

Don't let your background fade away...



**A qualitative research into second generation
Turkish women and transnationalism**

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Out of eye, out of sight...right?

(Hunya)

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Preface

In front of you is my master thesis I wrote about the second and third generation Turkish migrants and their transnational activities in order to finish the Master Human Geography at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. The research subject is achieved in cooperation with Hivos, where I got the opportunity to do my internship and to work for the campaign WeShare. The campaign's goal was to promote second generation migrants in Europe to participate (more) in transnational activities and by trying to create more awareness for the opportunities their multicultural background bring along. Hivos found out that the campaign was more complex than was pre-calculated, particularly the approach of second Turkish generation migrants were difficult to approach and became the starting point for my research.

Since Hivos is one of the most well-known development organizations, I felt proud to have the ability to work for them. At Hivos I felt directly that I was 'part of the group' since we all shared the same kind of idealism. The idea that my research would take part in one of Hivos' campaigns I really enjoyed. Yet the enthusiasm which I gained during the internship slowly faded away, I started to notice that I had issues in motivating myself more than the average "I don't feel like doing anything today". A combination of private issues and the urge of getting a real job took over the last piece of perseverance and resulted in a serious writers block. When I finally felt I was getting to the finish, I was hired at a company so my research got subordinated and even more when I got promoted. Finally, I finished my thesis.

The never-ending story finally seems to end so I have to thank a lot of persons in my surroundings for being there for me, the love and effort to help me without showing any disinterest. I am also very thankful for having the possibility to work in Hivos and for Maudy Brussel, my supervisor. Furthermore, I am thankful for Lothar Smith, Jackie van de Wallen and Olivier Kramsch for supporting me when necessary.

"The last mile, the hardest" is what I literally have experienced until the last letter I wrote. Yet here it finally is: my masterthesis, so enjoy!

Breda, July 2012

Summary

Migration is not only a phenomenon seen in the 20th century since people have been migrating worldwide for ages looking for a different life. Yet the shape and tendencies of migration have changed compared to earlier centuries (Castles & Miller, 2009). In postwar period flows of labor migrants from southern Europe, Morocco and Turkey came to the Netherlands. Nowadays, the number of Turks living abroad is estimated to be around 7% of the total Turkish population since labor migration lead to family reunification and families got settled (Turkish Ministry of foreign affairs, 2009). The Turks abroad always stayed in touch with their families who were left behind (Içduygu 2005). Yet the outcomes in the process of globalization resulted in progressed technologies for communication and transport, which made it easier for to stay in touch with their family and friends left behind (Vertovec 1999). Some scientists question to what extend transnationalism passes on from the first to the second generation migrants. Rumbaut and Portes (2005) argue that transnational activities are more common for the first than the second generation, while others argue that although transnationalism does not play a role in their life, it is actually present in their lives (Levitt 2006, Smith 2002, Fouron & Glick-Schiller 2002).

Whether or to what extent transnationalism is present in the lives of second and third generation migrants is subject to discussion. Besides, most research into this subject mostly has been dedicated to the second generation migrants in the United States. In the Netherlands, in-depth research into this subject is limited, for that reason this research is dedicated to the second generation Turkish migrants in the Netherlands. Research results could be used to implement migration policies and for the development or maintenance of transnational activities. Moreover, the Netherlands, a country with a general feminist culture, might (positively) influence women's positions, even for women with a cultural background which is more masculine focused (Hofstede, 1998). The emphasis of scientific research is often put on human agency and these are not limited to economic enterprises, but include political, cultural and religious initiatives as well (Portes, 2009). This research is therefore an in-debt investigation to conduct more than just generalized assumptions.

Therefore the central question is as follows:

How does the multicultural identity of second generation Turkish female migrants influence their relationship with Turkey, their transnational activities and assimilation in the Netherlands?

In order to come to the results qualitative research has been conducted with primary focus on non-standardized semi-structured interviews, carried out by means of face-to-face or interviews by phone and group interviews by means of focus groups. The interviews are held with individuals that belong to the group of second or third generation Turkish female migrants within the age of 18-35 and were conversations of at least two hours. My previous intercultural experiences made me conscious of possible differences between cultures. This taken into consideration, when interviewing I was always aware of the role I played as a Western woman situated in front of a woman who might have a different cultural background.

The outcomes of the qualitative research results show that the second generation Turkish women believe that they are different than most other Dutch persons; they neither feel completely Dutch, nor they feel completely Turkish. Their identity is also defined by their surroundings, for instance, at home they are Turkish, and at school they are Dutch. In addition the results show that Turkey always has been a big part of their lives and is until today very present in their lives by traditions and religion. Therefore, the second generation migrant is often balancing between transnational spaces which are always in interaction with multiple societies and identities. One of the most important issues for the respondents is to manage these transnational spaces. They are positioned somewhere in between the Netherlands and Turkey with a mostly Turkish background mixed with Dutch norms. Yet if the respondents have to choose between being Dutch and being Turkish, they all chose to be Turkish.

Another result is that the second generation Turkish women are less in contact with their family in Turkey than their parents. They believe their family ties will slowly fade away since their lives are in the Netherlands and visits to Turkey are too short to really connect and build their ties. The respondents mostly see immigrating to Turkey rather as an option than as a dream to return to their motherland. If the economic situation in Turkey keeps improving this

would be a pull factor to consider moving away.

One of the motivations to send remittances to Turkey is for future development of their country, especially for the occasion when they might move to Turkey. The sending of remittances is the main transnational activity of the second generation Turkish women and usually happens by the donation of money to a certain cause for at least two times a year and is often organized by the Mosque. The most important motivation to support a cause is their religion, second the development of Turkey. The personal situation in which one is placed seems to influence the importance of sending remittances to Turkey. Most of the respondents have been sensing that during the past few years their parents' economic situation has been declining, so they put more focus on their personal life than those of others. The respondents believe that the transnational activities for upcoming generations will decrease, since they notice differences in the relationship with Turkey between them and their parents'. They fear that with each new generation born in the Netherlands the feeling of belonging to Turkey will decrease.

Table of contents

Preface	3
Summary	4
Table of contents	7
1. Chapter 1: Research proposal	9
1.1. Turkish roots in the Netherlands	9
1.2. Transnationalism and migration	10
1.3. Societal relevance of the research	13
1.4. Scientific relevance of the research	14
1.5. Research questions	16
1.6. Concepts	16
1.7. Introduced methodology	17
1.8. Structure	18
2. Chapter 2: Theoretical framework	19
2.1. Second and Third generation migrants and segmented assimilation	19
2.2. Transnationalism	21
2.2.0. The concept of transnationalism	21
2.2.1. Contemporary transnationalism in theory	22
2.2.2. Transnational activities	23
2.3. Transnational spaces	24
2.4. Identities	25
3. Chapter 3: Turkish migrants and the following generations	27
3.1. From Turkey to the Netherlands	27
3.2. Motives for migration	28
3.3. Migration and family matters	29

3.4.	Transnational relations	31
4.	Chapter 4: Methodology	32
4.1.	Research respondents	32
4.2.	Qualitative research.....	33
4.3.	Questioner and response.....	34
4.4.	Reflection	35
5.	Chapter 5: Research results	36
5.1.	Identity	36
5.1.0.	Identity and assimilation	36
5.1.1.	Cultural identity.....	37
5.2.	Relationship with Turkey	39
5.2.0.	Contact with Turkey	39
5.2.1.	Transnational activities.....	43
5.2.2.	Belonging and circular migration.....	43
5.3.	Transnational activities.....	45
5.3.0.	Causes.....	45
5.3.1.	Motivation for transnational activities	46
5.3.2.	Conditions to support	48
6.	Chapter 6: Conclusions.....	50
6.1.	Assimilation and identity	50
6.2.	Relationship with Turkey	51
6.3.	Transnationalism and young Turkish women.....	52
6.4.	Further research.....	53
	References	54
	Appendix 1: Questions for interviewing (Semi-structured)	59

Chapter 1: Research proposal

“I think we are different, you have the Dutch and there are the Turkish, but we are situated in between. In the Netherlands we are a foreigner and in Turkey just a random tourist.”

(Selma)

This quote represents the vision of a Dutch woman with Turkish roots or a, so called, migrant of the second generation and her overall emotion about living in a Dutch society with a multicultural background. It shows some of the complexity as being part of (a cultural) minority within a multicultural society and is one of many facets that came across while doing research for this thesis. But first things first, this chapter is dedicated to further elaborate on the main research theme. It starts discussing the Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, from the process of labor migration to family reunification and the formation of the second and third generation. Then it will introduce the concept of transnationality, transnational activities and assimilation. This results in discussing the relevance of the thesis, into the research goal and the accompanying research questions. Furthermore, the different concepts that will be used in this research are explained, as well as the structure of the complete thesis .

