

THE CONTRADICTION  
BETWEEN  
COMMUNITY  
FEELING AND  
INTEGRATION  
AMONG TURKISH  
MIGRANTS IN 'DE  
ACHTERHOEK'

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# 'The contradiction between community feeling and integration among Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek'

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## Abstract

The presence of Turkish immigrants, a large group of people that tend to have fewer social contacts with Dutch people than other immigrant groups, potentially causes problems for social harmony in De Achterhoek. Previous research emphasized the influence of social contact between different groups of people on the integration of migrants. Also, other investigations found that policies on different levels of scale are designated to remove barriers in order to promote the integration of migrants. This research attempted to create a better understanding about the influences of barriers and challenges of integration, as well as the influences different social networks of migrants have on their integration in De Achterhoek. In addition to that, the role of European and Dutch policy on the integration of the Turkish immigrants is explored. In order to find out more about these relationships, different sorts of policies have been analysed. To become familiar with the experiences of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek, in-depth interviews were conducted. This research found out that social connection between migrants and native people are vital for a successful integration into society. The making of these social bridges should also be more encouraged by policies, for example by organising multi-cultural activities.

## Summary

In order to provide the reader with a brief overview of this research, the complete content will be summarised in the following paragraph. This research titled 'The contradiction between community feeling and integration among Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek' has been executed, because of a potential problem that could be extracted from the presence and arrival of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek. The native inhabitants of the host society are known for maintaining a traditional identity. De Achterhoek is a region in the eastern part of the Netherlands. Besides the traditional identity, De Achterhoek is one of the regions in the Netherlands where the population is in decline (Hofstede, 2014). The characteristics of the immigrant group that is chosen to be investigated in this case, is also known for the traditional identity and pride of the nationality (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011). Being one of the largest groups of immigrants in the Netherlands, this could cause friction.

The goal of the investigation was thus to find out what kind of social contacts Turkish immigrants maintain in De Achterhoek and how this influenced their integration. This research aimed to achieve that by conducting in-depth interviews with Turkish migrants living in De Achterhoek. In addition to that, this research strived to create an understanding of the contents of policy measures and regulations regarding the integration of migrants. Policies on different levels of scale, EU policy and Dutch policy, have been analysed. At the moment there is a lot of immigration happening towards the EU and all the inhabitants will have to live together (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). Therefore this research is relevant for native people, immigrants and policy makers. They could benefit by learning different perspectives on what influences an integration process.

On the basis of multiple sources, theories concerning migrant integration, social contacts and discrimination, are explained. 'A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration' made by Ager & Strang (2008) formed the basis of the theoretical framework that was composed for this research. The operationalisation table visualises the framework of concepts, variables and indicators that influence the integration of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek. Relevant concepts are policies on different levels of scale, facilitators of integration and social connection. The influences of these concepts on the integration of Turkish migrants has been investigated by analysing different forms of policies, like reports, websites and laws. The facilitators have been operationalised further into the indicators safety, stability, language command and cultural knowledge. Following Ager & Strang (2008), the degree of social connection has been divided into three different sorts of social contacts: Social links, social bonds and social bridges. With the use of this theoretical framework, a plan was made in order to answer the main question.

The main question of this investigation: *"To what extent do integration policies and social networks influence the integration of Turkish immigrants into the society of De Achterhoek?"* got answered by approaching the research in a methodological way. Suitable integration policies were extracted from reliable sources on the internet and an interview guide was composed in order to conduct semi-structured interviews with Turkish migrants. This method produced reliable and valid information, because the respondents were confronted with questions over the same subjects, however each of them did have the possibility to speak freely about their experiences with integration and the relevant influencing factors. The transcripts of the

interviews, as well as the policy reports and laws were analysed with the use of the program Atlas.ti. The files were all coded in the same way, so they could conveniently be analysed. The analysis of the interviews and the policies yield results regarding the influence of policies, the integration environment, challenges for adaptation and social networks on the integration of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek.

Lots of immigration towards member states of the EU causes complexity of the societies. That is why EU policies are important for knowledge exchange, promotion and monitoring of integration in the member states (Tomic, 2018). In order to create an understanding of the relevant subjects that occur in European policy, an action plan on integration composed by the European Commission was analysed (European Commission, 2020). In this action plan, the subject safety mostly came forward regarding the addressing of discrimination and racism towards migrants. Other important aspects of the report were the promotion of adequate and affordable housing, education of language and the fostering of social gatherings in order to improve social interaction of migrants. Dutch policy makers implemented the promotion of education by composing a law, which described the obligated migrants and their obligations regarding learning the natives language and culture. Also, the Netherlands try to combat discrimination towards migrants in different ways.

The integration environment of De Achterhoek, shaped by the safety and stability, has generally been experienced as pleasant by the respondents. Apart from a few cases they did not come across a lot of discrimination. Also, they did not experience problems with short term residence or insecure tenancies. However, newly arrived migrants nowadays appear to have more trouble in finding suitable houses. The field research of this investigation cleared up the importance of safety on the integration of migrants. However, the interviews did not produce sufficient empirical data on the influence of the stability. The importance of language competence and cultural knowledge was also emerged from the interviews. Commanding the natives language provides migrants the possibility to get in contacts with native people, which improves their participation in society. The interviewees experienced a lot of trouble with the cultural differences between Turkish people and the native society. Social interaction with native people forms a good way for migrants to become familiar with the language, as well as the culture of the host society. In addition to that, learning the Dutch language could also be accelerated by attending language classes.

So, social contacts with native people help migrants to get to know the language and culture, but the other way around, being familiar with the Dutch language and culture often expands the amount social bridges. Social bridges appeared to be the most important sort of social connection for the integration of immigrants, while the presence of social bonds often diminishes the desire for the making of social bridges. On the other hand, social bonds with community members could also form a source of knowledge, experience and help for the integration of the migrants. But, only maintaining social bonds, in practice sometimes leads to migrants remaining within their community and refusing to integrate to the host society. In order to promote participation and integration of migrants, social bridges should be encouraged more. This could be achieved by organising multicultural gatherings, for example through sports and education.

Concluding, maintaining social connection in different forms have a direct influence on the integration of migrants. Policy plays an important role in lowering barriers regarding safety and stability, but also in improving the language command and cultural knowledge of migrants. The other way around, commanding the language and possessing cultural knowledge expands the possibilities for social bridges of migrants, which improves their participation in society.

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1 Problem statement

The most extensive groups of immigrants in the Netherlands are Moroccan, Turkish, Surinamese and Antillean people. Of these groups of people, Moroccan and Turkish people tend to have less social contacts with the Dutch majority (Martinović et al., 2008). Turkish people, who are the largest group of immigrants in the Netherlands, have a strong national-awareness and pride, and they often experience being Turkish as their identity (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011). De Achterhoek, a region in the eastern part of the Netherlands, also has a traditional identity. Besides the traditional identity, De Achterhoek is one of the “declining regions” in the Netherlands (Hofstede, 2014). A declining region inhabited by a population with a traditional identity, as well as a large group of proud Turkish immigrants, that lacks contacts with the native population, could cause problems for social harmony and participation (Ager & Strang, 2008).

Social distance between native Dutch and Turkish immigrants forms a barrier for the integration of the Turkish immigrants in society. Social distance can be exacerbated by the lacking of language competence and cultural knowledge of immigrants (Ager & Strang, 2008). Also tensions between different ethnic groups and negative attitudes towards newcomers make integration harder for immigrants (Hudson et al., 2007). Nevertheless, in order to make migrant integration succeed, efforts from the receiving country and the immigrants themselves are necessary. Extensive migration to EU member states, causes increasing of the population and more complexity of the social environment. This calls for the development and implementation of integration policy (Tomic, 2018). EU policy regarding migrant integration is important in fostering an inclusive environment, however, some member states of the EU have put more emphasis on national security, instead of using the provided integration tools (Lyalina, 2014). Besides, the removing of obstacles to integration by policies, social contact between immigrants and native people is also essential for successful integration (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007).

## 1.2 Research objectives

One of the purposes of this research is to find out how Turkish immigrants perceive policy regulations and measures in De Achterhoek, and how this relates to the integration policy provided by the EU. It is interesting to see what influence made up policy on different levels of scale has for the actual integration. Another aim of this research is to find out to what extent Turkish immigrants have social connection and if they connect more with people within their own community, with people from other communities, or with people of the state. It is also interesting to learn to what extent policy does support these different kinds of social connection. Besides their own initiative, field research also aims to find out what the role of native people is in the making of social connection with immigrants. This research wants to achieve to clear up what the essential factors are in the integration of Turkish immigrants. Also, a big achievement would be that this research shows what policy makers, native people and immigrants themselves could do to smoothen the integration process, because extensive migration causes more complexity of the

social environment and successful integration makes it easier to live together in a society (Tomic, 2018).

### 1.3 Societal relevance

This research is relevant for society, because at the moment there is a lot of immigration towards the EU and people will have to live together in society (Gijsberts & Dagevos, 2007). This research aims to clear up the influence of policy and social connection regarding migrant integration. But it will also shed some light on the influence of attitudes towards immigrants on the degree of social integration. So, society could benefit from this research, because it will show what it takes to foster migrant integration, in order to live together in a cohesive society. Especially, policy makers, but also immigrants and native people that live in diverse neighbourhoods will benefit from this research. The experience of Turkish immigrants with integration policy might provide policy makers with information on how to improve their policies. Residents of mixed neighbourhoods could use the results of this research for insights on what it takes to live together in a diverse neighbourhood.

### 1.4 Scientific relevance

This research is also relevant for scientific purposes, because it continues on studies like Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) did on the influence of residential segregation on social distance, and Tomic (2018) did on the role of policy in facilitating an including environment for migrant integration. Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) made the conclusion that social contacts of immigrants are essential in the process of integration. This research will continue on this study by investigating how Turkish immigrants have experienced social interaction within the society of De Achterhoek, so that the theory of Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) will be tested in the practical case of Turkish migrant integration in De Achterhoek. Tomic (2018) did research on why policy regarding migrant integration is important and how integration policy by the EU in the member states should be implemented. However, the implementation of EU policy in member states and the actual influence on migrant integration in practice, is not discussed. This research will expand the insights on how these policy regulations and measures shape integration of Turkish immigrants in the case of De Achterhoek.

### 1.5 Research questions

The main question that must be answered in order to create an understanding of the influence of policy and social networks on migrant integration is:

*To what extent do integration policies and social networks influence the integration of Turkish immigrants into the society of De Achterhoek?*

To answer this main question, the following sub questions will be examined:

1. What does integration policy in the EU look like and how does Dutch policy comply with these directives?
2. What are the barriers and challenges Turkish migrants run into when trying to adapt to the society of De Achterhoek?

3. What kind of social networks do Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek maintain and how does this influence their integration?

## 1.6 Reading guide

In the next chapter, different theories and perspectives regarding migrant integration will be explained in a literature review. After that, the theoretical framework together with the operationalisation and the conceptual model, which will be used to provide structure to this investigation, will be discussed. The methods used to execute this research, can be found in chapter four, after which the results and analysis derived from this investigation are elaborately explained. Finally, a conclusion about the findings is made and the research is reflected in the discussion chapter.

## 2. Literature review

In the following literature review the concept of migrant integration will be explained. After that, the social contacts between different ethnic groups in the Netherlands will be discussed. Finally, there will be shed some light on the attitude of people towards immigrants.

### **Migrant integration**

According to Jonsson et al. (2018), integration can either be understood as process or as a state. The process of when something becomes part of a whole and the state of immigrants and their children having access to things that are necessary to live a good life. Also, a well-integrated immigrant is socially accepted and part of larger social networks, moreover, the immigrant shares fundamental values and orientations with others. Hübschmann (2015) also stated that the concept of migrant integration has many definitions and interpretations. These definitions differ because of the national context of migrant integration. An overarching definition that was given, was that integration is the process where individuals become members of a society and their multilevel participation within it. Four main benchmarks to make migrant integration measurable are spatial concentration, language assimilation, socio-economic status and intermarriage (Hübschmann, 2015).

When trying to define the concept of immigrant integration, (Ager & Strang, 2008) found that there is not really a single and generally accepted definition. It is a controversial and debated concept. Besides being seen as a public discussion, the integration of immigrants forms a key policy objective in the process of resettlement of migrants. Complete integration is the targeted outcome where policy makers and migrant resettlement projects aim for. To come up with a definition, (Ager & Strang, 2008) asked themselves the question: what constitutes 'successful' integration? This resulted in the framework below, that suggests ten core domains of a successful migrant integration.



Figure 1. A conceptual framework defining core domains of integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

The foundation of potential migrant integration is formed by 'rights and citizenship'. Employment, housing, education and health can be seen as markers of immigrant integration, but they also serve as potential means to support achieving integration. The degree of social connection within society plays a fundamental role in the process of integration. It is a mutual accommodation where efforts from the immigrants as well as the ethnic majority are necessary. Social connection is distinguished in contacts between communities like family and co-ethnic people; 'social bonds', connections with other communities; 'social bridges' and connections with structures of the state; 'social links' (Ager & Strang, 2008). Social bonds, the connection with family and co-ethnic people, makes immigrants feeling more settled in their new environment. Social bonds are valued by immigrants because it enables them to share cultural practices and to maintain their close relationships.

Also, immigrants who lack co-ethnic community bonds, tend to suffer depression more often than immigrants who participate in social connection with community members (Ager & Strang, 2008). Immigrants often turn to their own ethnic communities after migration, because of challenges they face in their new society, like a lack of credential recognition and systemic discrimination. Social bonds often are more capable of providing them with emotional and economic support. Sometimes, groups of migrants choose to live their life surrounded by other community members in order to maintain their culture, identity and language, because these facilitate access to economic resources that are hard to obtain in the natives society. So, social bonds often provide a lot of possibilities and advantages for migrants. However, co-ethnic ties could also have negative effects on integration in the longer term. It can form a barrier to social integration. Moreover, the quality of the social network of a migrant determines the quality of the resources drawn from it (Chuatico & Haan, 2020).

