

Living on a border

An investigation towards the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and the influence of the current political events and the Dutch society on their identity.



Iris Saarloos
s4207750

Radboud University Nijmegen
Human Geograpy: Conflicts, Territories and Identities
Master's thesis
Supervisors: Olivier Kramsch and Kolar Aparna
23 April 2018

Figure frontpage: Two flags at a girl's house in the Netherlands to celebrate her graduation
Retrieved from: <http://kacokijk.blogspot.nl/2010/06/geslaagde-integratie.html>

Preface

In front of you lies my master's thesis. This master's thesis is the end of my master's Human Geography at the Radboud University Nijmegen. As a former quantitative researcher, I learned a lot during this master's thesis about qualitative research. I learned to look at social themes and problems with a whole different view than I did before. The social reality is not only based upon numbers and statistics, but maybe more upon feelings and opinions. But, most of all I learned a lot about being a Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngster. Writing this master's thesis gave me a lot of new insights and has really changed my perspective to the world I live in.

I would like to thank my supervisors, Olivier Kramsch and Kolar Aparna, for helping me with changing my perspective on social issues and my master's thesis. I would also thank them for their feedback and letting me write my thesis in my own way and with my own planning. They completely let me free to do this process by myself.

Therefore, I would mostly of all say thank you to my respondents. Without them I would never be able to write this master's thesis. I would especially thank them because they were so open to me about their feelings, about their lives and about their opinions. They gave me a much more complete picture of the Turkish community, of their identities and of their lives. Listening to and writing about their stories has also changed the way in which I look at Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and towards the whole Turkish community. It made me understand them. I hope the readers of this master's thesis will learn as much as I did from all of them and most of all I hope it will create more understanding and acceptance. I hope you enjoy reading it.

Table of content

Preface.....	3
Table of content	4
Abstract	7
1. Introduction.....	10
1.1 Societal relevance.....	10
1.2 Scientific relevance.....	11
1.3 Objective and research questions	13
2. Theory.....	15
2.1 The transnational identity	15
2.2 Multiple identities and context	16
2.3 Transnational identities and the borders of a nation.....	17
2.4 Politics and power	17
2.5 The influence of the context on identity: living on the Turkish-Dutch border	19
2.6 The power and influence of norms and values	20
3. Methods	22
3.1 Critiques on qualitative research	22
3.2 Data collection.....	23
3.3 Reliability and validity.....	25
4. Context of the conflict	27
4.1 The history of Turks in the Netherlands.....	27
4.2 The deterioration and escalation of the relationship between Turkey and the Netherlands	28
4.3 From economic relationship to political relationship	29
4.4 Turkey and the Netherlands: Power-relationship.....	30
5. Analysis.....	33
5.1 Atlas.ti.....	34
5.2 Coding.....	34
5.2.1 Open coding.....	34
5.2.2 Axial coding.....	35
5.2.3 Selective coding: the results.....	37
6. Results	38
6.1 Identity	38
6.1.1 Proportion Turkish and Dutch	38

6.1.2 Islam	39
6.2 Turkish context	40
6.3 Dutch context	41
6.3.1 Questions.....	43
6.3.2 Expectations	44
6.3.3 Justifying.....	44
6.4 Politics	46
6.4.1 Turkish politics.....	46
6.4.2 Dutch politics.....	48
6.5 Dutch society	50
6.5.1 Norms and values	50
6.5.2 Acceptance & Integration.....	52
6.5.3 Framing.....	55
6.6 Changes	56
6.6.1 Identity	56
6.6.2 Dutch society.....	57
6.7 Relations.....	59
7. Conclusion	61
7.1 Identity and context	61
7.1.1 Proportion Turkish and Dutch	61
7.1.2 Islam	62
7.1.3 Turkish context versus Dutch context: living on a border.....	62
7.1.4 Dutch context: questions, expectations and justifying	63
7.1.5 A dynamic and changing double identity.....	64
7.2 Politics	65
7.2.1 Dutch politics.....	65
7.2.2 Turkish politics.....	65
7.2.3 Talking about and participating in politics	66
7.3 Dutch society.....	67
7.3.1 Acceptance in the Dutch society	67
7.3.2 Acceptance in the Turkish community.....	67
7.3.3 Changes	68
7.4 Suggestions for further research.....	69
7.5 Recommendations for praxis	70

8. Appendix.....	73
8.1 References.....	73
8.2 Topic list.....	80
8.3 Coding.....	83
8.3.1 List of used codes version 1.....	83
8.3.2 The amount of codes used per document	88
8.3.3 List of used codes version 2 and code groups.....	90
8.3.4 List of definitive codes used for the results	96
8.3.5 Selective coding: used quotes	99

Abstract

In this master's thesis the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and whether this was influenced by the current political events and by the Dutch society is investigated. Because a lot has happened within Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands in the past years. It all began with the coup in Turkey on the 15th of July. This caused some unrest about and among the Turkish community in the Netherlands. Even the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mark Rutte, had an opinion about the Turks in the Netherlands and he created more division than solidarity. This had led to discussions about the loyalty of Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands. They talked about it in the news, on social media, at talk shows. But, they were talking about them and not with them. In this master's thesis I have investigated the influence of the political events and discussions after that on Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. In my opinion this is a group in within the Turkish community in the Netherlands that might be less affected by the effects of the political events. But, I also had to admit that I did not know how they felt about their identity, the political events and the Dutch society.

A lot of research has been done about transnationalism of social organizations. But, in this master's thesis the transnational feelings and identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters are investigated. Because this transnational identity is currently emphasized by the Dutch society because of the political events and it is unclear in the literature whether this has an influence on the identity and feelings of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. There are quantitative studies that have shown that ethnic identification can lead to national or Dutch disidentification. But is this also the case among Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters which are often successful on the labour market. Besides that, I wonder if identity is not much more complex than that. I wonder what are the feelings and reasons behind someone's identity, the feelings and reasons behind the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. I expected that Turkish-Dutch higher-educated people would be less affected by the political events within Turkey and the discussion after that in the Netherlands. Because they have more power to change the discourse within the Dutch society. I also expected that they would be less harmed by the discussions about the loyalty of Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands because they are often more successful on the labour market than Turkish-Dutch lower educated people and will therefore feel more accepted in the Dutch society. In this master's thesis I try to get a more complete picture of the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters in the

Netherlands, how they see themselves within the Dutch society and how they experienced the current political events and how this has influenced their identity and how they see themselves within the Dutch society. To get answers on these questions I have held in-depth interviews with five Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters of 22 and 23 years old.

The results of this master's thesis showed that the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters I interviewed see themselves as both Dutch and Turkish. The identities of the respondents are a dynamic concept. It depends on the context they are in whether they feel more Dutch or Turkish. Because they feel different about their identity when they are in a Dutch context than when they are in a Turkish context. Especially, the Dutch context influences the way they look at themselves. After the political events in Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands they got a lot of questions about the political events, about their loyalty to the Dutch state and their loyalty to the Turkish state and about their identity. All these questions also made them think about who they are, about their identity and also has an influence on how they see themselves. They said that how the society sees you, is also how you are going to see yourself. The expectation was that Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters would be less harmed by the current discourse in the Netherlands about Turkish-Dutch people because they have more power within the Dutch society to change this discourse. Although they said that others in their environment were more influenced by this discourse, they also had the feeling they were not welcome anymore in the Netherlands. They have the feeling that because of their Turkish background they are constantly framed as the other. This framing also has an influence on how these respondents see themselves.

I think that in politics, but also in policies and in the implementation of the policy the focus should be more on the fact that the Netherlands is a multicultural society. The current discourse really focuses on typical 'Dutch' norms and values. Of course, we still have rules to live by, rules that are written in the constitution. But, people should be free to live with their own norms, their own values, their own cultural practices, their own religion to create their own identity. To accomplish this, it is important that the government and the politics give the signal or give the feeling that people with a Turkish background are also a part of the Dutch society. In my opinion one way to do this is to make sure that there are more Turkish-Dutch representatives in for example management functions, media and politics. I hope that this

create an image, especially also for Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters, in which they get the feeling that they are a part of the Dutch society and accepted within the Dutch society.

1. Introduction

A lot of things has happened within Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands. The coup in Turkey on the 15th of July and the period after the coup also caused some unrest in the Netherlands. There were discussions in the politics about it and also in the media it was a big theme. Therefore, it also caught my attention. We talked about it at my home, with my friends I talked about and it was constantly on my Facebook feed. So, I began to think about the whole situation myself, about all the things that have been said. In this way I also began to think about how it would be if I was someone with a double nationality, with a double identity, if I was a Dutchman with a Turkish background. Thus, I wanted to know how people almost the same as me but with a Turkish background would feel and what they would think of the whole situation. So, how young higher-educated people with a Turkish background would think about the whole situation. Because my thought was that they would feel very Dutch, that they would feel accepted because in my experience life, school, getting a job and being successful is easier for me because I am higher-educated and young. Therefore, I often have the feeling that I am happy with the place I live, with the society I live in and that this society is also happy with me, because I am doing well. But, I wonder if this is the same for Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. I wanted to know if they would think different or the same about their identity, about the current political events and about the Dutch society as I do.

1.1 Societal relevance

A lot has happened the last year within Turkey. And the events also had their effect on the Dutch society and especially on the Turkish-Dutch people within the Netherlands. After the coup and also after the refusal of the Turkish ministers, the conflict within Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands received a lot of attention of the media and of politicians. We, the people in the Netherlands, saw it on the news, in the newspapers, on our timeline on Facebook and most of us created an opinion about the situation in Turkey and about the situation here in the Netherlands. But, I think most of the people in the Netherlands created a more negative opinion about their Turkish Dutch countrymen. Suddenly, it seemed as if there was an 'us' and 'them'. I was belonging to the 'us', the native Dutch people and the Turkish Dutch people were belonging to the 'them'. Even our Dutch Prime Minister, Mark Rutte, was creating more division in the country than solidarity. I noticed that people were more thinking about the differences

between native Dutch people and Dutch people with a Turkish background. Like if the native Dutch were more aware of the fact that there were living Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands. And that the Turkish-Dutch were more aware of the fact that people did not see them as 'complete' Dutch people. Especially after Mark Rutte, the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, said in a television program on Dutch television that Turkish Dutch which could not fit in the norms of the Netherlands could go away to their own country, as he said in Dutch: 'Pleur op' (Sedee, 9 September 2016). There was also discussion about the loyalty of Turkish Dutch people. They talked about it on the news, on social media, at talk shows but I never heard what Turkish Dutch people were thinking about everything. Of course, I saw Turkish-Dutch people explaining the situation in Turkey or explaining why people in Rotterdam went protesting. But, they were always explaining themselves. However, I never heard how they felt or how everything that has happened, had an influence on their own identity.

1.2 Scientific relevance

As you can read above after the coup in Turkey and the refusal of the Turkish ministers, a lot has been said about and has happened within the Turkish community in the Netherlands. It became more emphasized that there were people living in the Netherlands that not only had a bond with the Netherlands, the country they live in, but also with Turkey, their country of origin. This bond with their country of origin is also known as 'transnationalism'. Most of the research has been done about transnationalism as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement." (Schiller, 1992, p1). Thus, transnationalism are the interactions between people and institutions in the home country and the country of settlement (Vertovec, 1999). These interaction and social fields are going beyond the borders of nation-states (Vertovec, 1999). These social fields are often described as something that is a benefit for the country of origin. Especially, when it comes to transferring knowledge, wealth and skills from the countries of settlement to the countries of origin, also described as the 'poor' countries or the Southern countries (Patterson, 2006, p1891). Thus, transnationalism is often known as a network of people and institutions living, stated and acting both in country of settlement as in the country of origin. Also known as a network which is acting beyond the borders of nation-states. The studies about transnationalism often focus on the aspects of social organizations (Vertovec, 2004). Because of the current technological possibilities and technological developments, it is easier to maintain and use these networks

(Vertovec, 2004). But, what I want to know is whether these transnational lives and interactions have an influence on the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. Thus, not in which way organisations are transnational and act transnational. But, more in which way their transnational feelings and their bond with Turkey, which is now emphasized by the Dutch society, has an influence on their identity. Because these transnational feelings have created some characteristics that alienate them from the Dutch people with no links to other countries. I want to investigate whether this change towards a division between Turkish-Dutch with links to their home country and Dutch with no links to another country, a division between 'us' and 'them', has influenced the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters.

Also about identity there has been done a lot of research. Especially, about how a certain identity is established. Such as the social identity theory from Tajfel & Turner (1986). According to the social identity theory from Tajfel and Turner (1986) someone's identity is formed by the process of group identification. I am also not the first that investigates the identity of Turkish-Dutch youngsters in the Netherlands or migrants in the Netherlands. In the Netherlands, Maykel Verkuyten has done a lot of research about the identity of Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands. Especially about the religious identity and thus about Turkish-Dutch Muslims in the Netherlands (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007; Verkuyten, 2007; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2010). All these researches were quantitative researches and did give a good insight in the identity of Turkish-Dutch people. But, the researches were all very 'black and white'. For example, the research from Verkuyten & Yildiz (2007) about national (dis)identification and ethnic and religious identity focusses really on Dutch identification and Muslim identification. The studies showed that Ethnic and Muslim identification leads to Dutch disidentification. But, in which way are identities of Turkish-Dutch people that black and white? Because when I think about my own identity, I do not think that identity is that black and white. I have no migrant background, so I cannot relate to them in that way but I did move from one city to another. I was born in Deventer and moved to Nijmegen because of my study. I still have some connections with Deventer, my parents live there, I still think it is a beautiful city and I still support their football club instead of the football club of Nijmegen. But, this does not mean that I have the feeling that I am less a 'Nijmegenaar'. I do not think that my connections with and my feelings for my hometown are at the expense of my connection and feelings for Nijmegen. I call myself a Nijmegenaar, I say I am from Nijmegen but my hometown Deventer will always be a part of me.

So, I wonder how this works for Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. Because they never lived in Turkey, but they still have connections with Turkey because of their parents. Do they even feel Dutch or Turkish? Or is it more complicated than that? And why do they feel this way? In the current literature I really miss the why-question about the identity of Turkish-Dutch people.

Verkuyten also did research about Turkish-Dutch youngsters. For example, about the global self-esteem, self-concept and the evaluation of ethnic identity among Turkish-Dutch and Dutch youngsters in the Netherlands (Verkuyten, 1990). The differences in self-esteem and self-concept between Turkish-Dutch and Dutch youngsters were very small. But, this was an article from 1990. A lot has changed since 1990 in the Dutch society. Besides that, young higher-educated migrants are often people who are successful in society. They do have better chances to be successful on the labour market than migrants with a lower education (De Koning & et al., 2008). But, do Turkish-Dutch high educated youngsters also feel this way? And why?

1.3 Objective and research questions

The objective of this master's thesis is to investigate the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. I am a higher-educated youngster myself, only with a different ethnic background. In my opinion we are a lot the same, because we are both young, both higher-educated and we are both living in the same country. But, I wonder are their lives really that much the same as mine. I wonder how Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves. Do they see themselves as Dutch, as Turkish, as Turkish-Dutch or as none of them? A lot has happened in Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands. I wonder in which way this has had an effect on the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. Do they have an opinion about the politics in Turkey and the Netherlands? How did they cope all the commotion about Turkey, about the Turkish community, about them? I also wonder if this has changed the way they see themselves, has this changed their identity? I also want to know how they see and feel themselves within the Dutch society. Do they feel they can be themselves, do they feel accepted, do they feel at home? Besides that, I want to know whether the events in Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands have changed the way they see themselves within the Dutch society. And I also want to know whether these events have changed their identity. In the end I want to know: How do they feel? Who are they? And how do they see themselves? The main question of my master's thesis is as follows:

How see Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters themselves and what is the influence of the current political events and the Dutch society on their identity?

To answer this question, I formulated three sub-questions:

1. a. How do Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves?
b. Has the way Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves changed?
2. How did the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters experienced the political events and political changes?
3. a. How do Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves within the Dutch society?
b. Has the way Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves within the Dutch society changed?

2. Theory

2.1 The transnational identity

As described above transnationalism is best known as “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement.” (Schiller, 1992, p1). But, in these master’s thesis I will discuss transnationalism as a part of the identity of Turkish Dutch youngsters in the Netherlands and how this influences the way they look at the Dutch society. People with transnational feelings are connected to both their country of settlement as their country of origin (Vertovec, 2001). Therefore, their identity is also often connected to both the country of settlement as their country of origin, and maybe to some ‘place’ that is not visible is one of these countries, but to some place in their memory, within their emotions and feelings. According to Steven Vertovec transnationalism and identity are concepts that are closely related (Vertovec, 2001). In his article he said:

“This is so because, on the one hand, many peoples’ transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it.” (Vertovec, 2001).

Vertovec also stated that these collective identities have a significant bearing on the identities of the children of migrants (Vertovec, 2001). According to Patterson the children of migrants can even feel a stronger connection to their ‘country of origin’ than their parents. As he stated it is possible that a person who has never lived in the ‘country of origin’ has a stronger connection to their ‘country of origin’ than a person who was born there (Patterson, 2006). This is possible because the tie with the country of origin can be built on a “collective memory and myth about and sentimental and/or material links to that homeland, which fosters a sense of sympathy and solidarity with co-ethnic diasporas and with putative brethren in the ancestral homeland.” (Patterson, 2006, p1896). Especially, in the current time where imaginations are easily created and spread by the internet (Cohen, 1996). In a certain way youth with a migration background are creating their own ethnicity. There are born and raised in one country, in this case the Netherlands. But, they still have tights to the country of origin, to the country of their

(grand)parents, in this case Turkey. And they are mixing both ethnicities and countries into their own Turkish-Dutch identity. As Steven Vertovec stated in his article: “among such young people, facets of culture and identity are often self-consciously selected, syncretized and elaborated from more than one heritage.” (Vertovec, 1999, p451). So, also for youngsters which were born in the Netherlands and went to school in the Netherlands, Turkey and their Turkish background can still be an important part of their identity.

2.2 Multiple identities and context

You can say that an individual can belong to different groups or does not belong to any group, but has just a combined identity created by their family, ethnicity, age, friends, education, social environment and many more circumstances, to which group does this individual belong? And does this cause less cohesion in a society? What is their social identity? Who are they? According to Tajfel a social identity is “the part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.” (Tajfel, 1978, p63). Thus, your social identity is not just one identity from one group but is a bunch of more social identities from different groups. According to the social identity theory from Tajfel and Turner (1986) someone's identity is formed by the process of group identification. There is a group identification when the norms and values of the group become managerial for an individual. Because of this, people are going to identify themselves with the group characteristics. In this way these groups characteristics become someone's own characteristics. Also, the failure of a group member is seen as someone's own failure, but also the success of a group member can be seen as someone's own success. But this social identity theory does not only apply for one group or one identity. According to this theory you can have multiple social identities at the same time (Verkuyten, 2010). For example, you are not only Turkish, but also Dutch, a woman or a man, a child or a young adult. According to Sen (2006) you can choose which identity is your dominant identity. Thus, if you want to be Dutch you can be Dutch and if you want to be Turkish you can be Turkish and if you want to be a citizen of the world you can be a citizen of the world.

Often, it also depends on the context to decide which identity is at that moment the most important for you (Sen, 2006). Thus, your dominant identity can change when the context changes. But, that is only how you see yourself, how you can choose your own identity. How we see ourselves is not the same how others see us (Sen, 2006). Other can just see one of your

identities, for instance your Turkish identity, instead of seeing you as a collection of identities (Sen, 2006).

2.3 Transnational identities and the borders of a nation

These collective identities are sometimes hard to understand or to deal with for national governments. Because they are used to the fact that identities are based upon national or ethnic exclusivism (Vertovec, 2001). The nation-state as most of the countries know it and how it used to be a long time was a nation-state with borders, usually one language and one ethnic identity. Such as Vertovec stated in his article: "A conventional model of the nation-state puts towards a notion of borders that presumed to 'contain' a people (usually characterized by some constructed idea of common linguistic, social, and presumed cultural/ethnic identity); in turn, within the 'container' people are organized by an ideology represented in constitution and a state comprised of legal institutions." (Vertovec, 2004, p977). And this constructed idea of one nation-state with one nation of people strengthens the feeling of a national identity (Vertovec, 2004). But, nowadays the nation-state is struggling with the fact that the nation-state as they know it, is changing. On the one hand, this is due to processes within the global political economy but on the other hand, this is due to migrant transnationalism (Vertovec, 2004). This change is also knowable by the fact that more and more nations are accepting dual citizenship (Vertovec, 2004). But, there is currently also something going on in the Netherlands whereby some people and some politicians have the feeling they must protect 'their' Dutch norms and values.