1.1. *Turkish roots in the Netherlands*

Though migration not only is a phenomenon seen in the 20th century and people have been migrating worldwide for ages looking for a different life, the shape and tendencies of migration have changed compared to earlier centuries (Castles & Miller, 2009). One of these tendencies was shown in the flow of labor migrants in the Post-war period due to the need of cheap labor (in some parts of Europe, like Germany, Great-Britain, Italy, Spain, Sweden and The Netherlands), in order to oblige local growing economies. Labor migrants from southern Europe, Morocco and Turkey were called on to work temporarily in the “host” countries. Nowadays, the number of Turks living abroad is estimated by the Turkish Ministry of foreign affairs to be around 5 million, which represents 7% of the total Turkish population

(Turkish Ministry of foreign affairs, 2009). The majority of those who immigrated, which was about 4 million in 2009, lives in Europe (Turkish ministry of foreign affairs, 2009). Although the official numbers change year by year, still one could state that Europe is an attractive area for (Turkish) migrants to settle (Van Nimwegen, 2003, p:17). Also in the Netherlands a large percentage of migrants arrived in the sixties and seventies who were attracted by Dutch recruitment agreements (Bruquetas-Callejo e.d. 2006). Today, one out of five persons is a migrant as the Dutch population statistics indicate (CBS, 2012). In 2012 there were over 3 million migrants living in the Netherlands of which the Turks represents the biggest amount of non-western migrants, followed by the Moroccans (CBS, July 2012).

When the migration process started in the sixties, the Dutch government assumed that all labor migrants, who existed mostly out of men, were staying temporarily and that they would return after completion of the job. However, the circumstances lead into family formation and reunification, from spouses and children of resident families who were sent to the Netherlands and settled across cities all over the country (Bruquetas-Callejo e.d. 2006). Besides directly by influx, the number of migrants inclined also indirectly through the births of children of migrants within the Netherlands. Meanwhile, this flow of migration has grown into a significant proportion of the population which is strongly present in the Dutch society of today. This explains briefly how the formation of the second and third generation migrants started, from the beginning of labor migration in the Netherlands and other countries until the society of today (Van Nimwegen, 2003, p:17). Despite of the large number of Turkish migrants settling in other countries, the Turkish always stayed in touch with their families who were left behind by different sorts of communication channels, visits and by sending remittances. Of the first generation migrants is known that they are very involved with transnational activities as a common practice (Içduygu 2005).

1.2. *Transnationalism and migration*

The concept of transnationalism is a much discussed phenomenon in the study of migration, by some illustrated as a phenomenon with novelty while others argue it exists as long as there is labor migration (Portes, et al. 1999). However, the shape of transnationalism of today varies from earlier shapes, since technique got its improvements in the last decades (Vertovec 1999). It became much easier to maintain relations with related family back home, by

communication through (mobile) phone, fax, television, the Internet and by sending money home through a globalized banking system or informal channels. It also improved the possibility to take a trip for a visit and to conduct business from a distance. Thus one could state that transnationalism has always been related to migration but the shape of transnational activities changed and it increased over the last years. Related to transnational activities, is sending remittances, a subject which is not only well argued in the scientific world, but also has its popularity in politics. However, Castles and Miller (2009) argue that the sending of remittances, has declined over the years as a result of family reunifications in the receiving countries.

Despite of an overall decline in remittances, governmental institutions kept an interest in transnational activities of minorities in the Dutch society, remittances in particular. One of the migrations myths discussed by De Haas is that a migrant who maintains transnational ties with the country of origin would not be integrated in a social economic matter (2005, p: 1275). One of the examples is the proposal of the Dutch government to prohibit in 2004 dual nationality for third generation migrants to combat the “disappearance” of remittances to the sending countries (Migration News July 2004 , in De Haas, 2005). It seems to suggest that a commitment with two countries automatically indicates that a migrant might not be integrated. It also suggests that a person is integrated when all ties with the home country have been broken, which sounds peculiar. What are the foundations for this statement? Even if it might contain some truth, the contrary exists as well, as De Haas argues: “After all, successful and ‘integrated’ migrants generally also dispose of increased cognitive and financial capacity for setting up enterprises and participating in public debate in their countries of origin. Thus loyalty to sending countries is not necessarily in conflict with good citizenship in receiving countries”. De Haas (2005) continues that transnationalism also confronts the political creation of the nation-state and citizenship in the modern world. He argues that notions such as “origin” and “destination” get blurred since the lives of migrants consist more and more out of multiple societies at the same time. Besides, categories as “permanent”, “temporary” and “return” migration gets less transparent through transnationalism.

Within scientific research of transnationalism research of second generation migrants gets more interesting (Levitt & Waters, 2006). Some scientists question to what extent transnationalism passes on from the first to the second generation migrants. Rumbaut and

Portes (2005) argue that transnational activities are more common for the first than the second generation, while others argue that although transnationalism does not play a role in their life, it is actually present in their lives (Levitt 2006, Smith 2002, Fouron & Glick-Schiller 2002). Besides the discussion whether or to what extent transnationalism is present in the lives of second and third generation migrants, transnationalism could also be divided into transnational feelings and into actual activities (Fouron & Glick-Schiller 2002, Espiritu & Tran 2002). The report “Giving in the Netherlands” (Carabain/NCDO, 2009), did not notice a difference in whether or not people send remittances. In general it was found that the donation of the second generation was smaller than the amount of the first generation.

Some questions remain after first research into the subject. Striking is the generalization of the second generation migrants as a minority based on roots. For instance, what about differences within a generation, based on gender? Besides, could one imply that transnational activities stay the same for every Turkish migrant of the second generation when he continues to live in the Netherlands, the country of settlement? The second and third generation generally was born or at least raised in the Netherlands and a part of them probably relates more to the Dutch society. Stark and Lucas argue these statements as well as they question:

“What would enforce compliance with the terms of the contract, especially after the migrant has obtained employment at the place of destination and is generating income?...If altruism declines over time, the contract weakens and remittances should decrease with time spent at the place of destination.”

Stark & Lucas, 1988, p: 469

The exceptional situation of non-western migrants living in the Netherlands is that they are positioned as a minority among other societies who tend to live differently than they are used to live. Besides, the social-economic structure of the Dutch society differs from their country of origin. This specific difference in the social-economic structure could play a role in the discussion of integration of minorities in the Dutch society and could be different for women as for men, who belong to the second and third generation Turkish migrants as well. When investigating migrants as a minority could easy imply some generalization of one group based on their roots and motives to live in a strange country. To divide this minority based on

gender, age and education could be interested to further investigate so indebt knowledge can be obtained rather than generalized assumptions.

1.3. Societal relevance of the research

Looking at the amount of remittances that flow into Turkey, it demonstrates the magnitude of the impact of migration. The remittances that are send by Turkish migrants even belongs to the second largest official and unofficial amount of remittances of the Middle East and was estimated about 7.5 billion in 2006 (Ulku, 2010, p:3). This amount of remittances is presumed to be part of the country's economic development, although, this "dynamic nature" is hard to define (Içduygu, 2005, p:5). Benefits that remittances have for migrant households are the improvement of living standards and contribute to poverty reduction (Castles & Miller, 2009, p: 60). The further stage of settlement means often a decrease of sending remittances and could therefore have consequences for the households that depend on these sources of income (Ulku 2010). This study looks at the transnational activities of the second generation and if there is any notable change in the link between the Netherlands and Turkey. For the future of Turkey it is important to get insight into these possible changes of the connection between these countries as it could have consequences on the flows of remittances that are sent from The Netherlands and other European countries. Policy makers from both transfer sides could implement their policies based on these study results.

Besides, this research further investigates the possible variations in transnational activities between second generation and first generation migrants. If the second generation has the need to a more structured approach in order to maintain or develop these transnational activities, for migrant- and development organizations this study could contribute towards an effective policy.

Within societies all over the world the position of women has not been as equal to the position of men, even if in some societies it slowly breaks their traditional habits. When women migrate it is often assumed that it would positively change their status, that their empowerment would increase and traditional roles get rewritten, something which also benefits other women (UN-INSTRAW, 2006). Although real contribution to gender equality can be quiet limited, it would be interesting to investigate the second generation while focusing at

female migrants. In the Netherlands, as a country with a general feminist culture, women are overall more centralized than in countries where the main culture is male oriented (Hofstede, 1998). This might (positively) influence women's position, even for women with a cultural background from a more masculine focused environment. Therefore, it would be interesting to conduct more research into this specific group of migrants to see whether living in the Netherlands could be of influence on the position of women with Turkish roots.

The occasion of this study emanates from the ideas behind the campaign of WeShare, an initiative of the development organization Hivos for creating awareness among second generation migrants and their unique position in the sense of multi-identities, transnational relations and multiculturalism. This research searches for more insight into the identity, life style, and interests of second generation migrants. It also might clarify the underlying cause of the little Turkish response to different angles of the campaign. Eventually a follow up campaign into this subject is able to modify the campaign into one that it could reach better its objectives, or create other initiatives to promote the uniqueness of "minorities" in an expanding multicultural society of the Netherlands.

1.4. *Scientific relevance of the research*

Research on migration is often rather focused on two dimensions: the first is based on the process of migration and its patterns and the second on how these migrants integrate in the host community (Castles and Miller 2009). Castles and Miller state that the integration of migrants should be investigated more extensively as "the ways in which migration brings about change in both sending as receiving societies' (2009, p:20). This research gets more indebted into the younger (female) generations as the questions around migration do not suddenly end when the migrant is settling down. Therefore, this study will contribute to what kind of destination the remittances have in Turkey and will attempt to understand the flow between the second generation migrant and the country of origin. As the outcomes in the process of globalization results in progressed technologies for communication and transport, it became easier for migrants to stay in touch with their family and friends in their country of origin. The emphasis of scientific research is often put on human agency and these are not limited to economic enterprises, but include political, cultural and religious initiatives as well. (Portes, 2009) This study includes research into these specifics, so not only the economic

relation in transnational activities will be discussed but also their way of living, beliefs, norms and values.

