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Family Language Policy among Newly Arrived First-Generation Turkish Adults in the Netherlands

Abstract

The present study investigates the language ideologies, attitudes, and practices of newly arrived first-generation Turkish adults, who immigrated to the Netherlands due to the political issues in Turkey, regarding their family language policy and code-switching behaviour. Given the new flow of immigration from Turkey to the Netherlands a necessity emerged for a study regarding how these new immigrants manage their both heritage and host languages.

This research employed a qualitative method through semi-structured interviews. The participants encompassed 8 first-generation adults from Turkey who moved to the Netherlands between the years of 2017 and 2021. Their age ranged between 32 to 49 years old. They had all higher education levels, and applied for asylum due to political circumstances in Turkey. Data analysis was carried out utilizing Atlas.ti.

Results show that recent immigrants, though highly valuing heritage language maintenance, are more balanced and pragmatic about the use of languages than earlier generations. Participants mostly code-switch for convenience flexibly; that is, they employ the words/phrases/sentences from the host language for easier and effective communication. They do not view the acquisition of the Dutch language as a threat toward their cultural identity but rather an integral part of the integration process.

This study advances the literature by highlighting how family language policy has evolved with different waves of immigration. It demonstrates how factors such as education level, migration motivations, and immediate integration demands influence linguistic attitudes and behaviors. Such insights will be useful in assessing language policy strategies and incorporating them into more thorough approaches, taking into account diverse experiences across generations and waves of immigration.

Keywords: code-switching, cultural identity, family language policy, integration, language ideology, Netherlands, Turkish immigrants

1. INTRODUCTION

The establishment of labor contracts lead to the immigration of Turkish nationals into Western Europe after World War II. Migrants were expected to stay in the receiving country for only a short time, after which they would return home. However, good economic prospects in these countries allowed migrants' families to join them, hence leading to the establishment of a large Turkish population within Western Europe. Consequently, family language policy became a core concept in the literature to understand how migrant families negotiate the linguistic challenges between their heritage language maintenance and adjustment to the majority/minority language of the host country.

The concept of Family Language Policy (FLP) has garnered substantial interest within sociolinguistic scholarship in the last ten years (Smith-Christmas, 2016) and is crucial to the linguistic development of children, mirroring the language ideologies held by parents. FLP offers a valuable lens through which to examine societal perceptions regarding language and parenting practices. Accordingly, language ideologies—encompassing the convergence of language and individuals within a societal framework—play a pivotal role in shaping language policies and the processes of language acquisition. In bilingual households, parental ideologies significantly impact the development of language practices and attitudes concerning bilingualism, thereby affecting the utilization of either minority or majority languages in accordance with cultural values and societal norms regarding parenting and language acquisition (King, Fogle, & Logan-Terry, 2008).

Various studies have pointed out that FLP is significant, yet quite complex, in influencing linguistic practices for many sociocultural contexts. Such works like those by De Houwer (2007), King and Fogle (2006), Leung and Uchikoshi (2012), Li (1999), and Spolsky (2012) assert that FLP involves decisions made at the family level, whether taken consciously or unconsciously, to retain or change trends of language use; such are often guided by sociolinguistic variables like ideologies of language, social conventions, and school policies. The authors propose that the perspectives and beliefs of parents are significant factors in the transmission of language to offspring, thereby shaping their linguistic progress and cultural identity. Moreover, the results underscore the challenges that families encounter while attempting to balance their linguistic heritage with integration into communities that predominantly speak the majority language,

especially within educational contexts where institutional policies may restrict the utilization of heritage languages.

A core aspect of FLP is the organic presence of multiple languages within family units and frequent language switching, depending on the context. This linguistic combination is known as code-switching, a common feature of multilingual families, especially in diverse urban settings where distinct generations often use different languages in their daily interaction with each other (Shohamy, 2006). This further constitutive linguistic behavior is a reflection of the dynamic nature of FLP to maintain both linguistic heritage and adaptability to wider societal linguistic norms.

This paper investigates how FLP is applied today; it examines whether the newly arriving Turkish immigrants into the Netherlands exhibit similar or different FLP from their predecessors. Using their migration motives, educational backgrounds, and integration strategies-including code-switching behaviors-this research tries to find how such differences show in the FLP that new migrants adopt and the factors that influence these policies.

1.1 Turkish Community in the Netherlands

The Netherlands, with an estimated 400,000 people of Turkish descent, harbors the third largest Turkish minority. This minority has a specific sociolinguistic feature: the first-generation emigrants often had limited proficiency in Dutch and limited contact with the majority of the people but lived in neighborhoods where Turkish would be the dominant language and worked alongside other Turkish immigrants. Their education was mostly limited to primary school or less, and the majority of second-generation children came from low-income families with limited access to rich and elaborate language input. Despite these challenges, second- and third-generation Turks have become fluent in Dutch while maintaining their heritage language, supported by exposure to Turkish media, holidays, and social contact (Bezioglu-Göktolga, 2019). Also, Sevinc (2014) noted that Dutch-Turkish language contact had begun with labor immigration in the 1960s and ended up, until today, with three generations of Turkish descent in the Netherlands.

First-generation immigrants who immigrated for temporary work often married mono-lingual spouses from Turkey. These families have intensive contact with the community, frequently visit Turkey, watch Turkish TV, and attach a high value to the ability to speak and maintain Turkish. All first-generation immigrants have better competence in Turkish; read or watch Turkish media more often; have more friends from Turkey than from the Netherlands, and speak more Turkish.

They stress the primacy of Turkish as their first language and cultural heritage and view Dutch mainly as a functional tool for their lives in the Netherlands, but are committed to ensuring that their children retain proficiency in Turkish. Besides, the internal cohesion is high within the Turkish-Dutch community with a high orientation to Turkish culture and language, given the fact that leisure activities are highly based on friends of Turkish origin and organizations affiliated with Turks (Eversteijn, 2011). Members are freelance entrepreneurs and still live in Turkish-dominated neighborhoods while often working together with other Turkish immigrants (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018).

Regarding the reason for emigration of the new wave of immigrants to the Netherlands is political in nature, not economical as in the previous generations. This means that a specific group of Turkish people are now settling in the Netherlands. After the failed coup attempt in 2016, there was a significant increase in the number of asylum applications from Turkish citizens in Europe and the Netherlands. In 2019, for instance, 1,251 Turks applied for asylum in the Netherlands (Turkey: repression and persecution, n.d.) Thus, those people fled to the more liberal country like the Netherlands. To specify, the majority of the recently arrived Turkish people in Western Europe, particularly after 2013, consist of political asylum seekers. Since 2013, hundreds of thousands of people have been imprisoned by the ruling political party of Turkey for their political ideologies (Protest in front of the ECHR, 2022). Specifically, many of them are educated and belong to various professions such as academics, prosecutors, lawyers, judges, medical workers, politicians, journalists, and many more, very skillful professions (Geurts, Davids, & Spierings, 2021; Bezcioglu-Goktolga, & Yagmur, 2022). They are eager to learn Dutch as soon as possible and find a job in their new home land. In contact met Turks, n.d.). Also, these refugees cannot go back to their country, that motivates them to find their place in their new home and fits them in three years' integration process given by the Dutch government for every refugee.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism has various definitions and perspectives. Wei (2020) describes it as achieving equivalent skill in two languages, although Hamers and Blanc (2000) and Suek (2017) highlight the ability to use multiple languages at once. Children around the world are generally exposed to more than one language, which influences their linguistic development in certain sociolinguistic

circumstances (Paradis, 2007). As Grosjean (1997, 2013) highlighted, bilinguals are heterogeneous. And they often have unequal fluency. All ages and all social classes contain bilinguals, and they acquire their languages at different ages

There are plenty of studies that deal with the themes of parental involvement, attitudes towards bilingualism, and multilingual childrearing in different cultures. Tavit (2009), for example, surveyed Turkish parents and discovered positive views toward bilingualism as well as significant support for English involvement in kindergartens, which had a beneficial impact on children's language acquisition outcomes. Similarly, Jang (2012) found that in Korea, parents prefer a comprehensive view of bilingualism that focuses on efficient communication in two languages. Another study (Wu 2005) investigated parents' and children's views toward Chinese and English learning, and it found that parents are strongly motivated to maintain their mother tongue as a cultural heritage (as cited in Soltanieh, 2014).

Some studies, for example De Houwer (1990), Genesee (1989), Paradis (2001), and Pearson & Fernández (1994), suggest bilingual children develop separate linguistic systems for the different languages they are exposed to. However, whether separate linguistic systems actually exist is still under debate (Meisel, 2006). On the other hand, what is more or less undisputedly agreed upon is the natural ability of children to learn multiple languages. Their proficiency depends markedly on their sociolinguistic environment and individual motivation (Mishina-Mori, 2022).

Van Dijk et al. (2022) conducted a meta-analysis of 26 studies involving cross-linguistic influence in bilingual children from 4 to 10 years old and revealed that this influence is part of the ordinary state of being bilingual, and it manifests itself in different linguistic contexts. In addition, De Houwer (2007) did research among 1,899 bilingual families in Flanders; she showed that the opportunities for children to speak the minority language are much greater in cases when both fathers and mothers use this language in addition to Dutch. On the other hand, in cases where there is only one parent speaking the minority language, many children would not use it actively. In this regard, scholars have argued-for instance, Quiroz, Snow, and Zhao (2010); Baker (2011); De Houwer (2007)-that increased exposure to the minority language results in stronger bilingual skills.

For bilingual families, speaking in the minority language can often create a strong sense of bonding among family members, so a close bond among family members often results in higher usage of the heritage language. Thus, it has been proved that home choices of language are not only matters

of convenience but a reflection of attitude towards family and culture. Furthermore, the well-being of children is closely related to their proficiency in both minority and majority languages, so the full linguistic repertoire can make them feel at ease in their family and society (Mueller, Howard, Wilson, Gibson, & Katsos, 2020).

2.2 Code-Switching

Code-switching, the alteration between two languages within discourse, is a central aspect of bilingual communication (Poplack, 1980; Myers-Scotton, 1993). The possibility of CS across different language pairs underlines the adaptability and linguistic competence of bilinguals. According to Grosjean (2013), CS is the strategic tool for effectively communicating both linguistic nuances and social information.

Some research has been carried out on CS among the Dutch communities of Turkish origin in the Netherlands. Demirçay and Backus (2014) identified the exact kinds of CS in this community, while Backus and Van der Heijden (2002) focused on the developmental differences in CS patterns between children and adults. Furthermore, Backus (2015) utilized a usage-based framework to examine CS in language change referring to challenges like distinguishing it from borrowing. It was also investigated regarding family language policy by Bezcioglu-Göktolga (2019) and by Bezcioglu-Göktolga & Yagmur (2018), while CS across generations in the community were studied by Aarssen, Backus & Van der Heijden (2006). The role of Dutch among first-generation speech appeared as limited and they used rarely inter-sentential code-switching while its role increased considerably among second-generation speech with inter-sentential code-switching (Aarssen, Backus & Van der Heijden, 2006)

Code-switching represents an expression of the integration of distinct natural languages in contexts defined by bilingualism, influenced by factors such as shared vocabulary and the occurrence of interactive alignment (Kootstra, Dijkstra & Van Hell, 2020). Children raised in environments that employ the one-parent-one-language approach or within communities characterized by dominant mixed dialects demonstrate improved abilities in language differentiation (Backus & Van der Heijden, 2002). Psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic factors significantly contribute to the modulation of code-switching behaviors (Suek, 2017). Furthermore, the level of language proficiency alongside prevailing community norms substantially influences CS practices, a phenomenon that is especially evident across various immigrant generations (Lantto, 2023). First-

generation immigrants typically use insertional strategies, which involve the integration of elements from the host language, while in later generations, alternational and congruent lexicalization may be favored as a strategy for maintaining heritage languages or adapting to new cultural contexts (ibid.). In conclusion, CS in bilingual communication is a complex phenomenon influenced by linguistic, social, and generational factors.

Beyond an examination of its structural dimensions, the sociolinguistic investigation of CS seeks to understand the motivations behind bilingual individuals' transitions between languages, highlighting its significance as a discourse phenomenon imbued with social meanings and functions (Benguadda-Kesraoui, 2017). To this end, Myers-Scotton and Bolonyai (2001) propose the social factors approach; they assume that linguistic choices, such as CS, depend on general community norms and collective identities. Labov also (1971) links individual language varieties to membership in social groups and to community contexts, assuming that language is a matter of collective rather than individual property.

Stavans (1992) highlights that it is in adult interactions that the social factors involved, such as the participants, the setting, and the topic, play a major influence on CS; the choice of language variety serves to signal and maintain social difference and status. In a related perspective, Vu, Bailey, and Howes (2010) also emphasize CS as a means of expressing group identity, privacy, and negotiating social distance in diverse communities. Overall, Code-switching in bilingual interaction is directly related to those sociolinguistic variables which define language use and behavior for different settings and age groups.

In the present research, four types of code-switching emerged as unique from the collected data: 1) convenience-driven code-switching (switching languages to make communicating easier in some way), 2) exposure-induced code-switching (occurs due to frequently being exposed to more than one language.), 3) instructional code-switching (occurs in educational settings, and it is often used to help explain something or to promote learning.), and 4) accommodation to heritage language interlocutors (Heritage language use is switched to in order to accommodate or show respect for the preferences of other speakers).

2.3 Family Language Policy (FLP)

In modern perspectives of globalization, marked by a variety of cultures, families should navigate multilingualism and cultural variability. In this complex sphere, children often play a proactive

role, intuitively learning new languages whereby they help their parents to understand cultural implications that exist among the people within their surroundings. Children act as a bridge, which links their family units with the general society in view, thus fostering better understanding and integration. In all this, families serve a twofold purpose in the transmission of languages and their evolution. This is because both the adults and children all participate in the process of language change.

Simultaneously, Family Language Policy has emerged as an innovative area of inquiry that examines the processes by which family members interpret their various languages and determine which ones to maintain or abandon (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022). FLP is vital for maintaining home languages in ethnic minority contexts, encompassing not just parenting at home but also decisions related to education, public linguistic spaces, and individual family members' daily lives, including their emotions, identities, and cultural and political ties (Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020).

A study by Yates and Terraschke (2013) indicated that the older siblings from immigrant families in Australia provided a positive influence on the minority language input to their younger siblings (as cited in Smith-Christmas, 2016). FLP hence plays an integral role in ensuring the maintenance of a minority language for children within immigrant situations; otherwise, such a heritage language will be lost in the community. Moreover, parents of immigrants very often are subjected to social pressure from a larger community not to speak their language with their children because of asymmetrical social status, which negatively influences the integration and academic development of their children. Smith-Christmas (2016) supports that factors such as pressure due to integration, associated with stigmatization of minority culture, may be the cause for low usage of the minority language by a child.