2.4 Politics and power

The political situation in Turkey also caused some unrest among politics in the Netherlands. Because the leader of another state had an influence on the inhabitants of their state. For example, when the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mark Rutte, said in a television program on Dutch television that Turkish-Dutch people which could not fit in the norms of the Netherlands could go away to their own country, as he said in Dutch: 'Pleur op' (Sedee, 6 September 2016). The Turkish government was not happy about this statement and said that this could harm the integration of Turkish-Dutch people (Sedee, 6 September 2016). But, would it harm the integration of all Turkish-Dutch people or are there some groups within the Turkish-

Dutch community that are less sensitive for this kind of discourses about 'Dutch' norms in the Netherlands?

According to Foucault (1991) power is something that is entwined within society. Power is made by norms and truths that are socially accepted by the society. It is like Foucault & Rabinow (1984) stated:

"Each society has its regime of truth, its "general politics" of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true." (Foucault & Rabinow 1984, p73).

The discourse in the politics and in the society in the Netherlands at the moment is a discourse wherein anyone who does not fit in the Dutch identity should change themselves to fit or otherwise they should leave the country. Just as Mark Rutte said in his letter to all the Dutch: 'do normal or leave' (VVD, 22 January 2017). Apparently, there is a Dutch identity and a norm in the Netherlands how to behave normal. Foucault (1991) described this as a way of objectification. With Mark Rutte saying 'do normal or leave' he created a norm about an ideal Dutch citizen. In his letter he talks about people becoming more asocial and it seems as if he talks about every citizen in the Netherlands, when suddenly he stated in his letter (translated from Dutch): "We feel a growing discomfort when people abuse our freedom to spoil things over here, while they just came to our country for that freedom." (VVD, 22 January 2017). So, suddenly the people who do not fulfil the Dutch norm are migrants. So, in his letter he stated that there is a norm about how to live in the Netherlands and people who do not fulfil this norm need correction or need to go away. Hence, he stated that migrants or people with a migration background do not fulfil this 'Dutch' norm.

But, who are the people, who are the institutions which have the power to say what is true and what is false? Who and what can have an influence on the discourses, norms and truths in a society? In their article, Foucault & Rabinow (1984) stated that: "Truth is centred on the form of scientific discourse and the institutions which produce it; (...) it is produced and transmitted under the control, dominant if not exclusive, of a few great political and economic

apparatuses (university, army, writing, media).” (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p73). So, this would mean that higher-educated people have more to say about the so-called ‘truth’ because they have more access to the institutions that can call something true or false. It is what Foucault & Rabinow (1984) say in their article: “The intellectual can operate and struggle at the general level of that regime of truth which is so essential to the structure and functioning of our society.” (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984, p73/74). Thus, I would expect that higher-educated people have more power and will therefore have the feeling there is more they could do to change a discourse. I think the same applies for Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters in the Netherlands. Earlier I asked the question: Would it harm the integration of all Turkish-Dutch people or are there some groups within the Turkish-Dutch community that are less sensitive for this kind of discourses about ‘Dutch’ norms in the Netherlands? I would think that for Turkish-Dutch higher-educated people the integration is less harmed by the current discourse in the Netherlands. Because Turkish-Dutch higher-educated people have more power within the Dutch society, I also think the current discourse and political events does not have that much influence on their identity and the way they look at the Dutch society.

2.5 The influence of the context on identity: living on the Turkish-Dutch border

Nowadays the conventional idea of one nation-state with one nation of people is no longer how nation-states work. This is due to migration, emigration, refugees and people of all kind of ethnicities living within the same nation. Thus, nation-states are no longer states with one nation of people. Besides that, due to globalisation people do no longer only live in one nation-state. These changes also have an influence on the identity of people. According to Vertovec “various processes of globalization and the rise of regional, global or ‘cosmopolitan’ structures of governance assail essential components of national identities-borders-orders by compounding identities, ignoring borders and overruling orders.” (Vertovec, 2004, p979). Because of all these changes more and more people see themselves as cosmopolitans. They do no longer see themselves as inhabitants of one nation-state, but they see themselves as a citizen of the world. I wonder in which way Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves as cosmopolitans. Because they were born in the Netherlands but their parents and grand-parents were born in Turkey. So, at home they speak Turkish, watch Turkish television, read Turkish newspapers. You could say at their parents’ home they ‘live’ in Turkey. But, at school, at work, they ‘live’ in the Netherlands. At those places they talk Dutch, talk about things

that are shown in the Dutch media. In fact, the front doors of their parents' houses are the border between Turkey and the Netherlands. For them the border between Turkey and the Netherlands is different than for me. For me it is when I am getting on a plane to Turkey. Turkish-Dutch youngsters are crossing the border between Turkey and The Netherlands more often than I do. This shows that these Turkish-Dutch youngsters live on a border. It is like Ulrich Beck stated: "A cosmopolitan lives in and across borders." (Beck, 2000, in Rumford, 2008, p66). Therefore, I wonder if Turkish Dutch youngsters feel like cosmopolitans. Because I think that crossing these border between Turkey and the Netherlands has an influence on their identity. It is like Romford stated: "Rather, borders and border crossings constitute a resource for identity, construction, self-actualization, and sense of belonging. In order to live in multiple communities or to be at home with multiple identities we must be comfortable with and adept at crossing and re-crossing borders." (Romford, 2008, p66). So, I wonder do they feel Turkish or Dutch, or Turkish and Dutch or neither of them and do they feel like a citizen of the world?

2.6 The power and influence of norms and values

The idea of cosmopolitanism is contradictory to Durkheim's structural functionalism. Because he stated that societies consist of groups and people in a society do have a certain connection with these groups (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 2009). He created this theory when he wanted to have an answer on the question: how is it possible that people live together in peace? According to Durkheim the answer on this question is: (a) every society shows a certain cohesion, (b) to the extent that she consists of certain intermediary groups (c) and knows certain shared norms and values, (d) and as the members of such a society are closer integrated in the groups, they comply the norms and values more, (e) which results in more cohesion (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 2009, p105). But, how are these norms and values created? Who has the power to decide what are the norms and values of a group? According to Foucault (1991) power has to be understood in a different way than just as top-down power. He stated that power has to be understood in a broader way. Foucault (1991) sees power also something that goes through network. He is saying that social control and knowledge are also forms of knowledge and are things which can produce knowledge (Foucault, 1991). Leaders, like Rutte and Erdogan, can produce knowledge and a certain discourse to produce power (Foucault, 1991). For example, Mark Rutte who is saying that there is a certain Dutch norm about how to behave normal. If this discourse about a Dutch norm is internalized by individuals this will lead to the fact that people who do not fit in

this norm, like Dutch Turks, will not be a part of the Dutch society because they do not behave like they should. In this way the people have the power to decide who belongs to the society and who does not. For Erdogan the same thing goes on. He also spread discourses about the Dutch, but also about Turkish people in the Netherlands. When these discourses are internalized by individuals, this discourse will become their own opinion. By means of social control some Turkish-Dutch people are seen as not being a part of the Turkish society ruled by Erdogan. I think in the end this will lead to dividing practices and will result in the polarization of the Dutch society and the Turkish society, if this polarization is not already present in both societies.

All in all, I wonder what the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters is. Do they see themselves as Dutch, as Turkish, as Dutch or do they see themselves as someone that is not bound to the borders of a nation-state? And has this changed over the past years?

3. Methods

To answer my research-questions I will use qualitative research. Qualitative research is the best way to gather new information when there is not yet that much information about a specific topic ('t Hart et al., 2009). As described above, there is not a lot in-depth information about Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. Besides that, most of the research that has been done, was quantitative research.

3.1 Critiques on qualitative research

But, there are some critiques about qualitative research methodology. The first one is that qualitative research is often subjective (Clifford et al., 2016). Because in qualitative research you have to interpret the findings of your data and in this way it is not objective anymore. In this way the results are always biased by the personal view of the observer, in this case me. For example, I already have my one opinion about the conflict between Turkey and the Netherlands. And I think in some way this also influenced the way I look at Turkish-Dutch people. In my opinion everyone is welcome in the Netherlands and I think everyone has the right for his or her own identity. Besides that, I think because of all the negative talk about Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands I am more inclined to see the Turkish-Dutch people positive. Because I do not want to go along with all the negativity towards them. In this way it is possible that I will interpret results more positive or more negative. It is also possible that I will ask questions in a more positive or negative way because I am not objective about the situation. But, because I am aware of my biased look I think it cannot harm the research. Because I will keep it in my mind when I will interpret my results. Another critique about qualitative research is that statistical generalization is often not possible ('t Hart et al., 2009). Because in qualitative research the participants or respondents are often selected to be in the research instead of a random sample of the respondents. In this way the group of respondents are not a good reflection of society or from the group you study. Therefore, you cannot say that the results apply to all members of the studied group ('t Hart et al., 2009). Although, this is often a critique on qualitative research it is not completely legitimate to see it as a disadvantage. Because it is not the aim of qualitative research to statistically generalize the data. The aim of qualitative research is to understand people, to understand their feelings and their experiences (Valentine, 2005). But, the results of this master's thesis can be contentually generalizable on the basis of comparability or analogy

(Smalling, 1996). This means that the results about Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters also could count for other similar groups, for example Moroccan-Dutch higher-educated youngsters.

3.2 Data collection

To collect my data, I am going to use qualitative interviews. A qualitative interview is a form of a conversation where one person – the interviewer – ask questions about behaviours, beliefs, attitudes and experiences with regard to certain social phenomes, to one or more – participants or interviewees – who are mainly limited to answer the questions (Maso, 1987). There are three types of interviews, namely the unstructured interview, the semi-structured interview, and the structured interview (Dunn, 2005). The more interviews are structured, the more the interviewer determines the direction (Emans, 2003). For my research I will take semi-structured interviews. According to Dunn “this form of interviewing has some degree of predetermined order but still ensures flexibility in the way issues are addresses by the informant.” (Dunn, 2005). During the interviews I will use a topic-list to guide the interviews to a certain extent. In this topic-list I distinguish four themes: ‘identity’, ‘the political developments last year and identity’ and ‘society and identity’ and. For every theme I have several questions I want to get an answer to. But, this does not mean that I will ask the questions in chronological order. The main goal of the interviews is that I will have a conversation and that these questions are just there to keep the conversations going and to make sure I ask and talk about everything I want to know. Besides that, I have two questions I eventually can ask after a respondent give his answer. These questions are ‘why?’ and ‘Different than 5/10 years ago?’. The full topic-list (in Dutch) can be found in the appendix (see appendix 8.2). Of course, it is not possible to fully capture the implementation of these semi-structured interviews. Because the lot of the progresses in the research depends on the developments during the research in the field (’t Hart et al., 2009).

To find people to interview I used my own social network. I already knew some Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. I arranged four interviews with people by using my own social network. Besides that, I asked them to approach Turkish-Dutch youngsters in their own social network. This is also known as snowball sampling (’t Hart et al., 2009). With this method I arranged one interview. Besides that, I first hoped I also could interview some Turkish-Dutch lower-educated youngsters. Because I was interested in the difference between Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and Turkish-Dutch lower-educated youngsters. Unfortunately, this

did not work out. Therefore, I changed the focus of this master's thesis to Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. I think it was hard to find respondents because the Turkish-Dutch identity, the conflict in Turkey and the tensions between Turkey and the Netherlands were sensitive topics for Turks in the Netherlands. With four people, from my own social network, I had already some personal connection. It was not like we were friends, but we did know each other and I think therefore they were more willing to talk to me. Besides that, the one person I arranged an interview with by using snowball sampling said she just found it nice to help me. I think it was harder to Turkish-Dutch lower-educated people to talk with because all the people I arranged interviews with within my own social network were higher-educated. This made me realize I am living in some sort of higher-educated bubble. Of course, there are people close to me who are lower-educated, such as two of my best friends from primary school, some friends of my boyfriend and some family-members. But almost every day, I only see and speak to higher-educated people.

I first thought I could take the interviews at my home or at the respondent's home. But, then I thought this environment was not neutral enough. I thought it was better to be at a place where the respondents can as little as possible be influenced by others. When I would take the interviews at the homes of the respondents it is possible that there are also friends or family. The presence of this people could cause that respondents do not openly say everything. Besides that, these friends or family could also interrupt the interview. In this way the interview-setting is less neutral. I also wanted the place to be quiet. Therefore, my preference was to take the interviews in a room, like a conversation-room or a meeting-room. Three of my five interviews I took at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. I reserved a room and for these three people it was easy to go there because they were all familiar with the Radboud University. Because they were ex-students or still students at the Radboud University. You could close the rooms with a door, which made it a quiet and save place to talk. There was no possibility that other people could hear what we were talking about. One interview I took with someone in Deventer. My parents still live there, but I have chosen to conduct the interview at a 'flex workplace'. I rented a room in the city centre of Deventer. In this way the place was both neutral for me and the interviewer. Besides that, we were the only one in the working place which made it more save and easy to talk freely. I also took an interview in Amersfoort at the library. I asked the one I was interviewing about a good and quiet place to take an interview. The interviewee came up with a library. I hoped we could sit in some quiet room. But, we ended up sitting in the coffee corner.

We first drank a coffee and talked about a lot of things except the topics of the interview. After a while the informal conversation turned into a conversation about the topics of my interview. Unfortunately, the coffee corner was not a quiet place. Because there were other people drinking, eating and talking. But, the interviewee was really open and comfortable and really wanted to talk about the subject. So, I think this did not influenced the way the interviewee was giving the answers. During the interviews I recorded the conversations. In this way I could focus more on the conversation and talking to the interviewees instead of constantly taking notes.

Another characteristic of qualitative research is that it is not necessary to have a lot of respondents. Because with qualitative research you want to know what the social reality looks like to people. Therefore, it is necessary to know the context of people in a certain situation. To achieve this, you have to go into depth in your interviews ('t Hart et al., 2009). Because of this I have no certain goal for the amount of people I want to interview, but I will go on till I have enough information to answer my research questions. This is also known as the point of saturation. This means that researchers can stop with their data collection when the analysis of the new interviews will not give any new information or results ('t Hart et al., 2009).

In the end I interviewed five Turkish-Dutch higher-educated people. Three of them were at the end of their studies and two of them were already working. All the respondents were between 22 or 23 years old during the interviews. When I took the interviews, I was 23 years old myself and also at the end of my study. So, the interviewees and I were all kind of living the same kind of lives because we were at the same stage of life. This connected us and in fact the only big difference was our ethnic background.

3.3 Reliability and validity

A way to check the reliability is to use *member validation*. This means that you show your results, transcripts of the interviews and notes to your respondents. In this way they can check if everything you have wrote is correct ('t Hart et al., 2009). Another way to check the reliability is methodological accountability. This means that a researcher writes as good as possible down what he did. In this way others could check whether they trust the results of a research ('t Hart et al., 2009). These two methods are also ways to measure the validity of a research. Validity means that a researcher measures what he wants to measure ('t Hart et al., 2009). With *member validation* the respondents can check if my interpretations of the results are right. Besides that, methodological accountability can also be used to check the validity. In this way a

researcher makes clear how he or she has come to the interpretations of the results ('t Hart et al., 2009).

4. Context of the conflict

4.1 The history of Turks in the Netherlands

The relationship between Turkey and the Netherlands has been a good relationship for a long time. The international relations between Turkey and the Netherlands started in 1612. Back then Turkey was still known as the Ottoman Empire (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). By starting trade with the Netherlands, the Ottoman Empire was the first country to acknowledge the Netherlands as a state (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). Besides that, the Netherlands was one of the first countries that acknowledged the Turkish Republic in 1923 (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). The Queen of the Netherlands, Queen Wilhelmina, even give her personal congratulations to the first president of the Turkish Republic, Atatürk. Direct after that the Dutch envoy in the Ottoman Empire got a new role as ambassador (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). The friendship between Turkey and the Netherlands became official with the signing of the Turkish-Dutch friendship agreement on 16 August 1924 (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). Although, Turkey and the Netherlands are geographically not that close to each other, their relationship was pretty close. I think you could even say that the border between Turkey and the Netherlands was relatively open in history. Examples of this openness are certain law and economic privileges for Dutch merchants and the direct settlement of a Dutch ambassador in the Turkish republic (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). A new impulse towards this relationship was given when the guest workers came to the Netherlands in the 60s and 70s. The level of education of this 'first generation' Turks was low (Böcker, 1994). They came to the Netherlands because there was a shortage of uneducated workers in the Netherlands (Stuuroop, 14 February 2012). Because of family reunification their wives and children also came to the Netherlands (Böcker, 1994). In 2018 400.367 Turks were living in the Netherlands. This is 18,4 percent of all the non-western immigrants in the Netherlands. It is also more than 10 percent of all immigrants in the Netherlands and more than 2 percent of the total population (see table 4.1). This shows that the Turkish-Dutch people are a big immigrant group in the Netherlands. Besides that, the first-generation Turks were a group of Turks with a low level of education. But, nowadays that is not the case anymore. Because most of the Turkish-Dutch parents want their children to have an education as high as possible (Böcker, 1994). In 2014 Turkish-Dutch youngsters between 25 and 35 years old were three times as often high educated as Turkish-Dutch people between 55 and 65 years old. Despite that fact, there are still less often high

educated as a native Dutch people (Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek, 19 November 2014). But, there is a trend going on that the Turkish-Dutch generation is become higher educated over the years.

Table 4.1: Turks in the Netherlands on 18-04-2018

	Non-western immigrants	Total immigrants	Total population
Turks	400.367 (18,4%)	400.367 (10,4%)	400.367 (2,3%)
Total	2.173.723 (100%)	3.862.753 (100%)	17.081.507 (100%)

Source: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (18 April, 2018)

4.2 The deterioration and escalation of the relationship between Turkey and the Netherlands

In 2012, 400 years after the first official international relations between Turkey and the Netherlands, the 400th anniversary of the friendship between Turkey and the Netherlands was celebrated (Boogert & Jonker Roelants, 2012). It was clear that Turkey and the Netherlands had a good relationship. But, at the end of March in the year 2017 the relation between Turkey and the Netherlands have been deteriorated. It all began on 15 July 2016, when the coup in Turkey took place. During this coup the Turkish military tried to seize power of Erdogan, the leader of the AK-party (Kossen, 17 July 2016). To obstruct this coup Erdogan called for help from his followers in Istanbul and Ankara and they succeeded to stop the coup. However, not only his followers in Istanbul and Ankara listened to his call for help. Also in different cities across the European Union, Turkish people went on the street to support Erdogan and to demonstrate against the coup (Kossen, 17 July 2016). Thus, the situation in Turkey was also visible across the borders of Turkey, in the European Union. Also in the days after the coup it was noticeable that the situation in Turkey had its influence in the Netherlands. During these events it was appreciable that the border between Turkey and the Netherlands is a thin line. Although, it was not because people from different countries could easy go to the other country but because events in Turkey had an effect on people who live in the Netherlands. It almost seemed as if Turkey and the Netherlands were one country for a short time. As if the Turkish-Dutch people

who did demonstrate lived as well in the Netherlands as in Turkey. But, they did not. They 'belonged' to the territory of the Netherlands. But their identity belonged to both the Netherlands and Turkey.

On the 11th of March in 2017 it really did escalate between the Dutch government and the Turkish government. For I will explain what has happened, I think it is important to notice that this escalation took place right before the election on 15 March 2017 in the Netherlands. I think this has influenced the way the Dutch Government and Mark Rutte have handled the case. Because on the 11th of March in 2017 the Dutch government decided to recall the landing rights of the Turkish Secretary of State, Cavusoglu, in the Netherlands. Cavusoglu was on his way to the Netherlands to give a speech about the constitutional change in Turkey (Nieuwsuur, 11 March 2017). Because on the 16th of April in 2017 a referendum would take place in Turkey about the constitutional change which will give Erdogan more power (Kranenburg, 29 March 2017). When Cavusoglu was not able to come to the Netherlands, the Turkish Minister of Family Affairs came by land to the Netherlands (Nieuwsuur, 11 March 2017). But Minister Fatma Betüt Sayan Kaya was stopped at the Turkish consulate in Rotterdam. At this same time hundreds of Turkish Dutch people were protesting at this same consulate in Rotterdam. They were protesting against the landing ban of Cavusoglu, but they were also there to show support to the Turkish government (Nieuwsuur, 11 March 2017). After the refusal of the two diplomats from Turkey, Erdogan was furious. He has called the Netherlands fascists and called the Dutch Nazis. And if that was not enough, the Dutch consulate in Ankara has been closed and they said that the Dutch ambassador does not have to come back to Ankara (Nieuwsuur, 11 March 2017). Again, people who live in and on the territory of the Netherlands show their support for a leader of another territorial space. But now it got worse because Turkish diplomats were refused to come to the Netherlands. As quickly as the Dutch ambassador was welcome at the time Atatürk founded the Turkish Republic, as quickly as the Dutch ambassador in Ankara was not welcome anymore.