Castles and Miller (2009, p:32) state that the rapid growth of transnational theory has raised more questions than answers. “The degree to which migrants do actually engage in transnational behavior has not been adequately established”. They also put question marks to the issue what this behavior could mean for the sending and receiving country and the relationships between them. So this research contributes to the investigation of transnationalism and ‘newer’ generation migrants. Besides, if there has been investigated in the second generation migrants, it is often limited to an investigation of a minority taken as one group. This results into research that often gets generalized rather than specialized like in this case gender specifically.

Also in the Netherlands research into transnational activities and assimilation seems rather generalized and therefore limited. Hein de Haas, the NIDI and Imnus and others conducted research into the subject but rather more general into the second generation migrants than a specific minority of this reasonable large group in the Dutch society. In addition, the initiatives of the Dutch NCDO (National Commission about International Cooperation and Sustainable Development) about “Giving in the Netherlands” are especially dedicated to research these aspects, especially on remittances. In the Netherlands some research of Carabain (2008b) provides background information about motivations for sending remittances of this group but is not fully aimed at the second generation. What role their Turkish origin plays in their lives is hardly mentioned and in-depth research into this subject could be improved. Therefore, it would be interesting to study this field more specifically, since little research has been dedicated before.

1.5. *Research questions*

The introduction and relevance of the research lead to the following research objective:

To get insight into the transnational activities of young Turkish/Dutch women as a minority of second generation migrants by looking at their way of living in the Netherlands, what their connection is with Turkey, and whether this defines their identity and process of assimilation.

Therefore, the central question is:

How does the multicultural identity of second generation Turkish female migrants influence their relationship with Turkey, their transnational activities and assimilation in the Netherlands?

- How can the second and third generation Turkish migrants in the Netherlands be described?
- What is the relationship with Turkey and how does this influence the daily lives of the second generation Turkish women?
- How are second generation Turkish women involved in transnational activities, what are their motives, and are there intergenerational differences?

1.6. *Concepts*

Migrants are defined by the UN as “persons who have lived outside their country of birth for 12 months or over” (UNDESA, 2005 in Castles and Miller, p:5). The second generation Turkish migrants are defined by the CBS (Central Bureau for Statistics 2010) as “all persons who are born but have at least one of the parents who is born in Turkey and all persons who migrated from Turkey to the Netherlands before the age of 6”. The discussion of whether this minority can still be called “migrant” is not in that sort of relevance for this thesis subject. The main goal is to research the transnational activities rather than discuss the frame of concepts. Using the

second and third generation migrants as description of the group of reference will help to give one clear definition.

In order to obtain the general goal, the empirical research objective is first to clarify background data of the second generation Turkish migrant, to get insight into their identity and sense of belonging to Turkey. The research aims at getting insight into the second generation Turkish migrants towards their country of origin and to what extent they support or are willing to support the country of their roots. So the main theoretical base is “transnationalism”. It looks into different ways of supporting and ideas to support, like sending remittances to family and alternative, indirect methods like development projects through organizations (third parties). The focus will be on analyzing what their ideas are and what kind of meaning they could have for their country for instance through developing projects. This research contributes to get insight into a segmented group of second generation Turkish migrants but is probably too small-scale to represent the whole segment of second generations Turkish migrants. That is why this research gives an exploratory view on young Turkish women and their transnational activities while living in the Netherlands.

1.7. *Introduced methodology*

Since there has been little research done into the transnational activities of young Turkish women in the Netherlands, it is relevant to do exploratory qualitative research into this topic. In this way the obtained knowledge contributes to get more insight into the second and third generation Turkish migrants and their support of Turkey by sending remittances, volunteering or through donations for organizations. Qualitative research allows finding own inputs and views of the investigated group.

As previous research on the second generation migrants has been conducted in for instance the United States, a deductive approach facilitates the outcomes of the present research and “links it to an existing body of knowledge” (Saunders et al. 2007, p:489). This deductive approach in qualitative research will be focused on non-standardized semi-structures interviews, carried out by means of face-to-face interviews, or phone and focus groups. The problem centered interview fits into the research process to aim at developing a theory. Important to this method is that the interviewer can structure the topics but unfold views at the

same time. Together with the elaboration of what has been written in the literature, this combination or triangulation is shifting validation of results towards ‘the soundest strategy of theory construction’.

The interviews are held with individuals that belong to the group of second or third generation Turkish female migrants within the age of 18-35. The interviews first will be tested by means of 2 or 3 focus groups. The amount of interviews depends on the results. When the same response is given over and over, the interviews are satisfied (Saunders et.al. 2007). During the search for respondents their environment will be taken into account and consequently respondents are found through personal connections, a Mosque, a Turkish centre, at home or at their work. Besides interviewing respondents, observation will serve as a mode to get an idea of the respondents way of living.

1.8. Structure

The structure of the research is build from Chapter 1 where the introduction leads to the central objective and research questions. Chapter 2 elaborates in short on theories that are involved as it explains the concepts of assimilation, transnationalism and transnational identity. To get a better understanding of the context of the research, background information of Turkey and the second generation migrants is explained in the third chapter. Chapter 4 is dedicated to get insight into the methodology and research strategies where Chapter 5 discusses the actual analysis of the responses. At last, Chapter 6 provides answers to the central research question in an overall conclusion.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This chapter provides insight into the key concepts used in the research. Previous to empirical research into second and third generation higher educated Turkish women, this chapter starts to describe briefly the second and third generation and assimilation. Then the concept of transnationalism will be explained since the focus of research lies at this interdisciplinary domain and a central position in migration studies. Furthermore, attention is paid to the underlying theories to discover the correlation with the empirical research in order to be able to come to relevant conclusions.

2.1. *Second and Third generation migrants and segmented assimilation*

Post-1945, when migration boom started, it was assumed that migration could be controllable. All various models were created to manage differences in culture and ethnicity. Assimilation models were developed as an attempt to get one nation-state without diversity among its citizen (Vasta 2007, Castles & Miller 2009). Assimilation is described by Castles and Miller as immigrants who are incorporated into society through a one-sided process of adaptation. They were to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population, mostly focused at first generation migrants.

Research into the second and third generation migrants in the Netherlands and their transnational behavior are upcoming but are relatively scarce, yet transnationalism, remittances and development are much discussed terms in the studies of migration and international development. In some other countries, generally the United States, explorative and in-depth research is done and provides examples of the second generation migrants in their society. A name which repeats itself is Alejandro Portes, a Cuban-American professor in sociology, who has focused his research area into the study of immigrants. He did some research into the second generation migrants in the U.S. (Princeton University, 2010), a country which is an outstanding example of a classical immigration country.

For his research he followed a large group of second generation migrants from early adolescence to early adulthood in order to test some hypotheses about the adaptation process of the second generation. Out of his research Portes drew the conclusion that that children of European immigrants slowly gave up their parent's language and culture (Portes & Rumbaut, 2005, p. 986). The growing economy after World War II supported their social and economic process of adaptation. As this adaptation process proceeded by years, by the next generation their foreign languages even faded away and ethnic identities were dominated by their American culture. Portes & Rumbaut (2005) argue that the adaptation process swiftly appears to be similar as in the post-war period, at least as far as a certain level. Recent studies, however, indicate assimilation is not always self-evident. Individuals are able to orient at both their receiving as their home country. (Levitt, 1998, p:927) Portes and Rumbaut confirm that current processes are not as straight-line as assimilation described above and depends sometimes more on personal choices and matters. Some perceive their ethnic identity as a strength or use it when convenient for progress and as a basis for a social network while others rather sees it as inconvenience or as a sign of inferiority (2005, p: 986). According to Portes & Rumbaut, "segmented assimilation" is more applicable for the current generation migrants. In this sense "segmented" concerns a variation of outcomes across immigrants nationalities, and where rapid integration and acceptance into the American mainstream represents just one possible alternative" (2005, p: 986). To what extent the second generation migrant assimilates is described by Portes by four different dimensions. The first dimension is the history of the first generation, the time parents and children need to adapt in another culture, cultural and economic barriers the second generation comes across in the process of adaptation and the possibilities family and communities get to conquer these barriers. In this sense the addition of "segmented" to the concept assimilation points out differences in results of the adaptation process of second generation migrants (2005, p: 1016). Therefore strong assimilation does not have to be a sign of fading relationships with the home country.

One of the exceptional aspects in which migrants deal with is the composed relationship that has been build in the country of settlement. The flow of influences within national borders continues at the same time, next to the maintained relationships in the country of origin and the influence of their "home" society and culture. Frequently groups of migrants share some specific characteristics as being part of a social network. Their social network not only takes place in the country where they settled down, yet in the country of origin as well. The stronger

the family's relationship, the more attention is paid to the social network of family (Faist, 2009). In the previous years researchers have been trying to define the processes of transnationalism. Levitt (1998) collected various designations of diverse authors in his article: from "transnational social fields" (Basch, Glick-Schiller et. Al 1994) to "transnational communities" (Levitt, 1996, Smith 1995) and "binational relations" (Guarnizo, 1994). The extensive concept of transnationalism is discussed in the next paragraph.