2.3.1. Language Ideologies and Attitudes: Influences on Language Practices

Language ideology was taken to mean the beliefs and values that a speech community holds concerning language practices and often forms a conscious ideology that can influence the policies of language management (Spolsky, 2004). On the other hand, language practices reflect the actual family behaviors in relation to their ideologies (Bezioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). According to Richards, Platt and Platt (1992), language attitude is defined as feelings towards the languages

or dialects of others and of one's own. Language attitudes will be related to such dimensions as linguistic complexity, ease of learning, importance, and social standing of speakers.

Family Language Policy encapsulates the implicit and explicit dimensions of language planning within and across generations of family members, driven by the broader sociolinguistic, sociocultural, socioeconomic, and sociopolitical forces impinging on language use and transmission. These different forces bear significantly upon FLPs, reflecting the wider sociocultural ecology in which they are embedded. The national language policy and the language-in-education policies exert powerful influences that impinge upon the language choices and practices of family members through processes of implicit socialization and through overt intervention. For instance, the Norwegianisation Policy of Norway made the speakers of Kven stop using Kven with their children. Such examples demonstrate that state policies indeed can influence the language choices made by families. However, in Singapore, competing choices emerge due to varied language policies of the state and the impact of such policies on the language practices of families (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2021).

While in sociolinguistics, language ideologies outline how languages should serve in a society; in language attitudes, there is evaluation as to whether certain languages or practices are seen as favorable. Whereas ideologies help shape societal norms, such as the supposition that it is normal for one to be a monolingual speaker, attitudes are personal reactions against particular language situations. For instance, an individual's rigid belief in monolingualism could render multilingual practices in certain contexts objectionable and therefore impact the status of bilingualism in these contexts. Typically, ideologies are broad and normative and based on social constructs, while attitudes are personal reactions toward well-defined language situations (Albury, 2020).

The language chosen by families and in social contexts makes a lot of difference to the lives of the individuals as it connects them to some speech communities and influences the personality of self (Edwards, 2006). According to Mishina-Mori (2022), the indication of the language dominance is done based on factors such as schooling and community support, which most often give preference to one language over other languages. Family language practices, parental multilingualism, available resources, and language prestige determine the languages to which children are exposed.

The study of Bezcioglu-Göktolga (2019) used FLP in the setting of second-generation Turkish families living in the Netherlands and demonstrated common trends in the fields of language

ideology, practice, and management. In this study, it is discussed that a majority of the families make Turkish language maintenance at home a priority for sustaining their children's cultural identity and securing that their children retain their mother tongue. The general view is that parents who may start by using only Turkish in their homes gradually use more Dutch as children get older, reflecting pragmatic adjustment to children's schooling and integration into society. Parents organize language use, such as reading and writing in Turkish, and Dutch language activities, including watching TV programs and additional lessons in Dutch to promote their children's bilingual development and success within the Dutch-speaking majority. The main motivations for encouraging bilingual competencies are education and well-being in general. Most of the families showed that even though they want their children to be good bilinguals, that does not mean giving up on Turkish.

About 60% of respondents reported speaking only or mostly Turkish when talking at home. Some participants mix Turkish and Dutch while speaking at home, while a few use only or mostly Dutch. The differences in language choice are the result of individual preference on the part of the family, conversational context, and the relative competencies of the participants. There are pure Turkish, double language, and pure Dutch approaches, the children showing a preference for Dutch despite many families' best efforts at preserving Turkish; thus, evincing the adaptive strategies of languages taken on by each family. This study shows how personal experiences, societal expectations, and beliefs about the role of Turkish in learning Dutch shape both language ideologies and practices. By being aware of these factors, parents may be able to assist their children better in developing their languages and finding a place in Dutch society.

In support, Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2022) investigated language management in the family domain by Turkish parents in the Netherlands. The research participants consisted of second-generation Turkish families (whose parents were mostly guest workers) with children who were studying in early years of primary schools. They combined ethnographic insights, interviews, and a survey of 300 parents across two generations to show the belief in bilingualism. Second-generation parents considered using more Dutch in daily life positively but viewed Turkish as imperative for their identity and cultural heritage. First-generation parents used more Turkish. Both generations prioritize Turkish in domestic settings, underlining the continued importance of the language despite the emerging bilingualism trend. It also talks about the various strategies of

families in the home when handling language, and different challenges that exist within media, politics, and public institutions in general in the Netherlands that affect efforts to maintain the Turkish language and culture within Dutch society.

2.3.2 Attitudes towards Code-switching in Family Language Policy

Eversteijn (2011) states that in the case of second-generation Turkish youths in the Netherlands, maintenance of the Turkish language is not exactly aimed at expressing Turkish identity but mainly for practical reasons such as study, employment, and future opportunities. Although Turkish is valued at the family level, some youths find the utility value lower compared to Dutch, which is seen as indispensable in securing integration into the system, education, and career prospects. These young people switch languages depending on the social context they find themselves in. While Turkish is used in respectful, serious, and cultural contexts, Dutch serves joking, education, and work purposes. Parents use Dutch to make sure that respect is demanded from their children; youngsters make use of Dutch to soften the request or even to rebel. This code-switching behavior expresses their double identity and complex social dynamics within their families (ibid.)

Bezioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2018) have investigated how interlocutors, conversational contexts, and individual choices shape the language choice of second-generation Turkish families. Parents usually use Turkish when they are in a conversation with each other but then switch to Dutch when the children join them, as in the dialogue where a mother changes her code to Dutch just to please her daughter's preference for that language. Even though children are inclined towards the use of Dutch, they switch easily to Turkish when the interlocutors are non-Dutch-speaking, such as the grandmother. In the interviews, it was noted that 60% of the participants prefer the use of Turkish within the family, while 74% of the participants said children mainly use Dutch, particularly with siblings. A very consistent Turkish family switches to Dutch when performing school-related tasks, and vice-versa - a very consistent Dutch family might switch to Turkish for religious discussions. Generally, language practices within such families depend on member preferences, conversational context, and interlocutors.

2.4 Current Research

The present study addresses to two research questions:

1. What ideology and attitudes do recent Turkish immigrants exhibit towards heritage and host languages?

2. How do recent Turkish immigrants navigate language practices within their families, including code-switching dynamics?

This study investigates FLP in-depth within Turkish communities in the Netherlands and sets out in particular to explore how recent Turkish immigrants, arriving after 2016, actually manage languages in various settings, including code-switching dynamics. Prior research focuses on earlier generations, particularly the guest worker generation and their descendants. The study, therefore, bridges some gaps in understanding how new first-generation individuals navigate language attitudes and practices.

The study uses a qualitative method with semi-structured interviews to investigate beliefs and behaviors toward heritage and host languages in Turkish immigrant families. This approach is critical for understanding how newcomers navigate their identities and integrate into Dutch society while retaining their cultural heritage through language.

Previous research (Bezcioglu-Goktolga, 2019; Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2022) showed that although earlier generations of Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands favored the use of Turkish at home for the sake of the maintenance of cultural identity, they nevertheless motivated their children to use Dutch in school and with friends for achieving good school results. This denotes a shift towards bilingualism. The present study presupposes that recent, well-educated, Turkish immigrants, who migrated due to the political circumstances, will show quite different attitudes towards family language policy compared to previous generations. Among the newly arrived immigrants, there is a sense of prioritizing learning Dutch quickly, which acts as a means to their social and economic integration into the host society of the Netherlands. It is assumed that they see use of Dutch language at home as something separate from the preservation of their cultural identity. The assumption is based on the fact that highly educated recent immigrants are pragmatic about which languages to use for integration matters but still have a positive attitude towards the heritage language and culture. Moreover, language practices and language ideologies among recent first-generation adults are more Dutch-oriented compared to previous first-generation immigrant groups.

Moreover, this study provides comprehensive insights on how contemporary migration patterns shape FLP and code-switching practices for the newly-arrived first-generation Turkish community in comparison with earlier generations.

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 Method

The current research investigates the family language policy of newly arrived first-generation Turkish adults in the Netherlands. This study aims to investigate their language ideology, attitudes, and code-switching activities. The researcher employed a qualitative approach using a case study design to collect data in detail.

Participants in qualitative research can freely express their perspectives because the questions are open-ended. This predominantly inductive method helps researchers to extract meaning from field data. Researchers collect data within a certain period of time by using a variety of methodologies, which allow for a deep, complete understanding of the issue under inquiry (Creswell, 2013).

As a result, the researcher conducted a qualitative case study to uncover the diverse experiences and opinions of Turkish immigrants on their language habits. This strategy provides for a thorough examination of their family language policy in the context of their new linguistic setting.

3.2 Participants

8 first-generation Turkish-descendant adults consist of the participants of this study, who moved to the Netherlands after 2016 due to political conditions. These individuals arrived between 2017 and 2021 and range in age from 32 to 49 and claimed asylum from the Dutch government. They were selected through a convenient sampling method. All participants hold higher education degrees and have varying levels of proficiency in Dutch. Six of the participants grew up in families where only Turkish was spoken, while two grew up in families where both Turkish and Kurdish were spoken. All of them received their education in Turkish, including at university. The research sample contains an equal number of male and female volunteers from various locations of the Netherlands in order to investigate potential gender disparities.

Age, level of education and occupation distribution

	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation in home country	Occupation in the Netherlands	The year of arrival in the Netherlands
P1	F	32	4	Teacher	Teacher	2017
P2	F	34	4	Teacher	Volunteer in a library	2019
P3	F	33	4	Teacher	Volunteer in education sector	2021
P4	F	35	4	Teacher	Volunteer in education sector	2019

P5	M	35	4	Teacher	Teacher	2018
P6	M	46	4	Teacher	Volunteer in education sector	2021
P7	M	49	4	Teacher	Teacher	2019
P8	M	35	4	Teacher	administrative assistant	2018

* Level of education was coded according to International Standard Classification of Education, (UIS, 2012): 1 = lower education; 2 = lower secondary education; 3 = higher secondary education; 4 = higher education

Furthermore, participants in this study used a variety of Dutch methods of learning to gain and improve their language skills. The effort demonstrates both their commitment to linguistic integration and the asylum rules in the Netherlands. Structured language courses, which were coded 19 times, were identified as the most often stated learning technique by participants. This could be attributed to the Dutch government's need that asylum applicants demonstrate a certain level of Dutch proficiency as part of their integration process. Participants reported using a variety of supplemental learning tools along with formal courses. These included self-study techniques, working with language coaches, doing volunteer work to improve Dutch, and joining language practice groups. This diverse approach to language learning not only illustrates the participants' proactive attitude toward integration, but also their adaptability in using numerous resources to improve their language skills. The combination of formal courses and self-directed learning options offers a holistic understanding of the Turkish immigrants' linguistic journey. It also provides background for understanding their evolving linguistic ideologies, attitudes, and code-switching activities in their new Dutch environment.

3.3 Data Collection

The data gathering procedure began with semi-structured interviews, which were carried out using Microsoft Teams. Each interview session was meticulously organized to provide flexibility while covering important topics, which are participants' language preferences in various social situations, their experiences with code-switching between Turkish and Dutch, and their views on language as a cultural identity marker. In addition, some interview questions involving language preferences, practices, and language management methods were developed based on the study of Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019), allowing for significant cross-study comparisons.

The interviews were conducted in Turkish because the heritage language of the participants is Turkish. Microsoft Teams was utilized in order to maintain accuracy and reliability. I piloted the

interview questions on 2 participants in Breda, who had similar features to the research participants, to ensure the validity of the interview questions. Afterwards, I adapted the interview questions based on feedback and additional questions after piloting process. All participants were asked to sign an informed consent before interview. I used the automated transcription feature of Microsoft Teams to convert the audio recordings into transcriptions. I examined the transcripts carefully and then edited to ensure clarity and completeness, as well as to capture the details to conduct a proper analysis.

3.4 Research Tools

Questions about language ideology and behaviors were adapted from Bezcioglu-Göktolga (2019), focusing on language preferences, practices and management dynamics. To examine participants' attitudes towards language preferences and code-switching in family and social contexts, the researcher developed additional questions to. Those questions aim to reveal:

- How newly-arrived Turkish immigrants manage their language preferences and practices,
- Their perceptions of the effects of Dutch language use on heritage identity,
- The contexts and reasons of code-switching and its role in shaping participants' identities and sense of belonging within the Turkish-Dutch community.

Data Analysis

As previously stated, the interviews were conducted in Turkish. The researcher translated the quotations into English as accurately as possible and analyzed the data through Atlas.ti. This software platform systematically provided and organized codes of the qualitative data collected from the interviews.

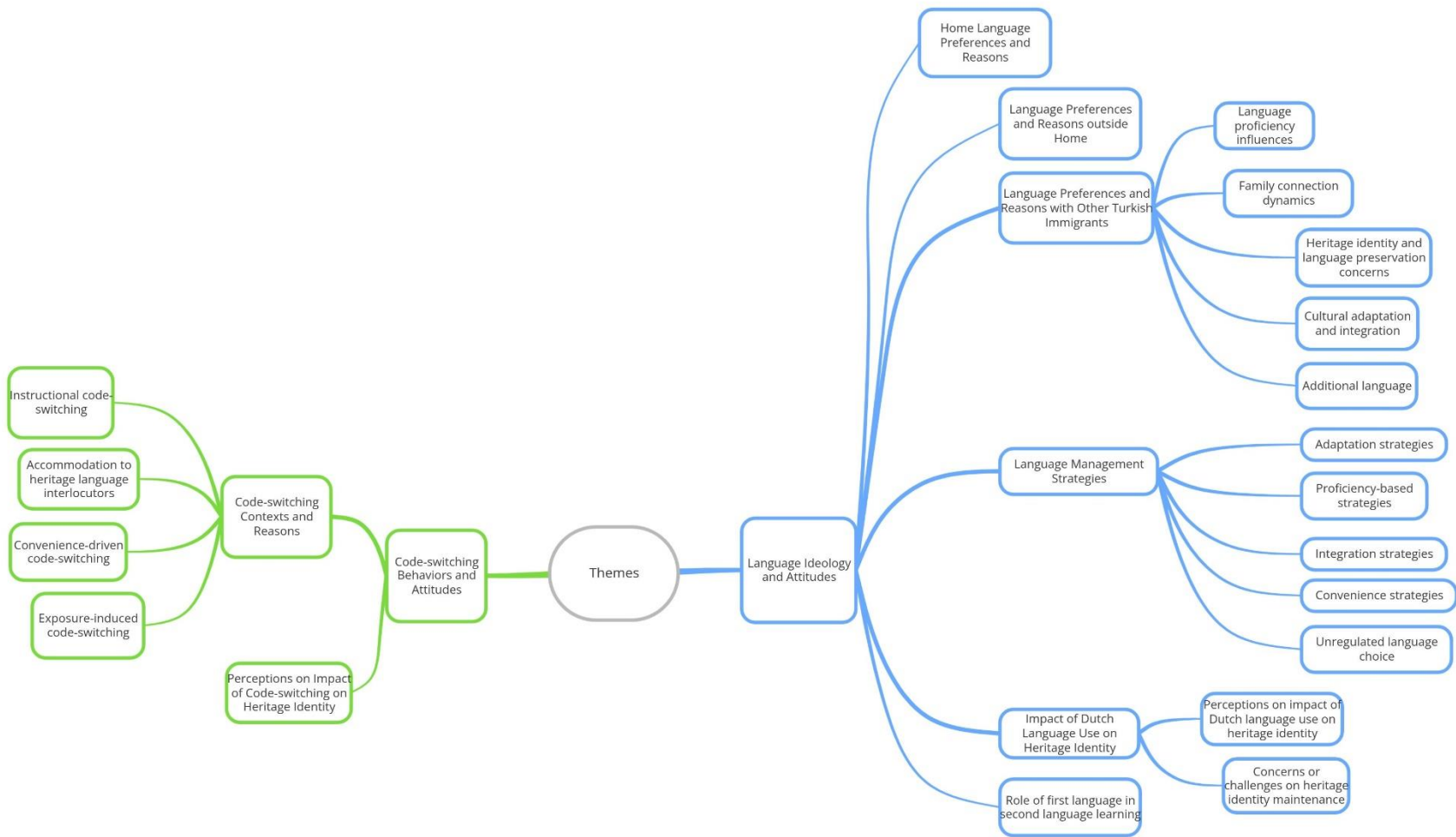
Thematic analysis was used as the methodological technique. Initially, transcripts were analyzed to acquire a thorough comprehension of the information. The coding process then began with initial coding, which involved breaking down each sentence into its smallest meaningful components and assigning them a code. These codes served as the foundation for the basic categories and subcategories.