4.3 From economic relationship to political relationship

Everything that happened between Turkey and the Netherlands showed that these two countries have a strong connection with each other. It all started as an economic relationship, so they could easily conduct trade. Also, when the guest workers from Turkey came to the Netherlands, it still was because of economic reasons. Because there were too little people in

the Netherlands to do the unskilled labour and in Turkey there was too little work for the people in Turkey (Kay & Miles, 1992). Thus, Turkey and the Netherlands were economically interdependent to each other. And they still are, especially Turkey is still dependent on the Netherlands and Europe because of the trade. In particular in the service sector Turkey is dependent on the Netherlands and Europe, because of the tourists from the Netherlands and Europe (Schinkel, 13 March 2017). A bad relationship between the Netherlands (and Europe) and Turkey could harm this relationship. But, when these Turkish people came to the Netherlands these relations were not just economic anymore. Because this meant that the political power of Turkey was expanding across borders, among others to the Netherlands. In this way, Turkey and the Netherlands were not only economic interdependent to each other, but also political interdependent to each other. The Netherlands is political depending on Turkey, because when something political is happening in Turkey, this also has an influence in the Netherlands, on the inhabitants and on politics. Turkey is political depending on The Netherlands, because there are living Turkish people in The Netherlands and during the elections it was important for Erdogan that these Turkish-Dutch people were voting for him and therefore Erdogan was dependent on the discourse in the Netherlands about the Turkish politics. Because the negative discourse about the Turkish people, Turkish politics and Erdogan in the Netherlands, this ensured that the Turkish-Dutch people were feeling more connected with Turkey than with the Netherlands and it ensured that a lot of Turkish-Dutch people were voting for Erdogan. Forty five percent of the Turks in the Netherlands were voting about the referendum. From the Turkish-Dutch people who voted, seventy percent voted for Erdogan (De Volkskrant, 17 April 2017).

4.4 Turkey and the Netherlands: Power-relationship

Besides that, it also caused a political power game between Erdogan and Rutte, between Turkey and the Netherlands. It seems as if both Mark Rutte and Recep Tayyip Erdogan are using their power to achieve their goal. For the first one this was winning the election of the 15th of March 2017, in which he succeeded. For Erdogan it is winning the referendum to change the constitution, in which he also succeeded (Vos, 17 April 2017). They both have used the current relationship between Turkey and the Netherlands to get people on their side, because the inhabitants of a country get to vote and will therefore have the power. Mark Rutte did it by saying there was a 'Dutch' norm and in this way creating some sort of division between Dutch

natives and Dutch people with another ethnic background, such as Turks. According to Mark Rutte this 'Dutch' norms were things like, freedom of religion and equality. But, he was also talking about 'new people' who misuse the freedom to impose their cultural values to us. He also said that Dutch people with a Turkish or Moroccan background should go away if they do not accept the Dutch norms (Hoedeman & Van Soest, 23 January 2017). I wonder if Mark Rutte, the former minister-president of the Netherlands, would have reacted the same if there were not almost elections. One of his biggest rivals during the elections was Geert Wilders of the right-wing party the PVV. Maybe Mark Rutte thought he could win some votes from the PVV if he would 'defend' the Netherlands, if he would act hard. In the end it might have worked because the VVD, the party of Mark Rutte, has won the elections with 33 chairs (HP De Tijd, 15 March 2017). Also for Recep Tayyip Erdogan this happened right before an important moment, namely the referendum about the constitutional change. When Mark Rutte was creating a typical Dutch identity, Erdogan was creating a typical Turkish identity. Showing he is a strong leader for the Turkish-Dutch people who feel like they do not fit in the typical Dutch identity. So, I think the conflict between the Netherlands and Turkey came also at the perfect moment for Erdogan. He now can show the importance of the constitutional change. Because according to Erdogan this constitutional change will make Turkey a stronger country and this is something the European countries do not want (Beemsterboer, 6 March 2017). He is saying that is why the European countries are against this constitutional change (Beemsterboer, 6 March 2017). Besides that, the European countries like the Netherlands said that the constitutional change would harm the democracy in Turkey. But by recalling the landing rights of the Turkish minister Cavusoglu and stopping minister Kaya at the Turkish consulate in Rotterdam, Erdogan showed and told Turkey that the Netherlands also were not that democratic at all (Kranenburg, 12 March 2017). So, they both accuse the other of being less democratic. Especially, Erdogan tried to tackle the statements of Mark Rutte about democracy, freedom and Dutch norms and values by showing that they do not always accept these norms. So, they both are trying to get people at their side by making the other look bad. I think that this has especially an influence on Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands and that it will divide them more from the Dutch society. Because Mark Rutte is creating a division and Turkish Dutch people get the feeling they do not longer fit in the Dutch norms and therefore could feel less accepted. Erdogan responds to that situation very well. He does this by saying that the Netherlands does not stand behind their own norms of freedom and democracy. I think that because the Turkish-Dutch people still have

a strong connectedness with Turkey, it is possible that they will feel more Turkish than Dutch, or at least feel more accepted by Turkey than by the Netherlands (Staring et al., 2014). This is positive for Erdogan because it will ensure that he has more followers and it is negative for the Netherlands and Rutte because it will cause more division within the Netherlands. Although, I wonder in which way this also is the case for high educated Turkish Dutch youngsters. Because I think that the discourse about the Dutch norms has less influence on them because they have the feeling they have the power to speak, to be listened to (Foucault & Rabinow, 1984).

5. Analysis

The analysis in qualitative research is a cyclic process. This means that researchers analyze their collected data during their data collection. When they analyze their data, they reflect on their provisional findings ('t Hart et al., 2009, p259). For me this means that I reflect on myself after each interview. After that I decide whether I change my questions, add some questions, or remove some questions. In this way I can check whether the expectations I have about the results are true. If I have already an idea about that, I can ask more questions about some situations or ideas.

To analyze my data, I will code the interviews I have taken. During this process of coding I will search for different categories in the texts of my interviews. As I said above I will analyze my data during my data collection. When you are coding this is also a useful way to find patterns within the categories and to find relations between the categories. Besides that, codes can be split or merged (Wester, 1995). In this way the categories I found and the codes I made can be improved so that they will fit the data. Besides the fact coding helps to find categories, it can also reveal the big themes of the interviews. (Clifford et al., 2016, p650).

To code my data, I will use *computer-assisted qualitative data analysis*, also known as CAQDAS. I choose to use this way to code because it will cost less time to analyze the data. So, I can analyze my data in the most efficient way. There are three steps to code the data: open coding, axial coding and selective coding (Strauss, 1987). The first step of coding is open coding. In this process I will give labels to certain parts of the interviews. In this way I am able to distinguish the different themes that have been discussed in the interviews. According to Strauss "the aim is to produce concepts that seem to 'fit the data'." (Strauss, 1987, p28). The second step of coding is axial coding. During this form of coding I will look through my codes and I will seek for similarities and differences between the interviews. And if it is necessary I will combine codes, create new codes or delete codes. At the end I will have several main themes that are discussed during the interviews. The last step is selective coding. At this point the main themes are already identified. During this process I will search for connections or relations between the different main themes I have coded (Clifford et al., 2016).

5.1 Atlas.ti

To code my data, I will use Atlas.ti. Atlas.ti is a computer program in which you can code documents, such as texts, films and audio-files. According to the people behind the program Atlas.ti it is a program where “sophisticated tools help you to arrange, reassemble, and manage your material in creative, yet systematic ways. Atlas.ti keeps you focused on the material itself.”¹. I have chosen to use Atlas.ti because I want to use *computer-assisted qualitative data analysis* to code my data. Atlas.ti is one of the programs in which you can code your documents. I never used any other computer-assisted program to code data, so I wanted to use a program I could easily use and a program I could have access to. I found some videos on YouTube about Atlas.ti 8.0 and watched some of the videos to learn about Atlas.ti 8.0. After that I downloaded this version Atlas.ti on my laptop. Another reason I have chosen for Atlas.ti 8.0 is because it was available at the Radboud University. I did not use computer-assisted qualitative data analysis to code my data automatically. I will code my data just by reading the interviews and give codes to certain parts of the texts.

5.2 Coding

I started with coding after I transcribed my first interview. I read the whole interview and give codes to every part of interview I thought was interesting for my research. This were not only codes that had to do with the questions I had made for my topic-list to give a direction to the conversation, but also codes that had to do with other interesting topics that were discussed during the interview.

5.2.1 Open coding

In the first interview we talked of course a lot about the Turkish-Dutch identity of the respondent. Other themes we discussed a lot were 'labeling', 'politics Netherlands', 'politics Turkey' and 'feeling when in the Dutch society'. There were some other themes we also talked about, such as 'the diversity of the Turkish community', 'identity' in general, 'norms and values' and 'the proportion Turkish and Dutch' of their identity (see appendix 8.3.2). During the second interview we also talked a lot about the same themes. Such as the 'Turkish-Dutch identity',

¹ <http://atlasti.com/product/what-is-atlas-ti/>

'labeling', 'Dutch politics', 'Turkish politics' and 'feeling when in the Dutch society'. The only difference is that during the second interview the Turkish politics were less discussed. Besides, there were also some new themes that were discussed during the second interview. Themes that were discussed a lot in the second interview and that were not discussed or were less discussed during the first interview, were: 'acceptance', 'religion', 'integration', 'Islam', 'society', 'media', 'terrorism', 'the Turkish community', 'expectations' and 'freedom' (see appendix 8.3.2). After the first two interviews I already noticed that some of my codes had a lot in common and that there were codes that were more important than other codes. For the other interviews I kept in mind the most important codes or the themes that were discussed the most in the previous interviews. Some of the themes were already on my topic-list but some of them were not and this made me realize that there were also other important themes that have a connection with my main theme: 'the Turkish-Dutch identity'. Especially, the themes of 'labeling' and 'Islam'/'religion' were in my opinion interesting other themes to discuss that I first had not included in my topic-list (see appendix 8.2). During the third, fourth and fifth interview I also asked about or discussed these two themes. A list of all the codes I used during the open coding you can find in appendix 8.3.1.

5.2.2 Axial coding

During the open coding I already noticed that there were some codes I used a lot. I also noticed that there were several codes with about the same meaning. So, after the open coding I started the axial coding. During this part of the coding I tried to merge codes that had the same meaning. Besides that, there were also codes that only appeared once or twice. I deleted some codes because these codes only appeared once or twice and did not belong to some other theme and therefore could not be merged, and were not important enough for my research. Besides that, I also changed some names of codes because I thought these names would fit the meaning of the code better or because the name of the code was too long. The codenames I changed were 'diversity Turkish community' into 'diversity', 'feeling Turkish representative' into 'Turkish representative', 'labeling' into 'framing' and 'position relative to parents' into 'parents'. In appendix 8.3.3 you can see the new list of codes I used for my thesis. After that there were six codes I merged. The codes 'feeling when in Dutch context' and 'feeling in the society' are merged into 'Dutch context'. The codes 'feeling when in Turkish context' and 'home' are merged into 'Turkish context'. The codes 'Turkish community' and 'diversity' are merged into 'Turkish

community'. The codes 'society', 'hypocritical' and 'institutions' are merged in 'Dutch society'. The codes 'acceptance', 'aversion' and 'integration' are merged into 'acceptance'. The codes 'discrimination' and 'racism' are merged in 'discrimination'. The codes 'identity' and 'Turkish-Dutch identity' are merged into 'identity'. Because these codes had almost the same meaning (see Appendix 8.3.3). The codes I deleted were 'adapting', 'borders' and 'refugees'. The code 'adapting' only appeared two times in one interview. The respondent was telling that she would not change herself for anyone, that she would not adapt for anyone. But, that if necessary she tries adapt herself when she is with a certain kind of group. It was interesting was she said, but it was not important enough to be one of the main themes in my thesis. The code 'borders' only appeared once. The respondent was telling that the current borders do not exist that long. This was also an important point, but it belonged not to one of the main themes I could use in my research. Because it only appeared once. The code 'refugees' appeared three times in two interviews. The first respondent said that Turkey had become a more important country, for example because of the Syrian refugees who found a shelter in Turkey instead of traveling further to Europe. Besides that, this respondent said that in the Netherlands you have to provide enough means for these refugees so that they can integrate in the Dutch society. The other respondent said that because of foreign activities of Europe in the Middle East, a lot of refugees came to Europe. So, refugees were more used to explain another theme such as 'Turkish politics', 'integration' and 'foreign activities'.

I also made some code groups. Because there were several codes that belonged to one overarching main theme. The groups I made were: 'identity', 'Dutch context', 'politics' and 'Dutch society'. The code group 'identity' consists of 'identity', 'proportion Turkish and Dutch' and 'Islam'. The code group 'Dutch context' consists of 'Dutch context', 'questions', 'expectations', 'justifying' and 'Turkish representative'. The code group 'politics' consists of 'politics', 'Turkish politics' and 'Dutch politics'. The code group 'Dutch society' consists of 'Dutch society', 'norms and values', 'acceptance' and 'framing'. In total I made 4 code groups. Besides that, there are also some codes that do not belong to a group. The codes that do not belong to a group are 'culture', 'discrimination', 'event', 'foreign activities', 'loyalty', 'media', 'parents', 'private', 'relation with Turkey', 'language', 'Turkish community', 'Turkish context', 'terror', 'religion', 'changes' and 'freedom'. An overview of the code groups you can also find in appendix 8.3.3.

5.2.3 Selective coding: the results

In this last part of the coding I will try to make sense of the data. I will do this by means of finding relations between the codes. During this process I also discovered there were some other codes that were not relevant. Reasons for this were because they did not appear that much or because the quotes connected to these codes were already discussed during other codes. The codes I deleted were: 'parents', 'private', 'discrimination', 'media', 'loyalty', 'freedom', 'terror', 'language', 'culture', 'foreign activities', 'event', 'Turkish community', 'religion' and 'relation with Turkey'. The final list of used codes you can find in appendix 8.3.4.

6. Results

In this chapter I will discuss the results within six themes. First, I will discuss the theme 'identity'. After that I will discuss the theme 'Turkish context'. Then I will discuss the theme 'Dutch context'. Next I will discuss the theme 'politics' followed by the theme 'Dutch society' and last I will discuss the theme 'changes'. All these main themes consist of different subjects which are discussed during the interviews.

6.1 Identity

The first theme I will discuss is identity. Within this part I will discuss the subjects: 'identity', 'proportion Turkish and Dutch' and 'Islam'. I will first focus on identity. I started every interview with the question: how do you see yourself? Two of them started to talk about their age, their education and things they like to do. One of them said: *"I am 22, since this year I started a new education in Utrecht, communication. I am an open-minded person. I am doing a lots of stuff, like fitness and having drinks with friends. I have been going to museums very often lately. And of course I also watch a lot films and series."* But, all the respondents did know the interview would mainly be about their Turkish-Dutch identity and therefore they were more focusing on this part of their identity. I think because they thought that was the answer I would like to here, in which way they felt Turkish or Dutch. Of course, that was something I wanted to know but they were free to give any answer on this question. I think because of this the respondent who described herself with her age, study and stuff, did also say that she saw herself as a Dutchman. The other person that described herself as something other than someone with a Turkish background did say further in the interview that her identity is a 'hodgepodge'. The other three persons said that they are Turkish-Dutch and that unlike they were born in the Netherlands and do live in the Netherlands, their Turkish background is a substantial part of their identity (see appendix 8.3.5).

6.1.1 Proportion Turkish and Dutch

Something that is close related to identity and what came forward talking about the respondents' Turkish-Dutch identity was in which way they were feeling they were always completely Turkish and completely Dutch. As you can see in appendix 8.3.5 the respondent in the first interview already said:

“I feel, I have really the feeling I can be 100 percent Turkish and can be 100 percent Dutch.”.

Also, the respondents in the second, third and fifth interview mentioned in which way their Turkish-Dutch identity was ‘divided’. This really differs per respondent. Someone said both her Dutch as her Turkish identity was present all the time. Another respondent said she was never completely Dutch and never completely Turkish. One of the respondents also said that it differs during the day in which way he is aware of his double identity. Another one said that it would depend on the country he is in. Four of the five respondents said that identity is a dynamic concept. I got the feeling that they found it pleasant to explain how they felt about their identity. Because they got the feeling that people thought different about their identity than how they felt about it. Because of this I already got the idea that they found it important and pleasant to talk about their identity and that it was not hard or sensitive for them to talk about this subject.

6.1.2 Islam

Besides the fact that all of the respondents have a Turkish background, they are also all Muslim. This is also a part of their identity and is in some way connected with their Turkish-Dutch identity. But above all it is another part of their identity that is often not accepted or is often negative in the media. Because of this I thought it would be harder for them to talk about their Islam identity than to talk about their Turkish-Dutch identity, about what they were very open. That is why it was not my intention to talk about whether the Islam is a part of their identity. Yet, there were some respondents which started to talk about this topic by itself. Most of them began to talk about the Islam when we were talking about whether they feel accepted in the Netherlands. For example, the second and the third respondent both say that because of the terroristic attacks of IS they have the feeling people look more negative towards them because they are Muslim. Although, the third respondent can understand why people have an aversion towards Muslims because Islamic State is claiming they are true Muslims. The fourth respondent said that Muslims are not a homogeneous group and that not every Muslim is the same. I think the second respondent describes it the best by saying:

“In addition, besides the Turkish identity, you also have that Islamic background.”

Thus, not only their Turkish background is often discussed in the Netherlands, but also their Islamic background. Especially, the discussion about their Muslim background is something that made them more angry. I noticed in their voice that they would talk with more anger about the fact that all Muslims are seen as Muslims who support Islamic State. It also really bothered them that they were framed in a wrong way.

6.2 Turkish context

The second theme I will discuss is Turkish context. As you can read above the way in which their Turkish-Dutch identity is divided, differs per person. Besides that, their identity is a dynamic concept, so there are moments they feel Turkish and there are moments they feel Dutch. I also asked if there were any moments when they would feel more Turkish or feel more Dutch. They all said that it depends on the context they are in. Because they do feel different when they are in a Turkish context than when they are in a more Dutch context. In appendix 8.3.5 you see the things that have been said about being in a Turkish context.

In the first, second and fourth interview they said they would feel more Turkish when they are with family or are at home. In the first, second and fifth interview they were saying they feel Turkish at home because they were speaking Turkish at home, watch Turkish television and read Turkish newspapers. For example, in the first interview she said:

“I feel Turkish, I think more with family affairs, really in the private sphere. I am very Dutch socialized in education and in the professional outside world but at home just typical Turkish and the rule was that we were speaking Turkish at home because we could also learn Turkish and, uhm, I watched Turkish television, they had Turkish newspapers, but my parents are really still first generation Turks.”

So, their more private sphere or surroundings are more Turkish and therefore they feel more Turkish. Some of them also spoke about how they felt when they were in Turkey. In the second, third and the fourth interview they said they would feel more Turkish when they are in Turkey. For example, in the fourth interview she said: *“I have to say that when I am in Turkey, I really feel at home. That is really my second home, that will also stay that way forever. Then I really feel, really, Turkish. Then I am really happy to get that feeling again.”* So, in Turkey they do feel

Turkish. Although, one them said: *“But the best part is when you are in Turkey and then you have family from Germany, Belgium, France, everyone, but with an accent. And then you think, actually you are less Turkish than you think. I talk with a Dutch accent, they talk with a French accent.”*. Thus, they do feel Turkish in Turkey because they are there with family but over there they also notice that they are not that Turkish they always think they are when they are in the Netherlands. Because in Turkey they are really Dutch. I think two of them described it perfect. The second respondent said: *“They usually say over here you are a foreigner and in Turkey you are a Dutchman.”*. And the fourth respondent said: *“They always see you as someone else. When I am in Turkey I am a Dutch person, when I am in the Netherlands I am a Turk. And, uh, yes that will stay forever.”*. So, they both stated that in both countries they feel like an outsider, like they are not completely a part of the country.

In fact, what they are saying, is that at home with their family they feel Turkish and in the 'outside' world, at their work, school they feel Dutch. So, they constantly switch between feeling Turkish and feeling Dutch. In other words, they constantly cross the border between Turkey and the Netherlands. You could say that at home they are Turkish and outside they are Dutch. This means that the front door of their homes is the border between Turkey and the Netherlands and that they cross this border every day. But some of the respondents also said that both their Dutch and Turkish part is always present. This would mean that their front door is a little bit open and that their Turkish and Dutch identity is always in sight and present no matter where they are.

6.3 Dutch context

The third theme I will discuss is Dutch context. Within this part I will discuss the subjects: 'questions', 'expectations', 'justifying' and 'Turkish representative'. But, I will first focus on the subject 'Dutch context'. As you can read above the way in which their Turkish-Dutch identity is divided, differs per person. Besides that, their identity is a dynamic concept, so that there are moments they feel Turkish of they feel Dutch. I also asked if there were any moments when they would feel more Turkish or feel more Dutch. They all said that it depends on the context there are in. Because they do feel different when they are in a Turkish context than when they are in a more Dutch context. In appendix 8.3.5 you see the things that have been said about being in a Dutch context.