Social bridges increase social harmony and participation of the immigrants in the host society. Immigrants perceive friendliness and other small acts of recognition of people from the host community as important factors of making them feel at home. On the other hand, the lacking of social bridges and friendly encounters undermines the feeling at home. Social bridges could be made through activities like sports, education, religion worship, community groups and political activity. In order to foster integration, social bridges form an important part of the social connection of migrants, because when a community is fully integrated into society, people will participate equally and without prejudice (Ager & Strang, 2008). Besides social bonds and bridges,

connection with governmental employees, social links, can improve accessibility of immigrants to relevant services, which is a major task in supporting integration. The integration and adaptation of migrants sometimes require additional efforts from the host society. Genuine equality of access to services provide better opportunities for integration of a larger amount of migrants (Ager & Strang, 2008). Agencies and governmental departments that directly deliver policy to the people, on behalf of the state, are called 'Street-level organisations'. It often involves frontline bureaucrats that supply claimants with essential services that cannot be obtained anywhere else. This system is sensitive to inequality of the distribution of services (Ratzmann & Sahraoui, 2021).

Successful integration has everything to do with involving in social contacts with native people, after an immigrant has been granted citizenship. Nevertheless, a proper setting for integration is also essential (Ager & Strang, 2008). Policies on different levels of scale, like European policy and state policy, play a vital role in fostering migrant integration, because integration is a mutual accommodation between the immigrants and the host society and the role of policy is to facilitate an including environment to allow integration to take place (Tomic, 2018). According to Ager & Strang (2008), the facilitators are barriers to effective integration, that have to be removed by the state. These barriers could be divided among the domains 'language and cultural knowledge' and 'safety and stability'. Being able to speak the language of the host community is consistently identified as central in the integration process, otherwise it would form a barrier to social interaction, economic integration and full participation of the immigrant. The language competence issue is a two-way understanding of integration, because on one hand immigrants will have to attend English language classes (Ager & Strang, 2008).

On the other hand, the receiving countries have to provide essential services to the migrant, like healthcare, and they have to be able to communicate properly with the immigrants. For immigrants that do not master the language yet, barriers to key information should be reduced through the provision of translations in the languages of the different groups of immigrants. Translation and interpretation supports form crucial efforts, especially in the early stages of integration. Also, adjusting to a new culture was in the eyes of immigrants not very straightforward. Interviewed immigrants acknowledged their need to develop a better understanding of the cultural expectations in the host community, because integration is easier when immigrants are informed on the norms and values of their new society (Ager & Strang, 2008).

According to Ager & Strang (2008) immigrants feel more at home when they feel safe and when they experience the host society as peaceful, which are essential factors in successful integration. Especially refugees experience personal safety as vital in integration, which can be hindered by verbal or non-verbal intimidation. The constantly moving of immigrants in the host country undermines potential relationships with people of the host community. Instability in terms of short-term accommodation, insecure tenancies and dispersal contribute to complicated migrant integration. In the process of removing these language, cultural, safety and stability barriers, state policy plays a decisive role.

When conceptualising integration, Jonsson et al. (2018) came up with three broad dimensions: structural-, cultural- and social integration. Structural integration has everything to do with the hierarchical segmentation of different groups of people. Indicators like ethnic inequality in education, the labour market and in economic resources, but also residential patterns provide

benchmarks for testing structural integration. Cultural integration is about similarities and differences of language, attitudes and value orientations. Social integration refers to social relations of immigrants and the social acceptance they could provide. Just like Ager & Strang (2008), Jonsson et al. (2018) also stress the importance of bonding ties and bridging ties, respectively social connection with one's own ethnic group and social connections with other ethnic groups, like social interaction from immigrants with the ethnic majority in a country. Heath & Schneider (2021) also believe that there is not one correct way to identify dimensions of the concept of migrant integration. They added two new dimensions to those presented by Jonsson et al. (2018); a political dimension and a civic dimensions. Making the political dimension measurable, they focused on political participation like having voted in the last national election. The civic dimension is divided into the specific indicators national identification and citizenship.

### **Social contacts between ethnic groups in the Netherlands**

Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) focused in their research more specific on socio-cultural integration in the Netherlands, which they believe involves the social and cultural distance between ethnic minorities, like immigrants, and the indigenous majority. Their focus was specifically on non-Western immigrants, since their proportion in neighbourhoods in the Netherlands has increased more than expected. The goal of socio-cultural integration would be that ethnic minority groups become part of the society they reside. On the other hand, when these groups of ethnic minorities remain distinct from the host country, socio-cultural integration fails. This makes that it is important that immigrants participate more in the host society, in order to promote their integration. To make socio-cultural integration more measurable, Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) divided the concept into three indicators: social contacts between ethnic minorities and the Dutch majority, the command of the Dutch language by the ethnic minorities and finally, what do the ethnic minorities and the indigenous majority think of each other.

In order to promote successful social integration of migrants, it is essential that the social distance between immigrants and the host society gets minimalised. So, to create a better understanding about the reasons of the degree of integration, it is helpful to examine the causes of the social distance. According to Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007), social distance between different ethnic groups often comes from residential segregation. Social contacts between non-Western people and the indigenous majority is lowest in neighbourhoods with large amounts of non-Western people. In more mixed neighbourhoods social encounters between different ethnic groups are more likely to occur. More social contacts between non-Western and native people also encourages the minorities in commanding the indigenous language. Finally, more social contacts result in more acceptance between the indigenous people and the immigrant groups. Researching the diversity of acculturation dynamics perceived by the largest groups of immigrants in the Netherlands, Lindert et al. (2022) found that frequent contact between immigrants and other ethnic groups results in both appreciating their background culture, as well as having a positive attitude towards the native society. These interactions also lead to more confidence in social life and therefore more life satisfaction.

On the first of January 2022, 2.6 million inhabitants of the Netherlands were born abroad, of which 1.7 million people were born outside of Europe. The country with the largest group of people that moved to the Netherlands, is Turkey (Central Bureau of Statistics, 2023). Other large groups of immigrants are Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. Of these groups, Turks and

Moroccans have less social contacts with Dutch people than the Surinamese and Antillean immigrants. Moreover, these inter-ethnic contacts develop less over time, which is most likely because the Surinamese and Antillean immigrants come from previous Dutch colonies, where they already have been exposed to the Dutch culture and language (Martinović et al., 2008). Meanwhile, first-generation immigrants from Morocco and Turkey often received poor education in their country of origin and differently from Surinamese and Antillean immigrants, they had to apply for permits of residence, in order to work or study in the Netherlands. A large part of these immigrants, migrated because of labour opportunities, the so-called labour migrants. Most of these labour migrants arrived in the 1970s. The generations of migrants that came after the first generation, often came with the reason of family reunification. These family reunions and marriages between immigrants of the same countries of origin possibly form obstacles for their acculturation process (Lindert et al., 2022). After the arrival of the Turkish immigrants, they are likely to form bonding ties based on nationality and ethnicity. The lack of social bridges and ties with native people are often due to the differences in culture (Chuatco & Haan, 2020).

According to Ersanilli & Saharso (2011), Turkish people have a strong national self-awareness and pride. Children inherit being Turkish as an identity from their parents. By interviewing children of Turkish immigrants, they found that respondents have a predominantly Turkish circle, also because of residential segregation, but mainly because of personal preference. The children choose to become friends with other Turkish children because they share the same cultural values, unlike the children with the nationality of the settlement country. Despite the strong attachments to the Turkish identity, the majority of the respondents felt an emotional connection to the settlement country.

### **Attitudes towards immigrants**

According to Naveed & Wang (2020), in general, an inclusive and friendly attitude towards all groups of migrants promotes social integration. However, this is not always the case. In understanding the attitudes of people towards immigrants, it is important to investigate the dominant narratives in the local settings. On one hand, the population could see their environment as 'our place' and co-ethnic groups as 'like us'. Their reaction on the coming of immigrants will be more reluctant and negative (Hickman et al., 2012). The phenomenon 'othering' takes place. Shaker et al. (2022) describe othering as projecting a particular kind of self, as the perfect, essential human. Where the other is a relational body generalised to a collective identity often referred to as 'they'.

Following Canales (2000), othering is a way of how people engage with other people perceived as different from themselves. It can either occur in an inclusionary or exclusionary form. Exclusionary othering can be used for domination and subordination of others. These negative frames are often coming from the interaction between dominant self-perceptions focused on homogeneity in a society alongside exclusion of migrants. Others could be framed as for instance abnormal, ugly and dangerous. According to Hudson et al. (2007) a variety of factors can oppress contact between different ethnic groups in a society, like racist attitudes, but also apathy and fears of crime in the neighbourhood. When investigating the measure of social integration of different groups of immigrants Heath & Schneider (2021) found that racism forms a relevant obstacle for social integration of non-white immigrants. Moreover, Muslim immigrants often have to deal with islamophobia (Shaker et al., 2022). According to Lindert et al. (2022), in 2006 fifty percent of the

Turkish people in the Netherlands experience discrimination at least once a year. People with a migration background who experience discrimination, often reject close involvement with native people and tend to stick with their own immigrant group. Turkish children of immigrants came across a more subtle lack of acceptance in Germany, France and the Netherlands. They often do not feel accepted as members of the settlement country, because of their dark hair, uncommon names and headscarves were taken as signs of foreignness by native people (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011).

On the other hand, when neighbourhoods are already more multicultural and immigrants have been spread out over social divisions, the population will likely show more acceptance towards newcomers (Hickman et al., 2012). Inclusionary othering takes place. This utilizes the power of relationships for coalition building, which leads to a stronger and more comprehensive 'us' feeling (Canales, 2000).

### 3. Theoretical framework and operationalisation

In this chapter, the theoretical framework derived from the theories in the literature review will be explained. On the basis of the framework, the operationalisation of the concepts will be displayed as well. After which, the relationships between the different concepts and the integration of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek that is going to be investigated, will be explained with the use of the conceptual model.

#### 3.1 The facilitators

Ager & Strang (2008) developed a framework to explain migrant integration, where they came up with ten core domains divided under the concepts 'markers and means', 'social connection', 'facilitators', and 'foundation'. In this research the focus will lie especially on two of these dimensions, the 'facilitators' of migrant integration and 'social connection'. The dimension 'facilitators', has been further operationalised by Ager and Strang (2008), in the indicators 'language and cultural knowledge' and 'safety and stability', as showed in the literature review. The facilitators, also seen as barriers to integration that have to be removed by the state, thus require measures and regulations. Policy plays a vital role in fostering migrant integration by removing these barriers. The role of policy is to facilitate an adaptable society in order to allow integration of migrants (Tomic, 2018). Especially regarding the creation of a safe and stable integration process, as well as providing services for the immigrants to get familiar with the native language and cultural values, .

##### **Safety**

The safety indicator is important in fostering migrant integration, because immigrants feel more at home when they feel safe. The personal safety is especially vital for the integration and home feeling of refugees. Intimidation in both verbal and non-verbal forms towards newcomers could have an impact on the feeling of safety of migrants (Ager & Strang, 2008). According to Hudson et al. (2007) and Heath & Schneider (2021) racists attitudes oppress social contacts between different ethnic groups, especially for non-white immigrants. As regards Turkish immigrants, in 2006 fifty percent of them experienced discrimination at least once a year (Lindert et al., 2022). The attitude of people towards Turkish immigrants could also be experienced as not accepting,

which could induce the immigrants to stay within their own community, instead of participating in the native society (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011).

### **Stability**

With instability as an indicator of the degree of integration, it is about the short term accommodation of migrants. Also, it could mean insecure tenancies and dispersal of immigrants across residences. An increasement of these subjects promote the instability of the settlement of migrants. When migrants are constantly on the move after arriving in the receiving country, it complicates their integration because potential relationships are being undermined. On a larger scale, high levels of mobility within a wider population could potentially decrease the sense community (Ager & Strang, 2008).

### **Language command**

Language command is important for successful migrant integration, because being able to speak the language makes social contacts possible. When a migrant lacks language command, it forms a barrier to social interaction with the host society. It would complicate the possibility for full participation. Language competence demands efforts from the migrants, as well as the host society. For example, the attending of language classes on the migrants side and the provision of language classes on the side of the receiving country (Ager & Strang, 2008). Turkish people form one of the largest groups of immigrants in the Netherlands, next to Surinamese, Antillean and Moroccan people. Especially for the Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, the competence of the language is often a great barrier, because unlike the other two immigrants groups, they have not been exposed to the Dutch language during the times of colonialism (Martinović et al., 2008). This makes it interesting to investigate the influence of language command on the integration of the Turkish migrants.

### **Cultural knowledge**

Language competence often receives the most attention, however being informed about the norms and values of the host society is also very important according to Ager & Strang (2008). It makes integration easier for migrants. The sharing of cultures between different ethnic groups promotes mutual understanding and it could potentially contribute to the host culture. According to Lindert et al. (2022) the knowledge and appreciation of the culture of the host society gets exacerbated by frequent contacts. Turkish people appear to have a social network that mainly exists of other Turkish people, because they share the same cultural values and they have strong attachments to the Turkish identity (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011).

## **3.2 Social connection**

When trying to adapt to a society and participate in it, immigrants will have to make social contacts with other people. It is necessary in order to receive healthcare, education and even to do groceries. To what extent people have social contacts is the degree of social connection. The degree of social connection from immigrants within the host society plays an important role in their integration. It requires efforts from the immigrants as well as the host society, which makes social connection a mutual accommodation (Ager & Strang, 2008). Social connection is a concept which Ager & Strang (2008) operationalised in the dimensions; 'social bonds', 'social bridges' and 'social links'. These will now be discussed separately.