Furthermore, the researcher and supervisor made a consensus on a codebook to ensure consistency and reliability (see Appendix C). This codebook was used as a reference to categorize codes and topics during the analysis process. This codebook was used to systematically code the data.

Recurrent ideas and associated codes were assigned to the same categories, which resulted in the development of two major themes.

The initial codes of categories were obtained based on the research questions and previous studies. Accordingly, codes of 'Home Language Preferences and Reasons', 'Language Preferences and Reasons outside Home', 'Language Preferences and Reasons with Other Turkish Immigrants', 'Language Management Strategies', 'Impact of Dutch Language Use on Heritage Identity' and 'The Role of the First Language in Second Language Learning' emerged based on the research questions and the present literature. The researcher grouped the initial codes into these categories, and subcategories formed as the data was further studied and refined. Furthermore, as the analysis progressed, new codes were discovered, resulting in the formation of two major categories: 'Code-switching Contexts and Reasons' and 'Perceptions on the Impact of Code-switching on Heritage Identity,' as well as their related sub-categories that are unique to this study. The mind map in the following page illustrates the themes, categories and sub-categories in codebook (see Appendix C).

This systematic procedure of coding and categorization enabled the researcher to find reoccurring themes and patterns in the data. The data were then presented in charts to provide a visual depiction of the major observations. Appendix C provides a full summary of all categories and subcategories.



3.5 Ethical Issues

The researcher ensured the participants confidentiality and anonymity. The participants were coded as P1, P2, etc. for reasons of confidentiality during transcription. This coding remained the same throughout the data collection, processing, and reporting efforts.

Prior to all the interviews, the researcher described in detail the aim of the study, procedures, potential risks, and benefits to the participants and that their participation was completely voluntary and confidential. They were further informed that they did have the rights of resignation from the study at any time without any penalties, that their data was confidential, and it was only used for the purposes of research. Participants recognize the informed consent form as an indicator of total understanding and acceptance.

4. FINDINGS

This chapter provides a comprehensive analysis of linguistic ideology, attitudes, and behaviors among recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. It investigates their language preferences and management strategies in a variety of contexts, including the home, social settings, and interactions with other Turkish migrants. This chapter provides the reasons behind these choices, such as language proficiency, cultural adaption, integration attempts and so on. It also reveals the perceptions of the participants on the impact of Dutch language use on heritage identity, revealing attitudes toward the preservation of Turkish cultural identity. The findings also focus on code-switching behaviors and attitudes, investigating the circumstances, causes, and perceived effects of this language practice on cultural identification. Throughout the investigation, heritage identity and language preservation concerns, as well as cultural adaptation and integration, emerge as significant topics.

4.1 Language Ideology and Attitudes

The following section is a discussion of the language preferences, attitudes, and perceptions in various settings for first-generation Turkish adults who have recently arrived in the Netherlands. Settings differentiated the preferred language of the participants, namely, at home, outside the home, and in contacts with other Turkish immigrants. This section provides the instances demonstrating how these individuals manage their multilingual surroundings. It also presents the decision-making processes, deliberate language management strategies, and principles associated with the language choice used within different social contexts. Other than that, it unveils the factors

that could influence these preferences in order to arrive at an overall understanding of what motivates language choices.

This section is supposed to show how the participants perceive the impact the use of the Dutch language is causing to heritage identity. It would involve issues such as how participants perceive the relationship between the use of language and maintenance of cultural identity-for example, issues related to loss of language, attitudes toward bilingualism, and strategies used for balancing cultural preservation with integration into Dutch society.

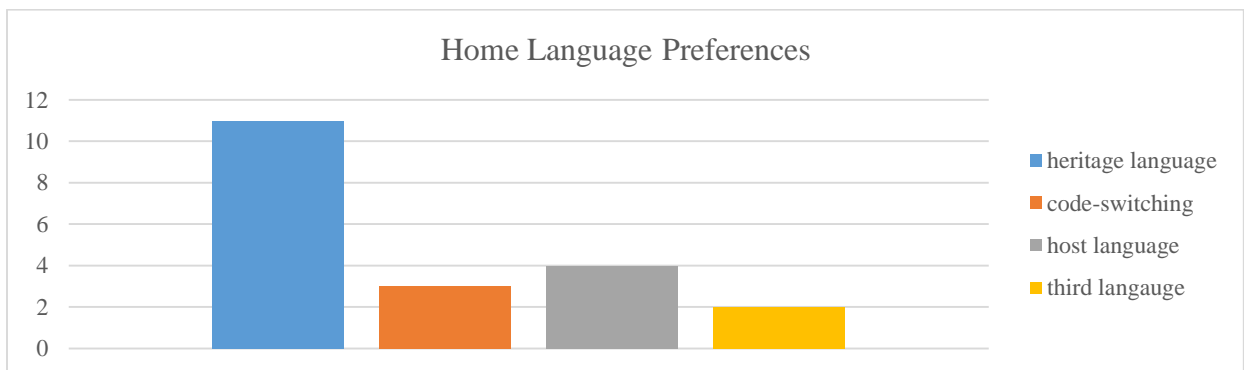
All in all, this section debates an in-depth analysis of the language ideologies and attitudes of recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands and, as such, provides insight into their processes of linguistic adaptation and negotiations of cultural identity.

4.1.1 Home Language Preferences and Reasons

Figure 1 below illustrates the language preferences of participants in home settings. The heritage language emerges as the dominant choice, being coded 11 times, followed by the host language, being coded 4 times, code-switching, being coded 3 times, and a third language, being coded 2 times. This distribution reflects diverse language choices in domestic settings among recent Turkish immigrants. The reasons behind the preferences were discussed further in the following sections.

Figure 1

Frequency Chart of Home Language Preferences

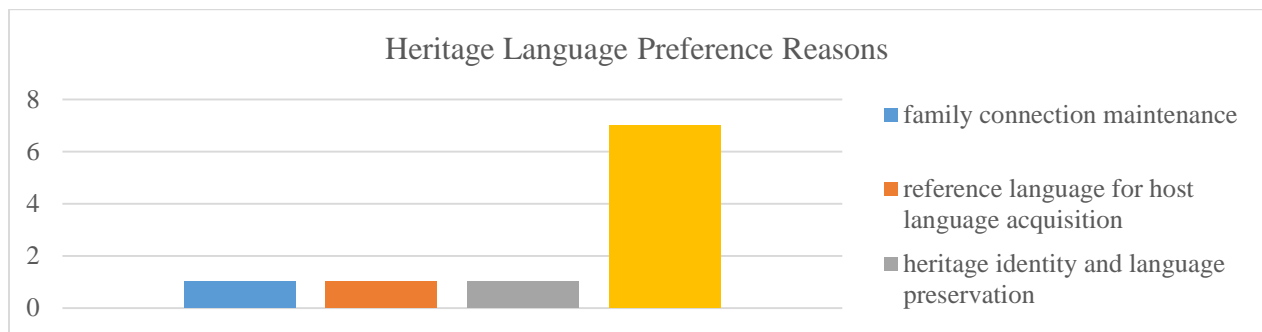


4.1.1.1 Heritage language preference reasons

Figure 2 displays the frequency of reasons behind heritage language preferences. L1 fluency emerged as the most significant reason, being coded 7 times, while family connection maintenance, reference language for host language acquisition, and heritage identity and language preservation each was coded once.

Figure 2

Frequency Chart of Heritage Language Preference Reasons



4.1.1.1.1 Language proficiency influences

L1 proficiency appeared as the most significant factor which impacts heritage language use, being coded 7 times. This relates to the participants' ability to express themselves more freely in their heritage language. The high frequency shows that proficiency is critical to maintaining heritage language use within families. Participants 4, 6, and 8 expressed the following, respectively:

Participant 4 stated: "I prefer to speak Turkish because I can express myself well in my native language."

Participant 6 expressed: "We generally speak Turkish at home. We communicate more easily in our native language, of course."

Participant 8 noted: "We prefer to speak Turkish because we can express ourselves better in Turkish."

4.1.1.1.2 Family connection dynamics

Family connection maintenance emerged as a motivating reason for heritage language use, even though this reason was coded only once. Participant 5 emphasized the role of the Turkish language in terms of preserving familial bonds and its significance in maintaining connections with relatives

in Turkey. Participant 5 expressed this perspective: "I prefer speaking Turkish in the family. Since my children, after all, my relatives in Turkey speak just Turkish, so my children need to learn it well."

4.1.1.1.3 Role of first language in second language learning

The role of the first language in second language learning developed as a distinct category, being coded only once. Based on comments from children's schools, Participant 5 emphasized the relevance of Turkish as a reference language for learning Dutch.: "Moreover, from what I've heard from the children's school is that children need a reference language, a foundational language, to serve as a basis for their second language."

4.1.1.1.4 Heritage identity and language preservation concerns

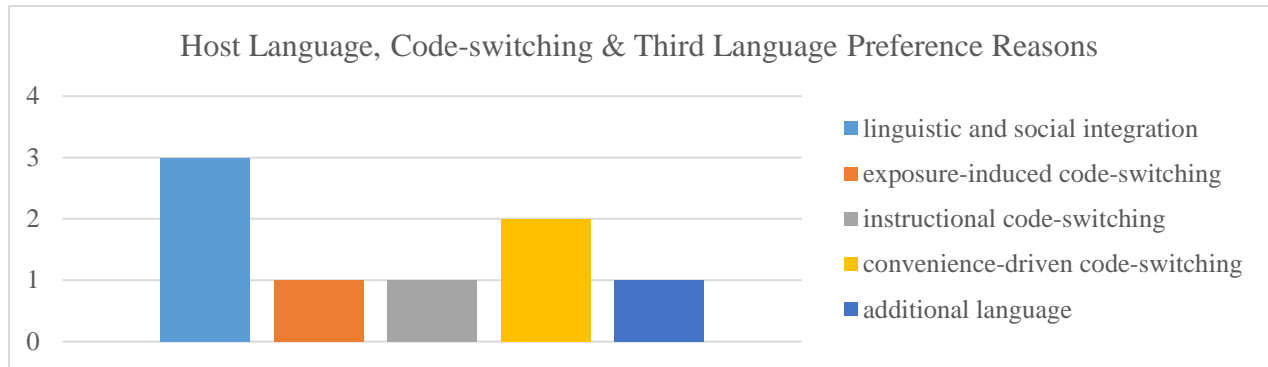
The heritage identity and language preservation as a reason, being coded once, refers to a deliberate effort to maintain the heritage language in domestic settings to support particularly children's bilingual development in this section. Participant 3 underscored this notion: "My children are learning Dutch very intensively. The only place where they speak Turkish is at home, so we try to speak Turkish as much as possible to ensure they do not forget it."

4.1.1.2 Host Language, Code-switching and Third Language Preference Reasons

Figure 3 displays the frequency of host language, code-switching and third language preference reasons, which are presented together in the same section because of the less frequent emergent codes. Host language aligns with linguistic and social integration, being coded 3 times. Code-switching also appeared 3 times, with two occurrences of convenience-driven code-switching for ease of communication and exposure-induced code-switching with 1 code due to frequent Dutch exposure. Instructional code-switching, which aims to teach or improve communication, was also discovered once. Furthermore, the preference for a third language was coded once. Code-switching will be discussed later under the Code-switching Contexts and Practices section.

Figure 3

Frequency Chart of Host Language, Code-switching and Third Language Preference Reasons



4.1.1.2.1 Cultural adaptation and integration

Linguistic and social integration, being coded 3 times under the sub-category of ‘Cultural Adaptation and Integration’, highlights participants' efforts to improve Dutch language skills and adapt to the Dutch-speaking environment at home. This deliberate use of Dutch reflects their motivation for integration, which supports daily interactions and social inclusion. Participant 3 highlighted host language development: "Most of the time we speak Turkish at home, but since we are still in the learning process, we sometimes choose to speak Dutch to improve our Dutch."

Likewise, Participant 6 referred the integration factor for host language use: "We generally speak Turkish at home. We communicate more easily in our native language, of course, but I would like Dutch to be spoken as well. We know that Dutch is very important for integration and daily life here."

Furthermore, Participant 1 demonstrates a flexible attitude to language use that aids their child's integration: "My daughter typically hears Dutch from her teachers or Dutch individuals. [...] Also, if my daughter says something in Dutch, I prefer to respond in Dutch; I don't compel her to speak Turkish."

These quotes demonstrate participants' attempts to increase their Dutch proficiency and adjust to their children's language demands, indicating their desire for integration and social inclusion.

4.1.1.2.2 Code-switching practices and contexts

Code-switching practices emerged in three main forms. Convenience-driven code-switching, being coded 2 times, involves mixing Dutch words into Turkish speech for ease of expression. Participant 3 noted: "Sometimes, Dutch words also get mixed in. Due to living here, especially short reactions such as 'doei' (bye in English), may have become integrated into our language automatically."