I think the most interesting thing that is mentioned, is that they get a lot of questions from their Dutch friends or colleagues about their identity or the political situation in Turkey or the political situation between Turkey and the Netherlands. For example, the fifth respondent said: *“And sometimes one of the first questions you get from new people you meet are like oh, but where does your surname come from? And then automatically it goes about my background.”*. But, it is not only that the Dutch ask these questions because they are curious. The respondents also have the feeling the Dutch ask these questions because they want to know what their opinion is, that they expect that all Turkish people must have an opinion about everything what is going on in Turkey. It is like the first respondent said: *“And then I think, I actually do not have an opinion at all. Not then. I was already working on politics, but I am not really clear if I am for or against. And yes, but I do notice that they expect that from you or something. (...) For example, at the university you know or at my internship, that kind of things, I do not come across a lot of Turks. They do expect that I kind of, then they do assume, then I feel like some sort of Turkish representative or something, but while I do not feel competent at all to be such a thing or something. I always say that it is my opinion, you have to take into account that there are many differences.”*. Most of the time they do understand these questions, but they do have the feeling that because of these questions they are different than the ‘normal Dutchman’. It is like the second respondent said:

“And when you are there too at that moment, then you do think like okay, does that person also look at me that way, does the other person see me as a Dutchman? Or as a Turk? Or, how does the other person sees me?”

So, all in all, when they are in the Dutch society other people often do remind them of their identity. They do remind them of the fact that their identity is different than the identity of the non-immigrant Dutchman. I noticed that it made them a bit angry when we were talking about this subject. They were not saying it in some sort of airy way, but I could hear it made them angry and tell told about it with a more intense voice. I think it made them angry that no matter how they act or what they do, they will never be completely Dutch. In a Dutch context they will always be Turkish. This is something that is further discussed within the results about the Dutch society.

6.3.1 Questions

Something that came forward when talking about being in the Dutch context was the fact that they got a lot of questions about Turkey or about their Turkish identity. In appendix 8.3.5 you see the things that have been said about questions they got. Most of the questions have been asked about the political events. Like the coup in Turkey. A lot of questions were also asked when Turkish-Dutch people were protesting at the Turkish consulate when the landings rights of the Turkish Secretary of State, Cavusoglu, were recalled and the minister of family affairs, Fatma Betüt Sayan Kaya was stopped at the Turkish consulate in Rotterdam. Like the second respondent said: *“That if, it happened on the weekend. Then you come to work on Monday and the first thing they ask is if you got it?”*. Or like the fifth respondent said: *“Yes, that some of them ask like oh what do you think of the coup, or what do you think of this.”*. I noticed that after they gave these examples they also did sigh. I think this was some kind of sign that they did find these questions annoying. Although they said they do understand why people ask these questions. The fifth respondent also said that you know that after some sort of political event, you know people at work are going to ask questions. And that they were preparing their answers at home so they could give answers on Monday. Because of the body language of this respondent I noticed that this respondent thought it was quite odd what she was telling. She had some uncomfortable posture and was laughing a little bit. I think because she knew it was ridiculous what she was doing at home, but apparently, they also think it was necessary to prepare their answers. But they were not the only one who were thinking about how to answer these questions. Like the third respondent said: *“I do give an answer, but I leave my, my opinion does come forward, but I do not emphasize it very strongly. Because, I am against the government that governs right now, but then I am such a person that does not totally criticize it.”*. So, this respondent tried to give answers in an objective way because otherwise people also can form an opinion on base of his opinion. These questions also made them think about their own identity. About how people would look at them. Like the first respondent said:

“But, in one way or another, you are unconsciously working on [identity] or something like that, when so much attention is paid to it.”

6.3.2 Expectations

One of the feelings some respondents had when they got questioned was that Dutch people often had some kind of expectations about how they would answer. For example, like the second and third respondent said they want you or expect from you to say something they think you should say. Like the second respondent said:

“They actually already assume that you have an opinion because you have a Turkish background and they are very curious about it.”

So, people expect you to have an opinion about the Turkish politics or about the conflict between Turkey and the Netherlands. Also like the third respondent said: *“(...) At the moment I come in touch with new people, especially colleagues who speak less often to me and there has been something on the news then, uhm, it sometimes happens that they reason from a certain perspective, that they, uhm, want to untie something from me.”*. So, these colleagues already hope to untie some kind of answer from this respondent because they also already look with a certain perspective towards Turkey or the conflict between Turkey and the Netherlands. I noticed that when the respondents were telling about these expectations, they were saying this with some sort of amazement in their voice. As if they do not understand why people always expect that you have some sort opinion about Turkey or the conflict in Turkey. Another thing is that the second and fifth respondent got questioned about their double nationality. They got the feeling that Dutch people in their environment expect from them to choose between their Dutch and Turkish nationality. Like the fifth respondent said: *“Especially that they expect you to say that I am Dutch and I am just willing to hand in the passport.”*. When this respondent was saying this, it was more with amazement and anger. It was also with some kind of voice that was saying how do you dare to ask something like that. As if they have to justify themselves because they have a double nationality.

6.3.3 Justifying

As you can read above some of the respondents got questioned about their double nationality. Besides that, they got the feeling that they had to justify themselves. But, this was not the only time some of the respondents had the feeling they had to justify or explain themselves. The first and second respondent said they had to explain themselves after they got questions about

political events that happened, like the coup of the refusal of the Turkish ministers. I think the second respondent describes it in a very good way:

“You continuously feel you have to justify for something that you may not have done.”

So, when something happened in Turkey or with Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands, just like the coup and the demonstrations in the Netherlands after the coup, they got questioned about it. Even if they were not there they had to justify themselves and the actions of other Turkish people.

6.3.4 Turkish representative

Another thing was that these questions made them some sort of Turkish representative. Because they are higher-educated there are less other people with a Turkish background at their studies or work. Therefore, fellow students and colleagues asked them questions about (the situation in) Turkey, because they were often the only person with a Turkish background for these fellow students and colleagues. The respondents said that because they were often the only Turkish ‘source’ of their fellow students and colleagues they felt they were some Turkish representative. It is like the first respondent said: *“For example, at the university you know or at my internship, that kind of things, I do not come across a lot of Turks. They do expect that I kind of, then they do assume, then I feel like some sort of Turkish representative or something, but while I do not feel competent at all to be such a thing or something. I always say that it is my opinion, you have to take into account that there are many differences.”*. Because they feel like a Turkish representative and this influences the way they answer questions about Turkey or Turkish politics. They do not give their own opinion, because the people who ask these questions often see the answers of these Turkish-Dutch people as the ‘truth’, as how the whole Turkish community thinks. So, they try to give an answer that mostly represented the whole Turkish community instead of their own opinion. It is like the fifth respondent said:

“No, I do answer. I often give my own opinion but it is also not, I also try a bit, because I am actually a bit against the Turkish government at this moment. But I also try to show it from the side of them, how they see it that I do not just pass on my own opinion.”

Because I often see when such a question is asked that I feel a bit, that I still have to highlight both sides because I still represent something.”.

When the respondents were talking about the fact that they have to justify themselves or that they feel like they are some sort of Turkish representative, there were talking with a more intense and tired voice. Like on the one hand it made them angry they were seen as some Turkish representative and on the other hand it made them tired to always have to explain things about Turkey or about the conflict in Turkey, to be thinking about what they are going to say and trying not to tell their own opinion. Although they also said they could understand these questions. But, I think the way they were talking about it, mostly with some tired undertones in their voice, pointed out they are tired of being some kind of Turkish representative.

6.4 Politics

The fourth theme I will discuss, is politics. Within this part I will discuss the subjects: 'Turkish politics' and 'Dutch politics'. As mentioned before some of the Turkish-Dutch got often questions about Turkish politics and the conflict between Turkey and the Netherlands and had the feeling they had to justify themselves and were some sort of Turkish representative. Although, it was not my purpose to talk about the Turkish or Dutch politics all of the respondents started talking about it during our conversation and were very open about it.

6.4.1 Turkish politics

There were three of the five of the respondents that talked about the Turkish politics. Two of them had a very clear opinion about the Turkish politics. In general, these two respondents had a negative opinion towards the current Turkish politics. They also both talked about the voting for the referendum. They both stated that when they voted they felt the pressure of the Turkish community. Like the first respondent said: *“(...) But a lot of people from whom we thought they are going to vote no, uhm, they said yes I do not want to vote, you know, because it is, uh, you are a bit in the minority in the Netherlands. And if you, uh, if that is kind of known that you voted no, then they will shut you out a little bit you know.”.* For example, when someone's has a store there is the fear that person will lose some customers because they voted no instead of yes. So, not everyone who was willing to vote, did vote because of the fear of reactions of the Turkish community. It is like the first respondent said when you voted no in the Netherlands you are in

the minority because most of the Turkish-Dutch people voted yes. Also the fourth respondent was talking about the voting for the referendum. The fourth respondent said: *"(...) I also voted and you notice that you are in an environment with only Turks. But that there is still a tension. I also asked my aunt, do you think they see we are left? And things like that. And my aunt really looked at me like, you know, I think about that too. And my mother who keeps listening in between and who says they can really see that from us. Because of course you have the real believers who really wear a headscarf, do not smoke, are all well-dressed. And then you see us, smoking, just wearing jeans, a t-shirt, you notice that you are really being watched by people every time (...)"*. So, this respondent had the feeling that they were being looked at by the Turkish community because they were 'left' and would vote no instead of being right and vote yes. This respondent said there was also some kind of tension. By this, the respondent means the tension between Turkish-Dutch people with different opinions or political preferences. Because the Turkish Dutch people are not a homogeneous group and their political preferences do differ.

The first and the fourth respondent also talked about talking with other Turkish-Dutch people about politics. The first respondent already said:

"(...) It is really, uhm, a bit of a taboo to talk about politics in Turkey. I notice that especially in Turkey." So, it is not common in Turkey and also among Turks to talk about politics. This respondent also said: "But when it comes to politics then it can really fact, uh, yes become aggressive. So it is, I talk about it with people I know for sure, okay, they share my political ideologies. But not with people of which I know for sure they are pro Erdogan (...)"

So, this respondent never has a political discussion with Turkish-Dutch people with a different opinion because the chance is there that it will become too aggressive. And the fourth respondent actually said the same. Because this respondent said: *"Yes. And I have only one Turkish friend who is extremely right. You can hardly talk about politics with her. So that tension prevails. That is a pity, but it is just how it is."* So, although they both have a really clear opinion about the politics in Turkey, they never have discussions with Turkish-Dutch people with a different political opinion, because these discussions are often too tense or aggressive.

For me it was really surprising that they were so open about the Turkish politics. They did not hesitate to tell things and, as you can read above, they also shared really personal stories. They also said that it is hard to talk about Turkish politics with other Turkish-Dutch people. One of the respondents said that it was a good thing that I was Dutch because that made it easier for them to talk about Turkish politics. I think it was maybe also because I did show my understanding for all political views and that I was really willing to hear their stories and opinions without judging them. I think that in some sort of way they felt safe and comfortable during the interview. Maybe because they could finally tell their story in some sort anonymous way without the justifying. But, maybe also because I gave them that feeling.

6.4.2 Dutch politics

Some of the respondents also talked about Dutch politics. They mostly talked about the fact that Turkish-Dutch people did not have a connection with the Dutch politics or did not had the feeling they were a part of the Dutch community. The first respondent had the opinion that the Dutch politics had a wrong picture of the Turkish community because it is a very diverse group.

But, in my opinion the most interesting things have been said about the political party 'DENK' by both the second and fourth respondent. Although they both talked about 'DENK', they had a different opinion. The second respondent said:

“But because of ‘DENK’, people think that because of ‘DENK’ people start to feel less Dutch, but because of ‘DENK’ you feel okay, we are participating again in politics. You are heard and there is someone who speaks for us.”

So, this respondent is saying that before 'DENK' Turkish-Dutch people had the feeling they were not a part of Dutch politics, that they were not represented by the Dutch politics. Besides that, because of 'DENK' these people have the feeling that they finally are a part of the Dutch politics. And this respondent also said this is a good thing because when these Turkish-Dutch people have the feeling they are participating again in politics, they also learn about other (political) groups in the Dutch society. Like the respondent said: *“Yes, because of that all of sudden very, very many people are involved in politics. While, they first were not interested at all. And then you automatically come, I think that is good, because when you are concerned with politics, you actually hear how other people think. And that is good for those people, who are actually totally*

concerned with their own circle. They also hear for example what the VVD thinks or what the PVV thinks.”. So, in the opinion of this respondent the political party ‘DENK’ has caused that Turkish-Dutch people are participating and interesting in politics again. And by this they also hear what is happening in the Dutch society and step out their own circle. But, not all Turkish-Dutch are positive about the political party ‘DENK’. Because the fourth respondent thinks the political party ‘DENK’ is too much concerned with Erdogan and Turkey. The fourth respondent said:

“(…) But then I think something like why are you going to establish such a party in the Netherlands. And if you encourage him so much, why do not you help him in Turkey? (…)”

But this respondent does not think you cannot be interested in Turkish politics as a Turkish-Dutch person, but you also have to be interested in Dutch politics because you live here in the Netherlands. This respondent said: *“(…) You can compensate for it by keeping an eye on both. But it is also true that, in my opinion, many immigrants, who do not know who is in the Dutch Second Chamber, they do not know, just that kind of things. And if you know all about Turkey, why do not you know about it in the Netherlands? Because you live here anyway? (…)”*.

Thus, when we were talking about Dutch politics it mostly was about the political party ‘DENK’, but the opinions about this party are not the same among Turkish-Dutch people. I think this also shows that the Turkish-Dutch community is not a homogeneous group. I also thought that the respondents were more willing to talk about Dutch politics than about Turkish politics. But, I was wrong. Besides that, I thought it would be going about the things that have been said in the politics about the Turkish-Dutch people. Therefore, I found it surprising that two respondents were giving their strong opinion about the political party ‘DENK’. A political party that is sometimes seen as the 'Turk-party'. I thought this would be a sensitive topic to talk about. But, just like when we were talking about the Turkish politics they did not hesitate to talk about it. I think for the open talking about this topic, the same reasons arise as for the open talking about the Turkish politics. That there was some kind of sphere during the interview in which they felt safe and comfortable to tell their own opinion, to be open about the topic. Besides that, I think it was also because they think it are important items to talk about.

6.5 Dutch society

The fifth theme I will discuss is Dutch society. Within this part I will discuss the subjects: 'norms and values', 'acceptance' and 'framing'. But, I will first focus on the subject 'Dutch society'. Besides the fact that I was interested in the identity of the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters, I also wanted to know how they felt within the Dutch society. Some of the respondents really did talk about the Dutch society or things that happened within the Dutch society. The second respondent mostly did talk about integration and acceptance. Like the respondent said: *“Yes indeed. And then you think integrate to where? And then they say yes Islam does not belong in the Western world. Then I think Christianity also did not originate in the Netherlands. They come from next to each other, Christianity, Judaism.”*. So, this respondent did hear things about the Islam and that it did not belong here. This respondent also said that if someone, like a Turkish-Dutch, person would do something wrong, the rule of law would solve this. This respondent refers to the fact that when some Turkish-Dutch person does something wrong, all the Turkish-Dutch are looked at for it. But, this respondent was also saying that good things were happening, like changing the word 'allochtoon' into someone with a migration background. This respondent said: *“(…) With that 'autochtoon', 'allochtoon' and such things then I honestly think that with a migration background that is literally who you are. You are someone, you are a Dutchman with a migration background. That is one on one with what I already indicated. And then you see the word 'allochtoon' 'autochtoon', it sounds very crazy, but I am also born here so you think of an 'allochtoon' as someone who comes from abroad. Yes, those words are no longer of this time. (…)”*. Overall, this respondent did not talk positive about the Dutch society. I noticed that when we were talking about the Dutch society this was accompanied with disappointment. As if this respondent was disappointed in the Dutch society and how things were going. This can also be deduced from the things this respondent said and which you can read above. This disappointment is also present with some other respondents when we talked about norms and values, integration, acceptance and framing.

6.5.1 Norms and values

During the elections in 2017 the Dutch politics were also a lot of talking about Dutch norms and values. Some of the respondents said that these norms and values are basically saying that Muslims do not stick to these norms and values. Like the first respondent said: *“(…) Being a Muslim and identifying with Western values is simply not possible. He actually says with that you*

cannot, those messages I get, as a Dutchman with a Turkish background you cannot be Dutch, you understand?". So, this respondent has the feeling they she never can stick to these norms and values a long she is a Muslim.

This respondent also thinks that it is not the task of the politics to have an opinion about what you are doing in your private sphere, because this respondent thinks religion is something private. Because of this the second respondent had the feeling that Mark Rutte was sort of claiming the country, that the Netherlands was only a country for the 'typical' Dutchman. He did this by describing some typical 'Dutch' norms. Like the second said:

"I always thought so, this is also my country and I do still think that. And then I think you claim that the country is only for a part of the Dutch. And then I am not talking about white, black or whatever. But a part. You are actually saying the Netherlands is ours and we determine the norms and values and if you do not stick to it, then you will leave the Netherlands. While, I think the Netherlands is from all of us. (...)"

Both the second and third respondent thought this was quite hypocritical. The second respondent thought it was hypocritical because the Netherlands claims to be a free country, with freedom of religion and speech, but according to this respondent it is not acting that way. The second respondent said: *"Maybe in Eastern, Mediterranean, uh, in the Middle East also not. But, in the Netherlands it has been the case for many years and then you cannot say like yes okay, Christianity cannot exist safely over there so then the Muslim cannot do their freely over here. That is actually against the norms and values of the Netherlands. Then I think like yes, if the Netherlands stands for freedom of religion, of speech then that must also apply for everyone. (...)"*. The third respondent thought it was hypocritical because when Western countries, such as the Netherlands, go to the Middle East they sometimes also do not want to adjust to the norms and values of the Middle East. According to this respondent they act as if they are superior.

I think as you can read above the whole debate about the Dutch norms and values have also led to some disappointment with two respondents. They are disappointed in the Dutch society because they have the feeling their culture and their background does not fit in the Dutch norms and values. I also noticed that when I was talking with them. When they were sharing their stories and ideas about the Dutch society, they talked with a combination of disappointment and anger. Besides that, they were really willing to talk about this subject. Like it

was not the first time they were talking and thinking about this subject. As if it is bothering them how they feel in the Dutch society.

6.5.2 Acceptance & Integration

Most of the respondents say that they do feel accepted but that they do know other Turkish-Dutch people who feel not accepted. Like the first respondent said that the respondent's parents feel more distance from society because they hear a lot of negative things in the media about Turks. Also the second respondent said that in his environment he hears Turkish-Dutch people saying they do not feel accepted in the Dutch society. Like the second respondent said: *“Yes, I just hear mainly things like this is probably not our country. Probably they say, because they get it that way. Then I think yes you should not think that way. But they continue have the feeling, is this our country? Like do we belong here and such things actually.”*. So, this respondent said people in his environment are more and more doubting whether the Netherlands is their country because they do not feel accepted. The third respondent said that most Turkish-Dutch people have it less easy than he does. He said:

“Uhm, yes, but I think it also depends on my environment. I am not, uhm, let me put it this way, I know from a number of other Turks that they have it less easy than me. But perhaps it is also because I grew up with Dutch people and because I know the language well. Also in terms of accent. But I notice more and more, there is always an aversion towards the Turks. I notice that in my environment. Only, uhm, I am lucky with the people around me. With where I ended up. With work, internship and everything, that I am more accepted yes. But for other people it is not that easy.”

So, because he grew up in a good environment and he knows the language well, it is easier for him in the society and therefore he is more accepted. Also the fourth respondent said it would be harder to be accepted in the Dutch society for other people, such as Erdogan supporters. This respondent said: *“I also understand that as an Erdogan supporter you really think like where does all this hate come from. And how can you think that way and that you then have a lot of incomprehension.”*. Because most of the negative reactions towards Turkish-Dutch people are against Turkish-Dutch Erdogan supporters. The second respondent thinks that it is important that Turkish-Dutch people feel accepted. He says: *“(…) I think if you take them along then you*

automatically ensure that the fourth and fifth generation automatically participate because you have addressed the third generation well.”. So, if we as society make sure that the third generation of Turkish-Dutch people is integrated and accepted, then the next generations will also be integrated. Another thing this respondent said was: *“But then you think, then I will end up on the same again, if you let them participate with King's Day, if you actually get to know the Dutch holidays, or simply get to know the Dutch culture. What the Netherlands have to do with the Second World War and everything. (...)”*. So Turkish-Dutch people, but also migrants, have to get the feeling they are part of the society and that they have the possibility to participate in the society by knowing what is going on in the society. Integration is important for this respondent because there are also Turkish-Dutch people who do not feel accepted. Like the respondent said: *“(...) That you also often hear people say yes why should I get a diploma, while I will not be accepted. That is not the right way of reasoning and it is also their own fault if they do not study, but that motivation part is limited.”*.