2.2. *Transnationalism*

2.2.0. The concept of transnationalism

Although transnationalism has been long discussed in scientific history, the last years the concept has become a vogue expression in social science as in conferences and discussion panels the concept "transnational" is more and more present. (Guarnizo et. al 2003, p: 1212) Where research focus was first mainly aimed at migrants and their settlement in the receiving country, the last two decades the focus shifted more into the direction of the various relationships migrants maintain with the country of origin. In the United States there has been more research into these relationships. It seems that those remain to a longer instant as assumed before so the ultimate years the field of relationships between migrants has been further explored. Vertovec (1999, p:447) describes transnationalism as "Multiple ties and interaction linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states" while Basch et al (2004, p: 48) define the concept as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement". Both interpretations describe transnationalism as geographic interaction, besides cultural and political borders are combined with constructed social relationships of immigrants. Immigrants who are transnational active are defined as transmigrants since they maintain multiple relationships, involved in different dimensions of relationships like economic, familial, social, organizational, religious and political (Basch et al. 2004, p:48). The transnational interaction affects multiple dimensions which transmigrants sustain in both home and host societies. The home society is referred to as the country of origin and the host society indicates as the one where they are situated. Striking is the fact that "home" is more associated with the country that is no longer the home, the interpretation of "home" might be different for second generation migrants.

2.2.1. Contemporary transnationalism in theory

Despite of the increased popularity of transnationalism in the field of migration studies, it is not a new phenomenon. Previous studies indicate that European migrants maintained relationship with the country they left behind. (Foner, 1997 in: Levitt, 1998) Even in the ages it was known that although people migrated, they maintained their relationship with their homeland. Basch et al (In Kagram and Levitt, 1998, p: 267) argue that the interconnection of people around world have long been existed, as people always have been moving and identities have been transformed. Fried (1975) describe this process in better comprehensible ways he argues that since the beginning of state societies “the world of human kind constitutes a manifold, a totality of interconnected process”(In Khagram and Levitt 1998, p: 267). The interconnected process is even further developed due to technical improvements which made it for instance easier to communicate at longer distances and maintain economic connections. In addition, the ability to maintain dual nationalities also facilitates transnationalism as well as the increase in acceptance of ethnic pluralism within societies. Castles and Miller put it in short:

As migration becomes easier and people become more mobile, many of them have important and durable relationships of a politic, economic, social, or cultural nature in two or more societies at once. This is seen as undermining the undivided loyalty seen as crucial to sovereign nation-states.

Castles and Miller, 2009, p:3

Moreover, the distinction between permanent and temporary migration is more complex than before, when migration was more divided to either permanent or temporary. Since it became easier to be on the move, moving within societies became no more exception either. With less commitment to the host society, the knowledge of more than one or two languages and further developed communication technologies, migrants have the ability to move from one to another society. Today the transmigrant lives in multiple worlds at the same time and has a job in cross border economic activities (Snel, 2004, p: 75). This process results in new transnational social relationships where primary social connections and identities not necessarily lie in one particular social group. In 1988 Wolf describes a more abstract way of explaining that

“the current conflation of time and space brought about by global communications and transnational social relations only serve to high-light more deep-seated contradiction in a way in which we think about culture and society” (In Khagram and Levitt 1998 p:267).

Earlier research in migration often missed too many details while current institutes are looking more for specificity and in-debt research into the process, a process which will influence some migrants more than on another. Furthermore, the activities in the process of transnationalism will expand by the facilitation of technological improvement to stay in touch, organizations for money transfer and having the possibility to visit, even if the geographical distance does not hold staying in touch with family. The development in the current transnationalism and transmigrants has lead to new research into the phenomenon (Snel 2004, p: 75).

2.2.2. Transnational activities

As migration is not a ‘new’ phenomenon it did became easier by the facilities the new technologies, which developed during the years, brought along. These shifts in compellation of people changed society’s face. Castles and Miller state that international migration is part of a transnational revolution that is reshaping societies and politics around the globe (2009 p:7). Since the introduction of the concept transnationalism repeatedly returns in research of different study fields, the approaches to investigate into the concept differ, next to the fact of the extensive definition of the concept itself. Transnationalism overlaps for instance sociologic, anthropologic, political and economical studies and is therefore interfacing various dimension (Basch et.al in: Khagram & Levitt, 1998). This research focuses at the economical and social dimension of transnationalism and yet overlaps with some of the political dimension as well.

The economic dimension distinguishes economic activities and connections that migrants maintain between the host and sending country which can be professional or charity related and are described as economic remittances. Remittances are often send by any migrant, where they transfer money through banks, agencies or through other networks (Vertovec, 2004). Given the extent of research articles available concerning the economic impact of remittances I agree on Vertovec (2004) in Migrant transnationalism and Modes of Transformation where he describes that the economic dimension of transnationalism is most discussed by

researchers. Often curiosity goes out to the volume of remittances or the impact for the receiving and sending countries. Focus of research in remittances and development was first positioned at the “home” side, worrying the possible loss of potentials that could build the economy of their own country (Newland, Ellerman, Khadria in Castles & Miller 2009). Nowadays the focused shift towards the possibilities migrants bring along for developing their country by means of sending remittances versus the development of aid abroad. It also discusses whether or not the flow of remittances could bring positive results into the development process of a country (Castles & Miller 2009).

Beside financially, remittances also consist in the shape of social capital. These social remittances are defined by Levitt as “the ideas, behavior, identities and social capital that flow from receiving- to sending country communities” (1998, p:927). Social remittances are resources of political and social nature that could favour migrants’ (transnational) activities. Portes agrees in Globalization from below as he argues that transnational entrepreneurs develop with the help of social connections, connections which already had been strengthening by their economic activities (1997, p: 9). Thus the sending of both financial as social remittances may positively influence the expansion of networks and firms cumulative.

2.3. *Transnational spaces*

As describes above, a transmigrant is a person who participates in transnational communities based on migration (Glick-Schiller in Castles and Miller 2009) and often lives in multiple societies. For Jackson it is more complex as he argues that migrants are active in different geographical spaces at ones, or so called “transnational spaces”. He draws on the definition of the term:

“Transnational spaces encompass all of those engaged in transnational cultures, whether as producers or consumers. It includes not just the material geographies of labor migration or the trading in transnational goods and services but also the symbolic and imaginary geographies through which we attempt to make sense of our increasingly transnational world. Transnational space is, we argue, complex, multidimensional and multiply inhabited”.

Crang et al, 2003 in Jackson, 2004, p: 3

The definition of transnational spaces are rather multifaceted and more complex than the previous discussed concepts of transnationalism and its dimensions due to its intangibility and the variability in time of entering this “space”. Jackson uses various examples to clarify the complexity. For instance, persons with all different background are able to enter a different transnational space just for a moment while they join a meal, or for their whole live while being a part of a transnational community based on their ethnicity. Moreover, transnational identities of the previous generation migrants may continue to feel a certain attraction for the transmigrant, based on their own transnational happenings (Jackson, 2004, p:3). Jackson believes that the focus of research should therefore be exploring these spaces instead of (only) distinguishing transnational communities from all kind of communities. It extends transnational research in a more spatial way as different transnational geographies relate to transnational communities, transnational experiences and the underlying relations. Despite the fact that people are moving easier and borders seems get more vague, for most people, usually, culture still “sits in places”. With this argument Arturo Escobar’s (2001) determines the importance of place, in which Jackson agrees as well (in: Jackson, 2004, p: 6/7).

In short: transnationality is in relation with place, landscape and space (Jackson, 2004, p: 4), so both national as transnational are related, instead of opposing. Thus even though one could maintain transnational activities and have tight relationship with the country of origin, the place where he lives has been experienced as a certain stable factor in their lives and could be of practical and emotional importance.

2.4. *Identities*

While bypassing these transnational spaces, migrants experiences multiple identities which they possess. According to Castles & Miller the identity of migrants are not static, closed and homogeneous “but rather dynamic multiple identities, influenced by a variety of cultural, social and other factors” (2009, p:41). Even though, identity is not a realized truth as it. According to Hall identity rather should be seen as a ‘production’, “as it is never complete, always in process and always constituted within, not an outside representation” (1999, p: 222). Castles and Miller (2009, p: 41) agree in a certain way that there is a continuous interaction between various factors in their surroundings, for instance with the communities back home, in the country of origin and the current nation and organizations, which develops itself as a

process. Therefore identity is hardly fixed, yet could better be described as a process. The migrant does neither possess one identity, their identity is influenced by cultural, social and other action and reactions which explains their multiple identities as explained above.

Since identity is constant changing depending on the interaction, history and experiences, this research will be focused on cultural dimension identity. The cultural identity of migrants is according to Hall definable in two terms. One is involved with the sharing of culture, the unity of a group of people sharing history and origin by cultural rules, “a collective one true self “ (1999, p: 223). The other term reflects the perception of the past as the future, not the “becoming” as well as of “being” (1999, p: 225), which clarifies how identity is not just one happening but part of the continuing process. As Hall concludes: “It is not an essence but a positioning” (1999, p:226). In a shorter, or narrative way one could state that cultural identity refers to ethnic identity and civic identity or heritage identity and national identity (Salazar & Salazar, 1998. In: Berry et al, 1992, p:358), yet as an interactive, changing process.