### **Social bonds**

Social bonds involve social connection within the community of the migrant. For example, family or other co-ethnic people. Social bonds make immigrants feel more settled in their new environment, because they are able to maintain contact with family and co-ethnic people. Immigrants often value social bonds, because they are able to share cultural practices with them and they can maintain close relationships (Ager & Strang, 2008). Also, social bonds provide immigrants with emotional and perhaps economic support when they face challenges after their arrival. On one hand, these social bonds could form a barrier for the integration of the migrant (Chuatico & Haan, 2020). On the other hand, when migrants lack community bonds, they are more likely to suffer depression than migrants that do maintain social bonds. When immigrants had close family ties with people of their own culture back in their country of origin, they often experience isolation and the lack of community feeling in their new living environment to be depressing (Ager & Strang, 2008).

### **Social bridges**

Besides social connection within the communities of the migrants, they could also form social bridges, which are social contacts with people from outside their communities. Social bridges increase the participation of the immigrants into the host society. Even small friendly encounters with native people can help immigrants to feel more at home. But, this is also dependent on the attitude of the ethnic majority towards newcomers. According to Naveed & Wang (2020), an inclusive and friendly attitude towards migrants promotes social integration. On the other hand, when migrants lack social bridges and friendly encounters, they could feel less at home. In order to improve social bridges, the promotion of sports and education related activities can offer solutions (Ager & Strang, 2008). Turkish immigrants often choose bonding ties with community members over bridging ties with native people, because differences in culture form a barrier to interaction (Chuatico & Haan, 2020).

### **Social links**

While social bonds refer to connection within the community and social bridges are interactions between people from different communities, social links involve connections from migrants with structures of the state, such as governmental organisations. Social links are important for immigrants because it provides them access to relevant services. However, the distribution of social services is not always equally divided over the migrants. Genuine equality of the distribution of services provide a larger amount of immigrants with better opportunities for integration (Ager & Strang, 2008).

## **3.3 Operationalisation**

On the basis of the framework of Ager & Strang (2008) displayed in figure 1, this research will use an adapted framework to investigate the integration of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek. In order to answer the first subquestion 'What does integration policy in the EU look like and how does Dutch policy comply with these directives?' integration policies on different levels of scale will be investigated. Investigation of indicators like action plans, governmental websites and laws will clear up the contents of the integration policies. In order to answer the second sub question 'What are the challenges and barriers Turkish migrants run into when trying to adapt to the

society of De Achterhoek?’ the facilitators described by Ager & Strang (2008) will be used to create an understanding of the experiences of the migrants. These facilitators are in this case divided under the variables; ‘The integration environment of De Achterhoek’ and ‘Challenges for adaptation to society’. The safety and stability of a living environment both shape the way migrants experience their new society. Regarding challenges for adaptation to society, migrants run into barriers like language and cultural differences after their arrival (Ager & Strang, 2008). Finally, the influences that the different indicators of the degree of social connection of a migrant in the host society have on integration, will be investigated in this research in order to answer the sub question ‘What kind of social networks do Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek maintain and how does this influence their integration?’. In figure 2 below, the operationalisation table is displayed to provide a clear and structured overview of the indicators that will return in the result section of this research.

<i>Concepts</i>	<b>Variables</b>	<b>Indicators</b>
<i>Integration policies</i>	EU policy	Action plan on integration in the EU
	Dutch policy	Governmental websites Dutch law
<i>Facilitators</i>	The integration environment of De Achterhoek	Safety Stability
	Challenges for adaptation to society	Language command Cultural knowledge
<i>Social connection</i>	Social networks	Social bonds
		Social bridges
		Social links

Figure 2. Operationalisation table (made by the author).

### 3.4 Conceptual model

In this research the efforts of policy and the immigrants themselves regarding their integration will be investigated. The three variables ‘The integration environment of De Achterhoek’, ‘Challenges for adaptation to society’ and ‘social networks’ are likely to have an influence on the integration of migrants. In addition to that, this research will attempt to expose the efforts policy makes on shaping these concepts. To create a better understanding of these efforts and experiences, the integration of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek, a region in the Netherlands will be analysed. These described relationships are showed in the conceptual model below (figure 3).

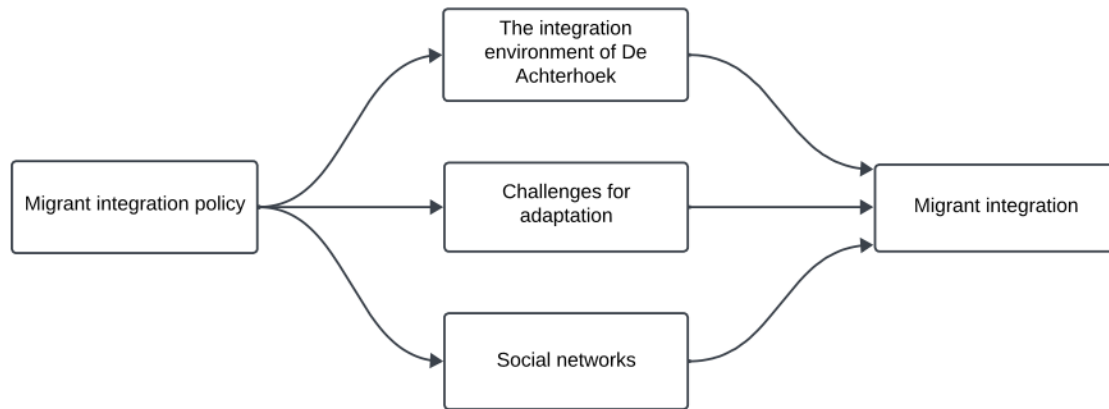


Figure 3. Conceptual model (made by the author).

## 4. Methods

### 4.1 Research design

The approach of this research is a qualitative design; phenomenological research. The phenomenon migrant integration is investigated by examining the lived experience of Turkish immigrants themselves. Describing the lived experience of immigrants regarding the integration environment, integration policies, social contacts and their personal integration within their new living environment provides this research with valuable information. Qualitative research is in this case more suitable than quantitative research, because it can be used to gather in-depth information on the experience of the phenomenon. Quantitative research only provides numerical data, which limits the possibilities of understanding the experiences of respondents (Bhandari, 2023b). Two different methods are used to provide this research with the required information. On one hand, secondary research was executed during the analysis of migrant integration policies. Analysis of these policies could help to clear up what the roles of the EU and the Dutch government are in the removing of integration barriers for immigrants. On the other hand, interviews have been conducted with immigrants originally from Turkey, living in De Achterhoek, to create an understanding of how they have experienced the integration into society.

### 4.2 Data collection

In order to collect suitable data, the internet is explored to gather information on integration policies in the EU and The Netherlands. The analysed integration policy of the EU was found on an official European Union website, which could be confirmed because it was found in the 'europa.eu' domain. The Dutch national policies that were analysed were derived from official websites of the Dutch government. Besides policies, national laws have also given insight on how the Netherlands deal with the integration of immigrants. To provide this research with sufficient data on the experience of migrant integration, in-depth interviews have been conducted with five immigrants. The selection of these respondents happened in the following way: At first, the respondents had to be born in Turkey. Secondly, they had to be habituated in De Achterhoek in

the Netherlands and it was important that they remembered their own integration process, so that they were able to answer questions about how they experienced their personal integration.

In order to find a sample of respondents, the author searched for candidates within his direct surroundings and acquaintances. The first respondent was found by getting in contact with the mother of an acquaintance. At some point it became necessary that the author used the weak links in his social network to get in contact with potential respondents, this is how the second respondent was found. The final three respondents were obtained by using the snowball method, this method is used because of the difficult accessibility of the population and it means that after an interview, the author asks the interviewee for more potential respondents that meet the requirements (Fischer & Julsing, 2019). Tools for the search of respondents were the use of social media and face-to-face requests. The interviews were conducted in person. Therefore an interview guide was composed, which can be found in the attachments (Attachment: 1. Interview guide English). By bringing a translated interview guide (Attachment: 2. Interview guide Dutch translation) with some important questions, the interviewer attempted to create a semi-structured interview where firstly, he strived for actual answers on the questions. Secondly, he encouraged the interviewee to speak freely about their experiences by asking open questions and asking probes.

When conducting field research methods like interviews, it is important to keep research ethics in mind. Interviewees participated voluntarily and were free to stop the interview at any time. Beforehand, they were informed about the purpose of the interview and that their anonymity is guaranteed (Bhandari, 2023). Also, when asked about perspectives on controversial topics, the reaction of the interviewer was respectful at any time.

### 4.3 Data characteristics

So, the three demands the researcher made for choosing suitable respondents, brought up a population of people that migrated from Turkey to De Achterhoek and remembered how this process went. The reason for closing down this investigation to the region of De Achterhoek, was that De Achterhoek is one of the most declining regions in the Netherlands and it appears to have a traditional identity, according to Hofstede (2014). Besides the regional identity and decline in population, De Achterhoek could be seen as a rural region and it is often presented as a quiet place with less tourism and urbanisation than the western part of the Netherlands (Hofstede, 2014). On the other hand, Turkish people are known for their pride of their Turkish identity, which makes it interesting how these two groups of people blend in with each other in society (Ersanilli & Saharso, 2011).

In order to investigate a sample that could be generalised to the entire population as much as possible, potential respondents were addressed based on variety in ages, gender, professions and reasons for migration. Semi-structured interviews from in between thirty and sixty minutes were held with five respondents. The ages of the respondents were between thirty years old and sixty years old. The intention was also to interview first generation Turkish migrants, however they all refused to be interviewed. Though, in advance of the interview, one respondent asked her father, a first generation labour migrant, to tell about his experiences regarding his integration. He then explained his most outstanding memories to her. Additionally, other respondents were able to tell about stories their parents told them on their integration. Because of the multiple perspectives

from the respondents and their stories from relatives and observations from other Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek, five interviews provided the research with enough valuable information. More interviews would probably not contribute enough anymore and theoretical saturation would take place.

The group of respondents consisted of four women and one man. Three of the respondents did have a job in the past, but were now responsible for the household. One respondent voluntarily worked as an interpreter and as support for Turkish people within his community regarding social securities. Finally, one respondent worked in a governmental health service organisation and she also works with migrants, so she often knows what is going on and what which problems and challenges they run into. Which provided another perspective that could be used for this research. The reasons of migration were varying: family reunification, political migration, labour migration and migration after marriage. Some respondents experienced difficulties in understanding and talking Dutch perfectly. Because this could influence the reliability of the research, an interpreter helped with the translations of the questions, but also the explaining of the answers. The use of an interpreter also encouraged the respondents to talk more free and detailed about their integration.

#### 4.4 Data analysis

The analysis of the policy reports and the interviews is done by using the program Atlas.ti. At first, the interviews were transcribed and the transcripts and policy reports were exported to Atlas.ti. The texts could conveniently be parsed through this system. Content analysis is used to describe and categorise perspectives, phrases and words. These could easily be compared to each other by coding the texts in the same way, which happened consistently in order to ensure the reliability. The list of the used codes is presented in the attachments (3. List of codes). The codes were linked to each other to create cohesive, overarching themes (Bhandari, 2023b). The codes and the relations between the codes are made visible by connecting them in networks, which are presented at the end of the result chapters. Also, the different influences that policy potentially could have on the integration of the migrants, were coded by using the same codes as with the transcripts. This made it possible to connect policy efforts to the experiences in practice. In this way of coding the different sources, relevant patterns of perspectives and answers to the interview questions were found. These patterns and answers were used to respond to the sub questions, in order to eventually answer the main question of this research.

#### 4.5 Reliability and validities

In both the primary part, as well as the secondary part of this research, the reliability and the validity are very important to be ensured. Reliability means the extent to which the outcomes are independent of coincidence. A reliable research would produce the same results when it gets executed again (Fischer & Julsing, 2019). The reliability of the primary part of this research has been ensured by paying attention to a couple of things in different stages of the qualitative research. Before the actual execution of the interviews, the number of respondents were carefully determined. Too few interviews do not provide enough information, in order to make conclusions about the statements. Too much interviews might not provide new information on the subjects. Also, being consistent in the interview questions is important for the reliability of the research. By executing a semi-structured interview, the respondents were getting the

possibility to speak freely about their experiences regarding their integration, but they were questioned about the same subjects, in order to reduce the chance of coincidence. The reliability of the secondary, literature research, was ensured by using databases like Google Scholar and Web of Science and almost exclusively examining scientific sources. Additionally, the information on integration policies were extracted from official international and national reports and websites.

Besides the reliability of the research, it is also vital that the results are as much free from systematic failures as possible. The validity of the research means the extent to which the results are influenced by errors (Fischer & Julsing, 2019). There are different forms of validity that should be taken into account when doing scientific research, like: internal validity, construct validity and external validity. Internal validity means the extent to which alternative explanations have an influence on the findings (Fischer & Julsing, 2019). By intensively studying the literature on migrant integration and determining factors of the integration of immigrants, this research strived to take into account as much potential influences as possible, so that the possibility of unexpected causal relations got minimalised. In order to improve the internal validity, the primary part of the research, the interviews, also require attention. By making an interview guide with the same questions in the same order for every respondent, the influence of external factors got minimalised. Also, the settings of the interviews were attempted to be similar as much as possible.

The question of how well a test measures the concept that it was meant to measure, in other words construct validity, was being asked during this research. Essential in optimising the construct validity was to create adequate operationalisations (Fischer & Julsing, 2019). The theories found during the literature review were carefully defined and important concepts were operationalised in different indicators that together covered the entire concepts. These indicators were summed up in the theoretical framework to clear up how different aspects of the concepts were taken into consideration during this research. Also, by asking objective, open questions without a guiding character, interviewees are encouraged to speak freely and any suggestion of the interviewer got prevented. This is of great importance for this research, because it benefits from personal perspectives of Turkish immigrants on their integration into the society of De Achterhoek.