When we were talking about acceptance the respondents were first more talking about people in their environment. I got the feeling they had the feeling they did not had the right to complain about their acceptance because they knew people who had more struggles with feeling accepted in the Dutch society. As if they have to feel lucky that they are higher-educated, are in contact with Dutch people who gave them the feeling they are accepted, because they found in some sort of way their place within the Dutch society. Because they see that Turkish-Dutch people they know do not have it as easy as they do. I noticed that they felt really bad for the Turkish-Dutch people in their environment who feel less accepted.

But, although the respondents said people in their environment are less accepted than they are, they also have the feeling they are less accepted or they are doubting in which way they are accepted. Like the second respondent said: *“You are going to take it personally earlier. Maybe that is also a characteristic of me or maybe I actually grew up like that or just become like that with time. But you take things more personally. If I am parking my car wrong or park somewhere and someone gets grumpy of starts screaming I think does he like that to me because I am doing something wrong or because he sees that I have a certain background.”*. So, when someone is grumpy against this respondent, this respondent immediately thinks it is because of his background. Also the third respondent has some moments when he does feel less accepted. The respondent said: *“I think they are looking for acceptance. Depending on how I feel about it, when I speak Turkish, I feel an aversion, and if I, uhm, talk from the Dutch perspective,*

then I feel an acceptance. That is very strange.". So, the respondent is only accepted when he shows he is truly Dutch and not shows his Turkish background. The fifth respondent has the feeling she is never going to be accepted because she has a Turkish background. The respondent said:

"Yes, yes. A Turk remains a Turk. Even though you are not an 'Erdo-Turk', you are still a Turk."

The fourth and fifth respondent talked more about the acceptance by the Turkish community. Because they have the feeling they are not always accepted by the Turkish community because of their political preference or because they are not Turkish enough. The fourth respondent said: *"I have seen with my own eyes that, uhm, that we are not approved in the society. That happened when we were going to protest in Cologne, that was in 2013. (...) Only in Cologne to protest against Erdogan. And, uhm, I remember very well that we were in a big bus with flags, it was just, as demonstrators we were going there and then a van did catch us up with a big picture of Erdogan. So we immediately knew not to get too close. You noticed that when we drove like that and when the bus wanted to catch up on us, they really just hit windows. It was, in my eyes, a very painful moment. I was confronted with the truth and the news that I had followed on TV and on the internet you name it, it was just hard truth. How I experienced with my own eyes how we were treated was very painful. They were name calling us, you could hear it through the glass on the highway, realization. And they threw all kind of things to us. Yes, it was very painful."* So, this respondent did not feel accepted by the Turkish community because she had another political opinion, because she was against Erdogan. Besides that, the fifth respondent said: *"Yes, I used to have a lot of Dutch friends. Actually quite a few Turkish friends and actually there were not many Turks at my high school. So it was not even my own choice. But then I noticed that they thought like you are very much doing stuff with Dutch people, why do not you do stuff with Turks, what do you have against Turks? That I really think, I do not choose something."* So, this respondent had the feeling of not being accepted by the Turkish community because doing too much stuff with Dutch friends and not with Turkish friends, while it just happened to have Dutch friends.

When they were talking about their own acceptance I got the feeling there was disappointment and incomprehension in their voice. I think the incomprehension mainly was

due to the fact there was nothing they could do to feel ever completely accepted. They got the feeling they would never be truly Dutch because of their Turkish background. But, some of the respondents also have the feeling they are not accepted by the Turkish community in the Netherlands. So, they are too Dutch to be Turkish but too Turkish to be Dutch, while in their opinion they are both. As you can read under the heading 'framing' this also has an influence on how they see themselves.

6.5.3 Framing

One of the things that have been said, is that they do not feel be accepted because they are framed, especially by the media. All of them said they have been framed or been stereotyped. Some of them also said how can I see my differently if others frame me in some sort of way. Like the first respondent said: *"(...) Also here in the Netherlands, they see, uh, how can I not feel Turkish when other people see me as Turkish. It is very, uhm, yes I think that is comes not only from yourself but also from how others see and frame you."* The second respondent said something the same, namely: *"(...) Whatever I do, how well I integrate, they see me as a Turk."* Also, the fifth respondent said something the same: *"Yes, yes. A Turk remains a Turk. Even though you are not an 'Erdo-Turk', you are still a Turk."* So, what this respondent says is that no matter how they see themselves others will always frame them as a Turk. They have the feeling that no matter what they do, how much they integrate, Dutch people will always see them as Turkish. They also said it is impossible to hide that they are Turkish, because of their Turkish appearance or their surname. Some of them also said that their family with a lighter skin or lighter hair have less to do with framing problems. Therefore, some of them said they sometimes wanted to have a different appearance or surname, so that other people would not immediately known or see that they were Turkish and frame them. It is not that there are not proud of their Turkish background, but they do not want others to remind them of that background and to always have the to think about how does the other person look at me? Does that person see me different because I am Turkish? I think the first and second respondent also said something very important. Because they said:

"So, you cannot. You can feel like that yourself. But if others see it differently, that is actually also a part of you, your identity."

“It is more like that. And I have the feeling the way the other sees you, so you start to see yourself too.”

Thus, they are saying that others decide their identity. So, the framing of others has an influence on how they feel and see themselves. If this framing is negative, that Turkish-Dutch people will never be truly Dutch, that they never will be a part of society, this people are going to believe they are not a part of the Dutch society, it becomes a part of who they are.

In my opinion the respondents had the most trouble with the framing. When we were talking about the framing I had the feeling this was bothering them for a longer time. As if they always must prove themselves because of their background. That people would always see them as someone different, as not Dutch. I also got the feeling this made them angry, but above all I got the feeling they did not think it was fair. That because of their background they would never get a fair chance in the Dutch society. But, I never got the feeling they were angry at me. Because I am also a part of that Dutch society, of the Dutch people. But that they were more angry at the institutions, like politics and the media. That they spread some sort of norm about being Dutch, spread some image about Turkish-Dutch people and that the Dutch society is taking over this norm and image. Besides that, I noticed in the way they were talking about it, it made them angry and sad because they have the feeling they will always be seen as the outsider.

6.6 Changes

The sixth theme I will discuss is the theme 'changes'. Within this part I will discuss the subjects: 'identity', and 'Dutch society'.

6.6.1 Identity

During the interviews I also asked if the way they looked at their selves changed over time, especially after the conflict between Turkey and the Netherlands. Only three of the respondents said the way they looked at their selves changed. The fourth respondent said the Turkish part has become less, because of all the stereotyping and jokes about voting for 'DENK'. While, the first respondent said that the Turkish part has become stronger. Because this respondent said that she wants to show that the image people have of Turkish people is not the right image, like

she wants to promote her Turkish background. The fifth respondent said that the Dutch part has become less because of all the things that have been said by Mark Rutte. Although, this respondent does not identify herself with this kind of Turks, she still has the feeling she is not totally welcome anymore.

While we were talking about whether their identity had changed, the respondents really had to think about these questions. Because most of the time all of the respondents had a very clear opinion or story about the topics we discussed. But, it was mostly about how they felt nowadays and not how it was before. I got the feeling that some of the respondents found out during the interview that their identity has changed over time. That was something they did not have thought about a lot.

6.6.2 Dutch society

During the interviews I also asked if the way they looked at the Dutch society changed over time. Four respondents said the way they looked at the Dutch society changed. The second respondent said that after the political events between Turkey and the Netherlands he had to justify himself more and that Turkey has become more relevant. Also the third respondent said that he now had the urge to justify himself. He said that this is also due to political developments between Turkey and the Netherlands and that people are curious about his opinion. This respondent also said:

“Well, I think those questions I now get asked from the society that makes me suggest that I will be looked at differently than before. In high school, when I was 18 or 19. And I never received that question. And now, after those developments, after those events and everything, then I get all those questions.”

Also the fourth respondent noticed that people at her school were stereotyping her more and making jokes to her about the political party ‘DENK’. The fifth respondent did not feel as welcome anymore as she did before because of the things Mark Rutte said about Turkish-Dutch people, although she does not identify herself with the Turkish-Dutch Mark Rutte described. All in all, most of them had the feeling that the Dutch society looked at them different than before instead of them looking different towards the Dutch society. I think this is an important thing because they have the feeling that, despite the fact the Dutch society stayed the same for them,

the Dutch society looks different at them. I think the thing that bothers them the most is that this had an influence on how they look at themselves, on their identity. I noticed in their voice this made them tired and annoyed, because they sighed when they talked about it. As if they have the idea there is nothing they can do about it, as if it is just happening within the environment they live in and they are automatically formed by this environment.

6.7 Relations

In the figure below, you see the relations of the results of the interviews. I will explain the figure below by starting with 'identity'. The 'Turkish-Dutch identity' is a part of 'identity'. Also the 'Islam' is a part of the 'identity', as well from the 'Turkish-Dutch identity'. It also came forward that the 'Turkish-Dutch identity' is associated with the 'proportion Turkish and Dutch'. Because their 'Turkish-Dutch identity' is not always the same, sometimes they feel more Turkish and sometimes they feel more Dutch. The 'Turkish context' and the 'Dutch context' are the cause of this changing 'proportion Turkish and Dutch'. So, it often depends on the context whether they feel Turkish or Dutch. The 'Dutch context' is also a cause of 'questions' they get from people at work, at their study, in the 'Dutch context'. This 'questions' give the feeling as if they have to justify themselves, so it gives them the feeling of 'justifying'. These 'questions' and 'justifying' also give the feeling of being a 'Turkish representative'. As if they must explain everything and know everything that is happening in Turkey, between Turkey and the Netherlands and within the Turkish community in the Netherlands. Therefore these 'questions' they get are often about the 'Turkish politics'. And these 'Turkish politics' are also associated with the 'Dutch politics'. Because Turkey and the Netherlands also have a political relationship with each other and things that happen in the one country can have an influence on the other country and on the politics in the other country. Another thing is that the 'Dutch politics' are the cause of the current discourse about the 'norms and values' in the Netherlands. They have created a typical Dutch norm and this typical Dutch norm has become accepted by the 'Dutch society'. Therefore, the 'norms and values' are a part of the 'Dutch society'. Two things that are related to the 'Dutch society' are 'acceptance' and 'integration'. Because the respondents think that 'integration' into the 'Dutch society' can cause more 'acceptance' by the 'Dutch society'. What also is happening within the 'Dutch society' is the 'framing' of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and this 'framing' has an influence on the 'integration' of Turkish-Dutch youngsters. According to the respondents this especially has an influence on other people in their environment instead of themselves. This 'framing' also is a cause of their 'identity'. Because how other people see them, also defines how they see themselves.

7. Conclusion

In this master's thesis I asked myself the question, in response to the political events in Turkey, in the Netherlands and between Turkey and the Netherlands, whether Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters look different at the Dutch society and their identity as I do. In this chapter I will try to get answers to the questions I asked in this master's thesis. To get answers on these questions I held in-depth interviews with five Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. The questions I asked were: *'How do Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves and has this changed?'*, *'How did the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters experienced the political events and political changes?'* and *'How do Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves with in the Dutch society and has this changed?'*. Besides that, I will discuss recommendations for praxis, the possibilities and limitations of the research and suggestions for further research will be done.

7.1 Identity and context

7.1.1 Proportion Turkish and Dutch

The first question I asked in this master's thesis was: *'How do Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves?'*. The central answer on this question is that the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters I spoke to see themselves as both Dutch and Turkish. So, they have both a connection with the Netherlands, the country of settlement, as with Turkey, the country of origin. This connection with their country of origin, although they were not born Turkey, indicates that these higher-educated youngsters have the feeling they share some characteristics with other Turkish-Dutch youngsters that they do not share with other youngsters. These shared characteristics are also a part of their identity. This corresponds to what Vertovec (2011) said: "this is so because, on the one hand, many peoples' transnational networks are grounded upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon the perception that they share some form of common identity, often based upon a place of origin and the cultural and linguistic traits associated with it." (Vertovec, 2001). This also corresponds to the fact that children of migrants can has a strong(er) connection to the country of origin to their parents (Patterson, 2006). It does not came forward that these respondents had a stronger connection to their country of origin than their parents, but it was

certainly the case that these higher-educated youngsters have a strong connection to their country of origin.

7.1.2 Islam

Their Turkish background is an important part of their identity, but not the only part of their identity. Some of the respondents also talked about being a Muslim as a part of their identity and as something that is close related to their Turkish-Dutch identity. All the respondents said something different about how their identity is constructed. But, almost all of the respondents also said their identity is a dynamic concept. This corresponds with the social identity theory of Tajfel and Turner (1986) where you can have multiple identities and the same time (Verkuyten, 2010). However, it might be even more corresponding with the idea of Sen (2006) who stated that you can choose which identity is your dominant identity. This is also the case with the respondents because they said their identity is dynamic, and it can change from moment to moment how they feel.

7.1.3 Turkish context versus Dutch context: living on a border

Because the identity of the respondents is a dynamic concept, I also asked if there were moments when they feel more Turkish or Dutch. All of the respondents said it depends on the context they are in. They said they feel different when they are in a Turkish context than when they are in a Dutch context. This corresponds with the idea of Sen (2006), who stated that the context can decide which identity is at that moment the most important. This means that their dominant identity changes when the context they are in changes. Almost all of the respondents said they feel more Turkish when they are in a Turkish context. For example, at their home, at their family or in Turkey. Because they often speak Turkish, do Turkish cultural things or watch Turkish television. Although, some of them also said that they feel more Dutch when they are in Turkey because there they are not that Turkish anymore and their Dutch characteristics such as language and habits stand more out. But, in the Netherlands they constantly cross a border from their home to the Dutch society, from feeling Turkish to feeling Dutch and the other way around. At their home they feel Turkish and in the Dutch society they feel Dutch. So, you could say that the front door of their homes is the border between Turkey and the Netherlands and they have to cross it every day. According to Ulrich Beck “a cosmopolitan lives in and across

borders.” (Beck, 2000, in Rumford, 2008, p66). So, I wondered whether the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters I interviewed also felt like a cosmopolitan. Because cosmopolitans ignore the idea of nation-states with borders and one certain national identity, but they often combine different identities (Vertovec, 2004, p979). I think that the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters I interviewed do not feel like a cosmopolitan. Some of them did say their identity is a ‘hodgepodge’ and a combination of their Turkish and Dutch identity or background. So, they do combine identities. But, it is not the case that they ignore the idea of nation-states. They do talk about feeling Dutch or feeling Turkish. So, they do feel like they are as well a part of the Turkish nation-state as from the Dutch nation-state and that the belonging to these nation-states partly define their identity.

7.1.4 Dutch context: questions, expectations and justifying

Another thing that influences the way they feel, is the situations they experience when they are in the Dutch context. Because they are higher-educated they often are surrounded by Dutch people at work or at school. This also means that they are often the only person with a Turkish background in this environment. After all the political events this had led to a lot of questions from this Dutch people. The respondents said this made them feel as if they are some sort of Turkish representative. Like, they had to explain everything that has happened and why things had happened. But, most of all these questions made them feel less Dutch. Because in their opinion other Dutch people do not see them as a ‘normal Dutchman’. So, all these questions also made them think about who they are, about their identity. It made them doubt whether they are truly Dutch or that people will always see them as Turkish and as not Dutch. Some of the respondents even got questions about their double nationality and had the feeling people expect them to choose between being Dutch and being Turkish. Besides that, it was also clear that they found these questions annoying. Because they had to explain themselves, had to justify themselves and had the feeling that people always had expectation about them, about how they would think about the conflict. They also had the feeling they always had to think about what they should answer to these questions. Because their answers could influence the opinion about the whole Turkish community. Therefore, the respondents often did not give their own opinion, but they try to represent the meanings of the whole Turkish community because people expect that from them. This is so because they interpret the answers of some

Turkish-Dutch people they speak to as being the opinion of the whole Turkish community. All those questions and the image people have of Dutch people with a Turkish background had led to the fact that some of the respondent have started to look at themselves at a different way than they did before. One of them feels more Turkish, the other less Turkish and the other respondent feels less Dutch. But, it is all because of the questions and stereotyping why their identity has changed. The respondent who feels more Turkish does feel this because this respondent wants to show people that people with a Turkish background are different than the image that prevails in the Dutch society. While, for another respondent these stereotyping and jokes about Turkish Dutch people have caused that this respondent feels less Turkish. There was also a respondent that felt less Dutch because of all the things that have been said by Mark Rutte about Turkish-Dutch people. Although, this respondent does not identify herself with the Turkish Dutch people Mark Rutte is talking about, she does have the feeling she is not welcome anymore in the Netherlands and therefor feels less Dutch. Besides that, they all have the feeling that the Dutch society look at them different than before because they have to justify themselves more than before.

7.1.5 A dynamic and changing double identity

All in all, Turkish-Dutch higher-educated see themselves as both Turkish and Dutch. They all said they have multiple identities and that for example being a Muslim also is a part of their identity. Although they live on a border, the Turkish-Dutch border, they do not feel as cosmopolitans. They still themselves as being a part of a nation-state, as Turkish and Dutch. Besides that, they also said that their identity is a dynamic concept and that whether they feel more Turkish or Dutch depends on the context they are in. Especially, the current Dutch context has changed the way they look at themselves because of all the questions they got and because of the general image of Turkish-Dutch people. So, the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters is also strongly formed by their environment, by the people around, by how people look at them.

7.2 Politics

7.2.1 Dutch politics

The second question I asked in this master's thesis was: *'How did the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters experienced the political events and political changes?'.* The central answer to this question is that these political events had a big influence on how they see themselves because they got a lot of questions about these political events, as you can read above. But, for some of them it also influenced the way they looked at the Dutch society. Especially, because of the statements of the Prime Minister of the Netherlands, Mark Rutte, about the Dutch norms and values. He has created a discourse about Dutch norms and values and stated that Turkish-Dutch people who could not fit in the Dutch norms and values have to go back to their own country (Sedee, 6 September 2016; VVD, 22 January 2017). I expected that Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters would be less harmed by this discourse because they have more power within the Dutch society to change this discourse. Some of them indeed said that they had the feeling this discourse had more an influence on Turkish-Dutch youngsters in their environment with a lower education. But, they still were affected by this discourse and some of them even had the feeling they were not welcome anymore in the Netherlands. So, the political events did have a big influence on how they feel. This is contradicting to the idea of Foucault & Rabinow (1984) that higher-educated people have more access to institutions and would therefore be more able to change discourses. Maybe being higher-educated is not enough to have the power to say what is true or false, but that there are more characteristics which have an influence on having the power within the society to create a discourse. It could be that your ethnic background also plays a role and that being a native also is an important condition to have the power to say what is true or false.

7.2.2 Turkish politics

Not only Mark Rutte is creating his discourse. Also Erdogan is spreading a discourse about the Dutch, but also about Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands. The respondents especially noticed the influence from this discourse when they had to vote for the referendum in Turkey. There was a big pressure from the Turkish community in the Netherlands to vote for Erdogan, because most of the Turkish-Dutch people are pro Erdogan. This corresponds to the idea of Foucault (1991) that leaders can produce knowledge and a certain discourse to produce power.

When these discourses are internalized by individuals, this discourse will become their own opinion. According to some respondent this has led to a social control within the Turkish community, especially about how you should vote or what you should say about Erdogan. This corresponds with the statement of Foucault (1991) that social control and knowledge are forms of power and that power is something that goes through network, in this case the networks of the Turkish community. But, power goes also through the networks of native Dutch people to create typical Dutch norms and values to achieve more power.

7.2.3 Talking about and participating in politics

Some of the respondents got the feeling there is tension within the Turkish community because of the different political views. Therefore, it is also kind of a taboo to talk about politics within the Turkish community in the Netherlands. Because it can become really aggressive when Turkish people get discussions about politics. Therefore, I was really surprised that the respondents were so open about politics. Also about the political party 'DENK' in the Netherlands some of them had a clear opinion. On the one hand one of them said that 'DENK' is too much concerned with Erdogan and Turkey, but on the other hand one of the respondents said 'DENK' is speaking for a big group of people who did not participate in politics. But, I think this makes clear that there is a majority of Turkish-Dutch people in the Netherlands that does have bonds with Turkey, because they are still interested in voting for the referendum and the politics in Turkey. But, it also makes clear they do feel Dutch and are willing to vote for a Dutch party that is representing them and this makes them participate and interested in the Dutch politics. So, as Vertovec (2004) stated nation-states have to find a way in which they can handle with the transnational feelings of their citizens. Because a lot of nation-states are used to the fact that identities are based upon national or ethnic exclusivism (Vertovec, 2001) and that is not the case anymore.