When discussing the approaches in research of migration different concepts come together and interaction with each one. This chapter discussed the meaning and above all the interactive process of these theoretic notions which are the foundations of this research. It has tried to clarify the complexity of concepts from assimilation of second generation migrants to the multifaceted concept transnationalism, transnational spaces and it included to explain in short the concept of identity. The next chapter is contributed to the Turkish community in the Netherlands.

Chapter 3: Turkish migrants and the next generations

This chapter is dedicated to describe briefly the background of first generation Turkish migrants in the Netherlands to understand parts of history of their migration process since they arrived to the Netherlands to the rise of the second (and third) generation migrants.

3.1. *From Turkey to the Netherlands*

When the Dutch labor market was in need to fulfill the increased demand for workmen after the Second World War, the Dutch government searched across the border to get to their solution. They arranged work permits with different countries across the Mediterranean, including Turkey, so workmen could enter the Netherlands and fulfill the open job offers. The yearly total flow of immigration increased from 45.000 in 1960 until about 95.000 at the beginning of the seventies (Penninx, 1984 in Esveldt ed 1995, p: 2). The total Turkish migrants expanded from 5.400 in 1965 (that was the first year when detailed statistics were available), until 9.000 in 1970. Until in 1973, due to the consequences of the oil crisis, the recruitment for workmen across the border ended. While lots of workers from Spain and Italy returned home, the Turks and Moroccans stayed put, despite of what the Dutch government predicted in advance. It was due to the lack of economic growth in these countries that the Turks and Moroccans choose to stay permanently and their families came over as well (Penninx, 1984 in Esveldt et al, 1995, p: 3). The consequence followed that immigration from Turkey and Morocco kept growing until about 17.500 immigrants respectively in 1980. This time it was not migration out of labor, but family reunification with the parents or partner (1995, p: 3).

In the seventies the Dutch government gets consciousness about the fact that the labor migrants would never return to the place where they came from and that the influx of migrants through family reunification would continue. It became even obvious when the economic crisis started that the social-economic situation of the migrants declined. This time the government decided to develop a diversity policy to restrict the entrance of migrants and to finally prevent an increase of migrants. In addition, the policy contained a support program

to support those who would like to return. Besides the diversity policy, the government also developed a policy toward minorities, when they recognized the fact that the main part of migrants would actually stay in the Netherlands. Although the amount of immigration from Turkey and Morocco respectively decreased from 17.500 and 10.400 to 4.100 and 4.800, the question remained whether this was due to the introduction of policies rather than other factors (1994, p: 5).

3.2. *Motives for migration*

The study of Esveldt et al. in 1995, provides also insight into the migration motives, networks and choice in partners of Turkish and Moroccan respondents. The vast majority gave at least one social-economic reason for migration since most of them could not earn enough to traditionally manage a family in Turkey and the instability of the future in their place of residence were reasons to leave. Furthermore, the social services were lacking or inadequate, so moving into a country offering all kinds of facilities did seem to be a fine choice from rational point of view. As expected beforehand, male migrants in search for a marriage were more concerned about the economic factors rather than female migrants looking for marriage. The motivation to stay in the Netherlands was mostly because of job opportunities. However, the Netherlands was for 85% the first country to migrate, mostly the motive for leaving the Netherlands is due to partner or family (Esveldt 1995, p: 73).

The economic situation before migration would also be a motive for a matrimonial as occasion to leave in search for a place with better economic opportunities (1995, p: 73). Even though the main reason for migration was social-economic, the conclusion of the research is that most migrants did have an income before they migrated. Between recent and less recent migrated Turkish females there were differences found concerning their work situation before migration. The women, who less recent migrated, out of marriage or family reunification longer ago, had more often a paid or unpaid job than the women who migrated in a later stadium in the early nineties. A couple of studies proved that family and other networks are key elements when it comes to stimulating and putting directions to migration (Boyd, 1989, Cariño et al. 1990, Massey, 1987, 1994 in Esveldt et al 1994, p: 109). For the Turks who moved to the Netherlands this is the most often the case. More than one third of the Turks came to the Netherlands when they were a child to reunify with their parents, the majority (65%) is only

due to family reasons (reunification with family, partner or a marriage with someone who is already living in the Netherlands) why they moved into the country (1995, p: 109). Only 6 % came only out of social-economic reasons and half of them through employers or friends, fellow-villager who already lived in the Netherlands. At the end, not that much of the total amount of migrant actually came without a network to the Netherlands. The above demonstrates how a flow of migration out of economic reasons transforms this flow into one which is rather motivated by family and other social networks.

3.3. *Migration and family matters*

After the flow of labor migration and the follow up from family reunification, the second generation of the first migrants was born some fifty years later. Nowadays, largest part of non-western migrants in the Dutch society origins from Turkey. According to the Dutch national Statistics (CBS Statline 2012) more than 20 percent of the Dutch population is allochthone (3.494.193 persons to 16.655.799 persons in total) of which almost half belongs to the second generation (1.721.989 persons). The largest part of non-western migrant origins from Turkey (392.923 persons, second generation 195.816 persons), followed by migrants from Morocco (362.954 persons). The second generation Turkey's migrants involves 195.816 persons as the CBS defines the second generation ones who are born in the Netherlands and of which at least one of the parents is born in Turkey.

The NIDI report (2003) describes demographic facts in the Netherlands and compares demographic facts between allochthone and autochthon persons living in the Netherlands. The report compares demographic facts of women with western and non-western roots at the subject of children and marriages. Out of the report can be stated that Dutch women get relatively stated children at an older age than women with non-western roots. Women without children are especially among Turkish women very rare, their fertility is often of a higher level than autochthon women. This is striking if compared with Dutch women, especially among the high educated women where childless families are not rare at all. Among the allochthone women the second and third generation do get less children than the first generation, still the Turkish women gets about 2,5 children. Half of the women who are born in Turkey are at the age of 21 a mother. In contrary with the Turkish women, Moroccan women are postponing the first child. Half of the women with the age of 23 has given birth.

The difference in allochthone and autochthon women is decreasing with the upcoming generation. The Turkish women get a child at an earlier age but the difference in the realized number of children at the age of 29 has disappeared. In conclusion one could state that the average number of children does not differ that much finally of those of autochthon women (Esveldt, 1995, p: 89,90).

The household arrangements of the non-western part of the Dutch population vary in different aspects with the majority of the Dutch households. Turkish young people often get marry at a relatively early age. At the age of 20, six out of ten women of the first generation lives together, often married, with a partner. Less than one out of ten of Dutch women live together at the same age. The second generation Turks rather postpones living together, in comparison with the first generation. Of all Turkish women who live together with a partner of the first generation only 5 % is not married, while for the second generation 15% is not married while living together (Esveldt, 1995, p: 85,86) . The number of persons who are living together without being married is rising, although the vast majority chooses to get marry afterwards, especially when a child is to be born or is desired. Therefore getting married happens in a later stadium than in the earlier ages. Yet Turkish and Moroccan women young women do choose to get married directly and choose their partners often of their own origin. Some partners especially came to the Netherlands to fulfill the marriage. Nuptials migration is therefore still defining a part of migration motives from countries like Turkey and Morocco (Van Nimwegen, 2003, p:19).

Although the previous facts describe a rather traditional way of living, according the study of Esveldt et al (1995) the second generation do have more freedom to choose their own partner then the first generation when they were in the same situation. Even if they have more freedom in the choice of partner, it does not always imply a less traditional marriage pattern. Esveldt also confirms that although times are changing slightly, the majority of partners is still from the country of their roots (1995). Furthermore, the influx parents still plays a big part in choosing a partner, but individuals who chose a partner on their own is increasing as well.

3.4. *Transnational relations*

The sending of remittances has declined in the last years (Castless and Miller, 2009) . The transnational activities that the Turkish migrants have been practicing have been important since the beginning on, as many families back home relied on the economic conveniences of it. The question arises what the effect is of this decrease in financial remittances for the society and whether there is an alternative to minimize the negative effect to this change.

Improved technologies have made new possibilities to maintain transnational relations and activities. Through modern and outmoded tools the Turks stay in touch with Turkey and friends & relatives who left behind. Connection by communication happens beside by telephone, also by satellite dish, Internet, through social networks, and by the use of transport in order to communicate face to face. Visiting the home country is nowadays easier by direct flight which is available from Amsterdam and some other cities. Turkish families who settled in the Netherlands often prefer to celebrate their holidays in Turkey, to spend time with family or to enjoy the sun while feeling at home. To travel often to Turkey a transnational domain is created where relationships with Turkey build stronger, with the home country and with relatives and transnational activities takes place. When travelling to Turkey does not take place, families use a satellite dish to watch Turkish broadcastings on T.V. To have the possibility to watch Turkish television was a great benefit especially for first generation migrants. Watching T.V. not only stimulates the connection between the home country but advanced, or maintains their Turkish language as well (Ogan, 2001) . By means of television the first generation could take a view at the Turkish culture and community so they slowly absorb it.

The existence of the Internet brought just like for any other, so also for migrants a big opportunity to stay in touch with friends and family in Turkey by the use of chat and programs like Skype. Besides chat, Facebook and Skype various websites are available for and by migrants or by Turkish residents, for instance panel discussions where subjects are discussed of current interest like norms and values, history and about languages. Migrants communicating about common interests also create a domain of experiences. By means of these experiences the feeling of being part of a community is created.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This chapter is dedicated to enunciate the research and substantiate the elaboration of the research and how it is done. By means of qualitative research in the sense of literature search and interviewing the research group written exploration is done in order to analyse and gain more insight into the transnational activities of the second and third generation female Turkish migrants and in the role the country of their roots plays in their lives of today. Hereby it is tested whether the previous elaborated theories and previous research into this specific group in some other countries corresponds to the selected group in the Netherlands.