This brings us to the question if the perspectives of the interviewed respondents apply to the total population, in other words, to what extent could the findings be generalised to the entire group of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands? This is called the external validity of a research (Fischer & Julsing, 2019). A couple of interviews are usually not accepted as significant, because of the scope of the sample in relation to the population is very small (Masocha, 2014). Also, it is impossible to take a complete random sample of the population, because the author has no access to databases where every Turkish immigrant in De Achterhoek is noted. Moreover, if it would be possible to create a complete random sample, a considerably amount of potential respondents might not be interested in participating with the interviews. However, by choosing respondents based on differences in personal features like age, gender, profession and reason of migration to De Achterhoek, this research strived to take a somewhat generalisable sample of the population in consideration.

## 5. Integration policies on different levels of scale

Successful integration is all about the involvement of migrants with native people. Therefore, a proper setting of the host environment is essential. Being able to command the natives language and possessing cultural knowledge of the host country are important facilitators for their integration. Also, immigrants benefit from the other facilitators safety and stability, when trying to adapt to their new living environment. It is the responsibility of the state to make and execute policy in order to deal with the facilitators (Ager & Strang, 2008). Following Naveed & Wang (2020), it is also vitally important to foster an inclusive social attitude among the native population to promote migrant integration. Policy makers should therefore promote such an inclusive integration environment. In this chapter, the importance of European policy will be explained, as well as the efforts of policy of the European Union regarding migrant integration and how Dutch national policies comply with the international efforts.

### 5.1 The importance of European integration policy

Migrant integration is a mutual accommodation between the immigrants and the host society. The role of policymakers is to facilitate an including environment and to remove barriers to allow integration to take place. Those barriers could be related to language and culture, or safety and security (Ager & Strang, 2008). Although, the integration of migrants is mainly the responsibility of the state, EU policies are important for knowledge exchange, promotion and monitoring integration in the member states (Tomic, 2018). EU policies are desired, because lots of immigration contributes to an increasing population and leads to complexity of the social environment in host countries. Public policies and the adoption of measures are aimed at improving the social position of ethnic minorities in society. EU legislation gives legal rights to EU citizens who are different in terms of race, ethnicity or religion and therefore placed in a minority position in society. Extensive migration calls for development and implementation of policy measures, because of increasing diversity of the social environment. Hence, strategic policies of the EU are developed with emphasis on equal opportunities for immigrants, by using an anti-discrimination approach (Tomic, 2018).

Economically seen, successful integration of migrants can help to meet specific needs of European markets, but employment of migrants is also key in boosting their social life and therefore fundamental for migrant participation in the society of the receiving country. To foster employment of migrants, regulations and measures have been developed within the framework of European anti-discrimination approaches. Besides anti-discrimination approaches, affirmative and diversity management approaches are also seen as important to boost the social inclusion of immigrants. Not using potential human resources of immigrants in the right way, could have extensive immigration weaken the fiscal sustainability of a EU member state. Hence, it is necessary to have a common policy approach in the EU regarding participation of immigrants within economic and social environment in the host country (Tomic, 2018).

Lyalina (2014) reviewed the experience of the supra-national migrant integration policy in the EU and the implementation of it by the member states. The research showed that not all member states seek to empower the ethnic minorities on equal foot with the native people. Not all integration tools provided by EU policy are being used. When it comes to migrant integration, lots of member states are mostly focused on national security. In addition to that, some states have

revised their policy, because of the increasing of crime rates within non-ethnic communities. Although, EU policy does not always result in the desired outcome, Lyalina (2014) came to the conclusion that one should not concentrate on failures, but on further development and the upgrading of integration models and tools.

## 5.2 The efforts of European policymakers regarding integration

In order to create well-being, prosperity and social cohesion within the member states of the European Union, it is key that migrants can fully participate and contribute to society. To promote the integration of migrants in European societies, the European Commission came up with an action plan for the period of 2021 until 2027, to strengthen and improve integration and inclusion policies across EU member states. This action plan has been analysed with the use of Atlas.ti. By applying codes derived from the indicators described in the theoretical framework, relevant regulations, measures and recommendations to member states were extracted. The particular codes can be found in the 'List of codes', the third attachment at the end of this document. The different indicators of the facilitators, as well as the social networks are all addressed in the report.

### **Safety and stability across the member states of the EU**

In order to create an including and sustainable integration environment for immigrants, the European Commission came up with measures to support the safety and stability of the living environment of the immigrants, but also to improve the attitudes of people and organisations towards the newcomers (European Commission, 2020). In the 'Action plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027' published by the European Commission, the subject 'safety of the immigrant', mostly comes forward regarding discrimination and the attitude towards immigrants within the EU member states.

By fostering equality and social cohesion, the EU aims to ensure that everyone, including immigrants are fully included and participate in society. In order to ensure the social rights of immigrants, the EU composed an anti-racism plan (European Commission, 2020). By building a more cohesive and including society, the spread of extremist ideologies could also be prevented, which can diminish social tensions, so that the integration environment for immigrants becomes more peaceful and safe. In order to put a stop to the spread of extremist ideologies, the European Commission supports the 'Radicalisation Awareness Network' an organisation that focusses on addressing violent extremism, resilience building and the reintegration into society of radicalised people (European Commission, 2020). On a local level, tools like education, culture and sports can be used to prevent radicalisation and to foster a more inclusive society, like stated in the European Commission action plan:

*"Grassroots participation in education, culture and sport brings people closer together. It helps combat xenophobia, exclusion, radicalisation and 'us vs. them' narratives while building mutual respect and fostering migrants' sense of belonging" (European Commission, 2020, p.20).*

So, in order to create a better understanding from different groups of people of each other and to create more cohesiveness among the society, it is vital that people come closer together in the everyday life of society. This will diminish the feeling of separation and it could reduce the amount of 'othering' from native people towards migrants. Another barrier to social interaction of

different groups of people in the everyday life, is the spatial segregation of their houses. Less segregation could change the general attitude of people towards immigrants, because they get in closer contact with 'the other'. The European Commission wants to achieve that member states have access to a wide range of tools and innovative housing solutions that fight discrimination and segregation within the housing market. The action plan provides the member states with particular funds to finance these plans. It also strives to promote mutual learning on this field between actors on different levels of government and between member states (European Commission, 2020). The European commission wants the member states to;

*“make full use of EU funds to promote integration, according to identified needs at national and regional level. This can include investments in education, employment, housing, health and social care services, together with capacity building actions and measures tackling segregation and discrimination” (European Commission, 2020, p.19).*

Besides fighting discrimination and segregation within the housing market, the European Commission (2020) mentioned more goals to achieve regarding the housing of immigrants. At first, the commission aims to achieve that every migrant has access to adequate and affordable housing. Following this, the commission provides funds to the EU member states, so that housing challenges on a national and local level could be addressed. There is no further attention to the problems of short-term accommodation and insecure tenancies (European Commission, 2020, p.15).

### **Improving the language command and cultural knowledge in the EU member states**

So, the European Commission (2020) is committed to shape the place migrants arrive as a pleasant and welcoming environment. But, the migrants themselves also require a particular set of skills and competences to be able to adapt to a new society. Language command and cultural knowledge are often seen as challenges for integration (Ager & Strang, 2008). In the action plan of the European Commission, actions and measures are explained in five different chapters. These chapters each contain different sectoral areas. The first chapter is dedicated to education and training. The European Commission (2020) see education and training of immigrants as the foundation for successful participation in society. Also, education and training could be seen as tools for building an inclusive society. According to the European Commission (2020), learning the language of the host country is not just important for integration, but it is crucial.

The European Commission (2020) advises the member states to include migrant children in vocational education and training. Also, it is emphasized that language classes should not just stop after acquiring the basics of the language, but it should be given in the form of intermediate and advanced courses as well. The European Commission wants to achieve a couple of important things regarding the language education of migrants: more participation of migrants and migrant children in education, better quality of the education and longer duration of the education throughout the lives of migrants. The European Commission and therefore the EU, could serve as overarching organisations that can promote the exchange of successful experiences of different approaches, in order to develop comprehensive and accessible language learning programmes (European Commission, 2020).

Besides providing the possibility for learning the language of the host society, schools can function as hubs for integration for not only the participating immigrants, but also their families. Schools

often involve multiple different communities and a diverse population of children, but also their parents come together in a multicultural environment where encounters between migrants and others can occur. Increasing the participation of migrants in education and at the same time ensuring that the provided education is equipped to serve in a cultural way, could have a strong positive effect on the future education of the participants, as well as the integration of their families in society (The European Commission, 2020). The knowledge of cultural aspects like laws and cultural norms and values are critical in the integration of migrants. In order to get migrants to learn about the culture of the host society, civic orientation courses could be implemented. The European Commission (2020) also promotes intercultural dialogue between communities from different origins and religions. This is a two-way process where migrants can learn about the cultural norms and values of the host society, also the native people will be able to create a better understanding of the norms and values of the migrants.

### **Fostering social interaction between migrants and the host society within the EU**

The European Commission also pays attention to the different kinds of social contacts in their action plan. The role of social links, the contacts of migrants with structures of the state, are highlighted as important, mainly because of what they could mean for the migrants. The Commission (2020) wants financial services to be available for all migrants, by providing digital services. Also, the member states are encouraged to create an integrated approach for national policies regarding housing, education, healthcare and social services. These measures help simplify contacts between the migrants and the right sorts of services. Also, the Commission (2020) wants youth workers to be trained, in order to acquire the skills required to support the integration of young migrants. In terms of social bridges, the Commission (2020) certainly sees the benefits and advantages for the integration of migrants into society. Member states are encouraged to promote interaction between people of different origin, throughout all kinds of environments.

*“Whether it is at school, the office, a sports club, or in the neighbourhood, providing places and opportunities for migrants and local communities to meet and interact is a strong means for inclusion and more cohesive societies” (European Commission, 2020, p.20).*

The empowering of migrants and host communities to actively participate in the integration process is essential for sustainable integration. Also, it provides opportunities for local communities to become more familiar with the migrants that arrive in their society. The role that social interaction has on the integration of migrants, is acknowledged by the EU. The European Commission (2020) promotes to fight segregation on schools and to foster interactions between migrant children and native children. Also, the segregation of housing must be discouraged because it undermines social cohesion. Finally, interactions between migrants and the host community could be encouraged by promoting mentoring programmes from local communities for newly arrived migrants.

## **5.3 The implementation of integration policy in the Netherlands**

The European Commission carries out integration policy on behalf of the European Union. They provide funds and tools to their member states, so that the states can implement applicable strategies. The state, in this case the Netherlands, is therefore responsible for the creation of an integration environment which promotes successful integration of immigrants. The Dutch

government makes use of different tools, like: integration acts, housing acts and anti-discrimination policies. In this chapter, the efforts of Dutch policy regarding migrant integration will be explained. Also, some comparisons will be made with policy of the European Commission (2020).

### **Shaping a safe and stable living environment in the Netherlands**

Insecurity and instability within an integration environment form barriers to migrant integration, which has to be removed by the state (Ager & Strang, 2008). The Netherlands, as a EU member state, are allowed to make use of the funds described in the action plan of the European Commission (2020) to promote the creation of a safe integration environment for all immigrants. Not all member states come across the same challenges regarding the integration of immigrants. The Netherlands have their own specific goals to achieve for improving migrant integration. In order to create a safe environment for immigrants, the government of the Netherlands strives to improve three different aspects of the safety of migration. At first, the goal is to make sure that migration occurs in a structured way. Secondly, the government wants to limit unwanted and irregular migration to the Netherlands. Finally, the government desires to preserve and improve the support of the society towards immigration (Ministry of Justice and Security, 2024). Optimising these three subjects should make sure that immigrants of all origins arrive at a safe living environment, that provides them the peace to work on their integration in society.

In order to improve the attitude of people towards immigrants, which is related to the feeling of safety of migrants, the government of the Netherlands wants to prevent and combat discrimination in the country. Discrimination is prohibited by law, which is stated in Article 1 of the Dutch Constitution and the Equal Treatment Act. On a local level, all municipalities in the Netherlands provide people with access to an anti-discrimination bureau where they can report discrimination and receive professional assistance (Ministry of Justice and Security, 2021). In 2022 the Dutch government came up with a national program to fight discrimination and racism in the Netherlands and the Caribbean Netherlands. 'The National Coordinator against Discrimination and Racism' strives for equality, justice and inclusion, by focussing on three phases of discrimination: 'acknowledging and prevention', 'recognition and reporting' and 'assisting and protecting' (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2022). So, just like the European Union, the Netherlands estimate the fight against discrimination as a very important aspect of the creation of a safe society.

Regarding the facilitator 'Stability' efforts are made by the Dutch government in order to ensure a fair division of housing possibilities over the inhabitants in the Netherlands. The Dutch 'Housing act 2014' has been adjusted in January 2024. Municipalities now have extended control over the implementation of local acquired measures and regulations. For example, they are allowed to make rules on the allocation of rental houses and the order of urgency for home seekers. In theory, this would make the obtaining of residences easier for urgent cases like migrants (Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations, 2024) . On top of that, the Ministry of the Interior and Kingdom Relations (2022a) came up with a plan called the 'National Housing and Construction Agenda'. In this plan, the ministry explains to focus on three national challenges of housing and construction: the availability, the affordability and the quality of houses in the Netherlands. These are in line with the international policy of the European Commission (2020) which aims to achieve adequate and affordable housing for all immigrants in the member states of the European Union.