7.3 Dutch society

7.3.1 Acceptance in the Dutch society

The third question I asked in this master's thesis was: *'How do Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters see themselves with in the Dutch society?'* The central answer to this question is that they do not feel accepted in the Dutch society because of their Turkish background. Although, they first said that especially people in their environment feel less accepted. They were talking about Turkish-Dutch youngsters with a lower education for whom it is harder to be accepted in the Dutch society, because they know the language less or because it is harder for them to get a job. In this way these lower educated Turkish Dutch youngsters also feel a distance from the Dutch society. This is in line with the idea of Foucault & Rabinow (1984) that higher-educated people have more access to institutions and would therefore be more able to change discourses. In the same way lower-educated people have less power to change the discourse and therefore will be more affected by the current discourse in the Netherlands and will feel more distance from the Dutch society. But, in the end it came forward that these Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters also feel less accepted in the Dutch society. This is not in line with the idea of Foucault & Rabinow (1984) and my expectation. Because of their Turkish background they have the feeling they will never be completely accepted. They have the feeling that because of their Turkish background they are constantly framed as the other, especially by the media. This framing has also an influence on how these respondents see themselves. They have the feeling that because of their background, they never will be a part of the Dutch society. That because of their background it is never possible to fit in the Dutch norms and values. The fact that a discourse about norms and values can lead to the fact that a certain group, Turkish-Dutch youngsters, does feel less accepted, is in line with the idea of Foucault (1991) that power goes through network. Because the Dutch society, the Dutch natives who did agree with this discourse, had the power to decide who belongs to the society and who does not.

7.3.2 Acceptance in the Turkish community

Some of the respondents did not only have the feeling of not being accepted by the Dutch society. But, they also had the feeling they were not accepted by people of the Turkish community in the Netherlands. They said they had the idea that if they had a different political opinion, such as not being pro Erdogan, they were not accepted by a lot of other Turkish-Dutch

people. Because these other Turkish-Dutch people were often pro Erdogan. Also some respondents had the feeling there were not accepted by the Turkish community because they were not 'Turkish' enough. So, you could say that some of the respondents have the feeling they are not completely accepted in both the Dutch society as in the Turkish community in the Netherlands. Some of them also said that not feeling accepted can lead to less integration and more polarization. This is in line with Durkheim's structural functionalism. Which said that when people are more integrated in groups, such as the Dutch society and the Turkish community, they comply the norms and values of these groups more and this results in more cohesion (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 2009, p105). But, when you have the feeling you do not comply the norms and values of these groups, you also will feel less cohesion with these groups. This is exactly what the respondents said. Because they have the feeling they do not fulfil the norms and values, they feel less accepted and they feel less connected to the Dutch society.

7.3.3 Changes

I also asked if the way they looked at the Dutch society and the way they feel in the Dutch society has changed. I asked this question because a lot has happened within the Dutch society around Turkish-Dutch people. According to the prime minister of the Netherlands, Mark Rutte, there is a typical Dutch norm. In a Dutch television program, he said that Turkish-Dutch people which could not fit in the norms of the Netherlands should go to their own country (Sedee, 6 September 2016). So, the current discourse in the Dutch society is that anyone who does not fit in the Dutch norm or society should change themselves to fit in or otherwise they should leave the country (VVD, 22 January 2017). Some of them said that they did not feel welcome anymore because of all the things Mark Rutte said about Turkish-Dutch people. Most of the respondent had the feeling the Dutch society looked different at them than before, while they do not look different at the Dutch society themselves. So, they have the feeling that others see them different than before, while in their opinion they did not change. Thus, they have the feeling there is nothing they can do about the fact that the Dutch society sees them differently than before.

7.4 Suggestions for further research

In this master's thesis I investigated the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and whether this was influenced by the political events and by the Dutch society. The results of this master's thesis are qualitative results. Because of the in-depth interview I got a good view about the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters in the Netherlands. The respondents explained a lot and really told their feelings and this had led to some very interesting insights. I think the most interesting results were the fact that Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters feel not accepted in the Dutch society. Although they are successful in education and on the labour market. I think for further research it would be interesting to investigate whether this is the case among all Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters because although this master's thesis has led to some interesting results, there were also some restrictions to this research. Because it is a qualitative research it was not possible to get objective generalizable results about all Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. I would suggest for further research to do a quantitative research among Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters to get objective results about their identity, the influence of political events, how they feel within the Dutch society and whether they feel accepted in the Dutch society. I think the best option would be to do a quantitative survey research and to send the questionnaire through internet to the research sample. Because in this way they can fill in the questionnaire fully anonymous. When the response is disappointing it is still the possibility to do the interview by telephone to get a higher response. By doing quantitative survey research on this topics among Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters it is possible to get results that are generalizable for all the Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters. It could also be interesting to investigate whether all Turkish-Dutch youngsters feel less or not accepted in the Dutch society. Besides that, it might be interesting to investigate whether there is a difference between Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters and Turkish-Dutch lower-educated youngsters in the way they feel accepted in the Dutch society.

7.5 Recommendations for praxis

In this chapter I will in response to the conclusion do recommendations for praxis. I will especially focus on the influence of the Dutch society on the identity of Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters, especially after the political events in Turkey and between Turkey and the Netherlands.

One of the most important things the respondents told me in my opinion is that they do not feel accepted by the Dutch society. I think that the Dutch society and politics can play a major role to change this feeling of the respondents and maybe other Turkish-Dutch youngsters. In my opinion it is also remarkable that higher-educated Turkish-Dutch youngsters feel less accepted in the Dutch society. As you can read in the conclusion this shows that the current discourse in the Netherlands does also affect higher-educated Turkish-Dutch youngsters. They mainly got this feeling because of the framing by the Dutch society they experienced. I think it is not desirable for a society to have a group within the society that feels distance from the society. Because when you have groups in the society that feel less, the social cohesion in a society comes under pressure (Cliteur, 2001). As Durkheim stated with his structural functionalism (Ultee, Arts & Flap, 2009) is this because people do not comply to the norms and values of a society. So, you could say to fix this 'problem' that these people should comply to the norms and values of the Dutch society. But, I think that there is nothing these people could do to comply more to the norms and values. As one of the respondents already stated: *"Whatever I do, how well I integrate, they see me as a Turk."* So, being the eyes of the society that need to change, that need to see people with a Turkish background in a different way. This also came forward in a letter from the Ministers of Social Affairs and Employment, of Foreign Affairs, of Justice and Security, of Education, Culture and Science and from the Secretary of Education, Culture and Science (Asscher, Koenders, van der Steur, Bussemaker & Dekker, 12 September 2016). They stated that the problem of not having a connection with the Dutch society has been generated during several years and that it is not easy to change this in a short time. But, I think it is remarkable that also higher-educated Turkish-Dutch youngsters seem to have this feeling. More remarkable is that they have the feeling that there has been in a shift in the Dutch society in the way people look at Turkish-Dutch people. So, I think you could say the Dutch politics should focus more on how to remove this feeling.

My advice would be that in politics, but also in policies and in the implementation of the policy the focus will be more on the fact that the Netherlands is a multicultural society. The

politics and media should create a more diverse image of the Dutch society. Because we do live in a society where also a lot of people live with a different ethnic background. In the past decades a lot of migrants came to the Dutch society and this has led to the fact that the Netherlands has become a multicultural society, a society with people with different cultural backgrounds (Sleegers, 2007). Currently the focus is in my opinion too much on typical 'Dutch' norms and values and that people should live to that norms and values. Of course, we still have rules to live by, rules that are written in the constitution. But besides that, everyone should be free to live with their own norms, with their own values, with their own cultural practices, with their own religion to create their own identity.

To achieve this, I think the politics should ensure that Turkish-Dutch youngsters do have the feeling they belong to the Dutch society. They need to be seen. In the government coalition agreement, they do say that your background should not determine your future. In this agreement they really focus on whether people with a migration background are successful in education or during their career. For example, they say in this agreement that they want to prevent educational disadvantages of people with a migration background. Besides that, they say in the agreement they want to counter discrimination on the labour market and that it should not be more difficult for youth with a non-western background to get a job (Rijksoverheid, 10 October 2017). So, in this agreement they do really focus on youth with a migration background who are less successful in education and on the labour market. But, in this master's thesis it came forward that even people with a higher education or a good position on the labour market have the feeling they are not accepted in the Dutch society. In my opinion the government should focus more on other parts of being accepted in the Dutch society than just make sure people with a migration background are successful in education and on the labour market. I think the government should more focus on the fact that you are also a part the Dutch society when you have a different cultural background or a different ethnic background. Because according to this master's thesis it seems that even higher-educated 'successful' people feel not accepted in the Dutch society because of their identity.

I think that is the first step for the government and the politics to do, is to at least give the signal or give the feeling that people with a Turkish background are also a part of the Dutch society. I think one the respondents already gave the best example about how the government or the Dutch society should do this. This respondent said that because of the political party 'DENK' Turkish-Dutch people have the feeling they are a part of the Dutch politics again. I think

to give Turkish-Dutch youngsters the feeling they are a part of the Dutch society, it is important they see Turkish-Dutch people in for example management functions, media and politics. I think there should be more Turkish-Dutch representatives in these functions and sectors. I hope that in this way it, just as this respondent said, can create an image in which Turkish-Dutch youngsters get the feeling they are a part of the Dutch society. I think this could especially help to give higher-educated people the feeling that they are accepted in the Dutch society. Because they already do not see much people with a Turkish background at their studies or work. Consciously or unconsciously this can lead to a feeling of acceptance. In my opinion especially, television programs should be a reflection of the society. When they see that Turkish-Dutch people also participate in politics and media and also get the right to speak their mind this could give the feeling of being accepted as Turkish-Dutch person in the Dutch society. So that people with a Turkish background can also do their story and show the society that they also do participate in the Dutch society and are therefore also a part of the Dutch society. In the end this could also change the way Turkish-Dutch higher-educated youngsters look at themselves and at the Dutch society.

8. Appendix

8.1 References

Asscher, L. F., Koenders, G. A., Van der Steur, G. A., Bussemaker, M. & Dekker, S. (12 September 2016). Integratiebeleid: Brief van de Ministers van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid, van Buitenlandse Zaken, van Veiligheid en Justitie, van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap en de Staatssecretaris van Onderwijs, Cultuur en Wetenschap. Retrieved from: <https://zoek.officielebekendmakingen.nl/kst-32824-148.html>. Retrieved on: 16 April 2018.

Beemsterboer, T. (6 March 2017). De ruzie met Nederland komt Erdogan goed uit. *NRC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/06/de-ruzie-met-nederland-komt-erdogan-goed-uit-7135928-a154898>

Beemsterboer, T. & De Koning, M. (5 August 2016). Waarom Turken wel denken dat Gülen achter de coup zat. *NRC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/08/05/waarom-de-gulenisten-achter-de-coup-zaten-3532298-a1514907>

Böcker, A. (1994). Op weg naar een beter bestaan: De ontwikkeling van de maatschappelijke positieve van Turken in Nederland. In: H. Vermeulen & r. Penninx (Red.), *Het democratische ongeduld: De emancipatie en integratie van zes doelgroepen van het minderhedenbeleid*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis. Pp. 145-176.

Boogert, van den M. & Jonkers Roelants, J. (2012). *De Nederlandse-Turkse betrekkingen: portretten van een vierhonderjarige geschiedenis*. Hilversum: Verloren.

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (19 November 2014). CBS: Integratie verloopt moeizaam: Niet- westerse jongeren lopen sociaaleconomisch nog steeds achter op autochtone jongeren. Retrieved from: <https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2014/47/integratie-verloopt-moeizaam>. Retrieved on: 28-02-2018.

Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek. (18 April 2018). Bevolking: kerncijfers. *Statline*. Retrieved from:
<https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37296ned/table?ts=1524211732383>.
Retrieved on: 20 April 2018.

Clifford, N., Cope, M., Gillespie, T. & French, S. (2016). *KeyMethods in Geograpgy*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.

Cliteur, P. B. (2001). *Multiculturalisme, cultuurrelativisme en sociale cohesie*. Den Haag: Boom Juridische uitgevers.

Cohen, R. (1996). Diasporas and the nation-state: from victims to challengers. *International affairs*, 72(3), 507-520. Retrieved from:
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/2625554.pdf?refreqid=excelsior:3e3b35a1e919be542ca441e81e4bb4fa>

Cornips, L. (22 August 2016). Taalcultuur. *Dagblad De Limburger/Limburgs Dagblad*. Retrieved from: https://www.meertens.knaw.nl/cms/images/Media2016/Turkse_sjengen2.pdf

De Jong, B. (23 August 2016). Grote zorgen om leegloopleerlingen 'Gülen-scholen'. *Algemeen Dagblad*. Retrieved from: <http://www.ad.nl/nieuws/grote-zorgen-om-leegloopleerlingen-gulen-scholen~aed2338c/>

De Koning, J., Gravesteijn-Ligthelm, J. & Tanis, O. (2008) Wat bepaalt succes van allochtonen op de arbeidsmarkt? *Rotterdam: SEOR/EUR*.

De Volkskrant. (17 April 2017). Turkse Nederlanders stemdem massaal 'ja'. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/turkse-nederlanders-stemden-massaal-ja~a4487792/>

Dunn, K. (2005). *Interviewing*, in I. Hay (ed.) *Qualitative Research Methods in Human Geography* (2nd edition). Melbourne: Oxford University Press. Pp. 79-105.

Emans, B.J.M. (2003). *Interviewen: theorie, techniek en training*. Groningen: Stenfert Kroese.

Foucault, M. (1991). Governmentality, in Burchell, G., Gordon, C. & Miller, P. (eds.) *The Foucault effect: studies in governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 87-104.

Foucault, M. & Rabinow, P. (1984). *The Foucault Reader*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Hoedeman, J. & Van Soest, H. (23 January 2017). 'Normaal doen is de norm die we moeten uitdragen'. *Algemeen Dagblad*. Retrieved from: <https://www.ad.nl/nieuws/normaal-doen-is-de-norm-die-we-moeten-uitdragen~a4fbbb0a/>

HP De Tijd. (15 March 2017). VVD wint verkiezingen en is zelfs groter dan gepeild. Retrieved from: <http://www.hpdetijd.nl/2017-03-15/vvd-verkiezingen-peilingen/>

Huisman, C. (18 July 2016). Aanhangers van Gülen ook in Nederland bedreigd. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/aanhangers-van-gulen-ook-in-nederland-bedreigd~a4342168/>

Kay, D. & Miles, R. (1992). *Refugees or Migrant Workers? European Volunteer Workers in Britain 1946-1951*. Londen: Routledge.

Kossen, E. (17 July 2016). Erdogans invloed: aanhangers mobiliseren zich door heel Europa. *Elsevier*. Retrieved from: <http://www.elsevier.nl/buitenland/achtergrond/2016/07/erdogan-mobiliseert-supporters-in-heel-europa-na-coup-328909/>

Kranenburg, M. (12 March 2017). Diplomatieke rel helpt Rutte en Erdogan. *NRC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/12/diplomatieke-rel-helpt-rutte-en-erdogan-7329430-a1550025>

- Kranenburg, M. (29 March 2017). Kabinet wil conflict met Turkije nog niet bijleggen. *NRC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/29/kabinet-wil-conflict-met-turkije-nog-niet-bijleggen-7766431-a1552434>
- Markus, N. (18 July 2016). Spanning is voelbaar onder Turken in Rotterdam. *Trouw*. Retrieved from: <https://www.trouw.nl/home/spanning-is-voelbaar-onder-turken-in-rotterdam~a52a8a06/>
- Maso, I. (1987). *Kwalitatief onderzoek*. Amsterdam: Boom.
- Nieuwsuur. (11 March 2017). Verhoudingen Nederland en Turkije op scherp. Retrieved from: <http://nos.nl/nieuwsuur/artikel/2162585-verhoudingen-nederland-en-turkije-op-scherp.html>
- Patterson, R. (2006). Transnationalism: diaspora-homeland development. *Social Forces*, 84(4), 1891- 1907. Retrieved from: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/3844481.pdf?refreqid=excelsior:db970aed812543e4c9e95830448143a6>
- Rijksoverheid. (10 October 2017). Regeerakkoord 2017: 'Vertouwen in de toekomst': 4.6 Integratie. Retrieved from: <https://www.rijksoverheid.nl/regering/documenten/publicaties/2017/10/10/regeerakkoord-2017-vertouwen-in-de-toekomst>. Retrieved on: 16 April 2018.
- Rohmenssen, G. J. (29 August 2016). Koenders in Turkije: Geen inmening in Nederland. *Trouw*. Retrieved from: <https://www.trouw.nl/home/koenders-in-turkije-geen-inmenging-in-nederland~a18fde2f/>
- Rumford, C. (2008). "Europe's cosmopolitan borders", in *Cosmopolitan spaces: Europe, globalization, theory*. New York and London: Routledge, pp. 52-68.

Schiller, G. N., Basch, L. & Blanc-Szanton, C. (1992). Towards a definition of transnationalism. *Annals of the New York academy of sciences*, 645(1), 9-14.

Schinkel, M. (13 March 2017). Ook Turkije zelf zal lijden onder sancties. *NRC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2017/03/13/ook-turkije-zelf-zal-lijden-onder-sancties-7354014-a1550079>

Sedee, M. (6 September 2016). Turkije ontstemd over Ruttés 'pleur op' in Zomergasten. *NRC*. Retrieved from: <https://www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2016/09/06/turkije-ontsteld-over-ruttés-pleur-op-in-zomergasten-a1519972/amp>

Sen, A. (2006). 'The Violence of Illusion' and 'Making Sense of Identity', in: ibidem *Identity & Violence: The Illusion of destiny*. London: Penguin Books. Pp 1-39.

Sleegers, F. (2007). *In debat over Nederland. Veranderingen in het discours over de multiculturele samenleving en nationale identiteit*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Smaling, A. (1996). En kun je nu wel generaliseren? *KWALON* 3, 1(3), 5-10.

Staring, R., Geelhoed, F., Aslanoglu, G., Hiah, J. & Kox, M. (2014). *Maatschappelijke positie van Turkse Nederlanders: ontwikkelingen en risico's op criminaliteit en radicalisering*. Den Haag: Boom Lemma Uitgevers.

Stoffelen, A. (18 February 2017). Turkse consulaat Rotterdam neemt paspoort 'Gülenisten' in. *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from: <http://www.volkskrant.nl/binnenland/turkse-consulaat-rotterdam-neemt-paspoort-gulenisten-in~a4464067/>

Strauss, A. L. (1987). *Qualitative analysis for social scientists*. Cambridge University Press.

Stuuroop, J. (14 February 2012). Gastarbeiders in Nederland sinds de jaren zestig. *IsGeschiedenis*.

Retrieved from:

http://www.isgeschiedenis.nl/nieuws/gastarbeiders_in_nederland_sinds_de_jaren_zestig/

't Hart, H., Boeije, H. & Hox, J. (2009). *Onderzoeksmethoden*. Den Haag: Boom Lemma uitgevers.

Tajfel, H. (1978). *Differentiation between social groups: studies in the social psychology of intergroup relations*. London: Academic Press.

Tajfel, H. & Turner, J. C. (1986). The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In S. Worchel & W. G. Austin (Eds.), *Psychology of intergroup relations*: 7-24. Chicago: Nelson-Hall

Ultee, W.C., Arts, W.A. & Flap, H.D. (2009). *Sociologie. Vragen, Uitspraken, Bevindingen*. Groningen: Martinus Nijhoff.

Valentine, G. (2005). Tell me about... using interviews as a research methodology, in R. Flowerdew and D. Martin (eds) *Methods in Human Geography: A Guide for Students Doing A Research Project* (2nd edition). Edinburgh Gate: Addison Wesley Longman. Pp. 110-127.

Verkuyten, M. (1990). Self-esteem and the evaluation of ethnic identity among Turkish and Dutch adolescents in the Netherlands. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 130(3), 285-297. DOI: 10.1080/00224545.1990.9924584

Verkuyten, M. (2010). *Identiteit en diversiteit: De tegenstellingen voorbij*. Amsterdam: AUP

Verkuyten, M. & Yildiz, A. A. (2007). National (dis)identification and ethnic and religious identity: A study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 33(10), 1448-1462. Doi: 10.1177/0146167207304276

Verkuyten, M. (2007). Religious group identification and inter-religious relations: A study among Turkish-Dutch Muslims. *Group processes & Intergroup relations*, 10(3), 341-367.
Retrieved from: <https://hal.archives-ouvertes.fr/hal-00571655/document>

Verkuyten, M. & Yildiz, A. A. (2010). Religious identity consolidation and mobilization among Turkish Dutch Muslims. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 40(3), 436-447. DOI: 10.1002/ejsp.635

Vertovec, S. (1999). Conceiving and researching transnationalism. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 22(2), 447-462. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/014198799329558>

Vertovec, S. (2001). Transnationalism and identity. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 27(4), 573-582. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13691830120090386>

Vertovec, S. (2004). Migrant Transnationalism and Modes of Transformation. *International Migration Review*, 38(3), 970-1001. Doi: 10.1111/j.1747-7379.2004.tb00226.x

Vos, C. (17 April 2017). Erdogan boekt nipte overwinning: wat staat een verdeeld Turkije te wachten? *De Volkskrant*. Retrieved from: <https://www.volkskrant.nl/buitenland/erdogan-boekt-nipte-overwinning-wat-staat-een-verdeeld-turkije-te-wachten~a4487812/>

VVD. (22 January 2017). Lees hier de brief van mark. VVD. Retrieved from: <https://vvd.nl/nieuws/lees-hier-de-brief-van-mark/>

8.2 Topic list

Topic list – Interview Turkse Nederlanders

Hallo.