4.1. *Research respondents*

By obtaining these insights to complete the main goal of this research I interviewed Turkish young (female) adults personally in order to obtain as much information about the way they think about their (trans)nationality and how it affects their lives. As the introduction in paragraph 1.7 describes, I selected a group of respondents first based on their ethnicity, then age and as last their gender to specify the characteristics of a small group within a larger group named after “the second and third generation Turkish migrants”.

The research group exists of persons in the age of 22 – 33 years at the time of the research. The age of this group reveals that they are young adults, and a significant group in society who is about to settle in, getting independent from their parents and reasonable starters at the labor market. Gender specification is chosen as female for the position as researcher which will be further discussed in paragraph 4.3. All parents were born in Turkey, mostly in the centre of the country, so the research group are part of the second and third generation migrants since they are defined by the CBS (**Central Bureau for Statistics 2012**) as “all persons who are born but have at least one of the parents who is born in Turkey and all persons who migrated from Turkey to the Netherlands before the age of 6”. Besides, they were chosen as they belong to the age group of second and third generation migrants of the campaign WeShare. The young adults are living in different cities in the Netherlands mainly in Arnhem, Roosendaal, Breda, Rotterdam and Amsterdam. The interviews took place at their work place or at home, chosen for being in familiar surroundings. The interviews took place in the period

September-October 2010 and November-December 2011.

By getting the insight to obtain the research goal I interviewed Turkish young adults personally in order to obtain as much information about the way they think about their transnational identity and the way it affects their lives. Due to time limitation and the level of profundity of the research analysis, the research has been carried out on small-scale basis. The results of the respondents are therefore not a representation for all second and third generation migrants. However, it could also be questioned if one could label a group of individuals due to their parent's background and roots. At the same time, defining a group could also be by themes "high educated women", "young adults", and "inhabitants of a certain city" for instance.

4.2. *Qualitative research*

Since the research goal is an overall broad subject, it contains many different aspects in one. Therefore, I started searching qualitative data from wider concepts to more specific information at the end. Since transnationalism (as explained in chapter two) is the all-embracing concept in this field, I started to find literature mainly on transnationalism, transnational activities and second generation migrants. Examples from second generation migrants and transnationalism were mostly found in sources from the United States, like the work of Alejandro Portes. Besides, transnationalism as main theory, the research subject also involves the concepts identity, belonging and family so these concepts are taken into account without wandering away from the research goal. The founded information by literature was processed into the research report, mainly in chapter two.

Assuming the theory of Saunders, which states when the same respond is given over and over, interviews are satisfied, the amount of the respondents is irrelevant (Saunders a.o. 2007). However, in practice same responds are easily obtained. For instance, one motive behind being involved with transnational activities showed from the beginning on similarities. Therefore, deciding whether sufficient information is obtained was motivated by time limitation rather than an satiation of information. However, the selective group was sufficient in order to obtain as much information needed to get an explorative research into this group of reasonable unknown field.

The interviews were semi-structured by different concepts like culture, identity, belonging, family and activities that involves Turkey I tried to find out how they think and feel about their multicultural background and what they do with it and how it involves their lives while growing up in the Netherlands. Questions were rather focused on “why” and the reason behind then “how”, or “how much”. For instance, the question: “What do you feel when talking about Turkey?” gave lots of insight into the respondents identity, their belonging to Turkey or the Netherlands, their vision of Turkey and provided background information. It clarifies the profundity of doing qualitative research versus quantitative research. Since qualitative research was the basic principles and for analyzing the results out of interviews open codes are used. The open codes are defined on the foundation of the elaborated text out of taped interviews and structured by subject. The most striking comments have been highlighted in the result together with a summary of the analyzed codes. These results are proposed in the next chapter.

4.3. *Questioner and response*

The way in which I interviewed the respondents, the selected questions and the way of continuing to ask more questions, has been on great influence on what kind of information I received. Many times I thought I understood what they were explaining, as a result of my own cultural interest and background of my own experiences. Afterwards, during the analyzing of the results sometimes I regretted that I did not ask further questions into the subject and gave them a call afterwards, to complete some answers. My previous intercultural experiences made me aware of differences in cultures between the respondents and me, especially non-western women. This taken into consideration I was always aware of the role I played as a Western woman situated in front of a woman who might has a different cultural background. For this research I chose to do research about women around my own age, to maximize the equality between the interviewee and the respondents. Besides scientific and social relevance, another reason for choosing this demarcation in respondents was to tackle indifferences between gender in order to facilitate talking about personal subjects as well as possible. However, the same gender not self-explanatory implies equality between women as gender is an interdisciplinary domain more than defining someone either as male or female. Some questions were sensible and created a little tense atmosphere, for instance talking about the

financial situation of the parents and therefore asked for a little discretion.

4.4. Reflection

As more interviews went by, the more comfortable I felt in being the interviewee asking personal questions to individuals which I most of the time had never met before. During the interviews I adjusted the questions more and more, yet every interview was a different story of the life of a young Turkish woman. The thing I needed to learn was to ask further when some answers were not clear enough or I needed to know more. That is sometimes difficult since the respondent is talking openly about a situation or an experience which means that I needed to interrupt at the right moment. Moreover, the interviews took place at the home of the respondents or at a common coffee place or bar and took more than 1,5 hours talking and always seemed a satisfied session full of information. Later when I worked out the interviews not always every part of information was useful in which I could improve myself. I could be more critical during doing the interviews which could spare time and finally spare extra work. The role as interviewee with the respondents went spontaneously and even better than expected beforehand. My own intercultural experiences abroad helped me in understanding the position and argument of the respondents.

At the end of doing all interviews I collected an amount of information which seemed to be sufficient for relevant results in this research, yet further research is desirable given that this research aims exploratory research at starting point. The results of the qualitative research will be found in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: Research results

This chapter portrays the findings of the research and draws up the most important quotes in order to clarify the results through qualitative analysis. It is build up in different themes and concepts that were raised during the interviews and are collected and structured by means of open codes. They formed an entity in this part of the total results and collaborate in providing answers to the central question raised in the introduction of this research. In total ten women were interviewed in order to finds answers to the central question:

“How does the multicultural identity of second generation Turkish female migrants influence their relationship with Turkey, their transnational activities and integration in the Netherlands?”.

The results as written in this chapter take part in defining the conclusion of the total research.

5.1. *Identity*

5.1.0. **Identity and assimilation**

The introduction-question was posed to trigger the respondent by catching the first given answer and to encourage them to think about the subject. To the question about what their nationality is, all respondents answered at first that they have a Dutch nationality. Then suddenly most of them added “wait a minute, I also have a Turkish nationality”. It gave the impression that they feel that they belong to the Netherlands and have a certain pride towards being Dutch. However, the respondents added that their origin is Turkish, that is where their roots lie. Moreover, the respondents think that others notice before introducing themselves that the respondent are Turkish, this might clarify the answer as first that they are Dutch, like a kind of defense mechanism to mark that they are also Dutch. The respondents believe that they are different than most other Dutch persons. They experience that other people easy put a label at them for being a “foreigner”, so the respondents do not feel like they are completely Dutch, nor they feel like they are completely Turkish. By having the feeling of being put in a box by labelling through others, the respondents might label themselves the way they

look at them. So both ways can imply why they think that they are put in between and the fact that they neither feel at home in the Netherlands, or in Turkey. As described by Selma:

“I think we are very different, there are the Dutch and the Turkish, but we are in between. In the Netherlands we are a foreigner and in Turkey we are the tourist.”

Although the first response to the question of which nationality they belong was Dutch, most of them believe that their Turkish side is stronger and that their Turkish background plays a big part of their life. They feel that they are situated somewhere in between, neither Dutch, nor Turkish. Yet when they would have to choose, they would respond to being Turkish. It is also a part in which situation they are in at that particular moment. For instance, at home they are Turkish, at school they are Dutch.

“There should be a mix of both, but if I have to choose, I would go for Turkish”

(Derya)

“When I am in the Netherlands, I feel myself Turkish but when I am in Turkey I feel myself Dutch.”

(Hunya)

5.1.1. Cultural identity

Turkey has always been a big part of their lives for the respondents. The respondents are raised with yearly visits to Turkey, to visit family and mostly to spend their holidays. It can be noticed that visiting Turkey has always been something fun, a lovely memory and a place to feel at home while celebrating the holidays. At home, the presence of Turkish television helped the respondents in growing up with a surrounding of Turkish media and

provided them in learning or improving the Turkish language. At home the respondents were all talking in Turkish language with family members who were present at that moment when the interview was held. Besides, the Islam religion is practiced and the Turkish tradition is always celebrated with the family and friends.

All respondents are religious but they practice the Islam in their own interpretation. They all try to do the praying, but won't wear a headscarf or visit a mosque. During the Ramadan and the ceremonial offering they all do their obligations of supporting the poor. The Islam obliged them to donate some part of all their belongings to an organization or directly to someone who is not able to take care of themselves.