Exposure-induced code-switching, being coded once, occurred when the respondent integrated Dutch words unconsciously because of exposure. Participant 1 elaborated, "If we speak a lot of Dutch, I notice that some Dutch words get integrated into my Turkish, and I realize that I include them in Turkish unconsciously."

Instructional code-switching, was being coded once, refers to situations when the children are deliberately taught across languages, mostly by using Dutch words. Participant 1 demonstrated this: "When I say 'mag niet' or 'nee' in Dutch, she understands that it will end there. Therefore, I prefer to use some Dutch words and expressions with my child."

These practices reflect different motivations to switch codes: convenience, exposure, and pedagogical purposes in family communication. These practices reflect different motivations for code-switching, ranging from convenience and exposure to pedagogical purposes in family communication.

4.1.1.2.3 Additional language

This factor was only coded once as well, which concerned the practice of using English as a supplementary language in family communication, proving its status of being an international language. This practice was demonstrated by participant 7: "At home with my children, we mostly speak Turkish, sometimes English. I also speak Kurdish with my children from time to time. English is used more frequently by my middle son, especially due to games."

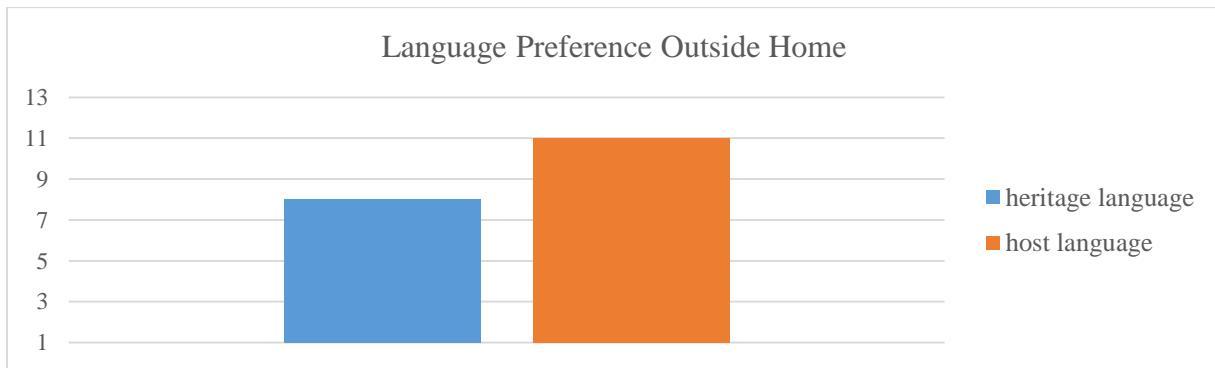
4.1.2 Language Preferences and Reasons outside Home

Figure 4 below illustrates the language preferences for the recent Turkish immigrants when speaking out of home in different social situations. In the chart, it can be shown that the use of the host language is only slightly more than the heritage language in the out-of-home settings. The host language was coded 11 times and the heritage language was coded 8 times. The given

distribution probably means that, overall, participants tend to adapt their language use in respect of the need for appropriate communication in different social contexts. A relatively high frequency of heritage language use outside the home could be connected with contacts within the Turkish community or situations in which Turkish is a shared language.

Figure 4

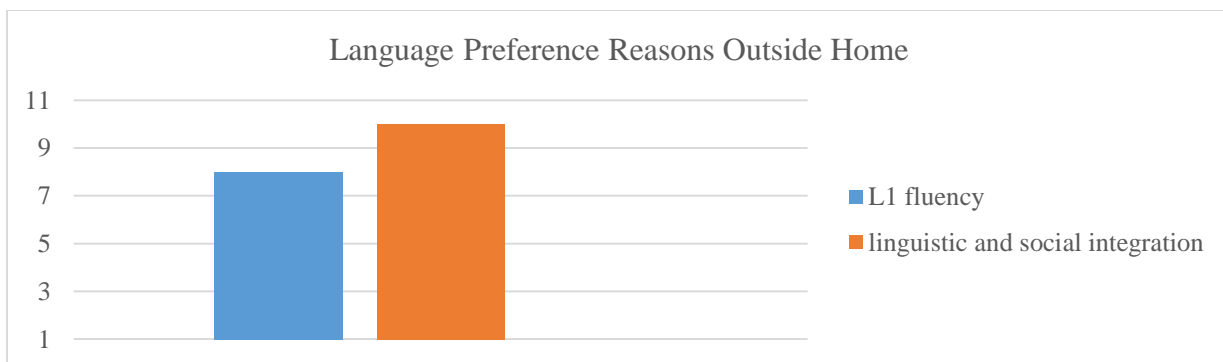
Frequency Chart of Language Preference Outside Home



Furthermore, Figure 5 below demonstrates the frequency of different reasons influencing language preference outside the home for the recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. linguistic and social integration emerged as the most frequent factor, being coded 10 times. L1 fluency followed it, being coded 8 times.

Figure 5

Frequency Chart of Language Preference Reasons Outside Home



4.1.2.1 Cultural adaptation and integration

The linguistic and social integration was coded 10 times, which was for language choice outside the home. This factor indicates that often participants choose to use Dutch in mixed social contexts not to give rise to misunderstanding and as a form of consideration for non-Turkish speakers. It indicates an awareness of clear communication and social etiquette in the host country. It appears that respondents think that speaking Dutch decreases the risk of miscommunication or misunderstanding in most, very diverse social situations. This view is illustrated by Participants 4 and 7:

Participant 4 stated:

I think that since we live in the country where the mother tongue is Dutch, we should speak that language to make others around us in the social environment understand our thoughts and not be in a miscommunication phase. So, I like to use Dutch. But only in our group, I like Turkish because I can express myself better.

Similarly, Participant 7 illustrates how language choice is also a question of managing social harmony.

Of course, we speak Dutch to avoid any misunderstanding in case there are people from other nationalities around us. In addition, it is believed that speaking a language others do not understand might disturb other people, so we would avoid speaking in our own native language to avoid any possibility of being misinterpreted.

It is apparent that the above quotations demonstrate that the respondents use Dutch to satisfy the need for clear communication and social harmony in mixed linguistic settings, and Turkish for internal communication, as described in more detail in the next section.

4.1.2.2 Language proficiency influences

L1 fluency, being coded 8 times, influences language choice when it comes to language use outside the home. Participants thus often use Turkish in external situations as a means of easier self-expression. Even though they are located in a Dutch-speaking environment, they stick to Turkish use in situations where this language is common, namely with family, other Turkish speakers, or situations where its use does not impede communication and integration.

For instance, Participant 8 speaks Dutch among the Dutch for mutual understanding but switches to Turkish when alone for better expression of self.

We speak Dutch if we're outside and among the Dutch so that they can understand what we say. We want them to understand us. But if nobody is there, then we speak Turkish because in that language, we can explain things better.

Moreover, Participant 6 preferred Dutch for social harmony but preferred Turkish as their mother tongue for the purpose of better expression.

I would prefer to speak Dutch because I do not want others to misinterpret us. However, apart from that, I would prefer to speak Turkish because I consider it my mother tongue and a language in which I am able to express my thoughts and feelings more appropriately.

In other words, these statements indicate that the participants bring into consideration both the availability of Dutch speakers and their own wish to use a certain language when deciding which language to use outside the home.

4.1.3. Language Preferences and Reasons with Other Turkish Immigrants

Figure 6 shows participants' language preferences when communicating with other Turkish immigrants. Turkish is the primary choice, being coded 9 times, which is followed by code-switching being coded 4 times. Dutch is least preferred, being coded only once. This suggests participants mainly use their heritage language, with some Dutch mixed in, while exclusive Dutch use in Turkish-dominant settings is rare.

Figure 6

Frequency Chart of Language Preferences with Other Turkish Immigrants

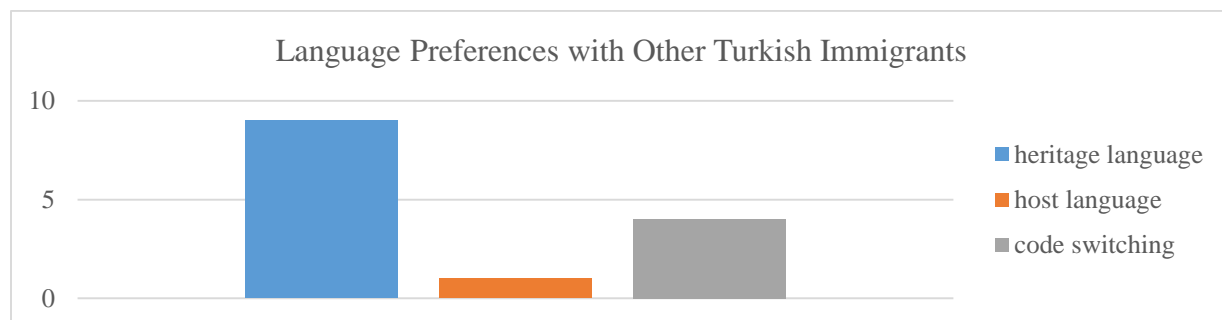
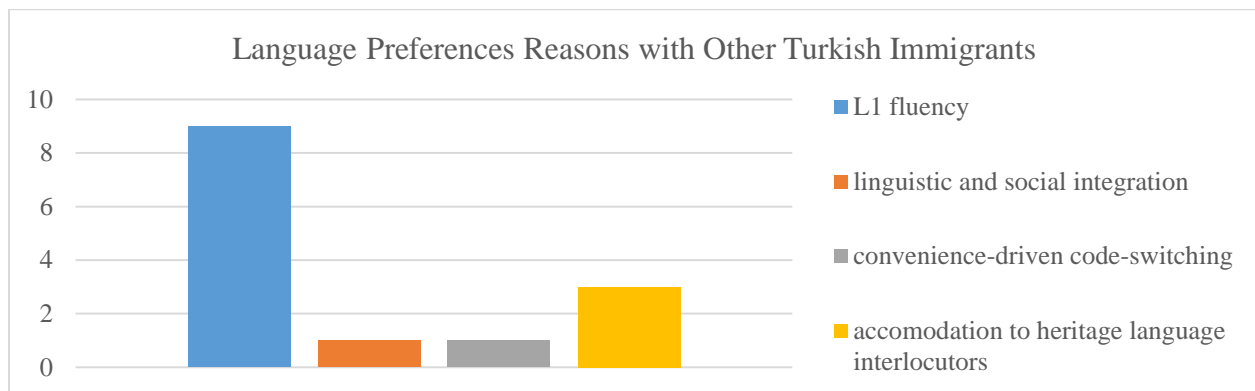


Figure 7 illustrates factors impacting language preferences when participants address other Turkish immigrants. The most frequent code here is fluency in L1, being coded 9 times. Code-switching reasons include accommodation to heritage language interlocutors, being coded 3 times, and convenience-driven code-switching, being coded once. A further reason of the host language preference is linguistic and social integration, which was coded once.

Figure 7

Frequency Chart of Language Preference Reasons with Other Turkish Immigrants



4.1.3.1 Language proficiency influences

The result clearly shows that L1 fluency is the strongest predictor of language choice in interaction with other Turkish immigrants. Some respondents simply preferred the use of Turkish in these situations, stating that they could express themselves best and most comfortable in their heritage language.

Participant 1 stated: "Of course, I prefer to speak Turkish with other Turkish immigrants. I can express myself best in Turkish."

Similarly, Participant 2 indicated: "When we get together with other Turkish immigrants, we speak Turkish. We communicate much more easily in our own language, and we automatically prefer to use Turkish when communicating."

The importance of a shared linguistic background which influences language choice and the ability to express oneself naturally in one's heritage language was highlighted by the participants.

4.1.3.2 Cultural adaptation and integration

Linguistic and social integration, although being coded once, also impacts language preference of Turkish immigrants. This is an example of the evolution of the host language, as Participant 4 explained: "I prefer to speak Turkish with other Turkish immigrants, but with Turkish immigrants who have been living here for many years, I sometimes prefer to speak Dutch to practice."

4.1.3.3 Convenience-driven code-switching

The findings reveal that convenience-driven code-switching, being coded once, affects the language preference towards one interlocutor while interacting with other Turkish immigrants. As noted by Participant 2:

I speak Turkish with my friends, but I have noticed that Dutch sentences or, more frequently, Dutch words are integrating into our conversations. We do not do this intentionally; in the moment, I find a Dutch word to be more meaningful and use it. For example, I use 'gemeente (municipality) automatically instead of 'belediye' (municipality).

This suggests that even when speaking in Turkish, some Turkish immigrants sometimes switch over to the more convenient host language terms or phrases rather than deliberate code-switching.

4.1.3.4 Accommodation to heritage language interlocutors

Accommodation to heritage language interlocutors, being coded 2 times, occurs when Turkish immigrants incorporate Dutch words or phrases into their conversations to make the conversation more understandable, especially for those who have been in the Netherlands for a long time. This factor emerges because these people have adapted to the host culture and language and often mix Turkish and Dutch in their speech. By doing so, communication becomes clearer and more effective according to Participants 1:

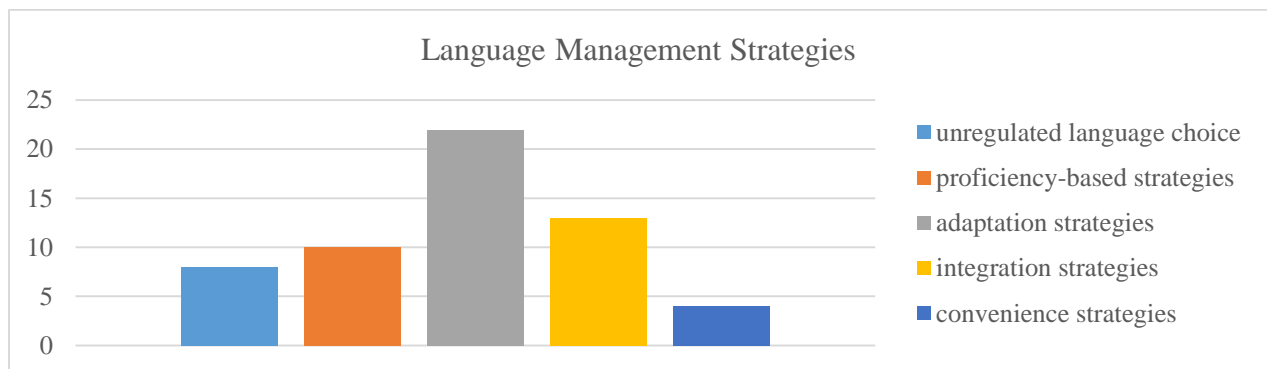
"I prefer to speak Turkish with other Turkish immigrants. I express myself best in Turkish, but their level of Turkish is also important. If their Turkish is not very good and they do not fully understand me—because some people's Turkish level can be low, and their Turkish can be a bit broken—if they do not understand well, I include Dutch words in between to be better understood."