## Removing barriers of language and cultural differences

The European Commission (2020) recognises education and training as the foundation of the integration of immigrants. The Netherlands utilise education as tool for the adaptation of migrants to the Dutch society. At the moment of writing, the Dutch government carries out a certain policy on how immigrants are obligated or encouraged to getting to know the natives language and culture. When foreign people want to apply for a permanent residence permit or want to become a Dutch national through naturalisation, they usually will have to fulfil an integration requirement before the application of a permit. Immigrants have to attend and pass the civic integration examination, in order to receive a civic integration diploma. After being granted a residence permit, sometimes migrants are obliged to participate in a civic integration programme consisting of Dutch language- and society classes (IND, 2024). Turkish immigrants used to be exempted from integration examination and the integration programme, however since 1 January 2022 these are obliged for long-term and permanent Turkish immigrants, except for students and high educated migrants (Ministry of General Affairs, 2024).

The obligated migrants and their obligations regarding integration education are laid down in the 'Civic Integration Act 2021'. The Dutch government aims for active participation of migrants in the Dutch society. Besides learning the Dutch language and culture, efforts for finding work is also a major part of the act (Ministry of General Affairs, 2022b). The municipalities of the Netherlands are of great importance in recognising the education obligated migrants, but also in the allocation of the migrants to education with the goal of integration. Providing municipalities with more responsibilities, gives them the possibility to implement local desired strategies. When migrants are obliged to participate in the civic integration programme after their migration, they are covered by the 'Civic Integration Act 2021'. In order to integrate successfully, migrants follow the so-called B1 route, where they will be tested on their language command and knowledge of the Dutch society. In case the migrant wants to attend a course on vocational- or higher education, he or she is allowed to follow a different route offered by the educational institution (IND, 2024).

Just like the Dutch 'Civic Integration Act 2021' obliges eligible migrants to prove their command of the Dutch language by taking a test, the migrants also have to fulfil a participation procedure in order to receive a declaration. This procedure consists of an introduction of the core values of the Dutch society, after which they have to declare to be aware of and respect the Dutch norms and values and to contribute to the Dutch society (IND, 2024). Another way for migrants in the Netherlands to get to know the ins and outs of the Dutch society, like the culture, norms and values and the intercourse between people, is by the direct guidance of a native person. These mentoring programs were also encouraged by the European Commission (2020). In the Netherlands, these so-called 'buddy' programs form a possibility for migrants not only to get to know the Dutch society, but also to create social bridges with native people. Networks of volunteers could connect newly arrived migrants to a 'buddy' (Ministry of General Affairs, 2022).

So, EU policies influence migrant integration policies in the Netherlands, which determines how immigrants in De Achterhoek experience their integration in society. The other way around, local and national experiences provide useful information for knowledge exchange between members states of the EU. Experiences of integration and experiences with integration policy will be discussed in the following chapters.

## 6. The integration environment of De Achterhoek

Successful integration of immigrants could only be achieved when the safety of the immigrant is guaranteed. Immigrants feel more at home when they experience safety and perceive the host society as peaceful. The attitudes that people have towards immigrants, could also play a vital role in their feeling of safety (Ager & Strang, 2008). In this chapter, the experiences of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek will be explained, so that an understanding about the safety and the stability of the integration environment migrants arrive in, can be created.

### **A safe and including living environment**

To create a better understanding of how immigrants in the Netherlands experience the safety of the integration environment and the attitudes of people towards them, Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek were interviewed. These semi-structured interviews encouraged the respondents to talk freely about the subjects, however they were asked specifically about potential influencing factors on the degree of their integration, like the safety of the integration environment and the attitudes of people towards them. Every time a respondent mentioned an influence of the safety of the host society on their integration, this influence got coded in Atlas.ti under the code 'safety'. 'Safety' got coded fourteen times across five interviews, which is a low amount compared to other codes. Each of the respondents state that they have never felt unsafe in De Achterhoek. Two of the respondents even say that they feel comfortable leaving their doors open, because they feel safe in their living environments. These respondents both live in Ulft, a village in de Achterhoek. Although, none of the respondents were able to tell how their feeling of unsafety influenced their integration into society, one respondent emphasized the importance of feeling safe in your living environment and how De Achterhoek differs from the countries of origins of migrants:

*"I work with refugees, actually, my target group is migrants. When I ask: what is different here than in your country of origin? Than it is safety. That you can feel safe as a human being" (features of the interview transcripts are presented in the attachments).*

The attitude of people towards migrants is also an important factor of an including and safe living environment. The code 'Attitude towards immigrants' got coded 23 times across the five interviews. Which could imply that it has a greater impact on the degree of integration than the feeling of safety in general. Some of the respondents have never come across discriminating attitudes of other people towards them. Other respondents came across some incidents where they were told to leave the country or not to talk Turkish in public. However, in general the interviewees stressed that they experienced very little discrimination in De Achterhoek. According to some respondents who migrated a long time ago, the attitudes of people towards them have changed over time. One interviewee says that twenty years ago they were more seen as outsiders and people looked differently at them. Another interviewee stated:

*"However, I think that Dutch people, compared to thirty years ago, approach Turkish people more easily."*

Besides some negative and discriminating attitudes, some of the respondents perceived the attitude of the people in De Achterhoek as kind and welcoming. Three interviewees mentioned that their dads were brought to the Netherlands as guest worker by a local bicycle tire factory.

Two of them emphasized the warm and welcoming attitude of the owners of the factory and are grateful for the way they were received:

*“The bicycle tire factory, the owner of the fabric went to Schiphol with flowers to welcome all the immigrants.”*

*“And grandpa says, they were waiting at the airport and they brought flowers and presents and everything to ask to come work for them. Grandpa received a warm welcome together with the other Turkish men. The factory owners wanted the Turkish men to work for them, because there was a shortage of employees in the Netherlands at that time.”*

The attitude of people towards immigrants, negative as well as positive, seems to have an influence on their integration, because they were able to speak detailed about incidents in the past. Besides the attitude of others, some respondents agree that integration is a two-way process. One respondent says that integration has to come not only from the side of the immigrant, but also from the receiving society, while another respondent says she receives from people what she gives them. So, in her opinion it does not matter what the origin of a person is, if you treat somebody in a particular way, you can expect to be treated in the same way. According to this field research, feeling safe is important for the integration of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek, where the attitudes of people against each other plays a major role. However, the respondents have in general had positive experiences with the safety of the integration environment within De Achterhoek.

### **The stability that migrants experience in De Achterhoek**

Another factor that potentially plays a role in the successful integration of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek, is stability. Stability in the sense of the degree of short-term accommodation, insecure tenancies and dispersal. When immigrants are constantly on the move within the host country, potential relationships with other people will be undermined (Ager & Strang, 2008). Besides the experiences with discrimination and the feeling of safety, the interviewees were also asked about their experiences with housing and moving within the host country after their arrival. Every time an interviewee mentioned an influence of stability on their integration into the host society, this got coded during the analysis in Atlast.ti. The coding of ‘stability’ occurred eleven times, which is a relatively low amount. The first interviewee still lives in the same house since she arrived in the Netherlands. The second interviewee did move since her arrival, however this occurred within the same block of residences. She liked the fact that she could stay in the same neighbourhood, because she could maintain the small interactions with her neighbours. She also explained that her father, a guest worker, stayed in lots of residences like different boarding houses, before he moved to an actual private residence. According to the interviewee, the impact of the instability is unknown, because her father did not want to integrate in the first place. The goal of the immigration of this guest worker was to make money to provide for his family back in Turkey and to return after a while. This turned out differently, because he brought his family to the Netherlands for reunification.

The third and fourth interviewees both had positive experience with the finding of a house, after immigrating to the Netherlands. Instability in the sense of short-term accommodation and insecure tenancies did not influence their integration in society. Although, the fourth interviewee had to stay with his family in the house of a friend of his father and his family. They spent a month

in one house living together with fourteen persons, before moving to their first dwelling. Even though these respondents claimed not to have trouble with housing and insecurity, they both acknowledged that at the times they migrated to the Netherlands, respectively in 2001 and 1979, it was easier to find a suitable residence than nowadays. Both respondents have lots of contacts with recently migrated people. One respondent works with refugees and the other respondent does volunteer work helping people within his Turkish community with their social securities. The signals they receive from their contacts are that people are having trouble finding a house. When the interviewees were asked if they wanted to add important influences on the integration into society that were not discussed or asked in the interview, a respondent stressed the importance of financial possibilities of the immigrants. He was pleased about new political plans of the Dutch government on building more houses and lowering the rent prices and the costs of health insurance, because when people have no more money left after paying their fixed costs, they are not able to spend money on activities that accelerate their integration into the host society.

*“Integration is not just adapting to the Dutch culture, but also to live well in the Netherlands. How well you live, economically and financially, determines how people live together. If I do not have enough money, I will not be able to serve coffee to my neighbour. I can not go to a museum to learn about the Dutch culture.”*

#### **A policy influenced integration environment**

According to the field research done by interviewing Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek, the safety and the stability can be important influences in the integration of migrants into society. In some cases, a safe or unsafe feeling was influenced by the attitudes of people towards them. Besides some cases of discrimination, the respondents have experienced De Achterhoek as a safe place to integrate. This field research did not generate much empirical evidence on the relation between the stability of the housing of migrants and the degree of integration, because the interviewees personally did not have trouble with housing problems in terms of short-term residence, insecure tenancies and dispersal. However, respondents stressed that the situation nowadays is different compared to the times that they arrived in the Netherlands. It appears to be harder to find a house these days than it was some decades ago. Also, the costs of a suitable home and other fixed costs are too high to leave money to spend on integration accelerating activities, according to a respondent.

This brings us to the influence that policies on different levels of scale have on the safety and stability of the living environment of immigrants in De Achterhoek. On a European level of scale, the European Commission focusses mostly on addressing and tackling discrimination and fostering an including society. In order to build mutual respect and to foster ‘the sense of belonging’ of immigrants, the European Commission (2020) advises the member states to promote participation in society on a local level. The Netherlands want to improve the support of the society towards immigration. Although, the interviewees in this research have mainly had positive experiences with the attitudes of people, the promotion of migrant participation in education, sports and culture, could increase the amount of interactions, and therefore awareness of the differences between people.

Regarding the stability of the housing of migrants, the European Commission (2020) aims to achieve that everyone, including migrants have access to adequate and affordable housing, which

is in line with the challenges migrants run into in De Achterhoek nowadays, according to the interviews executed in this research. Therefore, the commission provides funds to the member states. The member states are encouraged to make use of the funds and implement strategies based on the specific challenges that the country runs into. The Ministry of Interior and Kingdom Relations (2022) chose to focus on the availability, affordability and quality of the houses. Realisation of these goals would at least make sure that everyone, including immigrants will be able to find a house. Moreover, when the affordability would be optimised, immigrants would have more financial possibilities to invest in activities that improve their integration in society.

In order to clear up the relations around the safety and stability of De Achterhoek and the degree of integration, the relations of different involved actors are visualised in a network. The degree of integration gets improved by increasing stability and safety. The attitudes of people towards immigrants influence their integration, but also the feeling of safety. Local policy, as well as national policy play a role in shaping the stability by implementing the ‘Housing Act’ and fostering safety with the use of anti-discrimination plans. While EU policy mainly exercises an indirect influence on the integration by forming a source of knowledge and funds for national policy. These relations between different actors and influences together form a network that is displayed in figure 4 below:



Figure 4: Network 'Integration environment' (made by author).

## 7. Adapting to the society of De Achterhoek

In order to have the possibility to adapt to a new society, it comes in handy to command the language of the host society. Also, being aware of the norms and values can be helpful for successful interaction with people from the host society. According to Ager & Strang (2008), when there is a lack of language competence and cultural knowledge, these form barriers to effective integration. It is also seen as a two-way understanding, where migrants will have to learn the native language and cultural aspects. On the other side, the host country should provide services to make participation of the immigrants possible. According to Chuatico & Haan (2020), in particular Turkish migrants often stick to social contacts with community members, instead of participating in interaction with native people, because of differences in culture. In this chapter,

the importance of language competence and cultural knowledge of migrants will be discussed, by reflecting to the case of the Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek.

### **The Dutch language competence of Turkish migrants**

In order to learn the Dutch language, the Turkish respondents have made different sorts of efforts. In the chapter on 'Removing barriers of language and cultural differences' the possibility of learning the language through an adapted program offered by an educational institution, was mentioned. This educational route was followed by one of the respondents of the interviews done in this research. She received the possibility to use six hundred hours on language classes, financed by the municipality. After these six hundred hours of classes, she must pass the exams. The respondent passed the exams after less hours than she was assigned to and she received the possibility of utilising these hours on further education, which she was pleased about. She also acknowledged that she could understand that not everyone is capable of following language classes, because some migrants have to finance it themselves. Also, not every migrant receives the possibility of their families to invest time in language classes. When she got asked what she would say if she had the possibility to give advice to policymakers regarding the integration of migrants, she emphasized that it should be permitted for all immigrants to attend language classes, because a lot of migrants would not attend the classes voluntarily.

The importance of commanding the Dutch language for successful integration was emphasized by each of the respondents. During the analysis of the interviews through Atlas.ti, the code 'language command' appeared 54 times. Two respondents declare that if they would be able to go back in time, they would attend language classes straight after their arrival. In addition to that, one respondent argued the same but about his wife to attend language classes immediately after arrival. The respondents stress the importance of commanding the language as soon as possible, in order to fully participate in society.