“I know a lot of the Islam, but in practice I am not really active. I do oblige myself to the basic norm and values of the religion”

(Sakire)

“I am Turkish but I am born in the Netherlands so I grew up more with the Dutch norms and values. At home we grew up with both, we act in some situations what would fit in most”

(Sakire)

The Turkish culture is clearly very present in their lives by traditions and religion. The respondents who are pregnant indicated that they would like to continue to involve the Turkish culture during their upbringing.

“A part of you is still there [in Turkey]. You are always able to look back to the family who is living there, my culture, my religion and the holidays”

(*Edie*)

It seems that the cultural identity multiplies itself, even while living in the Netherlands, the respondents believe that the Turkish people who are living in the Netherlands understand each other and feel what is happening in their minds. Therefore, they like to be surrounded by Turkish people in their neighbourhood or visiting family somewhere else.

“Someone from abroad does not understand the situation, like my uncle who is living in Turkey. The Dutch do not understand us either how we live they way we do so we are better in supporting each other.”

(*Edie*)

5.2. *Relationship with Turkey*

5.2.0. **Contact with Turkey**

The parents of every respondent were born in Turkey and they still have some family members left behind. For the respondents it seems important to visit their family, yet more out of habit and tradition than out of own interest. From childhood on they always went on holidays to Turkey to see their family and getting to know the country of their roots by spending their holiday.

“We always went on holidays to Turkey, the first 3 weeks visiting family and relatives, than 3 weeks to the beach. We always visit the family, but it is never without a little holiday as well”

(Aysel)

“My mother always wanted to see her parents first, then we could go on and celebrate the holiday somewhere at the beach”

(Selma)

“Well, I’m always looking forward to see them [family] again and to spend some time there but two weeks spending together is sufficient enough for me.. Simply just to see them and to catch up for a while.”

(Derya)

The respondents are less in contact with their family in Turkey than their parents. They believe their family ties will slowly fade away since their lives are in the Netherlands and visits to Turkey are too short to really connect and build their ties.

“For us it is different than for my parents. We do not know them [family] they way my parents do since they grew up in their surroundings. For me it is just a person I know”

(Derya)

“If I had the chance to visit more often, I would go. Only to maintain stronger relationships between me and my family in Turkey. Though the less you see them, the little the relationship with them.. Out of sight, out of mind, right?”

(Hunya)

To keep in touch with family and friends seems important for the respondents, although in practice it means using Facebook to catch up with their cousins online. The respondents hardly use telephone to have contact with family and friends. Only during the Ceremonial Offering or the Feast of Ramadan they sometimes give calls to their aunts and uncles. Their parents do use the telephone to stay in touch with family members more often and when the respondents accidentally enter the room while their mother is on the telephone, they sometimes put them through.

“I have monthly contact with my family, cousins and mother in law by telephone but mostly through MSN messenger and Facebook”

(Aysel)

“I have my regular contacts anyhow, like during the Ramadan you give everybody a call like my uncles. However, my mom, she calls more often and always calls her brothers and sisters”

(Selma)

“Sometimes I have contact with the aunt of my mother. For instance, when she calls my mother by phone and I am there, I always say hi”

(*Sakire*)

“My parents keep in contact with the family but I do not. Through my parents I get to know if they called and if everything is fine”

(*Edie*)

The particular role and effects their Turkish roots have in their life limits to certain subjects like the practice of their religion (Islam), (some) knowledge of the Turkish language and some Turkish norms and values. The respondents know what is going on in Turkey by the sound of the television, which is turned on in the house of their parents as a familiar sound in the living room. The respondents’ reason for staying up to date is for the occasions when the respondents return to Turkey so that they are able to discuss the subjects of what is recently going on. That is the most important reason for them to actually know what is going on in Turkey. Other than that it is just not that important, it seems.

“For me it is important to know what is going on. I want to take part in a conversation and being able to discuss the subject with my cousins. They always discuss these things, so if I do not know anything I have nothing else to do then just sitting there”

(*Selma*)

“I do not have anything to do with politics and the news. I can scream what I want but nobody is going to do anything to change the rules”

(Derya)

5.2.1. Transnational activities

Most of the respondents are active in visiting multicultural events rather than typical Turkish events. They are not very interested in being a member of a Turkish organization. They are aware of the existence of certain ones, yet most of the respondents think that these organizations are rather based on specific Turkish regions. They believe that these kind of organizations are at community from a certain village back in Turkey, so not every random person with a Turkish background. One of the respondents is member a committee of this type of organization and says to be involved with organizing activities for its member that are all from the same village.

“My father, together with some other started this committee six years ago and since two years I am a member of the committee”

(Ayse)

Striking are the common results is that all respondents are member of a Turkish funeral insurance. These insurances are mostly is organized through the association of a mosque. Moreover, their parents are more involved with activities especially for people with a Turkish background in their surroundings.

5.2.2. Belonging and circular migration

To measure the relationship with Turkey I asked the respondents if they would immigrate to Turkey to further build a life there. Not everyone shared equally their opinion about moving back to Turkey, even though the respondents do seem to have a special relationship with Turkey. The respondents mostly see immigrating to Turkey rather as an option than as a

dream to return to their motherland. Some other conditions are added by the respondents may or may not to move to Turkey, like the possibility of finding a husband in Turkey. For him or together with him they would settle in Turkey, if that would be the most preferable situation. The awareness of “having it all” in the Netherlands is something the respondents think about. If the economic situation in Turkey keeps growing this would be a pull factor to consider moving away.

“At the end I would like to return, but only if the Dutch economy and living standards are not going well. Yet when I return, what can I do over there? It will be so much different if I would not be able to find a job and have to retrained. Eventually, I can not really do what I want and would become a housewife. That is why I prefer to stay in the Netherland, since it has a lot more to offer and lots of possibilities”

(Hunya)

In their surroundings the respondents hear different stories of friends who have returned to Turkey. For some it worked out well, yet for some others it did not as well as they expected and moved back to the Netherlands. The respondents would like to have a certain guarantee that living in Turkey would provide the same or even better circumstances than they have in the Netherlands.

“A friend of mine got married during the summer holidays and moved to her husband in Turkey. Now I found out that she does not see a future in Turkey and will return soon. She really has experienced migration back to Turkey. People who state that they would like to return need to experience it first since once you live there you can have a different opinion about it”

(Sakire)

5.3. *Transnational activities*

5.3.0. Causes

Transnational activities by sending remittances are generally done in shape of donation of money to a certain cause. These donations are financial related rather than sending goods. The donation of goods usually happens by offering goods to the Mosque who have own connections to some foundations. Other goods are collected in containers, such as clothing or shoes. When the respondents have anyone in their family who is poor, the first cause to support would be family in need. According to some respondents supporting family is a supplementation to one of the main pillars in the Islam (Zakat, or alms-giving); one should first help their family prior to other causes. In practice this regularly means that the good cause could be an individual indirectly connected by someone else known in their family and who is in need as well. If friends and relatives in their surroundings have no need to be sustained, then a donation in shape of capital is send to an organization. This organization takes care over the destination of the gift. For instance, the help to get education for orphans or the donation of meat during religious events for people who can not afford to buy it for themselves. At the end, the cause of the respondents donation is never steady every year. Each year it can be a different cause they neither guarantee that the money goes to Turkey. Seldom there are friends who organize special events to raise money for a good cause. Although it is very common to send it to their country, it could just get some other destination.

Like the example of Hunya:

“This year I made an exception and sent the money to Pakistan. Usually, however, I send my money to a cause in Turkey, especially during the Ramadan and the ceremonial offering, because I know they could use it”

5.3.1. Motivation for transnational activities

The most important reason to support a cause is their religion. It is their duty from the Islamic pillars to carry out donations. All respondents support at least two times a year during the Ramadan and the Ceremonial Offering. This does not imply that this cause should be a good cause or an individual living in Turkey. Although supporting a Turkish cause has the preference, other causes dedicated to fulfill projects in Africa or to projects that involves supporting victims of a natural disaster somewhere in the world are also supported by the respondents. The preference of supporting Turkey is due to their inside feeling they have when something is involved with their country of origin.

“In any case I support people in Turkey, I won’t take leave of my place of origin. Within the Islam we have the duty to give to the poor and I also support Africa of course, however, a certain amount has to go the country of my roots”

(Derya)

Besides a special sentiment for Turkey, the respondents also support Turkey in favor for its future development of their country. They would like to see Turkey further develop so that they could find more possibilities to move to the country of their roots. The respondents are eyewitnesses of the Turkish economy which is growing stronger, while in their eyes the Dutch economy is getting worse. Future possibilities lay in Turkey is their logical response to this progress. Although, they have seen people of their age leaving and returning, some do believe

to find a way to develop them in Turkey.

An inducement for supporting Turkey are yearly visits where the respondents get reminded to the fact that they have to care for their motherland. Besides, the factor if their partner is living in Turkey or if their partner just has arrived to the Netherlands is connected to the intensity of the relationship with Turkey and the motivation to be transnational active is higher. Their parents experience the same emotion: when they are more in contact with Turkey the higher the motivation to support.