4.1.4 Language Management Strategies

Figure 8 illustrates the distribution of language management strategies employed by recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. The chart reveals four main categories of strategies: adaptation strategies, being coded 22 times, integration strategies, being coded 13 times, proficiency-based strategies, being coded 10 times and convenience strategies, being coded 4 times. The next chart shows, in addition, the presence of unregulated language choice, which is coded 8 times and, actually, is not a strategy but a practice or an approach toward language use. From this distribution, it could be suggested that adaptive and integrative approaches seem to be the major approaches that participants rely on in managing their use of languages, whereas language proficiency and convenience factors seem to be taken into consideration as well. Additionally, unregulated language choice indicates that the participants preferred a more spontaneous approach in certain contexts for their use of language. In the following subsections, all the strategy categories will be shown in detail.

Figure 8

Frequency Chart of Language Management Strategies



4.1.4.1 Adaptation strategies

The adaptation strategies were the most frequently coded, 22 times, and consist of adaptation of the language use according to interlocutors, contexts, or situations. This category thus consisted of situational language adaptation, priming-based adaptation and accommodation towards heritage language interlocutors. Participant 8 demonstrates situational adaptation: "If there are people around us who don't speak Turkish, we of course speak Dutch, or if we are in a place where people can hear us, we speak Dutch."

In the approach of Participant 4, one can find adaptation by means of priming: "When my daughter starts speaking Dutch, I respond in Dutch at that moment. She keeps the conversation going, and this way we practice. Actually, I try consciously to do this to practice my Dutch."

Participant 1 illustrates accommodation to heritage language speakers:

If we meet in social situations with our Turkish friends, then of course most of the time we speak in Turkish. But we mix Dutch words in it from time to time. Especially if some of them do not speak Turkish so well, I mix it with Dutch so that they understand me more easily.

These examples show how participants flexibly adjust the use of languages in order to move through diverse social situations and communication needs effectively.

4.1.4.2 Integration strategies

Integration strategies, which were coded 13 times, would foster social inclusion and cultural adaptation of the respondents. Often, this entailed increased usage of the host language.

Participant 2 puts it this way: "So we now live here, and besides the native tongue, Dutch is a part of our lives, too, and we believe we should be able to speak it as well as possible."

Participant 6 added, "Since Dutch is already available at school, work, and every aspect here in life, we speak Dutch because we have to learn Dutch."

Participant 3 extends this to family life: "Also, when reading books, we use Dutch of course, with the children at home. We read Dutch books and discuss them. Our goal here is to help them integrate better and grasp the topics being discussed around them."

The examples illustrate the way the integration strategies are crucial to language management for the recent Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands. The respondents value Dutch language proficiency as a resource for integration into education, work, and social life and use it in everyday practices to facilitate their own integration and that of their children. Thus, active use of Dutch is indicative of a personal conscious effort aimed at harmoniously balancing the heritage language with the requirements of the new context and striving to realize cultural and social integration.

4.1.4.3 Proficiency-based strategies

These strategies, the most frequent being recoded 10 times, are competence and comfort language strategies—strategies most usually favoring the heritage language in which they are most fluent.

Participant 5 asserts:

But I definitely speak Turkish with my spouse. It's just that we are more comfortable using that language. We can express ourselves more easily, and speaking Dutch at home with my spouse doesn't make me feel very comfortable. Our Dutch is not that strong, so we express our feelings in Turkish better.

Consequently, participants regulate language use according to comfort and fluency, wherein their heritage language is usually preferred as it is more naturally expressed.

4.1.4.4 Convenience strategies

Convenience strategies, being coded 4 times, are those oriented around convenience of communication: code-switching and choice of the most easily accessible linguistic option.

Participant 1: "If my daughter starts speaking Dutch, I also speak Dutch with her, and then sometimes we switch back to Turkish. "

This quotation depicts flexibility in language choice, which is necessary for easier communication.

Participant 5 illustrates this further, "When talking with my children about school or something else, if they start in Dutch, then I always continue in Dutch. That is because I want them to be able to express themselves comfortably."

These examples show how convenience strategies are placed within a platform of effective communication and emotional comfort, whereby participants switch flexibly between languages to ensure the smoothness and naturalness of the interaction, especially in family settings.

4.1.4.5 Unregulated language choice

Unregulated language choice, being coded 8 times, refers to the use of languages without any tight regulations or predestined models. This is described by participants in instances where individuals or families are not putting formal regulations on how they are using their languages; instead, they allow spontaneous and natural selections of either the heritage language or the host language to take over with comfort, context, or communicative needs at hand.

Participant 4 confirms: "We do not guide our child with respect to whether he speaks in Turkish or Dutch."

Participant 6 elaborated, "There has been no enforcement or guidance regarding the language choice among family members. Everything developed of its own accord."

These attitudes underline the flexibility of bilingual communication within the family. Unregulated language choice allows for free mixing and individual preferences.

4.1.5 Impact of Dutch Use on Heritage Identity

The section uncovers how recent Turkish immigrants cope with the impact of using Dutch on heritage identity maintenance. It identifies two interrelated but separate dimensions: on one hand, perceptions about the use of Dutch and its consequent implications on cultural identity, and on the other, concerns or problems related to the maintenance of heritage identity within a Dutch-speaking environment. Though some participants were concerned at the outset by the loss of their heritage language and identity, most consider Dutch a route to integration, not a threat. Many have a dual identity, whereby they find cultural enrichment in both Turkish and Dutch traditions.

4.1.5.1 Perceptions on Impact of Dutch Language Use on Heritage Identity

Figure 9 shows that most participants, being coded 12 times, reported no negative impact on their identity from using Dutch. They indicated it is generally not seen as a threat to heritage identity. Only one participant mentioned a negative impact, but without specific examples, so it was not included as a separate section.

Figure 9

Frequency Chart of Perceived Impact of Dutch Use on Heritage Identity

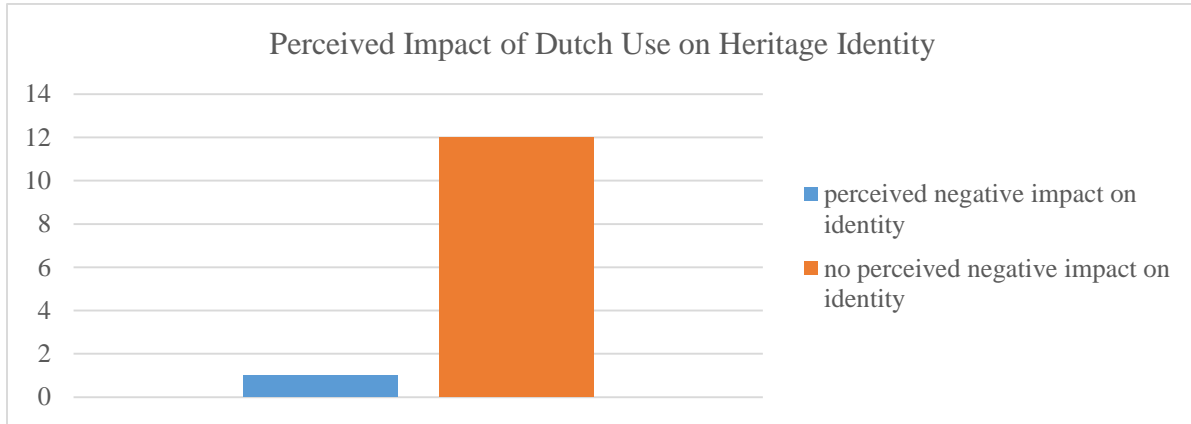
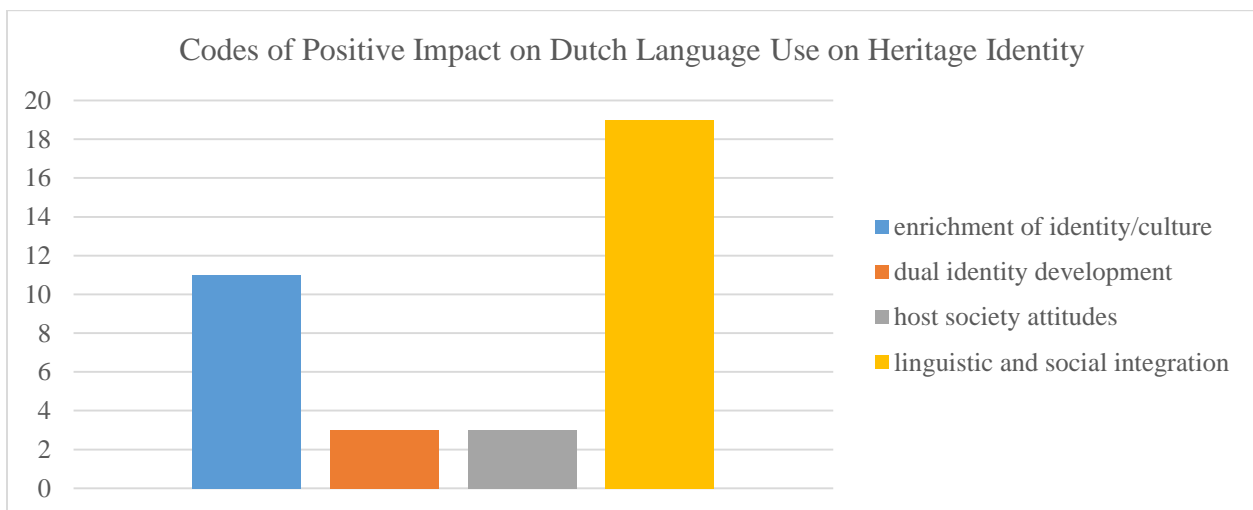


Figure 10 displays the frequency of codes representing the positive impact of Dutch use on heritage identity. Linguistic and social integration appears as the most frequently mentioned code, being coded 19 times, which was followed by enrichment of identity and culture, being coded 11 times. Less frequently mentioned were dual identity development and host society attitudes, each being coded 3 times. These findings highlight the significant role of language in fostering both social integration and cultural enrichment within the participants' heritage identities.

Figure 10

Frequency Chart of Codes of Positive Impact of Dutch Language Use on Heritage Identity



4.1.5.1.1 Cultural adaptation and integration

Dutch use is often considered as essential for linguistic and social integration, being coded 19 times. As Participant 7 states, "I am learning Dutch out of the necessity of learning this language, and in order to be able to contribute to society. Integrating into this society, understanding each other correctly, being able to express oneself-these are human needs." It thus follows that the acquisition of Dutch proficiency would not only be a social integration matter but also one of personal fulfillment.

Participant 2 strongly emphasized the social integration:

I feel that with my Turkish identity, I can find a place for myself in Dutch society. Using words from my second language or speaking that language will not assimilate me. The contrary is true because it helps me to integrate more into society and accelerates our integration process.

This attitude underlines the fact that one's heritage identity is not threatened by the use of Dutch to enhance integration.

Further, Participant 8 comments on the impact of Dutch use in the following way:

My children try to express themselves in Dutch. That comes easier to them, especially when talking about school-related topics. My spouse and I also say some things in Dutch, either because it is easier for us or because certain phrases have been implemented in our language.

This shows a gradual change in linguistic practices where Dutch is used in increasingly more aspects of life.

Moreover, and quite contrary to the assumption of threat, participants often view integration into Dutch language and culture to enrich rather than threaten their heritage identity, which is coded 11 times. As Participant 2 stated, "Learning new things and speaking this language contributes to enriching my identity rather than losing it." Participant 5 further commented on the benefits derived from bilingualism and biculturalism by saying, "Learning or speaking a new language adds to us something, like another layer of richness. It provides the ability to gain an enriched identity; in a word, it makes a person versatile."

The positive view of dual identity was expressed by Participant 8; it was coded 3 times: "Maybe we are gaining an additional identity here to our Turkish identity because I became a citizen of this country. I see it as gaining a second identity, as long as we also preserve our primary identity."

The quote shows an additive identity, where Dutch identity is complementary to Turkish identity, not replacing it. It is asserted that the participant develops a Dutch identity as an extension rather than a substitute.

These views imply that participants consider the influence of Dutch language use on their heritage identity as one of adaptation and integration, in the sense that use is understood to be a way to grow and learn, but not to lose Turkish culture.

4.1.5.1.2 Host society attitudes

Host society attitudes were also mentioned in this section, being coded 3 times. This category contains participant interpretations of the social environment in the Netherlands, specifically in regard to the way their language and cultural background are treated by the host society.

Participant 5 was also mildly positive in this regard: "I don't have any concerns about speaking Dutch damaging my identity. People here, in my children's school or in my workplace, are respectful towards my heritage language or culture. So, I don't have a problem with this." Participant 2 also shared a similar opinion: "Their understanding, willingness to listen, welcoming manner, and instructive approach accelerated my integration."

That could also mean that the positive attitudes of the participants toward the manner that Dutch society have dismiss any kind of concern that heritage identity might be affected by the use of the Dutch language. Consequently, attitudes of the host society make a big impact on Turkish immigrants' feeling of being comfortable during Dutch learning with their heritage identity and integration with life, promoting a more integrated bilingual and bicultural identity.

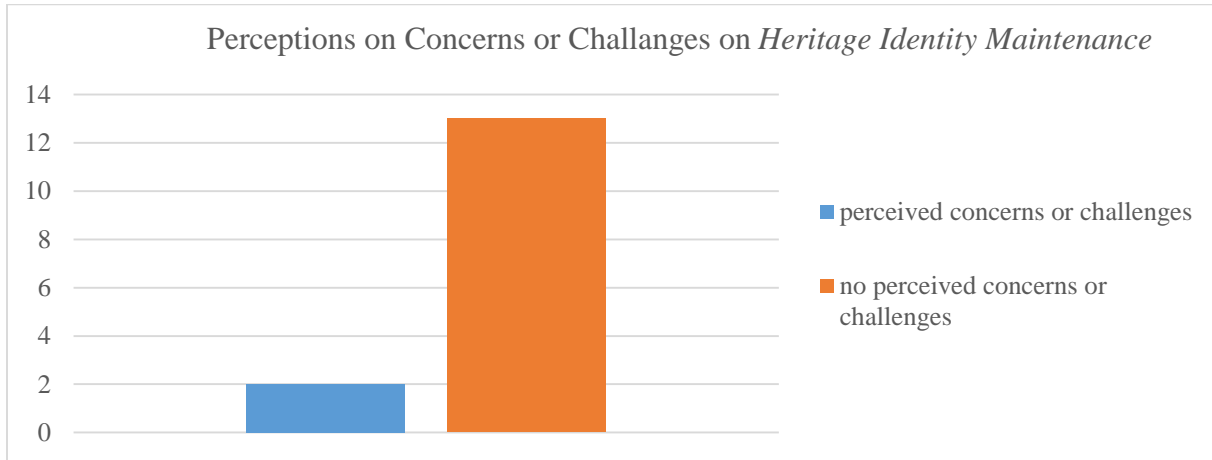
4.1.5.2 Perceptions on Concerns or Challenges on Heritage Identity Maintenance

The Figure 11 depicts the distribution of participants' perceptions on concerns or challenges in maintaining their heritage identity. A vast majority of participants expressed no perceived concerns or problems with preserving their Turkish identity, which was coded 13 times. In comparison, only two occurrences were classified as perceiving problems or challenges. This distribution indicates

that the majority of participants in this study are confident in their ability to preserve their Turkish identity.