Vind je het goed als ik het gesprek opneem?

In dit gesprek wil ik het erover hebben met jou hoe het is om een Turkse Nederlander te zijn. Sinds de coup in Turkije en alles wat daarop volgde is er namelijk nog al wat gebeurd rondom Turkse Nederlanders en de relatie tussen Nederland en Turkije. Ik wil het in dit gesprek niet hebben over deze gebeurtenissen en wat jou mening daarover is. Maar vooral hoe jij je voelt, wie jij bent, wie ben jij en hoe voel jij je in de Nederlandse maatschappij?

Tijdslijn:

15 juli 2016: coup

- Mensen in Nederland de straat op om Erdogan te steunen
- Spanningen tussen Gülen-aanhangers en Erdogan-aanhangers
- Zorgde voor onrust in de Nederlandse politiek (Mark Rutte in Zomergasten ‘Pleur op’)

11 maart 2017: escalatie relatie Nederland en Turkije

- Vlak voor de verkiezingen in Nederland op 15 maart
- Cavusoglu (minister van buitenlandse zaken) mocht niet landen in NL
- Turkse minister van familie zaken (Fatma Betüt Sayan Kaya) komt over land naar Nederland en wordt geweigerd bij het Turkse consulaat
- Protesten bij het Turkse consulaat tegen de landingsban en om de Turkse overheid te steunen
- Erdogan noemt de Nederlanders nazi's
- Mark Rutte wint de verkiezingen
- Recep Tayyip Erdogan wint referendum

Vragen

- Waarom?
- Anders dan 5 / 10 jaar geleden?

Identiteit

- Als jij jezelf zou moeten omschrijven, hoe zou je jezelf dan omschrijven?
- Wat is je identiteit?
- Voel je je Turk, Nederlander, allebei of geen van allen?
- Vind je het moeilijk om daar een keuze in te maken?
- Heb je het idee dat van je wordt verwacht om daar een keuze in te maken?
- Denk je dat het mogelijk is om beide te zijn?
- Het Turk of Nederlander is onderdeel van je identiteit, van je wie bent maar bepaalde kenmerken van je identiteit kunnen op bepaalde momenten meer aanwezig zijn dan andere kenmerken. Zijn er momenten dat je je meer Nederlander voelt en zijn er momenten dat je je meer Turk voelt?
- Heb je het idee dat er een soort lijn, een grens, ligt tussen het Nederlander en het Turk zijn en dat je afhankelijk van de situatie 'switch' van identiteit?
- Toegevoegd: Is religie (eventueel Islam) ook van invloed op jouw identiteit?

Politieke ontwikkelingen laatste jaar en identiteit

- Hebben de ontwikkelingen van het laatste jaar jouw identiteit veranderd? Ben je anders naar jezelf gaan kijken? Ben je je bewuster geworden van je identiteit?
"Pleur op"
Rutte: "Er is een Nederlandse norm" "Doe normaal"
- Denk je dat zoals Rutte het presenteert dat er een 'Nederlander' is. En misschien doet Erdogan dit ook wel en denk je dan dat er een 'Turk' is?
- Ben je anders naar de Nederlandse samenleving gaan kijken?
- Is het Turkse in je sterker of zwakker geworden?
- Is het Nederlandse in je sterker of zwakker geworden?

Samenleving en identiteit

- Zijn er ook momenten dat beiden nodig of aanwezig zijn? Heb je wel eens zaken moeten vertalen voor iemand, bijvoorbeeld bij de dokter of op school? En hoe voelde je je dan?
- Zijn er momenten dat je liever niet laat weten dat je Turks bent? Dat je je identiteit eigenlijk moet verbergen? Of juist andersom?
- Voel je je als Nederlandse Turk of Turkse Nederlander, of je het ook wil omschrijven, geaccepteerd in de Nederlandse samenleving? En waarom? Heb je het gevoel dat je jezelf moet bewijzen? Dat je je anders voor moet doen dan wie je eigenlijk bent?
- Heb je het gevoel dat je jezelf kan zijn in de Nederlandse samenleving?
- Toegevoegd: Heb je het gevoel dat 'autochtone' Nederlanders jou anders zien?
- Toegevoegd: In hoeverre heb je het idee dat jij als Turkse-Nederlander wordt geframed?

Achtergrondinformatie

- Leeftijd
- Woonplaats
- Geboorteplaats
- Opleidingsniveau

- Heb je zelf nog iets aan te vullen op dit onderwerp of iets wat je graag kwijt wil?

8.3 Coding

8.3.1 List of used codes version 1

Table 8.1: List of used codes version 1

Code Dutch		Code English	
Aanpassen	Aanpassen aan de omgeving	Adapting	Adapting to the surroundings
Acceptatie	Acceptatie door de Nederlandse samenleving	Acceptance	Acceptance by the Dutch society
Afkeer	Afkeer naar de Nederlandse samenleving + Afkeer naar de Turkse gemeenschap + Afkeer binnen de Turkse gemeenschap	Aversion	Aversion to the Dutch society + Aversion to the Turkish community + Aversion within the Turkish community
Buitenlandse activiteiten	De activiteiten van landen (zoals Nederland) in het Midden-Oosten + de gang van zaken in andere landen	Foreign activities	The activities of countries (such as the Netherlands) in the Middle East + course of events in other countries
Cultuur	Alles wat is gezegd over het begrip cultuur. Zoals de Turkse, Nederlandse en Westerse cultuur	Culture	Everything that has been said about the concept culture. Such as the Turkish, Dutch and Western culture
Discriminatie	Alles wat gezegd is over discriminatie	Discrimination	Everything that has been said about discrimination
Diversiteit Turkse	De Turkse gemeenschap	Diversity Turkish	The Turkish community

gemeenschap	bestaat uit veel verschillende groepen	community	consists of many different groups
Gebeurtenis	Het gevoel of de manier van denken en na of tijdens een politieke gebeurtenis	Event	The feeling or the way of thinking after or during a political event
Geloof	Alles wat gezegd is over het geloof	Religion	Everything that has been said about religion
Gevoel in de samenleving	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in de samenleving bent, op werk bent, op school bent	Feeling in the society	How you feel yourself when you are in the society, at work, at school
Gevoel Turkse vertegenwoordiger	Het gevoel dat jij als Turks persoon een mening moet hebben of uitleg moet geven over het conflict/over Turkije	Feeling Turkish representative	The feeling that you as Turkish person has to have an opinion or has to explain about the conflict/about Turkey
Gevoel wanneer in Nederlandse context	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in Nederland bent, bij Nederlandse vrienden/collega's/studegenoten bent, in een Nederlandse context bent	Feeling when in Dutch context	How you feel yourself when you are in the Netherlands, with Dutch friends/colleagues/fellow students, in a Dutch context
Gevoel wanneer in Turkse context	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in Turkije bent, bij Turkse vrienden/familie bent, in een Turkse context	Feeling when in Turkish context	How you feel yourself when you are in Turkey, with Turkish friends/family, in a Turkish context

	bent		
Grenzen	Over de huidige grenzen van Nederland, Europa en Turkije	Borders	About the current borders of the Netherlands, Europe and Turkey
Hypocriet	Gaat over het feit dat Nederland hypocriet is	Hypocritical	About the fact that the Netherlands is hypocrite
Identiteit	Identiteit in het algemeen	Identity	Identity in general
Instanties	Over de werking van de instanties in Nederland	Institutions	About the functioning of the institutions in the Netherlands
Integratie	Alles wat gezegd is over integratie / over het samenbrengen van groepen	Integration	Everything that has been said about integration / about bringing together groups
Islam	Alles wat gezegd is over de Islam	Islam	Everything that has been said about the Islam
Labeling	Hoe anderen jou zien/labelen/framen	Labeling	How others see you or label/frame you
Loyaliteit	Over de loyaliteit aan de Nederlandse staat en/of Turkse staat	Loyalty	About the loyalty to the Dutch state and/or Turkish state
Maatschappij	Opmerkingen over de Nederlandse maatschappij	Society	Comments about the Dutch society
Media	Berichten in de media over Turken/Turkse	Media	Messages about Turks/Turkish Dutch

	Nederlanders + Berichten in de media in Turkije over Nederland + Berichten in de media over het conflict tussen Nederland en Turkije		people in the media + Messages about the Netherlands in the Turkish media + Messages about the conflict between the Netherlands and Turkey in the media
Normen en waarden	Alles wat gezegd is over normen en waarden	Norms and values	Everything that has been said about norms and values
Politiek Nederland	Mening over de Nederlandse politiek	Politics Netherlands	Opinion about the Dutch politics
Politiek Turkije	Mening over de Turkse politiek	Politics Turkey	Opinion about the Turkish politics
Positie ten opzichte van ouders	Hoe je jezelf ziet ten opzichte van je ouders + Ervaringen met je ouders + Relatie met je ouders	Position relative to parents	How you see yourself relative to your parents + Experiences with your parents + Relation with your parents
Privé	Dingen die zijn verteld over de privésfeer, thuis en het privéleven	Private	Things that are told about the private atmosphere, home and the private life
Racisme	Uitspraken die te maken hebben met racistische uitingen of het gevoel van racisme	Racism	Statements that have to do with racist expressions or the feeling of racism
Relatie met Turkije	Uitspraken over de relatie tussen Turkije en Nederland/Europa	Relation with Turkey	Statements about the relation between Turkey and the

			Netherlands/Europe
Taal	Beheersing van de Turkse en Nederlandse taal	Language	Control of the Turkish and Dutch language
Terreur	Alles wat is gezegd over terreur en terroristische aanslagen	Terror	Everything that has been said about terreur and terrorist attacks
Thuis	Hoe iemand zichzelf voelt wanneer diegene thuis is + dingen die thuis gebeuren of gezegd worden	Home	How you feel yourself when you are at home + Things that happen at home or are said at home
Turkse gemeenschap	Alles wat is gezegd over de Turkse gemeenschap	Turkish community	Everything that has been said about the Turkish community
Turks-Nederlandse identiteit	Alles wat iemand zegt over zijn of haar Turks-Nederlandse identiteit	Turkish-Dutch identity	Everything that some said about his or her Turkish-Dutch identity
Verandering	Veranderingen wat betreft de identiteit of de samenleving	Change	Changes about the identity or the society
Verantwoording	Verantwoording moeten afleggen voor dingen die zijn gebeurd omtrent Turken of over dingen die Turken hebben gedaan	Justification	Being accountable for things that happened concerning Turks or about things that Turks have done
Verhouding Nederlands Turks	De verhouding tussen de aanwezigheid van de Nederlandse en de Turkse identiteit	Proportion Dutch Turkish	The proportion between the presence of the Dutch and the Turkish identity

Verwachting	Wat de samenleving van jou verwacht omdat je een Turkse achtergrond bent	Expectations	What the society expects from you because you have a Turkish background
Vluchtelingen	Alles wat is gezegd over vluchtelingen	Refugees	Everything that has been said about refugees
Vragen	Vragen die gesteld worden over Turkije/Turkse politiek/conflict Nederland-Turkije	Questions	Questions that have been asked about Turkey/Turkish politics/conflict the Netherlands-Turkey
Vrijheid	Alles wat is gezegd over het begrip vrijheid	Freedom	Everything that has been said about the concept freedom

8.3.2 The amount of codes used per document

Table 8.2: The amount of codes used per document

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3	Interview 4	Interview 5	Totals
Aanpassen	0	0	0	2	0	2
Acceptatie	2	16	8	9	11	46
Afkeer	0	8	3	2	0	13
Buitenlandse activiteiten	0	5	3	0	0	8
Cultuur	0	7	4	2	1	14
Discriminatie	0	2	0	3	0	5
Diversiteit Turkse gemeenschap	1	0	0	0	2	3
Gebeurtenis	8	11	2	2	8	31
Geloof	0	6	0	3	0	9
Gevoel Turkse vertegenwoordiger	3	0	4	0	4	11
Gevoel wanneer in Nederlandse	8	8	2	3	2	23

context						
Gevoel wanneer in Turkse context	4	6	2	10	2	24
Grenzen	0	1	0	0	0	1
Hypocriet	0	3	3	0	0	6
Identiteit	6	7	0	3	2	18
Instanties	0	2	0	0	0	2
Integratie	0	27	3	4	0	34
Islam	0	10	6	6	0	22
Labeling	20	13	3	2	11	49
Loyaliteit	1	1	0	2	5	9
Maatschappij	0	14	0	3	0	17
Media	0	13	3	6	4	26
Normen en Waarden	5	4	2	0	0	11
Politiek Nederland	14	23	0	9	2	48
Politiek Turkije	29	9	0	45	1	84
Positie ten opzichte van ouders	4	4	2	2	1	13
Privé	3	1	0	0	0	4
Rascisme	1	0	0	0	0	1
Relatie met Turkije	1	2	0	1	0	4
Gevoel in de samenleving	15	17	5	7	9	53
Taal	0	7	1	5	0	13
Terreur	0	12	5	0	0	17
Thuis	5	5	2	4	4	20
Turkse gemeenschap	0	8	2	7	3	20
Turkse-Nederlandse identiteit	18	25	6	14	22	85
Verandering	6	3	8	4	6	27
Verantwoording	0	2	1	1	3	7
Verhouding Nederlands Turks	7	3	4	5	4	23
Verwachting	1	8	4	0	2	15
Vluchtelingen	0	2	1	0	0	3
Vragen	3	5	6	1	10	25

Vrijheid	0	7	0	3	0	10
Totals	180	318	96	176	121	891

8.3.3 List of used codes version 2 and code groups

Table 8.3: List of used codes version 2 and code groups

Code Dutch			Code English		
Code groep	Code	Betekenis code	Code group	Code	Meaning code
Nederlandse maatschappij	Acceptatie	Acceptatie door de Nederlandse samenleving	Dutch society	Acceptance	Acceptance by the Dutch society
	Buitenlandse activiteiten	De activiteiten van landen (zoals Nederland) in het Midden-Oosten + de gang van zaken in andere landen		Foreign activities	The activities of countries (such as the Netherlands) in the Middle East + course of events in other countries
	Cultuur	Alles wat is gezegd over het begrip cultuur. Zoals de Turkse, Nederlandse en Westerse cultuur		Culture	Everything that has been said about the concept culture. Such as the Turkish, Dutch and Western culture
	Discriminatie	Alles wat gezegd is over		Discrimination	Everything that has been said

		discriminatie			about discrimination
Nederlandse maatschappij	Framing	Hoe anderen jou zien/labelen/fr amen	Dutch society	Framing	How others see you or label/frame you
	Gebeurtenis	Het gevoel of de manier van denken na of tijdens een politieke gebeurtenis		Event	The feeling or the way of thinking after or during a political event
	Geloof	Alles wat gezegd is over het geloof		Religion	Everything that has been said about religion
Identiteit	Identiteit	Identiteit in het algemeen	Identity	Identity	Identity in general
Identiteit	Islam	Alles wat gezegd is over de Islam	Identity	Islam	Everything that has been said about the Islam
	Loyaliteit	Over de loyaliteit aan de Nederlandse staat en/of Turkse staat		Loyalty	About the loyalty to the Dutch state and/or Turkish state
Nederlandse maatschappij	Nederlandse maatschappij	Opmerkingen over de Nederlandse maatschappij	Dutch society	Dutch society	Comments about the Dutch society
	Media	Berichten in de media over		Media	Messages about

		Turken/Turkse Nederlanders + Berichten in de media in Turkije over Nederland + Berichten in de media over het conflict tussen Nederland en Turkije			Turks/Turkish Dutch people in the media + Messages about the Netherlands in the Turkish media + Messages about the conflict between the Netherlands and Turkey in the media
Nederlandse context	Nederlandse context	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in Nederland bent, bij Nederlandse vrienden/colleg a's/studiegenot en bent, in een Nederlandse context bent	Dutch context	Dutch context	How you feel yourself when you are in the Netherlands, with Dutch friends/colleag ues/fellow students, in a Dutch context
Nederlandse maatschappij	Normen en waarden	Alles wat gezegd is over normen en waarden	Dutch society	Norms and values	Everything that has been said about norms and values
	Ouders	Hoe je jezelf ziet ten opzichte van je		Parents	How you see yourself relative to your

		ouders + Ervaringen met je ouders + Relatie met je ouders			parents + Experiences with your parents + Relation with your parents
Politiek	Nederlandse politiek	Mening over de Nederlandse politiek	Dutch politics	Politics Netherlands	Opinion about the Dutch politics
Politiek	Turkse politiek	Mening over de Turkse politiek	Turkish politics	Politics Turkey	Opinion about the Turkish politics
	Privé	Dingen die zijn verteld over de privésfeer, thuis en het privéleven		Private	Things that are told about the private atmosphere, home and the private life
	Relatie met Turkije	Uitspraken over de relatie tussen Turkije en Nederland/Eur opa		Relation with Turkey	Statements about the relation between Turkey and the Netherlands/Eu rope
	Taal	Beheersing van de Turkse en Nederlandse taal		Language	Control of the Turkish and Dutch language
	Terreur	Alles wat is gezegd over		Terror	Everything that has been said

		terreur en terroristische aanslagen			about tetter and terrorist attacks
	Turkse context	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in Turkije bent, bij Turkse vrienden/familie bent, in een Turkse context bent		Turkish context	How you feel yourself when you are in Turkey, with Turkish friends/family, in a Turkish context
Nederlandse context	Turkse vertegenwoordiger	Het gevoel dat jij als Turks persoon een mening moet hebben of uitleg moet geven over het conflict/over Turkije	Dutch context	Turkish representative	The feeling that you as Turkish person has to have an opinion or has to explain about the conflict/about Turkey
	Veranderingen	Veranderingen wat betreft de identiteit of de samenleving		Changes	Changes about the identity or the society
Nederlandse context	Verantwoordin g	Verantwoordin g moeten afleggen voor dingen die zijn gebeurd omtrent Turken of over dingen die Turken	Dutch context	Justification	Being accountable for things that happened concerning Turks or about things that Turks have

		hebben gedaan			done
Identiteit	Verhouding Nederlands Turks	De verhouding tussen de aanwezigheid van de Nederlandse en de Turkse identiteit	Identity	Proportion Dutch Turkish	The proportion between the presence of the Dutch and the Turkish identity
Nederlandse context	Verwachting	Wat de samenleving van jou verwacht omdat je een Turkse achtergrond bent	Dutch context	Expectations	What the society expects from you because you have a Turkish background
Nederlandse context	Vragen	Vragen die gesteld worden over Turkije/Turkse politiek/conflict Nederland- Turkije	Dutch context	Questions	Questions that have been asked about Turkey/Turkish politics/conflict the Netherlands- Turkey
	Vrijheid	Alles wat is gezegd over het begrip vrijheid		Freedom	Everything that has been said about the concept freedom

8.3.4 List of definitive codes used for the results

Code Dutch			Code English		
Code groep	Code	Betekenis code	Code group	Code	Meaning code
Nederlandse maatschappij	Acceptatie	Acceptatie door de Nederlandse samenleving	Dutch society	Acceptance	Acceptance by the Dutch society
Nederlandse maatschappij	Framing	Hoe anderen jou zien/labelen/framen	Dutch society	Framing	How others see you or label/frame you
Identiteit	Identiteit	Identiteit in het algemeen	Identity	Identity	Identity in general
Identiteit	Islam	Alles wat gezegd is over de Islam	Identity	Islam	Everything that has been said about the Islam
Nederlandse maatschappij	Nederlandse maatschappij	Opmerkingen over de Nederlandse maatschappij	Dutch society	Dutch society	Comments about the Dutch society
Nederlandse context	Nederlandse context	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in Nederland bent, bij Nederlandse vrienden/collega's/studiegenoten bent, in een Nederlandse context bent	Dutch context	Dutch context	How you feel yourself when you are in the Netherlands, with Dutch friends/colleagues/fellow students, in a Dutch context
Nederlandse	Normen en	Alles wat	Dutch society	Norms and	Everything that

maatschappij	waarden	gezegd is over normen en waarden		values	has been said about norms and values
Politiek	Politiek Nederland	Mening over de Nederlandse politiek	Politics	Politics Netherlands	Opinion about the Dutch politics
Politiek	Politiek Turkije	Mening over de Turkse politiek	Politics	Politics Turkey	Opinion about the Turkish politics
	Turkse context	Hoe je jezelf voelt wanneer je in Turkije bent, bij Turkse vrienden/familie bent, in een Turkse context bent		Turkish context	How you feel yourself when you are in Turkey, with Turkish friends/family, in a Turkish context
Nederlandse context	Turkse vertegenwoordiger	Het gevoel dat jij als Turks persoon een mening moet hebben of uitleg moet geven over het conflict/over Turkije	Dutch context	Turkish representative	The feeling that you as Turkish person has to have an opinion or has to explain about the conflict/about Turkey
	Verandering	Veranderingen wat betreft de identiteit of de samenleving		Change	Changes about the identity or the society
Nederlandse	Verantwoording	Verantwoording	Dutch context	Justification	Being

context	g	g moeten afleggen voor dingen die zijn gebeurd omtrent Turken of over dingen die Turken hebben gedaan			accountable for things that happened concerning Turks or about things that Turks have done
Identiteit	Verhouding Nederlands Turks	De verhouding tussen de aanwezigheid van de Nederlandse en de Turkse identiteit	Identity	Proportion Dutch Turkish	The proportion between the presence of the Dutch and the Turkish identity
Nederlandse context	Verwachting	Wat de samenleving van jou verwacht omdat je een Turkse achtergrond bent	Dutch context	Expectations	What the society expects from you because you have a Turkish background
Nederlandse context	Vragen	Vragen die gesteld worden over Turkije/Turkse politiek/conflict Nederland-Turkije	Dutch context	Questions	Questions that have been asked about Turkey/Turkish politics/conflict the Netherlands-Turkey

8.3.5 Selective coding: used quotes

	Turkish-Dutch identity
Interview 1	“Yes, I think that a lot of people see it as some sort of proportion. You are that many percent Turkish and that many percent, uh, Dutch. But...I feel, I have really the feeling I can be 100 percent Turkish and can be 100 percent Dutch.”
Interview 2	“And yes my origin remains Turkish. And how I see myself, I am more Dutch than Turkish. I manage the Dutch language better than the Turkish language. Besides that, I have studied here, I pay my taxes here, I experience almost 90 percent of my life in the Netherlands. I, mainly, see myself as a Dutchman, but with a Turkish background. So, I think Turkish Dutchman is a concept that fits me.”
Interview 3	“Turkish Dutchman”. “My parents are Turkish and I live in the Netherlands, I grew up in the Netherlands, I have Dutch friends, I inherited the Dutch culture and everything. So, I cannot think away the Turkish part and cannot think away the Dutch part.”
Interview 4	“Yes, my identity, I really see myself as a Dutch person. That may be wrong in the eyes of someone else, but I really see myself as a Dutchman.”
Interview 5	“A hodgepodge”. “Yes, I do not belong to one or the other. I really could not choose.”