To the question how the respondents think of the future for transnational activities with Turkey provided the following insights. The respondents believe that the motivation for upcoming generations will decrease since they see a big difference between the relationship their parents maintain with Turkey, both their motherland as their family as their own interest and curiosity. The respondents believe that all kinds of transnational activities will decline by newer generations, since it seems that every new generation born in the Netherlands have less feeling of belonging with Turkey. Besides they question the need to further support Turkey since the economy grows and the life they live in their own environment is also important. As Hunya explains:

“I think that young adults believe that it is not that necessary anymore to support Turkey. If Turkey continues the way it does, the Turkish will get a better life than they have in the Netherlands. They would be richer and more successful than the Turkish people could reach while living here and the support they got before would not be needed anymore. Maybe it is even going to be the other way around, that the Turkish people will help the Turkish in the Netherlands!”

(Hunya)

5.3.2. Conditions to support

The question whether the respondent prefer sending remittances to personal matters or through an organization gave the following insights. In general the preference in supporting goes out to personal support instead of supporting through an organization. The importance of knowing what the destination of the donation will be is of great value. The criticism of the respondents is mainly due to some well-known organization in Germany who embezzled donated money of lots of Turkish migrants. Since then, while supporting an organization they want to know precisely what is done with the donation using photos and reports. One respondent even wanted to know where her money was going to be send when she was about support an acquaintance in need, known by a family member. She is more critical in the actual spending of the money rather than the recipient.

When I support projects through some organization which I do not really know I am less critical then when I donate to persons I know through my family. I always add emphatically that they have to take care that the money is spend on basic needs, not on luxury goods. Rice is more important than chocolate, for example. When I support an organization I want to see photos and information otherwise I will quit supporting. The same thing goes for supporting persons in Turkey. When I find out that the money is used to build a second house, I would not support anything anymore.

(Derya)

This chapter was dedicated to summarize the most imported research result out of qualitative research. Although the obtained qualitative research material was far more extensive, yet for this chapter it was classified into the main subjects for this research. The content of the previous chapters together with the results of above provides sufficient information to draw up the main conclusion of this research into second generation Turkish women, which will be described in the final chapter.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The closure of this research summarizes the most important statements to finally draw up the conclusions out of the previous chapters. Though lots of information has past by, this chapter related the most striking results with the existing theory to get to the final conclusion. The chapter is divided by three different subjects: Assimilation and identity, the relationship with Turkey and transnationalism of young Turkish women.

6.1. *Assimilation and identity*

As explained in chapter two, a migrant often is balancing between transnational spaces which are always in interaction with multiple societies and identities. Out of the previous research one of the most important issue for the second generation young Turkish female migrants, in this research group is to manage these transnational spaces. The respondents feel that they have problems to connect with their social field as they are positioned in two (or more) countries. They are positioned somewhere in between the Netherlands and Turkey with a mostly Turkish background mixed with Dutch norms. One example from a respondent is that she likes to be on time for a meeting and expects others to do so, whereas most Turkish people do not care so much about being on time. Since the respondents live in the Netherlands most of their manners are Dutch, whereas their values seem to be more Turkish. For instance, they mentioned that is it difficult to be friends with a Dutch girl since there is an area of tension between what one thinks is important and what the other believes. This does not automatically indicate that the interviewed Turkish women do not have Dutch girlfriends. Some of them do, however, they feel more at ease among Turkish people since they experience a two-way understanding with them. Therefore they prefer to be surrounded by Turkish people in the way they connect and interact with each other.

If the respondents have to choose between being Dutch and being Turkish, they all chose to be Turkish. As Castles and Miller (2009) describe, immigrants have rather multiple identities and this applies for the second and third generation as well. Even if they choose to be Turkish instead of both, their Turkish cultural identity is still different than it would be if they would live in Turkey. Still when they have a very Turkish background the interaction they have with

their cultural background will probably vary from the idea they have of being Turkish. Their Turkish identity is besides their ethnicity created by the cultural activities at home, such as Turkish television, cooking Turkish food and having conversation in the Turkish language with family members. Beside cultural activities, religious traditions are very important in the lives of second generation Turkish women since they all practice the Islam, although one more actively than another.

6.2. *Relationship with Turkey*

In the first place, contact with Turkey often means to stay in touch with family by telephone, the Internet and visiting Turkey. The respondents stay frequently in touch with relatives in Turkey by using Facebook or chat programs online, more than by telephone. Staying in touch by telephone often merely happens when one of their parents is already talking by phone with family left behind. By watching Turkish television, the respondents know what is going on in Turkey, so they keep up with Turkish affairs, although not every respondent cares about the news and Turkish politics. For the respondents, the relationship with Turkey does not limit itself by staying in contact with family and watching television. Most of them like to visit family in Turkey, yet prefer to stay at other places to enjoy the holidays at the beach. Yearly visits to Turkey have become a tradition for these young Turkish women. Their parents, however, often prefer to visit family rather than visiting Turkey just for the holidays. For the respondents the relationship with their family abroad is not that strong as the family ties of their parents. Rumbaut & Portes (2005) anticipated in this outcome of loose family ties, which is discussed in chapter two.

The respondent's main transnational activity of financial remittances happens by the donation of a certain amount of money to a good cause in need. They experience sending remittances as an obligation to their religion at least twice a year. The Islam prescribes in the holy Koran that one should donate at least once during the Ceremonial Offering and once during the Ramadan. All of the persons who are interviewed responded that they are faithful to this prescription. Besides altruism, the second most important reason to support Turkey is that they feel that living in Turkey could be a part of their future. Especially if the Dutch economy keeps declining, respondents feel that life could be of better quality in Turkey, so supporting

Turkey feels like an investment for their future.

Every time the respondents visit Turkey it reminds them of the importance for the support of their country. They feel more connected so the urge to help financially or socially grows while visiting. Even though the respondents get reminded by every trip they make to Turkey, they are afraid that remittances and other help toward Turkey will decrease and finally will disappear. They feel they are less connected to Turkey than their family and believe that for the generation that will follow this the relationship with Turkey will be even weaker. However, some of the respondents were pregnant and they insisted that their child (the third generation), would be raised with both Dutch and Turkish norms and values and they would be brought up with a Turkish language. Practically, the women would raise their child like their mother did and so it does not by definition mean that the third generation would not be in touch with Turkey when they grow up.

6.3. *Transnationalism and young Turkish women*

Most of the respondents are not a member of a Turkish community, except for one respondent who is a member of a transnational organization in the Netherlands. All respondents though, are a member of a Turkish funeral insurance. The respondents visit multicultural events but do not visit meetings especially aimed at Turks.

The personal situation in which one is placed seems of influence on the importance of sending remittances to Turkey. Most of the respondents have been sensing that during the past few years they or their parents' economic situation has been declined so they put more focus on their personal life than those of others. Almost all respondents mentioned that although Turkey has still a lot of differences between the rich and the poor, the economy is improving and Turkey is developing in speed, more so than the Netherlands. If Turkey keeps on developing, some respondents would consider migrating to Turkey to build up a life, yet others think it is too risky. The subject of whether or not to migrate to Turkey is a hot item for a mutual discussion point for the women. Some of them have heard unsuccessful stories of Turkish friends who moved to Turkey and do not want to overrate it. They are aware of the chances they get in the Netherlands, like getting a successful career, while being a woman. The respondents doubt if they would get the same chances in Turkey or that they would sit

home while watching the kids.

6.4. *Further research*

Since this research dealt with various complex concepts, there will always remain questions at the end. Therefore further research can be done to get more in-depth knowledge of small research groups in combination with these multifaceted subjects in order to get more detailed results. Besides, research into gender differences and transnationalism will always be interesting, especially when there is a contrast between a general feminist culture in the ‘new’ country and a male oriented culture in the country of their roots, and visa versa. Next time I would like to focus even more on gender and how these interactions of different cultures create new situations in society. This research contributes to get insight into a segmented group of second generation Turkish migrants but is probably too small-scale to represent the whole segment of second generations Turkish migrants.

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Appendix 1: Questions for interviewing (Semi-structured)

Followed rather out of conversation

General

1. Is the respondent born in the Netherlands? When did he/she arrive in the Netherlands?
2. Does the respondent have family in Turkey?
3. Does the respondent have contact with family and/or friends in Turkey? How about the parents?
4. Which identity would the respondent belong to the most and which country is the most connected to the respondent? The Netherlands, Turkey, other?
5. Is the respondent aware of the development process in Turkey?
6. Does the respondent know about political and other issues in Turkey?
7. In which ways is the respondent in connection with Turkey?

Contribution

8. Is the respondent actively involved in supporting Turkey? Is he/she member of an organization?
9. Are the parents actively involved with supporting (family in) Turkey, are they member of an organization?
10. Would the respondent support a good cause in the future to support development in

Turkey? If so in which manner and why (not)?

11. If the respondent wants to support Turkey in what way would he/she do this?
12. Which factors stimulate or discourage the respondent to contribute to the development of Turkey?
13. Does the respondent want to return to Turkey, to build a life there? Why (not)?
14. What would you do if you would have won an amount of €100.000,-
15. Does the respondent believe that it is important for Turkey to have any support from the second generation in the first place?

The Netherlands and Turkey

16. Is the respondent aware of the organizations for migrants in the Netherlands?
17. Is the respondent aware of his/her potential to support sustainable projects in Turkey from the Netherlands?
18. Can people with a Turkey's background while living in the Netherlands mean something for Turkey?
19. If so, what is the best way to do so?
20. What are the best ways to stimulate development cooperation from the Netherlands in Turkey?
21. If the respondent has to choose, would it choose development cooperation from an organizational point of view or rather personal support?