Figure 11

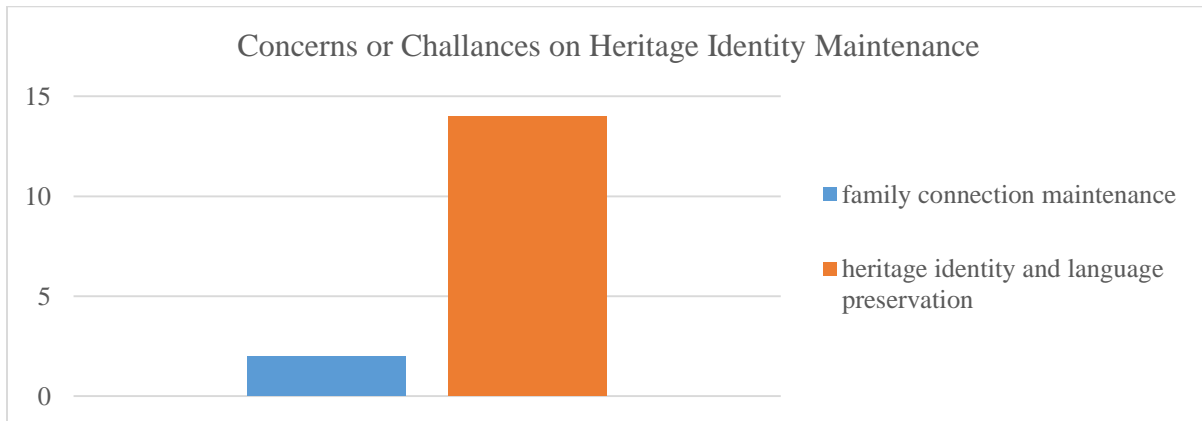
Frequency Chart of Perceptions on Concerns or Challenges on Heritage Identity Maintenance



Furthermore, Figure 12 below illustrates the codes of concerns or challenges related to heritage identity maintenance for the participants. The dominant concern is heritage identity and language preservation, which was coded 14 times, and another concern or challenge is the family connection maintenance concern, which was coded 5 times.

Figure 12

Frequency Chart of Codes on Concerns or Challenges on Heritage Identity Maintenance



4.1.5.2.1 Heritage identity and language preservation concerns

Heritage identity and language preservation, which was coded 17 times, emerged as a major concern of the participants. They show their concerns about preserving their cultural identity and the heritage language in terms of passing them on especially to their children.

In all these regards, while most of the participants were conscious about learning Dutch for social integration purposes, most of them also insisted on not to forget their roots. As Participant 6 stated: "It is important to learn our new language very well to integrate into society, but while doing so, it is also important not to forget our roots and ensure that our children do not forget our own language." This quotation highlights concerns about preserving cultural identity, active efforts to maintain the heritage language, and worries about the potential loss or deterioration of heritage language.

However, attitudes towards this issue changed over time. For instance, Participant 2 was worried about cultural and language loss in the beginning, but these worries were eliminated with the increased participation in the Dutch society. When Participant 2 shared his perspective, " When I first came to the Netherlands, I had this concern. However, as I interact more with the people and get accustomed to the life here, I have realized that these concerns were actually quite unfounded."

Some concerns are related to the cultural knowledge. Participant 4 reported in initial concerns: " I had some concerns at the beginning that my children would not be able to learn some aspects of Turkish culture properly, like Turkish history, culture, food, and traditions since they have a completely different curriculum at school."

These responses reflect an overall understanding of the complex nature of the challenge in maintaining heritage identity and language in a different cultural context. Participants demonstrate a high awareness of the necessity of integration in their new environment while preserving their heritage language and identity.

4.1.2.2.3 Family connection dynamics

Family connection maintenance was coded 2 times because it is important to maintain the bonds among generations and across geographical distances. This category includes a conscious choice to use the heritage language in order to maintain close connections with family members and relatives living in Turkey.

Noticeably, the role of heritage language in keeping family ties is reflected by the experience of Participant 1:

(...) However, not speaking our mother tongue enough can cause various consequences. For example, my daughter's grandmother only speaks Kurdish, and she doesn't know Turkish at all, while my daughter doesn't know Kurdish at all. So there is no language that both of them can use. One may remember his own culture, but this can cause weaker bonds to our family in Turkey, especially the children.

This example demonstrates that language barriers do, little by little, weaken family ties; those in Turkey particularly. It highlights the aspect of heritage language as an important link in keeping such ties alive.

Participant 7 elaborates further on the use of the heritage language for family communication: “Speaking as a Turkish-Kurdish, within our family communication, I believe that Turkish is the language that keeps us together and allows us to understand each other.”

This statement respects the role of the heritage language in the cohesiveness and understanding displayed by a family. Such views, therefore, prove that the heritage language cannot be viewed only as an instrument of cultural identity but also as an instrument of practicality in holding meaningful family bonds.

4.2 Code-switching Behaviors and Attitudes

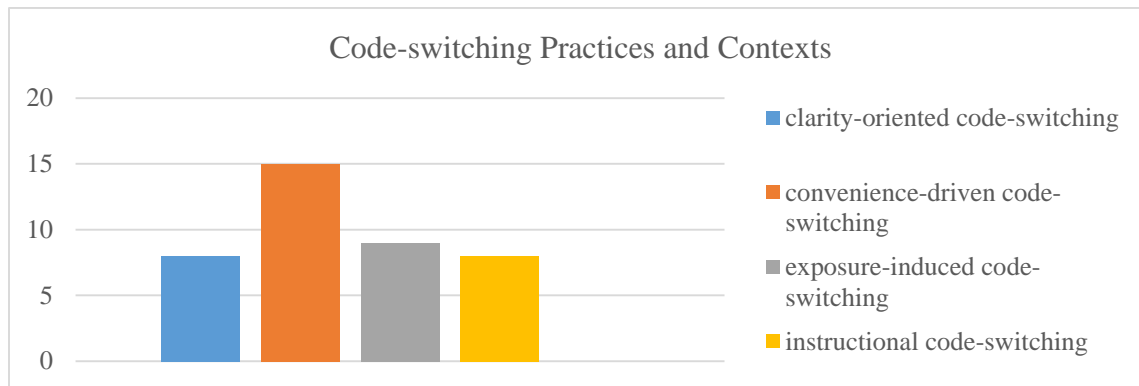
This section provides the data regarding various code-switching contexts and behaviors of recent Turkish immigrants in various social settings. Further, the perceptions of code-switching on heritage identity maintenance were analyzed and presented in this section.

4.2.1 Code-switching Contexts and Reasons

Figure 13 below illustrates the distribution of various code-switching contexts and reasons experienced by Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. The chart reveals convenience-driven code-switching, being coded, 15 times, exposure-induced code-switching, being coded 9 times, instructional code-switching, being coded 8 times, and accommodation to heritage language interlocutors, being 8 times.

Figure 13

Frequency Chart of Code-switching Contexts and Reasons



4.2.1.1 Convenience-driven code-switching

Convenience-driven code-switching is the most frequent, as it was coded 15 times. The participants often switch to Dutch words or phrases where the flow of conversation is easier by those words or is more automatic in their daily communication. The fact brings out how integration into the new linguistic environment influenced the use of language by the Turkish immigrants.

Participant 1 illustrates this: "My spouse and I switch to Dutch for some words because it is more convenient and has become automatic for us. For example, I say 'gemeente' (municipality) instead of 'belediye' (municipality) because it comes to mind more easily."

Participant 5 reinforces this view: "I use particularly some words in my daily conversations with my spouse, children, and friends that have become more natural for me in Dutch."

Participant 3 provides an example in this regard: "For instance, we could say 'bedava' (free) in Turkish, but 'gratis' (free) has become so implemented in my language that I find myself using it."

These examples show that as participants become more accustomed to Dutch society, Dutch words become more familiar to them, which leads them to switch languages easily for convenience. They also highlight how living in a bilingual environment in the Netherlands gradually shifts language preferences among Turkish immigrants; that is, Dutch increasingly influences their daily conversations.

4.2.1.2 Exposure-induced code-switching

Exposure-induced code-switching, which was coded 9 times, means that participants change languages due to the strong influence of Dutch in their lives, sometimes unconsciously. This may also be a reflection of how the bilingual context can change the way someone speaks—probably as a function of the dominant language within one's environment. Exposure-induced code-switching is a very clear case of how language choice need not always be deliberate, but can be determined through the linguistic context in which one finds oneself.

Participant 2 explains this notion as, "The more exposure I have to Dutch, the more I use Dutch words while speaking Turkish. That is, whenever I get exposed to Dutch, I use more Dutch words in my Turkish speech."

Participant 3: "When I help out at school and speak Dutch constantly, I continue to use Dutch at home as well, switching many Turkish words with Dutch."

Participant 6 describes this process as:

Since the brain is occupied with that language, it naturally begins to spill out. This is just a natural process. Whatever your mind is focused on will come out in your speech. If your focus is on Dutch, then Dutch words will start to appear in your language.

These examples show that the more time one spends in a Dutch-speaking environment, the more often one will switch to code-switching, even in situations in which one would naturally use Turkish. This type of switching demonstrates the fluidity of bilingual language use and the significant impact of the surrounding linguistic environment on language production. The longer Turkish immigrants stay in Dutch contexts, the longer their language automatically develops an inclusion of more Dutch elements, even while speaking Turkish.

4.2.1.3 Instructional code-switching

Instructional code-switching, which was coded 7 times, concerns the views of the participants, who often use code-switching as a tool for teaching, especially to children, in order to help them understand concepts in both languages and bridge the gap between school and home languages.

The data related to the intentional use of code-switching reveals the parents' awareness of the challenges that their children encounter when managing two linguistic systems. Besides, their proactive approach to language education at home is present, recognizing the importance of preserving Turkish while providing assistance in integrating their children into Dutch-speaking situations.

Participant 4 demonstrates this: "I do code-switching to explain some topics better to my daughter. Since she does not understand some words in Turkish, I use Dutch words in my speech. For example, I use 'pesten' instead of saying 'zorbalik yapmak' (bullying).

Participant 5 elaborates: "Since the children do not yet know every Turkish word and use more Dutch at school, I use the Dutch term to help them understand better, and then I provide the Turkish equivalent so they can learn."

Participant 1 provides another example: "For instance, when my daughter does not know some Turkish words, we switch and say, 'This is the Turkish word for that,' or we use the Dutch word to help her understand because she knows the Dutch term but not the Turkish one."

This practice demonstrates a conscious parent who is supportive toward the child's bilingual development and must have effective communication in two languages. Instructional code-switching by parents does not only take care of the immediate understanding; it also makes a positive contribution to the bilingual proficiency of their children.

4.2.1.4 Accommodation to heritage language interlocutors

Accommodation to heritage language interlocutors, which was coded 8 times, generally refers to the occurrences when Turkish immigrants incorporate Dutch words or phrases into their conversations to make the conversation more understandable, especially for those who have been in the Netherlands for long time.

Participant 6 expressed, "Sometimes, I feel that the reason I use a Dutch word while speaking Turkish is that I think the person to whom I am talking will understand me better." This quotation shows that there is a kind of conscious attempt to improve comprehension by using Dutch words.

As Participant 2 stated, "I also do code-switching in my conversations so that the other person can understand me better." This quote again served to prove code-switching to have been deliberately practiced with the perception that it would make communication clearer.

Participant 1: "You know, my daughter doesn't know some Turkish words, so when we notice that, then we switch languages."

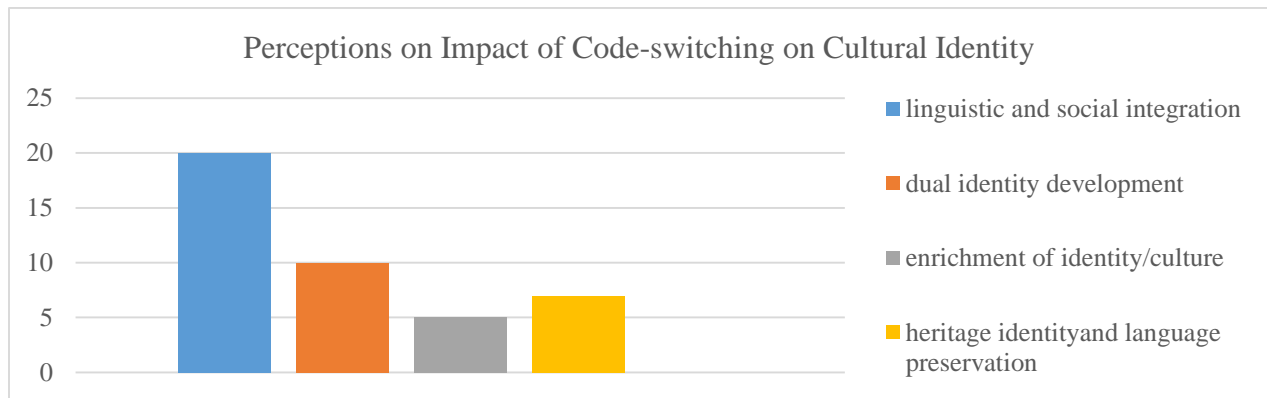
These examples demonstrate how code-switching is performed intentionally to improve communication efficacy. The emergence of accommodation for heritage language interlocutors indicates that bilingual Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands have established or are acquiring a nuanced understanding of the communicative potential of both languages, despite the fact that they have only been in the Netherlands for a short time. By incorporating Dutch terms into their Turkish speech, interlocutors may explain concepts more clearly and catch cultural meanings that could otherwise be lost in translation.