*"If you lack contact with your neighbours and if you can not communicate in the supermarket, you are nothing. I am sorry but you just have to learn the language. Also because of social life. When you visit the doctor or when you want to ask something while shopping. Just always. Language has to do with everything."*

So, the importance of the degree of commanding the language becomes clear in every aspect of social life. However, still a lot of immigrants are not convinced to learn the natives language. Besides that the use of the regional dialect often forms a barrier for migrants in communicating with people from De Achterhoek, multiple respondents declare that some of their close relatives still do not even command the Dutch language. The reasons they bring up are somewhat different, but the overarching motivation is that they are surrounded by other Turkish people in their environment, after immigration. These environments could be their living environment, their work or their educational setting. One experience was that the husband of one of the respondents works with no other nationalities than Turkish men and women, so during their shifts, they only speak Turkish with each other. Once he came home, his family again talks Turkish with him. When contacts with organisations like banks and hospitals have to occur, his wife takes it over for him. So, his social network only exist of other Turkish people, which is enough for him to maintain a life with interaction with others, but without really being a part of the society. This experience was shared by another respondent, whose father only worked with other Turks and

does not speak Dutch, due to a lack of conviction. Another experience was that the educational setting negatively affects the command of the Dutch language. A class only existing of Turkish people motivated them to talk their original language amongst each other. At the other hand, a classroom full of migrants could also function as motivation to accelerate ones integration.

*“ I felt at home in that classroom, because we all had the same opportunity and the same goal: integration. In terms of levels of skill we differed, some migrated a longer time ago than me and some were older than me. But our intention was the same and we understood each other very well.”*

In this case, possessing the same cultural values helped in creating a positive group spirit with the goal of competence of the Dutch language. Other influences that convinced the migrants to learn the Dutch language were the personal involvement and caring of Dutch people and the benefits of commanding the language for the children of the migrants. The second motivation helped a respondent not only in commanding the language, also it provided her with more social contacts in the neighbourhood. She became member of the parents council of the primary school her children attended. In this way, she explained to have learnt the Dutch language, because of the increase of her contacts with Dutch people. So, there are different ways of learning the Dutch language for migrants. Receiving help and care from Dutch friends, attending language classes and having and maintaining social contacts that involve Dutch people. Most of the ways lead back to education. Not only because of the education itself, but also because of the social contacts and friends deriving from it.

### **Getting familiar with the culture of De Achterhoek**

The interviews cleared up that not every migrant in De Achterhoek has adapted to the Dutch culture. Although, they migrated a long time ago when the obligations from the government were different, lots of migrants do not see the necessity of adaptation. This is often due to the fact that some Turkish migrants have the possibility to stay within their own circle of other Turkish people. At the other hand, two of the respondents did stress the importance of adapting to the Dutch culture. According to a respondent, adapting to the Dutch culture helps in lowering the barrier for social interaction. The other way around, he invites Dutch people for a cup of coffee and tries to involve Dutch people in typical Turkish events like weddings. Overall, the cultural differences between Turkish people and Dutch people is acknowledged by the interviewees and in order to come closer together, people will have to take the cultural differences into account some way. One respondent was very strict in this:

*“You are Dutch, I am Turkish and we have a very different culture. Because we say, we continue to live here, we have to adapt. Must adapt. Not allowed to, but must to.”*

After doing the primary part of this research it became clear that the respondents were eager to talk about the experiences they had with the cultural differences they ran into. The code, ‘cultural knowledge’ occurred 65 times during the analysis of the interviews. The cultural differences migrants run into after their arrival, differ from traditions, norms and values to small ways of interactions. Traditions like Christmas are not custom in Turkey, but like already mentioned, the way of celebrating weddings like Turkish people do is not custom in the Netherlands. However, these traditions form appropriate possibilities for the exchange of cultural aspects.

*“For example, the wedding of my son. We get together in front of the house with over 150 people together with our neighbours. In the backyard we have a lot of food, so we told the neighbours to come and eat first, before going back to the front yard. They loved it. Now they know how we do this in our culture.”*

The norms and values of the Dutch and De Achterhoek society are also not self-evident for Turkish migrants. Unwritten values, as well as written values like the law could form an obstacle for the integration of migrants. Some women that were interviewed, underscored the influence that integration in the Dutch society had on their view on some norms and values of the culture they were originally from. Especially, the situation a woman finds herself in is different. In the culture they were used to, women stay at home and do not go to work. They are not allowed to work by their fathers or husbands. Also, one respondent deplored the fact that Turkish women were not allowed to marry Dutch boys. These cultural influences cause that Turkish women who are mostly exposed to Turkish norms and values in their home situations, lack the possibility to blend in with people from other nationalities and cultures. Other respondents were able to take over small norms and values of the Dutch society, which they found out appeared to be integrated in their own way of life when they visited family in their country of origin;

*“When we are in Turkey, I see my cousins being awake at twelve o’ clock, despite being only seven or eight years old. My mother held on to the rules imposed in the Netherlands. Despite that we went on vacation, we had to go to bed on a fixed time every day and we slept in our own beds. At the evening, we did not leave the house anymore.”*

Two examples of little cultural differences on interaction between Turkish migrants and Dutch people that came up during the interviews, have to do with the passing away of family or friends from acquaintances and the visiting of Dutch people at their homes by Turkish people. Two respondents explained that they have had trouble with how to approach Dutch acquaintances that just received the bad news of the passing away of a relative or friend. In the Turkish culture, it is common to help those acquaintances by cooking and cleaning for them and visiting them immediately. While Dutch people, according to the respondents, send flowers and grant the mourners privacy.

*“When my neighbour’s father passed away and I heard of it, I thought by myself: what do Dutch people do when someone passed away? I had to ask the other neighbour, these things you have to ask, observe or experience. In my culture, when someone passes away you help the mourners with everything. Sending a letter or flowers does not belong to the way they do it in my culture. I did send a letter eventually, but I also cooked dinner for my grieving neighbours.”*

Another example of small cultural differences between Dutch and Turkish people that repeatedly came forward during the interviews, was the way Dutch people receive visitors at their homes. Multiple interviewees came up with the same example, however one respondent told it after the actual interview, so this has not been included in the analysis of the interview transcripts. The respondents were surprised when they visited a Dutch household for the first time, because they were offered a drink and a biscuit. They were used to go to the market and buy lots of food to put on the table for their guests and to always be prepared in case they received a visitor at their own homes.

*“When I picked up a classmate before school, his mother opened the door and I waited inside. She gave me a biscuit. She was holding a cookie jar and I picked one. ‘Paks’! She closed the jar. I thought to myself: ‘what is this’? Because I am not familiar with this, no. In our culture, when you receive visitors, you put everything on the table. The guests can have everything they want and how much they want. And also in our culture, when visitors stay for a longer time, they all stay for dinner. We do not ask if you are hungry.”*

*“I have never forgotten. We visited our Dutch neighbours and we get coffee and a biscuit from a cookie jar. Every time! We do not do it like this. We just prepare everything for the visitors, I find this a very strange culture.”*

Besides all the cultural differences the migrants encountered after migrating to De Achterhoek, they also ran into some similarities. One respondent described De Achterhoek as a region where everyone knows what their neighbours are up to. She experienced a ‘we-culture’ where people are closer to each other and people know each other, which could be seen as quite similar to the Turkish community in De Achterhoek, where Turkish people often have a broad social network of others from the same origin. Other than some similarities, the respondents mostly stressed the cultural differences. The way migrants try to cope with cultural barriers differ. Some of them avoid these situations by staying in their own social network, others try to adapt to the culture of the host society. For example, by participating with Christmas celebrations on schools and by becoming friends with Dutch people. The respondents explained that they mostly tried to learn about the Dutch culture, by just finding out. Asking, observing and experiencing the norms and values of the host society. When a respondent was asked if it is necessary to oblige cultural knowledge lessons for migrants, she said that the emphasis should not be on learning about cultural norms and values through education, but through fostering social interaction between people. Every individual is different and individuals interact with each other, not the cultures. She explained the importance of being aware of cultural differences, however cultural education should not be obliged according to her.

*“If you want to learn more about the Dutch culture, you will have to observe very well to find out about it. During the integration lessons I received, I did not hear much about cultural aspects. Also during my college time, I had to find out what the traditions and the way of interacting were by myself. In the Netherlands you have to apply yourself and be assertive. So, you have to adapt a little, which requires a certain motivation.”*

### **Improving skills of migrants for social adaptation**

It has become clear that commanding the language and possessing knowledge of the culture of the host society form great influences on the degree of integration of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek. The reasons why commanding the language is vital for integrating is that it provides immigrants the possibility to come in contact with other people, in order to blend in with their new society. However, some migrants are capable of living a life without learning the Dutch language and blending in with the host society, by staying within their own community. In addition to that, migrants experience difficulties in social interaction because of differences in cultural norms and values. Which induces that migrants become hesitant to approach or contact Dutch people. Also, the position Turkish women often have in their households, keeps them from getting in contact with other people. Meanwhile, these encounters and social contacts between

migrants and native people, are a good way for migrants to become familiar with the language and the cultural aspects of De Achterhoek. Another way to accelerate integration is by attending language classes, while adapting to the culture, seems to be better learnt through social interaction.

The policy of the European Union entails that education in terms of language competence and cultural knowledge should have more participants, better quality and a longer duration. It also promotes the fostering of interactions between native people and migrants in schools. This policy influences the Dutch ‘Civic Integration Act 2021’, where the specific education is explained, as well as who are assigned to follow which path. The role of local governmental organisations like municipalities is to carry out this policy. The respondents emphasized the importance of learning the Dutch language, however some of them noticed during their integration that it was not obliged for every migrant. In the meantime, the Dutch government broadened the obligation for a larger proportion of Turkish migrants. This could provide Turkish immigrants with greater possibilities to learn the language, while some respondents showed a positive attitude towards language education.

Just like visualised in figure 4 of the previous chapter, the role of EU policy is mainly to form a source of knowledge and funds for the implementation of national policy. National policy like the ‘Civic Integration Act 2021’ influences the education of migrants, which improves the cultural knowledge and language command of the newcomers. Also, during the analysis of the adaptation of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek, the making of social bridges came forward as a useful way of getting familiar with the natives language and culture. The relations between these different actors, the language command and the cultural knowledge are presented in the network below, in figure 5.

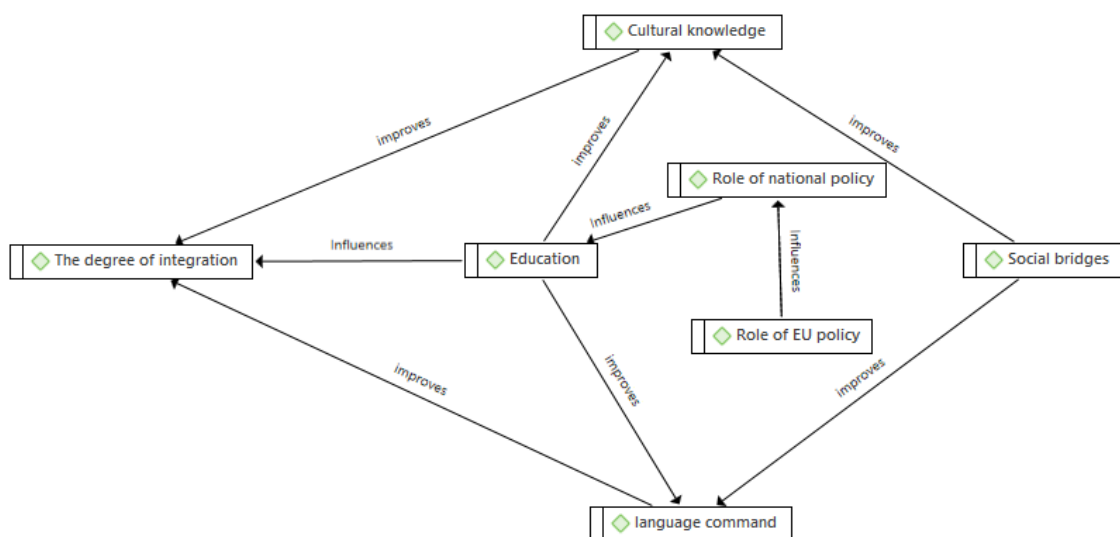


Figure 5: Network ‘Adapting to the society of De Achterhoek’ (made by author).

## 8. Social networks of Turkish migrants

So, interactions of migrants with native people could help to accelerate the integration of them in society. Especially, commanding the language and knowledge about cultural norms and values often gets improved by interactions between native people and migrants. These inter-ethnic contacts, in other words social bridges, can have other influences on the integration of the migrants as well. Also, there are other kinds of social contacts that migrants could maintain. According to Ager & Strang (2008) these sorts of social connection are distinguished in 'social links' and 'social bonds'. Respectively, contacts with structures of the state and contact with people within their community. 'Social bridges' are defined by connections with other communities. The influences that those different kinds of social contacts have on the integration of migrants will be explained in the following chapter.

### **Variety in social networks among Turkish migrants**

The respondents of this research all have had different kinds of social networks since they arrived in De Achterhoek. None of them was coupled to a 'buddy' in order to get to know the host society. However, one respondent explained that her father received help from services provided by the municipality. A woman helped him with a lot of things, like registering his children for school. Another respondent received help from a Dutch woman with administration and sorting out important letters, but also with registering the children. This woman was not working for the municipality or another governmental organisation, but she helped the family out of charity. The family experienced her efforts as really helpful.

After the arrival of the respondents, most of them only had contact with other Turkish people. The reason of migrating for two respondents, was family reunification. Their dads were already in the Netherlands as guest workers. Through work, they already had contact with other Turkish people and when the families of the guest workers came to De Achterhoek, they immediately came in contact with the other Turkish families. They went to each other's houses to get acquainted and over time more Turkish families joined the community. So, the origin of the Turkish community in De Achterhoek comes from the Turkish guest workers who worked with each other in factories at the end of last century. The name of a particular bicycle tire factory in the city of Doetinchem, in De Achterhoek was mentioned by three different respondents. Over time, the community grew, because the migrants had children and their children became friends with the children of other Turkish families from the community. Besides the influence of working with merely other Turkish people, being in class with only Turkish children also influenced migrants to stay within their own circle of people from the same origin. One respondent claims to know every Turk in a broad area within De Achterhoek. He has always felt connected to the Turkish community. That is why he worked as an interpreter, to help other Turkish people with making contact. He also legally assists these migrants and helps them with their social securities. These acts of charity and community feeling, expanded his network of social bonds with Turkish people in De Achterhoek, that is why he still maintains a lot of contacts.

