, the Netherlands was distinguished for the success of its multiculturalist approach. However, the successful period changed in a discourse whereby more attention is given on integration and adaptation to Dutch norms and values. Hereafter four periods will be discussed further in order to explain how and why integration policy developments have left their marks into how it is implemented nowadays. To this end, first a description will be given of the integration policies of the 1970s and before. Then the ethnic minorities policy in the 1980s will be outlined. Further the response to the ethnic minorities policy as the integration policy in the 1990s will be explained and at least an elaboration will be made of the integration policy new style since 2002.

### Integration policy as in the 1970s and before

In the 1950s and 1960s the Netherlands was defined as an emigration country. No policy was implemented yet for the inflow of immigrants. The Scientific Council of Government Policies (in Dutch: Wetenschappelijke raad voor het regeringsbeleid) described it as the period 10 years after second World War whereby The Netherlands was announced as a emigration country. Until the end of the 1970s an ad-hoc policy was implemented for the accommodation of those immigrants, such as guest workers, because they were supposed to be return to their home countries. But this policy contained short-term measures and was not enhanced at all (Kamerstuk, 28689). There were two main policy goals in that time: remigration and the accommodation of guest workers to Dutch society during their time in the Netherlands. The motto of that integration policy was maintaining migrants' own identity. This welfare policy, meant for vulnerable groups like, guest workers, refugees, and migrants from Surinam or Dutch Antilles, outsourced private institutions to provide welfare services. The companies who employed the guest workers were responsible for facilities like housing. From the moment that families reunited and guest workers along with their families concentrated in specific urban areas, local government took over this facility task. 'Whereas integration was pursued in social-economic domains such as labour and income, in the social-cultural domain, migrant groups were stimulated to keep themselves apart from Dutch society (Scholten, 2007, p.79). One of the most striking methods of that period was the 'Mother Tongue and Culture Programme' started in 1974. This was meant for the children of guest workers so that they could reintegrate in their home country. In contrary of the assumption of the government, most of the guest workers and their families did not return when the demand for workers stopped and later on the economic crisis started. The number of migrants increased in no time due to family and asylum migration in that period. Problems occurred like unemployment among guest workers and other specific measures on the political agenda. So authorities were bounded to change something in the political agenda, and public opinion and media had a great role in it. This was the beginning of the fact that integration policy transformed into an 'ethnic minorities' policy, recommended by the Scientific Council of Government policies in 1979. In this rapport, they gave advice to recognise migrants as permanent settlers (Scholten, 2007, p. 80)



## Ethnic Minorities Policy in the 1980s

The EM policy was introduced because specific groups (like low-status migrants, gypsies, and caravan dwellers (in Dutch: woonwagenbewoners)) in society with a low socio-economic position got the risk to be stuck in this risky minor group of society. In brief, the main aspects of the EM policy is as follows:

1. Implementing this policy has to balance the equality between ethnic minorities and the upper social-economic class. Minorities had to be stimulated for participation in political areas. The EM policy strived for the cultural and religious equity within constitutional conditions.
2. Whereas migrant groups normally were threatened separately by the government based on foreign origin, this EM policy was focused on a number of minorities: Mollucans, Antilleans, Foreign workers, Surinamese, refugees, gypsies and caravan dwellers.
3. The EM policy should cover all relevant domains and ministries, and had to be implemented in the whole governmental organisation.

An important premise of implementing the EM policy was that “development of identity – both individual and group – would stimulate the minority’s emancipation within the community and would have a positive influence on its integration in broader society as well” (Scholten, 2007, p.81). Another important assumption was to sustain the democratic voice of migrants by regulating an advisory and consultation structure between self-organisations of immigrants and national authority. In the socio-economic domain, three themes got more emphasis: the labour market/unemployment, housing and education. Schools received for example subsidies that would be used as supplementary education for the arrears of migrants but also for keeping their own native language in check. The EM policy could be named as ‘multicultural’, because beside the aims of the EM policy, the development of migrants’ culture was important too. This was a responsibility of the migrant group and their organisation within of course general laws in the Netherlands. For the religion aspect, when migrants wanted some religious facilities, like denominational schools and broadcasting resources, the government could facilitate as they would do for establish religions. As a result Islam was relatively quick institutionalized. ‘Because of the asymmetrical relationship between minorities and the majority, the integration of minorities would inevitably require some degree of adaptation to Dutch society’ (Scholten, 2007, p.82). But in the end of the 1980s the Scientific Council for Government policy reported that the results of the integration policy were insufficient and that especially two essential domains were lagging: education and labour market. According to the evaluation rapport too much emphasize and effort was put on the multiculturalism aspect as well on subsidizing institutions. The evaluation rapport of the Scientific Council recommended putting more energy and compulsory measures in the lacking areas of labour and education. This means less focus on cultural facilities and rights of migrants, and more emphasis on obligations of migrants (Scholten, 2007, p.82). Frits Bolkestein, a Libertal Party leader, criticised the compatibility of Islam and liberal values. He suggested that integration should be handle with more courage and that ‘key liberal values would have to be defended against immigrant cultures, especially against Islam ‘not so much as a religion, but as a way of life’ (Scholten, 2007, p.166)