4.2.2 Perceptions on Impact of Code-switching on Heritage Identity

Figure 14 below represents various ways in which recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands perceive how code-switching affects their cultural identity. Four codes of positive perceptions were identified in the data under the sub-category of *Cultural Adaptation and Integration*: linguistic and social integration, being coded 20 times, dual identity development, being coded 10 times, and enrichment of identity/culture, coded 5 times. On the contrary, heritage identity and language preservation, 7 times coded, emerged as negative attitudes of code-switching on heritage identity. This distribution suggests that while code-switching is most commonly associated with linguistic and social integration, it is very relevant to dual identities. The data underlines the challenge of heritage identity and language preservation concerns.

Figure 14

Frequency Chart of Perceptions on Impact of Code-switching on Cultural Identity



4.2.3.1 Cultural adaptation and integration

This category includes linguistic and social integration, which was coded 20 times; dual identity development, which was coded 10 times; and enrichment of identity/culture, being coded 5 times since all these themes refer to the process of adapting and integrating in Dutch society and, at the same time, enriching one's cultural identity.

The high frequency of codes in this category indicates that participants largely view code-switching as a positive force in their cultural adaptation process. From the data, it can be inferred that code-switching is perceived not only as a linguistic phenomenon but also a wider cultural tool that enables integration and enriches the identity and cultural experiences of participants.

Participant 1 articulated: "Well, I think code-switching is definitely something that accelerates integration. You aren't only learning the language, you're also learning about those people's cultures, ways of life—it's like you buy a whole package."

That is what Participant 4 asserted.

It may be due to the fact that I am still in a process of learning the host language, but code-switching gives me an impression that my language learning and integration process is facilitated. All in all, I am trying to learn the host language, and sometimes answering in Dutch makes me happy.

Participant 1's comment emphasizes the whole nature of language acquisition and its function in integration. Code-switching is considered as a kind of strategy more than just language acquisition;

it is a gateway to understanding and adopting parts of Dutch culture and lifestyle. Participant 4 added that code-switching gives a feeling of progress regarding language learning and effort to integrate. This view suggests that participants might view code-switching as an active means to achieve social integration and the building of the host language, rather than a passive linguistic phenomenon.

Regarding dual identity development, Participant 2 highlighted:

Normally, we have our own identity, but living in this society, learning its culture, its language, and then we start using it in our own lives. Generally, I'm blending my L2 into L1, and sometimes I am like, 'Yes, I am adapting too.'

Elaborating further, participant 6 said: "A language that has influenced our own language certainly creates a sense of new emerging identity when I switch Dutch words. It does give me that kind of feeling."

The attitude that participants 2 and 6 display shows a clear insight into the formation of identity in a bilingual context. In this regard, it is notable that participants use words and expressions such as 'adapting too' and 'new emerging identity,' thus showing awareness of the influence code-switching exerts on self-perception. It means that, next to being a tool in communication, code-switching is perceived as a way to establish dual identity, including Turkish and Dutch cultural components.

Participant 5 reflected on the enrichment of identity: "Since I am more than a certain age, the code-switching definitely won't assimilate my own culture. It may have an effect only on adding some values of the new country I live in to my own culture."

Another similar opinion was voiced by participant 4: "So, we are learning another language, mixing it with your native heritage language. Another language means more bridges to communicate. There are more people. For me, this is an enrichment."

Participants 4 and 5 give insights into how code-switching enriches culture without threatening their heritage identity. The emphasis on the addition of values rather than assimilation suggests a blend of cultures in this process of adaptation. For Participant 4, language blending is a richness, which further underscores how code-switching is positively perceived to open up new cultural and social perspectives.

4.2.3.2 Heritage identity and language preservation concerns

This category encompasses the codes of heritage identity and language preservation, and language/identity balance, being coded 7 times.

Participant 3 highlights the need for a balance between adopting new culture elements and the need to remain with their heritage culture. "When we combine this with our own culture, I believe that we need to find a middle way."

Participant 7: "I have never been worried to lose my heritage identity when code-switching, but if I were to abandon my native language, surely it would weaken it."

Participant 7 is aware that if heritage language is also utilized, code-switching will not be a threat for the heritage identity. Thus, there is no concern about losing the heritage identity in the process of code-switching. These attitudes suggest that participants are aware of a need to maintain their cultural identity while adapting to a new linguistic environment.

5. DISCUSSION

5.1 Language Ideology and Attitudes

The present research investigates how recent Turkish immigrants, who migrated to the Netherlands from 2017 to 2021 as a result of political pressures, manage language preferences and practices within the context of family language policy, including code-switching dynamics. It also explores the relationship between the maintenance of heritage languages and the adaptation to host languages. These individuals, largely educated in the Turkish language and brought up in environments where Turkish or bilingualism (Turkish-Kurdish) was prevalent, have concerns about preserving their cultural identity while simultaneously integrating into Dutch society. The research, therefore, sets out to explain the family language policy of this community, while at the same time it explores how the participants change their practice and attitude toward language in their new setting. By investigating the question, "What ideologies and attitudes do recent Turkish immigrants exhibit towards heritage and host languages?", this research sheds light on the transformation that the Turkish immigrant community has experienced compared with earlier generations.

As previously indicated, the present investigation is organized as a comparative analysis alongside Bezioglu-Goktolga's (2019) examination of second-generation Turkish households. Through the

comparison of these two studies, valuable insights emerge regarding the influence of generational distinctions and duration of residence in the Netherlands on the formulation of family language policies. This comparative exploration uncovers both persistent elements and transformations in language ideologies that occur across varying waves of Turkish immigration. Both studies highlight the crucial role played by maintaining the Turkish language and cultural identity. Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) noted that second-generation families considered the maintenance of Turkish identity to be the main reason for maintaining their heritage language. Similarly, in the current study related to the participants, a general tendency was seen toward using Turkish in home environments. The findings of Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) are in agreement with the present study that all parents share the same ideologies about maintaining Turkish and implement similar language practices, with parents being more oriented toward Turkish and children toward Dutch. Such findings across generations indicate the enduring importance of heritage language preservation, regardless of how long immigrant families have been living in the host country.

Nevertheless, there were remarkable differences in the approach to language learning and use. Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) found that many of the second-generation parents (26 of the 35) expected their children to acquire Turkish before they acquired Dutch. In contrast, the current research on newly arrived migrants reflects much more of an equal right from the beginning for both languages to be maintained. Most of the respondents of the study reported that if one respondent initiated the conversation in Dutch, they did not urge their family members to switch to speaking only in Turkish at home. This difference could be attributed to the pressing need of newly arrived immigrants to be integrated due to their asylum proceedings and the realization of an important role that Dutch plays in their integration process.

In both studies, the reasons for maintaining the heritage language remained the same. Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) identified the reasons of maintaining Turkish identity, maintaining ties with people in Turkey, improving the Dutch language acquisition. The current study shared these themes in that participants emphasized the importance of family relations and the role of Turkish playing as an acquired base in being more fully immersed in Dutch. This alignment indicates that fundamental values linked to heritage language preservation persist across generations of immigrants.

Additionally, a significant distinction became apparent in the perspectives regarding the utilization of the Dutch language. Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) identified that the inclination of second-generation parents to favor the use of Dutch within the household was largely influenced by worries regarding their children's educational achievements and future vocational opportunities. Conversely, the present investigation involving newly arrived immigrants uncovered a more integrative motivation, as participants perceived the use of Dutch as crucial for achieving social integration and personal satisfaction. This difference underlines how immediate integration needs shape the language attitudes of newly arrived immigrants. In Bezcioglu-Goktolga's study (2019), the conflicting messages from media, schools, and welfare organizations also complicate immigrants' language choices, which reflect observations of psychological pressure from contradictory societal expectations. This pressure may have informed the language pragmatism of some recent immigrants, echoing the findings of Smith-Christmas (2016), who looked into the societal pressure as one of the factors involved in preventing people from using minority languages.

The societal level of influence on participants' language ideologies was noticed in both studies, but it was formed quite differently. Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) emphasized influences from institutions on the parents' language ideologies, like schools, healthcare centers, and direct influences from speech therapists who recommended the use of the heritage language at home. In this study, host society attitudes, while being mentioned less frequently, were still evident as influencing language choices and integration attitudes. Participants frequently reported favorable experiences with the Dutch society's acknowledgment of their bilingualism, which they indicated encouraged their integration initiatives. This distinction implies that the societal impacts on language ideologies may develop or be interpreted variably, dependent upon the duration of one's residence in the host nation. Recently arrived immigrants seem to be more affected by their immediate social engagements and prevailing societal perceptions, whereas long-established communities may encounter greater institutional effects on their linguistic selections. Further, Bezcioglu-Goktolga (2019) argues that the psychological anxiety associated with managing these contradictory societal expectations most probably contributes to the changed dynamics of language ideologies.

Both studies show that while both groups value their heritage language and identity, newly arrived immigrants may be more inclined, from the very start, to include Dutch in their linguistic practices. Such could be attributed to their desperate need for integration and the different linguistic environment they find themselves in, which contrasts with second-generation families that have been in the Netherlands for a long period. Mishina-Mori (2022) supports this fact by noting that factors such as schooling and community support significantly affect language dominance and, thus, how immigrant families approach language use.

Furthermore, the fluidity in family language policies concerning immigrant settings is highlighted by the association of these two research investigations. Family language ideologies and attitudes may change over time and within generations, conditioned by pressing integration or integrational needs, sociopolitical forces at the policy and practice levels, and evolving conceptualizations of bilingualism and identities in the host country (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2022; Curdt-Christiansen & Huang, 2020). These findings point to important implications both for a deeper understanding of the complex dynamics involved in the issues of language maintenance and change among immigrants and for the development of supportive policies and interventions targeted for immigrant families at various stages of their settlement.

In addition, this study explores the impact of the Dutch language on heritage identity. A large percentage of the sample considered their heritage identity to be unaffected by any use of Dutch, which means that it is usually not considered a threat to heritage identity. Instead, the use of the Dutch language is often praised as a method to support integration and develop the self. The use of the Dutch language has often been recognized as contributing positively to both linguistic and social integration, indicative of a pragmatic perspective on language learning. This viewpoint corresponds with the observation that numerous participants perceive the integration of Dutch language and culture as enhancing their identity instead of posing a threat to it. The notion of dual identity development also raised, as certain participants perceived the attainment of a Dutch identity as an enhancement to their Turkish identity (Curdt-Christiansen & Sun, 2021). This indicates a sophisticated comprehension of cultural identity that facilitates the integration of new immigrants while maintaining essential heritage values. Such findings suggest that recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands are rather positive about and see Dutch language use as a means of integrating and enriching themselves personally while maintaining their heritage identity. In

contrast, the policies of earlier periods were that immigrants preserved their language as a top priority, therefore discouraging the host language. These indicate that there is a change in the language ideologies in more recent arrivals.

The study suggests that, while these newcomers have a relatively strong tie with their Turkish heritage, they also display a very pragmatic and adaptive attitude to learning and using the Dutch language. This pragmatic attitude is driven by their urgent demands for social and economic integration and further pursued by their status as asylum seekers for whom learning Dutch is a basic necessity. These immigrants' educational qualifications and the circumstances of their migration prove to influence their language tendencies and attitudes, which render them more open to and more liberal about bilingualism. Edwards (2006) takes this further by noting language choice within families impacts individuals' connections to speech communities and on the development of individuals.

The present study contributes to nuanced understanding of how contemporary migration trends influence family language policy and language attitudes in the case of the Turkish migrant community living in the Netherlands after 2016 due to political issues in Turkey. It underlines the need for nuanced approaches in language policy and measures of integration, which take into consideration various experiences and attitudes of different generations/waves of immigrants.

5.2 Code-switching Behaviors and Attitudes

The findings from this study give subtle patterns of code-switching behaviors and attitudes among recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. This analysis brings forth the multiple causes and contexts around their mixing language practices, and perceptions about how code-switching may have affected their cultural identity.

A striking result seems to be that the convenience principle is the most dominant factor in code-switching: participants often switch to Dutch words or phrases, which have turned more automatic or familiar in everyday communication. It is an indication that in the case of these recent immigrants, shifting into the Dutch linguistic environment means a language use that becomes more and more Dutch in nature for pragmatic reasons, even when talking Turkish. This convenience-oriented code-switching reveals how quickly the newly arrived immigrants adapt to the changes in their linguistic environment and pragmatically adjust to the new realities in language use. Although Backus and Van der Heijden (2002) reported developmental differences

across generations in code-switching, the present study goes one step beyond their finding by demonstrating that recent first-generation immigrants may also use code-switching in a natural and effortless way, despite the relatively short time they have spent in the host country.

Moreover, this study uncovers the existence of exposure-driven code-switching; that is, owing to a daily on-going exposure to the majority language, the participants unconsciously insert more Dutch words in their Turkish speech. Such a phenomenon underlines the enormous role of the surrounding linguistic context for bilingual language production, which was pointed out by Grosjean (2013), who claimed that bilinguals are able to switch languages depending on the context, and by Kootstra, Dijkstra, and Van Hell (2020), who provided an explanation of how the exposure to a dominant language facilitates code-switching. The fact that these new immigrants freely integrate Dutch elements in their Turkish indicates increasing flexibility and growing comfort with Dutch, and not their ability because of high exposure to Dutch as compared to established proficiency.

Another important acquisition is the use of instructional code-switching amongst participants when they talk with their children. This intentional language mixing practice shows parents' awareness of children's challenges in switching between the two linguistic systems inside and outside school settings. In this respect, code-switching is applied as a teaching strategy, and the parents are active in their children's bilingual development, as is underscored in the study by Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur (2018). This is in line with the previous studies that support the fact that parents of immigrants deliberately use the two languages to make children master the heritage as well as the host languages.

Instances of utilizing code switching for providing to the heritage language interlocutors were also presented in this study where participants change their languages to make the mutual understanding process easy and the communication more effective. This strategic use of code-switching by the youth echoes the analysis of Stavans (1992), where he argued that the choice of language is a social tool in a bilingual discourse because it negotiates social hierarchies, roles, and relationships within diverse settings. In a related vein, Vu, Bailey, and Howes (2010) underline the fact that code-switching may be a way to express group identity and group solidarity since the choice of language functions in setting social boundaries, maintaining group cohesion, and managing interpersonal relations.

The attitude of individuals toward the consequences of code-switching for cultural identity seems to have generated a particular and rather positive approach among recent Turkish immigrants. In the present study, participants often associated code-switching with linguistic and social integration, the development of dual identities, and the enrichment of their experiences concerning cultural identity. This is a novel contribution of the present study, as earlier studies focused on issues of heritage identity and language maintenance in particular with respect to the first generation(s) of Turkish immigrants (Eversteijn, 2011; Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018). On the contrary, the participants in this paper consider code-switching as an opportunity to integrate into Dutch, but also a way to build up and allow their cultural identity to enrich. They neither believe that code-switching will threaten either their heritage language nor their identity; rather, it is an enriching way of learning the culture and constructing identity.