Some of the respondents explained that they were not allowed to talk to other people, except from Turkish acquaintances. So, the making of social bridges to people from other nationalities was hard, though this has changed over time.

*“Nowadays, it is easier to make Dutch friends or having love affairs with Dutch people. It used to be very controversial and it was not allowed. Absolutely not. You would almost be disinherited when you were seen with a Dutch person. But, nowadays this is not as strict anymore.”*

Other respondents did have social contacts with Dutch people, as well as Turkish people. They came in contact with native people through school and still maintain friendships. Others have contacts with Dutch coworkers or parents of children from the same primary school as their children. Interactions with neighbours from different origins are also part of the social life of the respondents. One interviewee said that she has a Dutch daughter in law. So, not every Turkish migrant in De Achterhoek stays within the community. Over time, the most Turkish people are producing social bridges through different social environments. Also, according to other respondents, it appears to be that young migrants or children of migrants are more involved in social contacts with Dutch people, than migrants from earlier generations.

### **The causes of social distance**

The reasons of the social distance between Turkish migrants and the native people living in the society of De Achterhoek are varying. Differences in language is often an influencing factor, as well as differences in culture. On the other hand, there is not always the need to make contact with people outside of a community. When one does not command the natives language, it is hard to enter the social lives of Dutch people and to add Dutch people to their own social network. When migrants have never attended Dutch language classes and they are surrounded by fellow outsiders of the host society, it is hard to learn the language. Like already mentioned in the ‘The Dutch language competence of Turkish migrants’ chapter, when Turkish people are merely accompanied by other Turkish people in their work environment and home environment, there is no need to speak Dutch and they often remain speaking Turkish. Speaking the same language is an important factor that holds the Turkish community in De Achterhoek together. However, it is not the only influencing factor. According to a respondent, it is hard for Turkish people to let go of their identity. They often possess strong ties to their country of origin, where they still visit family and friends on a regular base. Besides their language, they also stick to Turkish cultural values. A possible reason for this was given by some respondents. When they visit their country of origin, they often have the feeling to be seen as a foreigner. A feeling that they experience or have experienced in the Netherlands as well. Little norms and values that they have adapted from living in the Netherlands, consciously as well as unconsciously, stand out in the eyes of their relatives and friends when visiting them in Turkey. This could give the migrants the feeling that they do not really belong to any society.

*“When we visit Turkey, we are not at home either. People look at us like, there you have the tourists again. Back here, we are strangers as well.”*

On the other hand, strong social bonds between people of the host society could also influence the integration of migrants. One respondent arrived in a neighbourhood in Uft, a village in De Achterhoek, where her neighbours already maintained close relationships. Being the first foreign household in the neighbourhood, it felt like some neighbours kept more distance from them. Meanwhile, other neighbours welcomed the newcomers with flowers and cake. After a while, the contacts with the neighbourhood improved even more. The fact that she arrived in a neighbourhood with a lot of native people, ensured that she was able to make bridges to the host

society, which in her case led to the exchange of cultural aspects that contributed to her integration into De Achterhoek. When multiple foreign households live closely together in a neighbourhood, instead of a more even mix with native people, residential segregation occurs. Interactions with neighbours, a form of social contact maintained by each of the respondents, would still primarily exist of interaction with other migrants in segregated neighbourhoods. One respondent explained that he had been annoyed by the fact that the housing corporation placed his family in a neighbourhood with multiple other foreign families. He experienced it as being limited in the ability to make social bridges with the host society. When encountering his neighbours, he spoke his original language again.

*“Foreign migrants get to live next to each other. At that time they say, you have to adapt to the Dutch culture and Dutch way of living. But, if the three neighbours next to me come from the same place in Turkey, how am I supposed to make contact with the fourth in Dutch? Only in this street, there are eighteen Turkish families.”*

Although, he experienced the integration into the Dutch society as easy, he explains that it was harder for his sisters. Personally he had lots of Dutch friends, but his sisters did not. They barely had contact with neighbours, only with coworkers in the factory. There were some Dutch labourers, but most of the coworkers were from Turkey. The position of Turkish women is often different from the position of Turkish men in society. Especially earlier generations of Turkish women were expected to stay at home. Also, a respondent claims that when she was young, Turkish girls were not allowed to associate with Dutch boys. They had to stay within their own community. These restrictions make it hard for girls to integrate into the host society. Obtaining social bridges, like friendships with Dutch girls and interaction with Dutch neighbours and coworkers, could make sure that migrants feel more as a part of the host society.

*“I think that for example Dutch friends would make it easier to.. integration, et cetera, to foster it. However, they stay in their own.. I know very few women that have a Dutch friend. Very few I think.”*

### **The influence of different social networks on integration**

It appears to be that the social bridges of migrants with Dutch people provide more possibilities for the improving of integration than social bonds do. The respondents did not have much experience with social links, though one respondent was very pleased with the possibilities she received from the municipality regarding Dutch language classes. Also, the family of one respondent received help from a social worker from the municipality with practical things like administration and the registering for schools. When the interviewees were asked how well they perceived themselves to be integrated in the host society and to what extent they feel Dutch, the answers overall were positive. The reasons for the degree of integration were more varying. The first respondent graded herself with an eight on a scale of one to ten regarding the degree of integration. Personally, she has the ability to adapt quickly to a new situation. She particularly likes De Achterhoek, as a place where people make time for each other and have respect for each other. All kinds of social interaction like coworkers and friends made her feel at home after a while. She emphasized the importance of having contacts with people outside the community. However, she explained that it does not matter where she lives, she feels everywhere at home as long as she is with her children.

The respect, friendliness and particular norms and values make that the second respondent feels happy in her living environment. Although she still feels more Turkish than Dutch, she can live peacefully in De Achterhoek, without social bridges that go beyond small greetings. The third respondent grades her integration in the Netherlands with a nine out of ten. She does enjoy to maintain social bonds with other Turkish people, however she acknowledges the social bridges as more important for integration. Because of her work with refugees in the Netherlands and her own experiences, she emphasized the importance of having Dutch contacts. Obtaining social bridges means having a place in society, which is not only important for migrants themselves, but also for being able to take care of things for their children. Apart from the integration in the Netherlands, she grades her integration into De Achterhoek with a five out of ten. She has trouble with understanding the dialect and becoming part of the closed social networks people maintain.

Having Dutch friends, visiting native people and inviting them at home are tools the fourth respondent used to integrate into the Dutch society. Besides actively making social bridges, he attaches great importance to the power of community feeling. By offering help regarding translations, social securities and knowledge of the Dutch constitution to other Turkish people in De Achterhoek, he actively contributes to their degree of integration. So, social bonds could be used as a source of knowledge and assistance for becoming part of the host society. The fifth respondent grades her integration into the Dutch society with a nine out of ten, because besides having some trouble in commanding the language, she managed to stand on her own two feet. In the process of becoming a part of the host society, she benefited the most from making social bridges with people from various backgrounds. By joining the parents council of the primary school of her children, she got herself into a position where she was forced to cooperate with other parents. As explained in the chapter on 'The Dutch language competence of Turkish migrants', the involvement with people of other nationalities on multicultural places like primary schools does not just help in commanding the natives language, it also brings people a more varying social network. She encouraged the attending of meetings of the parents council to other Turkish parents, because besides obtaining social contacts, it also provides the possibility to take care of practical issues, in order to improve the wellbeing of the children.

*"I mean, we do not eat pork. But, they put it on the barbecue. We do not want that, so I went to arrange it with other neighbours, Turkish families, for the children. That is why someone has to join the parents council, yes. To bring a lot of people in contact with each other."*

She rejected the fact that often nobody came to the meetings. Another respondent also encouraged multicultural gatherings in order to expand and diversify the social network of migrants. The regularly meeting of different groups of people like migrants and Dutch people, by organising gatherings should improve the integration of migrants into society. She also stressed the fact that the attendance of these kinds of meetings is often very low. However, in order to create a two-way understanding between native people and migrants, attendance is important and should be encouraged by investments of municipalities.

### **Utilising the strengths of varying social networks**

Out of the three different kinds of social connection; social bonds, social bridges and social links, social bonds and social bridges were mentioned a lot more than social links by the respondents. However, they all have had influence on their integration in different ways. By being absent, by a

small presence or by a great presence. Social links did have a positive influence on some of the respondents in the form a social worker from the municipality that helped out with administration and registering for school and social securities. The European Commission (2020) encourages the member states to implement measures in order to make contact between migrants and social services more accessible. Communication from both sides towards each other should be made more important, because migrants could express their feelings on the influence of certain policies on their integration. For example migrants should be able to start the conversation on the residential segregation that they experience in their neighbourhood, in order to look for a solution together with the policymakers.

The interviews cleared up that social bonds are very important for Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek. A lot of them find themselves in a strong community where almost everyone knows each other. This community feeling has different influences on the degree of integration of the migrants. On one hand, it keeps Turkish people from adapting to the Dutch society regarding language command, knowledge of cultural norms and values and multicultural social networks. On the other hand, it makes them feel more at home and they could use the community as a source of knowledge and assistance for their integration into the host society. European policy does not focus on expanding or improving social bonds. On the contrary, the European Commission rather sees migrants connecting with Dutch people and people from other origins and backgrounds, which will create a better two-way understanding between the different groups of people.

The European Commission (2020) recognises the improving of overall participation from migrants as the most important goal regarding their social networks. Providing places and opportunities to meet and interact for all groups of people is key in achieving more inclusive and cohesive societies. These kind of multicultural gatherings were also encouraged by the respondents of the interviews. However, they acknowledged the lack of attendance of these meetings, the meetings have the potential to create interactions and exchanges of perspectives between migrants and native people. Educational settings like primary schools could possibly form a place of social interaction between all kinds of people, as long as it is a multicultural school. Because the well-being of their children is at stake, participation of parents could be more extensive. Other kinds of places for social interaction recommended by the European Commission (2020), can be working environments and sports clubs. The actual implementation of these would be the responsibility of local policies from the municipalities. The role of making recommendations to national policy by EU policy, as well as the implementation of social gatherings by local and national governmental organisations are visualised in figure 6 below. National policy and local policy also influence the presence of social links where migrants extract help and information for their integration. During the analysis, social bonds came forward as mostly neglected by policy, however it does influence the degree of integration of migrants, both in negative as positive ways. The relations between the policymakers on different levels of scale and the position of different kinds of social connection towards the integration of Turkish migrants are displayed in figure 6 below.

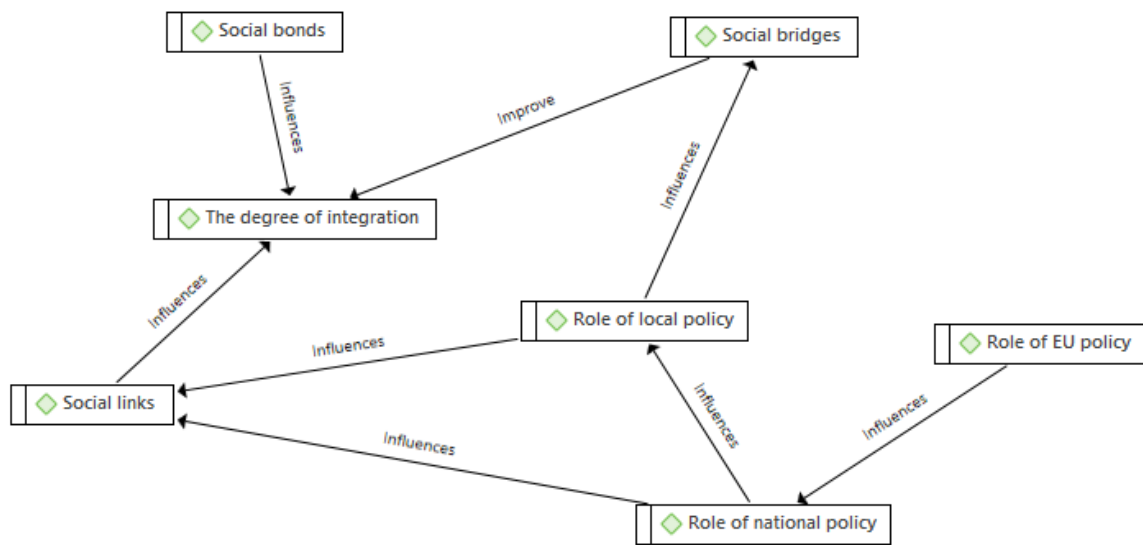


Figure 6: Network: 'Social network of Turkish migrants' (made by author).

## 9. Conclusion

This research had been executed in order to answer the main question: *To what extent do integration policies and social networks influence the integration of Turkish immigrants into the society of De Achterhoek?*

Secondary research produced an understanding about European policies and the policies the Netherlands executes. The promotion of participation of migrants is one of the major roles of policies on different levels of scale. Other tasks are providing education on language competence and cultural knowledge, but also the increasing and improving of the housing supply. The results of the field research showed that De Achterhoek has been experienced as a safe and stable environment for the integration of migrants. Apart from some incidents of discrimination the respondent have always felt safe in the region. Also, there had been no issues regarding housing situations, however the respondents noticed in their environments that the problem of housing has been increased lately. The challenges of language command and cultural knowledge appeared to be important factors of influence on the integration of migrants, because a lack of these competences keeps migrants from getting in contact with native people. On the other hand, these contacts are next to education, vital in learning about the natives language and culture. The social bridges, emphasized by EU, as well as Dutch policy, form the most important sort of social connection. They improve participation like Ager & Strang (2008) already emphasized, but they also improve language command and cultural knowledge of migrants. In addition to that, more social contacts between different groups of people diminishes negative attitudes towards immigrants.