### Integration Policy in the 1990s

Since the critics on the EM policy of the previous decade, the approach to manage integration, changed towards a more republicanist focus. The basic tenets of this new approach were the guiding principles of 'good citizenship' and 'self-responsibility'. The reason was that citizenship not only contains rights, but also duties, whereby each citizen must have responsibility to participate. In summary three changes are made in comparison with the EM policy (Scholten, 2007, p.83):

- 1) Focus on target groups faded, and individuals took attention who are in a disadvantage position.
- 2) More emphasize on socio-economic incorporation through education and labour market.
- 3) Step aside from cultural and multicultural policies, and withdraw from immigrant organisations.

The motto in the 1990s was to work. From 1997 until 2001 measures were used to fight unemployment, but also to activate participation. The civic integration courses are one example of these measures. The intention was to give newcomers who are required to integrate in society, a toolkit including Dutch language training and information about the function of important Dutch institutions. This was first implemented on local level, but in 1998 this measure was nationalized and named as the WIN law (Wet Inburgering Nederland) (Scholten, 2007, p.83).

With the start of the millennium a series of events occurred. They caused a new public and political discourse regarding integration and immigration concerns. The concerns have brought the social and cultural integration aspects back onto the political agenda, but in a way that it resulted in assimilationism policy. Compatibility was not important anymore, but the commonalities were more the focus to retain national norms and values. In political debates were stated that Islam and the integration of Muslim migrants were recognised as being problematic. International influences like 9/11 attack and Dutch media who broadcasted this several times aggravated such beliefs (Scholten, 2007, p.85). Thereby a populist politician, Pim Fortuin, got the attention in politics as in public by making statements like about the stop of migration, and about the cold war against Islam. He succeeded with his party to be the second largest party in the Parliament. Therefore the discourse changed radically on integration. This discourse was more triggered by violent acts committed by migrants and which again have got Dutch media attention (Scholten, 2007, p.211-212). This resulted in a new style of integration policy since 2002.

### Integration policy new style since 2002

In the new integration policy style, more emphasis is on the cultural adaptation of migrants to Dutch society. It became stricter in subjects like the selection of migrants, asylum seekers, family reunion, marriage migration and new flows were limited. Minorities are not categorised anymore in the integration policy, but they distinguished only old comers (long-term resident migrants) and newcomers. Newcomers were for example committed to follow 'civic integration programs.' Like this, less focus was on the social-economic aspect of the integration policy, but the aim was here more to minimize the social and cultural distance between Dutch society and migrants. Therefore more issues altered because 'when groups are put up against each other, as societal institutions are not sufficiently effective for ethnic groups and as large parts of the minority population do not actively participate in the economy, the continuity of society is at stake' (Scholten, 2007, p.86). To sustain the

'continuity of society' more attention has to be paid on the bridging of differences, instead of on cultivation of migrants' identities. The attitude relating to immigrants had become increasingly negative. Therefore 'citizenship remained the primary means for categorizing minorities, but the focus shifted from 'active citizenship', with a strong universalist implication, to 'common' or 'shared citizenship', with a more assimilationist meaning' (Scholten, 2007, p.87).

Common citizenship means people share common norms and values, it contains speaking in Dutch and submitting basic Dutch norms, and complying basic laws and regulations. It also states that 'taking care of the social environment, respecting physical integrity of others, also within marriage, accepting the right of anyone to express one's opinion, accepting the sexual preferences of others and equality of man and woman' (Scholten, 2007, p.87).