While past studies highlighted the strict maintenance of Turkish by Turkish families to preserve their cultural roots, this study discloses that recent Turkish immigrants are more adaptable and integrative in their approach. This perhaps might be attributed to the fact that they are more educated and better integrated into Dutch society compared to previous generations, who were also concerned with the maintenance of their heritage language. Respondents in this study accept code-switching as an instrumental resource for orientation in Dutch society and for constructing a double cultural identity. This more flexible attitude towards the impact of code-switching on cultural identity is an important finding that has not been discussed at length in previous studies on Turkish immigrant communities.

In conclusion, findings on code-switching behavior and attitudes among Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands demonstrate flexibility in the use of language and how this flexibility works to balance language heritage maintenance with integration into Dutch society. They desire to maintain their heritage language and identity while integrating into the host society. These insights shed better light on how language practices and perceptions change across different immigrant profiles.

6. CONCLUSION

The study provides critical insights into the literature regarding the shifting language ideologies, attitudes, and practices of newly arrived Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands along with highlighting the fluidity within the spheres of family language policy of this particular population.

Comparative analysis with earlier research among second-generation Turkish families shows consistent and obvious changes in the way the latest immigrant cohort manages their linguistic and cultural identities.

One overarching theme that remains consistent is the repeated emphasis on the maintenance of heritage languages across generations. Both new arrivals and second-generation Turkish immigrants demonstrate a strong desire to retain the Turkish language and cultural heritage. However, striking differences emerge in their approaches to language acquisition and use. While the parents of the second generation expected emphasis on the language of Turkish, recent immigrants have a more cautious attitude towards giving more importance either to Turkish or to the language of Dutch from the very beginning. This pragmatic attitude reveals urgent needs for integration by newly arrived immigrants who consider use of the Dutch language an essential means of social integration and adjustment in a new environment.

The findings further highlight complex trends in the code-switching patterns of recent Turkish immigrants. Convenience-driven and exposure-induced code-switching, as popularly practiced, signify rapid adjustment among new immigrants into the Dutch-speaking environment, where they easily embed elements of Dutch into their Turkish conversations. Such flexibility in language mixing is in sharp contrast to the strict language-maintenance behaviors that were common in previous generations. Significantly, code-switching is not a threat to their heritage identity but is seen by recent immigrants as an instrument that helps in cultural enrichment and even the building of a dual cultural identity.

These recently shifted attitudes on the use of language and the effect on identity show a more flexible and cohesive approach that current Turkish immigrants are using, possibly inspired by higher educational attainments and closer contact with Dutch society. Whereas previous generations had premised their relationship on the strict maintenance of their heritage language, these new people coming in balance it pragmatically by using the Dutch language strategically while maintaining a strong connection to their Turkish roots.

The present study makes substantial contributions to the literature on family language policy dynamics, now under change in the context of immigrant populations. It highlights the specific beliefs and practices related to languages among newly arriving Turkish immigrants, adding diversity to immigrants' experiences that evolve over time. Understanding such diverse linguistic

patterns and orientations is crucial for generating enhanced support and integration policies on the part of the Dutch government. These can also serve to formulate policies which better respond to the needs of various immigrant groups, thus enhancing mutual understanding and respect between the minority and majority communities.

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Appendices

A. Interview Consent Form

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in a research study titled "Family Language Policy among Newly Arrived First-Generation Turkish Adults in the Netherlands". This form gives you important information about the study. Please read it carefully and take all the time you need to have all your questions answered before you decide to participate.

Study Purpose:

This study investigates how newly arrived first-generation Turkish adult immigrants in the Netherlands create and enact family language policies and how these policies influence their integration and the preservation of cultural identity. It focuses on language ideology, attitudes, and code-switching behaviors.

Study Procedures:

If you consent to take part, then you will be asked to:

-Brief background questions (5 questions, about 3-5minutes)

Participate in an in-depth interview-8 questions regarding Language Ideology and Attitudes and Code-switching Behaviors/Attitudes for approximately 30-40 minutes.

The recording will be made via Microsoft Teams.

Risks and Benefits

There are no expected risks beyond those that you would experience in daily life. You may also benefit by reflecting on your language practices and your cultural experiences. The information you provide will help in adding knowledge about language policy in the families of immigrants.

Confidentiality:

Your responses will be kept confidential. Research reports containing personal information will be de-identified. Video recordings will also be stored in a password-protected computer and destroyed after transcription and analysis. Only the researcher will have access to the raw data.

B. Interview Questions

Background questions:

1. How old are you?
2. What is the highest degree that you have?
3. When did you/your family arrive in the Netherlands?
4. How did/do you/your family learn Dutch?
5. Which language(s) did you/your family speak as you grew up?

Family language policy

1. What language do you prefer your family members speak to you at home? Why?
2. What language do you prefer your family members speak to you outside home? Why?
3. What language do you prefer to speak with other Turkish immigrants? Why?
4. How do you manage your language choices at home or other social settings?
5. Do you feel that using more Dutch at home impacts your/your family members' sense of heritage identity in any way? If so, how?
6. Are there any concerns or challenges you face in trying to maintain your heritage identity while also using Dutch regularly?
7. Can you describe specific examples or conversational contexts where you typically switch between Turkish and Dutch languages? What causes these language shifts in those situations?
8. What attitudes or feelings do you have about the relationship between code-switching practices and feeling a sense of identity within the Turkish-Dutch community? Can you share personal experiences where code-switching has played a role in shaping (or impacting) your cultural identity?

C. Codebook

1st Theme: Language Ideology and Attitudes

1. Home Language Preferences and Reasons: It refers to the language preferences and also practices of the participants as heritage language, host language, code-switching or third language and reasons behind those preferences at home setting.

Keywords: Turkish, Kurdish, Dutch, code-switching, express oneself better, communicate easily, maintain identity, etc.

Example: "We generally speak Turkish at home. Obviously we find it easy to communicate in our native language."

2. Language Preferences and Reasons outside Home: It refers to the participant's language preferences and practices like heritage language, host language, code-switching or a third language besides those said reasons at different social settings outside home.

Keywords: Turkish, Dutch, code-switching, integration, better expression in heritage language, etc.

Example: "Of course we speak Dutch when there are other nationalities around us; this way misunderstandings are avoided or any chance of being misinterpreted does not happen. We think that speaking a foreign language may be rude to the others at all times."

3. Language Preferences and Reasons with Other Turkish Immigrants: This category refers to the language preferences and practices of the participants as Heritage Language, Host Language, Code-switching, or third language; and the reasons behind those preferences with other reasons than other Turkish immigrants.

Keywords: implementing Dutch words, expressing oneself better in heritage language, communicate effortlessly etc.

Example: "When we get together with other Turkish immigrants, we speak Turkish. We can express ourselves so much more easily in our own language, and we automatically prefer to use Turkish when communicating."

Sub-category: Language proficiency influences: This refers to the degree to which participants feel comfortable and appropriate communicating in their heritage language, which influences linguistic choices.

Keywords: speak comfortably, express feelings better, etc.

Example: "We prefer to speak Turkish because it is the language that best expresses our feelings and thoughts."

Sub-category: Family connection dynamics: It refers to all of those references where heritage language is preferred to maintain family links with family members and/relatives in Turkey.

Keywords: family bonds, to communicate with relatives, etc.

Example: "I prefer speaking Turkish within the family. After all, my relatives in Turkey speak just Turkish, so my children need to learn it well."

Sub-category: Heritage identity and language preservation concerns: It refers to the difficulties and efforts relating to the maintenance of Turkish heritage identity and language in an environment speaking another language, such as Dutch. It also involves concerns about the issue of cultural identity maintenance, active effort at the heritage language maintenance, and the concerns about L1 attrition.

Keywords: L1 attrition, cultural/identity preservation, language/cultural balance, heritage language preservation and maintenance, etc.

Example: "My children are learning Dutch very intensively. The only place where they speak Turkish is at home, so we try to speak Turkish as much as possible in order not to forget it."

Sub-category: Cultural adaptation and integration: It refers to the acquisition of Dutch social norms and language, and cultural habits by Turkish immigrants; it is used to describe the case of dual identity development and enrichment.

Keywords: adaptation, integration, improving Dutch, practicing Dutch, enrichment, etc.

Example: " Usually we use Turkish at home. Of course, we communicate more easily in our mother tongue; however, I would like Dutch to be spoken as well. I think Dutch is very essential for integration and everyday life here."

Sub-category: Additional language: It refers to the preference for using an additional language.

Keywords: world language

Example: "Everybody in the house speaks English; we speak English sometimes on purpose. I mean, the kids knew English before they came here, too, since it's a world language."

4. Language Management Strategies: It refers to the conscious techniques applied by participants to monitor and conduct their own language use within specific settings. It included strategies on language preference, language switching, and language management that balanced multiple languages for different purposes in various domains.

Keywords: unregulated language preference, situational language adaptation, convenience-based language choice, etc.

Example: "So, at home, everybody speaks whatever they feel comfortable with. We don't have any rule about language choice."

Sub-category: Adaptation strategies: It refers to the adaptations to the use of language according to the interlocutor, context, or situation. It also involves adapting to other persons' preference for language and to social situations.

Keywords: clear communication, avoid misunderstandings, Dutch-speaking environments, etc.

Example: "As soon as my daughter starts speaking in Dutch, I react in Dutch. She continues the conversation and in this way we are practicing. Actually, I am doing this on purpose, to practice my Dutch."

Sub-category: Proficiency-based strategies: It refers to language preferences/practices, which are determined by the proficiency or comfort in a particular language, thereby mostly reverting to their more fluent language.

Keywords: express oneself better, communicate easily, etc.

Example: "Since it is our native language and we express some of our feelings better in Turkish, we speak mostly Turkish."

Sub-category: Integration strategies: It refers to language preferences/practices which contribute to social inclusion and cultural adjustment to the host society; these are normally related to a wider use of the host language.

Keywords: integration, adaptation, practicing Dutch, etc.

Example: "When my daughter is going to speak Dutch for practice purposes, at that time I answer in Dutch, and she keeps up the conversation with me. That is how we practice. I try being more conscious with it as some form of practice."

Sub-category: Convenience strategies: It refers to practical language choices for convenience, and it comprises code-switching and selecting the most available linguistic option or shortcut for efficiency in a given context.

Keywords: comfortable expression, quick communication, simplicity of heritage/host languages or code-switching, etc.

Example: "When I am speaking with my children about school or about anything at all and they start off in Dutch, then I always go along in Dutch. This is because I want them to feel comfortable when expressing themselves."

Sub-category: Unregulated language choice: This refers to spontaneous and free language preferences/practices in bilingual or multilingual settings without any prior rules or conscious planning.

Keywords: language choice, no rule, natural tendency, etc.

Example: "Within our household, there was no enforcement or guidance in the language choice among the family members; it all developed naturally."

5. Impact of Dutch Language Use on Heritage Identity: It refers to any perceptions about the impact of Dutch use on heritage identity and concerns or challenges on heritage identity maintenance

Sub-category: Perceptions on impact of Dutch language use on heritage identity: This refers to positive perceptions by Turkish immigrants about the impact of Dutch language use on their cultural identity. This would also include any instances related to how participants see Dutch

language use as enriching their cultural experience, promoting integration, and as contributing to a positive sense of identity within supportive host society attitudes.

Keywords: Dutch language impact, cultural identity, positive manner of host society, adaptation, enrichment, respect etc.

Example: "I don't believe that speaking Dutch more often at home would have had a direct impact on me or any of my family members in terms of Turkish identity." "Their understanding, being ready to listen and open-hearted, instructive attitude accelerated my integration."

Sub-category: Concerns or challenges on heritage identity maintenance: It refers to issues/problems regarding heritage identity maintenance-issues/problems that could have been reported by recent Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, regarding heritage identity and dynamics of family connection.

Keywords: identity maintenance, language maintenance, family bonds, etc.

Example: "I find the Dutch culture very dominant. My children are small. I think they will get influenced anyhow. For that reason, I'm trying to keep the balance."

6. Role of first language in second language learning: The term basically refers to the use of the mother tongue as a building block or frame of reference while acquiring a host language.

Keywords: reference language

Example: "Moreover, from what I hear at the children's school is that children do need a reference language, a basic language which would serve as a base for their second language."

2nd Theme: Code-switching Behaviors and Attitudes

7. Code-switching Contexts and Reasons: This category refers to the various contexts and motivations for which people alternately switch to another language.

Sub-category: Instructional code-switching: Instructional code-switching is an educational or learning-oriented function of code-switching, and therefore underlines how it is employed by the speaker to make the content more comprehensible or how code-switching helps understanding,

Keywords: prefer to use some words and expressions in Dutch, teach, school words, etc.

Example: "For instance, it's hard to teach some words, you know. Not concrete words, but more abstract concepts are hard to teach. But if they have learned it in Dutch before, we can switch and say, "Look, the Turkish equivalent for this is." and the child understands much better."

Sub-category: Accommodation to heritage language interlocutors: This refers to the conscious switching between Turkish and Dutch mainly to attain better understanding and avoid misunderstanding.

Keywords: better understanding, clarification, etc.

Example: "I also do code-switching in my communications so that the other people can understand me better."

Sub-category: Convenience-driven code-switching: It refers to a more spontaneous and practical use of the alternation between Turkish and Dutch in everyday communication, driven mainly by easy expression and immediate communicative needs.

Keywords: easy, automatic, established words in the language, etc.

Example: "My spouse and I switch to Dutch for some words because it's easier and the usage has become automatic. For example, instead of saying "belediye" - that is, municipality, I say "Gemeente" because it's easier for me, and that's the word that comes to my mind instead of the Turkish one."

Sub-category: Exposure-induced code-switching: This refers to a tendency by participants to insert words, phrases, or other expressions in Dutch into their heritage language speech during home visits or other typically heritage language-dominated contexts as a result of recent exposure to Dutch. Highly frequent exposure of Dutch triggers unconscious and automatic integration into heritage language use.

Keywords: expose, speaking Dutch a lot, automatic Dutch speaking, speaking Dutch intensively, etc.

Example: "When I go to school as an assistant parent, I am continuously speaking Dutch, so I come back and carry on my work at home without changing the lines. I replace many Turkish words with Dutch ones."

8. Perceptions on Impact of Code-switching on Heritage Identity: It refers to attitudes and experiences of Turkish immigrants towards how their practice of code-switching between Turkish and Dutch heritage influences their cultural identity.

Keywords: code-switching, impact identity, heritage identity, host culture, etc.

Example: "I don't think it completely shapes or influences our cultural identity in a way to make us more Turkish or more Dutch.