This research showed that integration policies give attention to multiple important aspects of migrant integration, like safety and education. These aspects are generally experienced as a

positive influence on integration in De Achterhoek. Interactions with the host society, social bridges, also have a great influence on the integration of migrants, because it helps them overcome language and cultural related challenges, which enables the migrants to increase participation and create mutual acceptance.

## 10. Discussion

Turkish people form the most extensive group of immigrants in the Netherlands. Being Turkish often means being proud of your nationality and perceive it as your identity. De Achterhoek, a region in the eastern part of the Netherlands, is also known for a traditional identity. Which brings up the following question: how do these identities blend in with each other in practice? This research attempted to investigate the integration of the Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek.

The integration environment of De Achterhoek regarding safety and stability is in general experienced as pleasant. However, the field research could not empirically explain barriers of the stability of the housing situations for the migrants, because the respondents have never experienced problems with the stability. Besides some incidents of discrimination, De Achterhoek is perceived as a safe integration environment. The situation where migrants arrive after their migration to De Achterhoek appears to be changed over time. Attitudes of native people towards Turkish migrants change, probably because the Turkish people form an extensive group of immigrants in the Netherlands and Dutch people have become more familiar with them over time. Also, the housing situation has changed. Where migrants used to be assigned to a house very quickly, nowadays the finding of a suitable dwelling is more of a challenge. The European Commission (2020) of the EU acknowledges the importance of a safe and stable integration environment for immigrants. They emphasize the fighting of discrimination and the providing of suitable and affordable houses in their policy. The Commission promotes the efforts from member states on these subjects by providing funds.

Also, in the action plan of the European Commission (2020) on migrant integration in the member states, they emphasize the learning of the natives language and culture by migrants. More participation, better quality and longer duration of education regarding these subjects are promoted. The Netherlands introduced the 'Civic Integration Act 2021' where obligations and tools are legally established. The field research underscored the importance of language competence and cultural knowledge, because a lack of them diminishes or even prevents social contacts between the immigrants and Dutch people. These social contacts, social bridges, appeared to be essential in the adaption of migrants to the native society. While the Dutch language is often learned through education, becoming familiar with the Dutch culture mainly comes from social interaction. In addition to that, social bridges improve their language command and the other way around, migrants feel more comfortable addressing Dutch people when their Dutch is better. The presence of social bridges are essential in the participation of migrants, which makes them a part of the host society. Thus, they will be integrated better. In order to improve and increase these social bridges, the European Commission (2020) promotes multicultural gatherings and migrant participation in education, culture and sports. Field research showed that in De Achterhoek, there is either a lack of gatherings or a lack of attendance of these gatherings.

It is not possible to make conclusive statements about the influence of social links on migrant integration on the basis of the field research, because there is a lack of shared experiences. However, the experiences the respondents explained were positive and mainly entailed help with administration and social securities. These efforts could be really helpful with making immigrants part of society. The social bonds, which were barely mentioned by policies, turned out to have strong influences on migrant integration. On one hand, the social bonds of Turkish migrants in De Achterhoek form a community where some members exclusively remain their social networks in. They have few or no contacts outside of the community. Which means that they do not integrate into De Achterhoek and thus are not part of the host society. Necessary contact with organisations are made via close relatives. At the other hand, the community could also form a source of experiences and assistance in helping members with their integration in De Achterhoek.

The field research that is conducted provided useful information, but it also contained some limitations. Like Masocha (2014) wrote, a couple of interviews are not accepted as significant, because the sample of the population is too small to be generalisable. Also, it was not possible to conduct interviews on a complete random sample of the Turkish immigrant population of De Achterhoek, because there was no access to databases where every inhabitant of De Achterhoek is noted. Moreover, if it was possible to create a random sample, a considerable amount of potential respondents would likely not have wanted to participate in this research. The search for interviewees was challenging, because the author had to look into his own social network of strong and weak links, that eventually led to enough suitable respondents. During the interviews themselves the author also ran into difficulties. Some of the interviewees did not command the language enough to have a detailed and deep conversation about their experiences. This problem was solved by bringing an interpreter, who translated the questions of the interviewer when it was necessary and translated the responses when they were given in the Turkish language.

The secondary part of this research, the collecting and analysing of policy reports of the European Union and the Dutch government, also knew its limitations. Unlike the policy report 'Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion 2021-2027' from the European Commission, it was hard to find Dutch policy reports, as well as regional policy reports on the internet. Some advisory reports were found, however they were not published by the Dutch government, so they could not be used as a reliable source of data. The Dutch government uses websites on the internet to inform migrants and other stakeholders on integration policies. Together with the 'Civic Integration Act 2021' these websites were analysed in order to gain information on the efforts of the Dutch government.

This research continued on conclusions that Gijsberts & Dagevos (2007) made on the importance of social contacts of immigrants for their integration, by testing this in the practical case of Turkish immigrants in De Achterhoek. Also, this research is in line with the findings of Ager & Strang (2008) on the importance of these social contacts in making the immigrants feel more at home. Their argument that social bridges improve social participation of migrants is demonstrated in the primary part of this research. Besides the influence of social contacts, Ager & Strang (2008) emphasized the essentiality of language command and cultural knowledge, which can be supported at the end of this research. This investigation provided new insights on the improving of cultural knowledge, which respondents did by making contacts with native people. Meanwhile, the importance of policy in removing barriers for integration mainly got emphasized concerning

education for language command. The safety and stability of the integration environment also seemed to be determining factors. However, there was less empirical evidence in order to fully reflect on these, especially the stability. It did become clear that the problem of stability has changed negatively over time, because of a decrease in the housing supply. Further research could therefore focus on the implications that policy really have on the changes in housing supply, so that its influence on the changes of the stability of migrants could be explained.

## 11. Recommendations

Finally, some recommendations for practical implementation could be made to policy makers. Participation and inter-ethnic contacts of migrants should be more encouraged by organising multicultural gatherings or activities on a local level. Also, by fostering more variety of people from different origins in educational- and working environments, more social bridges will be made. More contacts between structures of the state and immigrants could provide the immigrants with the possibility to explain their needs for accelerating their integration, so that governmental organisations perhaps can improve their efforts. These last two advices are more aimed at national policy, although EU policy could contribute to successful integration by formulating a plan for mutual communication between migrants and structures of the state.

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## Attachments

### 1. Interview guide English

Important announcements before the actual interview.

- Paying gratitude for participation and asking for permission recording.
- Introducing subject and the goal of the interview.
- Clarify anonymity and the right to stop the interview or skipping questions.
- Duration of the interview.

<i>Subject</i>	<i>Questions</i>	<i>Probes</i>
Introduction	- Could you shortly introduce yourself?	
Background respondent	- When did you come to the Netherlands/ De Achterhoek? - Are you familiar with the term integration? - How did you experience your own process in making yourself at home in your new living environment overall?	- What period? - If yes, could you explain integration in your own words? If no, I will explain it.
Safety and stability	- Do you perceive the Netherlands and De Achterhoek as a safe environment to arrive as an immigrant?	- How did this influence your own integration process.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did you have to move a lot after your arrival?</li> </ul>	
Language and cultural knowledge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What do you think of the importance of commanding the language for integration in society, and why?</li> <li>- To what extent did you try to get familiar with the norms and values of the Netherlands and De Achterhoek and does it make you feel more like a Dutch citizen?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did you experience help from governmental organisations regarding commanding the language and getting familiar with the Dutch culture?</li> <li>- If yes, how did you experience this?</li> </ul>
Experience with integration policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- What kind of help and obligations did you receive from governmental organisations?</li> <li>- How did governmental organisations influence the way how you settled in the</li> <li>- If you could give Dutch policymakers advice on what they should incorporate in their integration programs, what should it be?</li> </ul>	
Social connection	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Did you have social contact with other Turkish people and how did this develop over time?</li> <li>- Did you have social contact with Dutch people and people of other ethnicities and how did this develop over time?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Why do you think it was this way?</li> <li>- What do you think of the importance of social contacts and which kind of social contacts made you feel at home?</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- How did you experience the attitude of native people towards you or other Turkish immigrants?</li> <li>- Did you have contact with government services and how did these maintain over time?</li> </ul>	
Rounding off	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- On a scale of 1 to 10, how well do you perceive yourself to be integrated in society?</li> <li>- Do you perhaps want to share anything that could be interesting for this research, that has not been asked yet?</li> </ul>	

## 2. Interview guide Dutch translation

Belangrijke mededelingen voorafgaand het interview.

- Bedanken voor deelname en vragen om toestemming voor het opnemen.
- Introduceren van het onderwerp en het doel van het interview.
- Anonimiteit garanderen en vertellen over de mogelijkheden om het interview te stoppen en vragen over te slaan.
- De tijd die het interview ongeveer in beslag gaat nemen vertellen.

<i>Onderwerp</i>	<i>Vragen</i>	<i>Doorvragen</i>
Introductie	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kun je jezelf kort voorstellen?</li> </ul>	
Achtergrond respondent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wanneer ben je naar Nederland/ De Achterhoek gekomen?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Welke periode?</li> <li>- Zo ja, kun je het in eigen woorden</li> </ul>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ben je bekend met de term integratie?</li> <li>- Hoe heb je je eigen integratie proces over het algemeen ervaren?</li> <li>- Op een schaal van 1 tot 10, hoe goed vind je jezelf ingeburgerd in je leefomgeving?</li> </ul>	<p>uitleggen, zo nee dan leg ik het uit.</p>
Veiligheid en stabiliteit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- In hoeverre heb je Nederland en De Achterhoek als een veilige plek ervaren om te arriveren als immigrant?</li> <li>- Heb je veel moeten verhuizen na je aankomst?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hoe heeft dit je integratieproces beïnvloed?</li> </ul>
Taal en cultuur	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Hoe belangrijk denk je dat het is om de Nederlandse taal te beheersen voor je inburgering in de maatschappij?</li> <li>- In hoeverre ben je bekend geraakt met de normen en waarden van de Nederlandse/ Achterhoekse cultuur en voel je je hierdoor meer Nederlander/ Achterhoeker?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Heb je hulp ontvangen van overheidsinstanties met het leren van de Nederlandse taal en cultuur?</li> <li>- Zo ja, wat vond je hiervan?</li> </ul>
Ervaringen met integratiebeleid vanuit de staat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wat voor soort hulp en verplichtingen heb je gekregen van overheidsinstanties?</li> <li>- Hoe hebben overheidsinstanties jouw manier van inburgeren beïnvloed?</li> <li>- Als je Nederlandse beleidsmakers advies mag geven omtrent</li> </ul>	

	<p>integratiebeleid, wat moeten ze volgens jou toevoegen aan en/of weglaten uit hun beleid?</p>	
Sociale contacten	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Kwam je na je aankomst in contact met andere Turkse mensen en hoe hebben je contacten ontwikkeld over de tijd?</li> <li>- Kwam je in contact met Nederlandse mensen en mensen van andere ethniciteiten en hoe ontwikkelde zich dit over de tijd?</li> <li>- Hoe heb je de houding van Nederlandse mensen tegenover jezelf en andere Turkse immigranten ervaren?</li> <li>- Heb je contact gehad met overheidsinstanties en hoe hebben deze ontwikkeld over de tijd?</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Waarom denk je dat dit zo was?</li> <li>- Hoe belangrijk vind je het hebben van sociale contacten om je meer thuis te voelen en welke soort sociale contacten waren het belangrijkste?</li> </ul>
Afsluiting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Wil je misschien nog iets delen wat interessant kan zijn voor dit onderzoek?</li> </ul>	

### 3. List of codes

Codes (13)		
◇	○ Attitudes towards immigrants (45-2)	◇
◇	○ Cultural knowledge (77-2)	◇
◇	○ Education (71-4)	◇
◇	○ language command (66-2)	◇
◇	○ Role of EU policy (53-1)	⇄
◇	○ Role of local policy (26-5)	◇
◇	○ Role of national policy (50-6)	◇
◇	○ Safety (18-4)	◇
◇	○ Social bonds (57-1)	◇
◇	○ Social bridges (88-5)	◇
◇	○ Social links (27-3)	◇
◇	○ Stability (18-3)	◇
◇	○ The degree of integration (10-6)	◇

#### 4. Features transcripts

The full transcripts of the interviews are stored in RIS. Here presented are the features of the interviews.

##### Interview 1:

Date and time: 4-5-2024, 14:30.

Place: Doetinchem, the Netherlands.

Speaker 0: Interviewer Floris Gootink.

Speaker 1: Interviewee: Anonymous woman, 48 year old Turkish immigrant living in Doetinchem.

Speaker 2: Daughter interviewee for support mother.

##### Interview 2:

Date and time: 15-5-2024, 14:30.

Place: Doetinchem, the Netherlands.

Speaker 1: Interviewer, Floris Gootink.

Speaker 2: Respondent: Anonymous woman. 55 years old Turkish immigrant living in Doetinchem.

Speaker 3: Daughter as interpreter.

##### Interview 3:

Date and time: 16-5-2024, 10:00.

Place: Ulft, the Netherlands.

Speaker 0: Interviewer, Floris Gootink.

Speaker 1: Interviewee: Anonymous woman, Turkish immigrant living in Ulft.

**Interview 4:**

Date and time: 20-5-2024, 11:00.

Place: Ulft, the Netherlands

Speaker 1: interviewer, Floris Gootink.

Speaker 2: interviewee: Anonymous man, 55 year old Turkish immigrant.

**Interview 5:**

Date and time: 20-5-2024, 14:00.

Place: Doetinchem, the Netherlands.

Speaker 1: interviewer, Floris Gootink.

Speaker 0: interviewee, 59 year old woman, Turkish immigrant.

Speaker 2: interpreter.