	Proportion Turkish Dutch
Interview 1	“Yes, I think that a lot of people see it as some sort of proportion. You are that many percent Turkish and that many percent, uh, Dutch. But...I feel, I have really the feeling I can be 100 percent Turkish and can be 100 percent Dutch.”
Interview 2	“Yes, of the 24 hours you actually have a part that you are really aware of, hey, I actually have a second identity. Because you are not aware of it all day. But, there are time when it really does peak.”
Interview 3	“Actually it depends on the country I am in. In the Netherlands I feel more Dutch and in Turkey I feel more Turkish. But I do never forget it completely. So, I take something van both identities. So, here I do not feel completely Dutch, but also a bit Turkish.”
Interview 4	Not mentioned
Interview	“I could not call myself 100 percent Dutch, but also not 100 percent Turkish”. “So I think

5	in terms of lifestyle, it is really a mix. So I take from both cultures what I think is the best and what suits me.”
---	--

	Islam
Interview 1	Not mentioned
Interview 2	“In addition, besides the Turkish identity, you also have that Islamic background.” “(…) And, it seems, in the media they say if an attack is committed, then you see for example an Islamic attack, then it is immediately terror. (…)”
Interview 3	“Yes, you also notice that yes. That we are also aligned with IS for example. I also think that is so terrible. That this comparison is drawn. But you notice that yes, also an aversion to Muslims. You certainly notice that.” “Yes, yes. But on the other hand, it is also understandable. I mean if IS claims that they are really Muslim and they commit attacks everywhere, in a horrible way, then I can also understand that there is more of an aversion. You do not prevent that.”
Interview 4	“(…) Because not every Muslim is the same. And that is something that, uh, many Dutch people but also other nationalities do not know.” “I have to say that, of course you have different movements within Islam. And you are very often stereotyped with you and you do that. Hey, you have a skirt on, are you allowed to put that on? That kind of things. And, uhm, then you always have to explain who you are. And you always have that vicious circle, that you have to explain who you are again (…).”
Interview 5	Not mentioned

	Turkish context
Interview 1	“I feel Turkish, I think more with family affairs, really in the private sphere. I am very Dutch socialized in education and in the professional outside world but at home just typical Turkish and the rule was that we were speaking Turkish at home because we could also learn Turkish and, uhm, I watched Turkish television, they had Turkish newspapers, but my papers are really still first generation Turks.”

	<p>“So yes, uh, I do not have a lot of family living here in the Netherlands. And only my aunt, but indeed Turkish acquaintances and things. Anything that I associate with home and private, uh, family, acquaintances that would I identity more with being Turkish. But, uhm the crazy thing is that I do, for example, with Turkish friends that we do speak Dutch, but occasionally also Turkish. That is a very different identity or something. (...) So it is not, it is absolutely not something that is fixed. And I think it depends very much on the context, and with, uh, the people you are with.”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“(…) Only the part that you are at home or that you are with your Turkish friends is the moment when, you eat more often Turkish, Turkish television, when see [Turkish] canals, receive [Turkish] news.”</p> <p>“Especially when you go on holiday, or during the national team, that football part, do not even have to be with the national team or Galatasaray or whatever, also when you are with family, such situations, and especially with the older family because the new generation talks already quite little Turkish nowadays than it is already less. That are really the moments that you yourself, holidays, or religion you cannot really involve because than you feel more Muslim than Turkish. But, especially with the national team, thus with certain events, national holidays, and if there are actually situations with terrorism in Turkey and if you see some fall or see those flags then does that induce nationalistic feelings, that becomes stronger all at such moments, then you think, hey what is going on. Then it is suddenly my country.”</p> <p>“(…) But the best part is when you are in Turkey and then you have family from Germany, Belgium, France, everyone, but with an accent. And then you think, actually you are less Turkish than you think. I talk with a Dutch accent, they talk with a French accent. And then you actually notice, then they cannot come out of their words, they do speak French in between, they do you think, they are actually, it goes pretty quick that they cannot longer speak properly Turkish and adapt to the other country.”</p> <p>“Yes, they usually say over here you are a foreigner and in Turkey you are a Dutchman.”</p>
Interview 3	<p>“Actually it depends on the country I am in. In the Netherlands I feel more Dutch and in Turkey I feel more Turkish. But I do never forget it completely. So, I take something van both identities. So, here I do not feel completely Dutch, but also a bit Turkish.”</p>
Interview 4	<p>“Yes, you get that feeling when you visit family for example. Have a familiar conversation with your grandmother, grandfather, with my father for example, people</p>

	<p>who are more difficult with the Dutch language. Then I just switch. And what I also notice is that my Dutch is much better than my Turkish. That is just a fact. When I am in Turkey then it is also right away to hear from okay you come from Europe. That is just a fact, and that remains forever a small development point for me. Dutch has always been my number 1 language.”</p> <p>“I have to day that when I am in Turkey, I really feel at home. That is really my second home, that will also stay that way forever. Then I really feel, really, Turkish. Then I am really happy to get that feeling again. Because I feel at home at two places. That is than really in Deventer, I feel at home. And I feel at home when I am standing on Turkish ground. Then I really think yes I am there. I can just do my thing. And I also notice that my parents are much happier then. Because they can just speak their own language, and do have family over there. That is actually also really a feeling of peace. Because, they are much happier there. And you get that feeling yourself.”</p> <p>“Yes, with holidays. Holidays, of course you have Eid al-Fitr, do you have. Sacrifice Feast do you have. You also have, uhm, other types of parties where you especially stand still. I, myself, do not fast during the Ramadan. But we do have another period of fasting. Then I feel really Turkish. Then I really try to contribute my bit too. Then we have the Twelve Imams.”</p> <p>“(…) They always see you as someone else. When I am in Turkey I am a Dutch person, when I am in the Netherlands I am a Turk. And, uh, yes that will stay forever.”</p>
Interview 5	<p>“And then it is emphasized again that you have a double background. (...) It is not that I have let go of my Turkish roots, because I actually do not watch Dutch TV but more Turkish series and I speak Turkish at home. But, it is not that I would really label myself if I am a Turk in the Netherlands. But more simply a Dutchman with a Turkish background.</p> <p>“</p>

	Dutch context
Interview 1	<p>“But, in one way or another, you are unconsciously working on it [identity] or something like that, when so much attention is paid to it. And I also notice from my Dutch friends around me, what do you think? That they are also more working on it, with my identity. And then I think, I actually do not have an opinion at all. Not then. I was already working on politics, but I am not really clear if I am for or against. And yes, but I do notice that</p>

	<p>they expect that from you or something. That you follow everything precisely. (...) For example, at the university you know or at my internship, that kind of things, I do not come across a lot of Turks. They do expect that I kind of, then they do assume, then I feel like some sort of Turkish representative or something, but while I do not feel competent at all to be such a thing or something. I always say that it is my opinion, you have to take into account that there are many differences.”</p> <p>“Yes, but it was also really crazy because I am, uh, I grew up in Tiel, really in a, uh, quite a black neighborhood. So a lot, yes it was also very ‘gezellig’, but you had Turks, Moroccans, but you also had Greeks, Italians and Chinese. It was really super multicultural. And I also went to a very multicultural school. And I was like, I had no idea I was Turkish or something at that time. Was very crazy, a lot of people also assumed that I was Dutch. I also could speak Dutch well. And, uh, then we moved to Brabant and I arrived, because I also was in a class with 36 students or so you know, super big. I arrived in a small village, somewhere close to Den Bosch. And, uh, just, yes, white pupils and in itself totally fine. But, I still remember that they all came with very crazy questions like oh don’t you wear a headscarf? So that is what I thought, when I think from their side then it might be logical questions. But for me it was like huh why do you not know that? As if you, because you grew up in that context from every knows each other, every knows each other’s culture. I understand that, for example, I also understand why people vote for the PVV. Because they have no picture at all, uh, and if they have to get their information from the media and then they do no extra research or something you know.”</p>
<p>Interview 2</p>	<p>“(…) In addition, you are actually daily mostly Dutch. You work here, you speak the language continuously, you do your shopping here, uh, besides that it is the case that your sport clubs, associations are all Dutch.”</p> <p>“Yes, especially at moments when, uhm, when you speak to someone and if the work ‘Turkish’ comes forward and especially for example, I have been to the Turk, for example to a Döner business or a bakery. And at you are there too at that moment, then you do think like okay, does that person also look at me that way, does the other person see me as a Dutchman? Or as a Turk? Or, how does the other person sees me?”</p>
<p>Interview 3</p>	<p>“Actually it depends on the country I am in. In the Netherlands I feel more Dutch and in Turkey I feel more Turkish. But I do never forget it completely. So, I take something van</p>

	both identities. So, here I do not feel completely Dutch, but also a bit Turkish.”
Interview 4	<p>“Yes, I have to say, I am always myself and that will always stay the same. I will not adapt for anyone. And if I get a comment from anyone, because that has certainly happened a few times, then I also dare to give honest answers. (...) In my class, I am actually the only foreign person. And of course I get some comments here and there, like he it is Ramadan, don’t you have to fast? Those kind of things. But you know it also very important in life to see that as a joke. Because not every Muslim is the same. And that is something that, uh, many Dutch people but also other nationalities do not know.”</p> <p>“(…) But the ironic thing is that wherever you are, in the Netherlands or in Turkey, you are always an immigrant. They always see you as someone else. When I am in Turkey I am a Dutch person, when I am in the Netherlands I am a Turk. And, uh, yes that will stay forever.”</p>
Interview 5	<p>“(…) If I introduce myself (...) it is just like hi, I am 23 years old, I had studied here, well I just graduated, I study law and that was it. And sometimes one of the first questions you get from new people you meet are like oh, but where does your surname come from? And then automatically it goes about my background. “</p> <p>“And then it is emphasized again that you have a double background. While, I myself in my daily life, especially when I am working during the week, I actually forget it.”</p>

	Questions
Interview 1	<p>“But, in one way or another, you are unconsciously working on [identity] or something like that, when so much attention is paid to it. And I also notice from my Dutch friends around me, what do you think? That they are also more working on it, with my identity. And then I think, I actually do not have an opinion at all.”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“That if, it happened on the weekend. Then you come to work on Monday and the first thing they ask is if you got it? Or then they start out negatively, like, the skunks were there and what did you think of that? Then they send you towards a certain direction. And then I think also see it from both sides. Look, I do not think it is okay, of course, when people start attacking police or if they are going to scream or proclaim slogans over there. But I also do not like it if, of course, when international law is not applied.</p>

	<p>And someone, or actually diplomats are not allowed to travel freely between countries. And we now also have seen that both countries have actually made mistakes. But it is now penetrated all the time as if only one side was wrong. Then I think view it from both sides. I also do not choose a side.”</p>
Interview 3	<p>“I do find it annoying, because I think that such questions lead to more polarization in society. Because if you ask me such a question, I think about myself, what, am I doing something wrong? Then you start to think about the position of the Turks in the Netherlands and that can lead to more polarization, that they eventually choose a side. While, that was never discussed before.”</p> <p>“I do give an answer, but I leave my, my opinion does come forward, but I do not emphasize it very strongly. Because, I am against the government that governs right now, but then I am such a person that does not totally criticize it.”</p>
Interview 4	<p>“Then I just really talk very openly. And, you know, when someone asks a questions to about Turkey, about the current situation, then I can just answer that.”</p>
Interview 5	<p>“(…) And sometimes one of the first questions you get from new people you meet is like oh, but where does your surname come from? And then it automatically goes about my background.”</p> <p>“Yes, that some of them ask like oh what do you think of the coup, or what do you think of this.”</p> <p>“(…) In the beginning I thought it was annoying, that I thought oh boys, is it only because I have a dual nationality and have this background that I have to have an opinion about it. But after a while, I understand it. Because it is not that easy to find someone who wants to talk to you about that. Who could actually see the Turkish side of it. So after a while I did understand why those questions are asked.”</p> <p>“Then my parents immediately said oh god here it will be about on Monday morning. So actually we started a little bit with preparing, okay, how are we going to respond to this. While that is super stupid actually, but you just know that there will come question about it.”</p>

	Expectations
Interview 1	Not mentioned
Interview 2	<p>“Then you also have the feeling that you have to choose between one and the other. While, uh, it has not been my choice to have both of them (...).”</p> <p>“They actually already assume that you have an opinion because you have a Turkish background and they are very curious about it. I also understand that you are curious about it, but you also have to think in what kind of situation actually, in what kind of place you actually put him.”</p> <p>“I actually felt, I was sitting at home and I saw those events and I did think like, I already thought like how am I going to show my face on Monday. While I am sitting at home, I am just watching television at home like everyone else.”</p>
Interview 3	<p>“Not really from friends, because they have known me for a long time. At the moment I come in touch with new people, especially colleagues who speak less often to me and there has been something on the news then, uhm, it sometimes happens that they reason from a certain perspective, that they, uhm, want to untie something from me.”</p>
Interview 4	Not mentioned
Interview 5	<p>“Especially that they expect you to say that I am Dutch and I am just willing to hand in the passport.”</p>

	Justification
Interview 1	<p>“Yes, exactly and then I think like shit. Do I have to explain that again or something, or do I have to justify for it again. While, I think yes, I think these people are as stupid or not as stupid as you might think.”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“You are actually more thinking about what is actually going on? What you did actually daily, you now think at every step like it this possible? Or does this fit? You continuously feel you have to justify for something that you may not have done. For example, I was not there in Rotterdam. Or I was not here in Turkey on July 15. Or, uhm, I am not the one who spits on people or harasses people. And then you think, I do have to justify myself in that context like what you think about the situation in Rotterdam? Or, uh, why</p>

	are you going to Turkey? Do you still dare? Are you for or against Erdogan? Continuous these kind of dilemmas, you continuously become black or white. You cannot say if you say I am for Erdogan, because... cannot because you are for him. And then it is just black and white.”
Interview 3	Not mentioned
Interview 4	“I must say that, of course, you have different movements within Islam. And you are very often, you are always stereotyped like you this and you do that. Hey, you are wearing a skirt, are you allowed to put that on? That kind of things. And, uhm, then you always have to explain who you are. And you always have that vicious circle, that you have to explain who you are again (...).”
Interview 5	Not mentioned

	Turkish representative
Interview 1	“But, in one way or another, you are unconsciously working on it [identity] or something like that, when so much attention is paid to it. And I also notice from my Dutch friends around me, what do you think? That they are also more working on it, with my identity. And then I think, I actually do not have an opinion at all. Not then. I was already working on politics, but I am not really clear if I am for or against. And yes, but I do notice that they expect that from you or something. That you follow everything precisely. (...) For example, at the university you know or at my internship, that kind of things, I do not come across a lot of Turks. They do expect that I kind of, then they do assume, then I feel like some sort of Turkish representative or something, but while I do not feel competent at all to be such a thing or something. I always say that it is my opinion, you have to take into account that there are many differences.”
Interview 2	Not mentioned
Interview 3	“No, because to really understand how and what is going on in the current Turkey, you need more than just the media messages. And if I am going to talk really anti-government right now, then they are going to slash it from their perspective, and I want

	<p>to prevent that.”</p> <p>“Yes, there is a lot going on, really a lot. But it is, I feel responsible for what I release about it so I keep it short. I let them know if I agree with something or not, but I am not going to slash it or something.”</p>
Interview 4	Not mentioned
Interview 5	<p>“No, I do answer. I often give my own opinion but it is also not, I also try a bit, because I am actually a bit against the Turkish government at this moment. But I also try to show it from the side of them, how they see it that I do not just pass on my own opinion. Because I often see when such a question is asked that I feel a bit, that I still have to highlight both sides because I still represent something.”</p> <p>“Exactly. While, there are also many not against. So I do actually not represent the Turkish community with my opinion. I also do not think there is any Turkish community at all.”</p> <p>“Yes, I do find that annoying indeed. And just also always that, the feeling that I represent the Turkish community.”</p> <p>“Yes, when I give an answer that they think okay, that is actually what most people think.”</p>

	Dutch society
Interview 1	Not mentioned
Interview 2	<p>“Yes indeed. And then you think integrate to where? And then they say yes Islam does not belong in the Western world. Then I think Christianity also did not originate in the Netherlands. They come from next to each other, Christianity, Judaism.”</p> <p>“It seems like I now only blame the community, say the Dutch society, that is absolutely not the case. But I also think if someone does wrong, you have a rule of law, you have a judge, police and they solve it. Ready, point. It is that simple.”</p> <p>“That is why I think that the authorities in the Netherlands are working well, especially the Statistics Netherlands and what they have done recently. Those are really the people who are most in it and they also advise in my eyes, they come with good points. With</p>

	<p>that 'autochtoon', 'allochtoon' and such things then I honestly think that with a migration background that is literally who you are. You are someone, you are a Dutchman with a migration background. That is one on one with what I already indicated. And then you see the word 'allochtoon' 'autochtoon', it sounds very crazy, but I am also born here so you think of an 'allochtoon' as someone who comes from abroad. Yes, those words are no longer of this time. (...)."</p> <p>"With me it is, then we go back to that one subject that the diplomat wanted to speak here. That was not allowed, because it would cause too much unrest. Then I think, a week ago someone who is voting no, a diplomat, can speak in a conference room. Then I think like or they speak both or they do not speak, that is also fine with me if that is in the Dutch constitution or Dutch law . (...)."</p>
Interview 3	Not mentioned
Interview 4	<p>"And I notice, I find that very funny, if there is such a video, I always go to the comments, I am going to look and then I read it. I always like it, reacting often, really sometimes, if it is really necessary. But, there are a lot of Dutch people who are really against Erdogan and who really say that he cannot do this, when do the people see it? And then all those Turkish reactions are coming from Turkish-Dutch and then, uhm, you really notice a big difference. I think it always remains a struggle."</p>
Interview 5	Not mentioned

	Turkish politics
Interview 1	<p>"That is yes. Maybe you also know it. It is really, uhm, a bit of a taboo to talk about politics in Turkey. I notice that especially in Turkey."</p> <p>"(...) Because the Turkish community is just super diverse. There are many groups, many, uh, you also have Turkish Kurds, Turkish Alevi, you have Kemalists, you have lot, uh. But look up, uh, yes, on superficial level they just go well together, but when it comes to politics then it can really fact, uh, yes become aggressive. So it is, I talk about it with people I know for sure, okay, they share my political ideologies. But not with people of which I know for sure they are pro Erdogan (...)."</p>

	<p>“Yes, for Erdogan it just worked out because he could day he, uh, he prepares the Turks to take a little distance from Europe. And to turn more to Arabic countries, to the East (...).”</p> <p>“Yes, but he also bribes voters. He just goes from door to door everywhere in the country. And then he goes, then he gives just fridges. He has a lot, maybe it is that, he has a lot of people in the country who never vote, you know, just mobilized to vote. Then I think you sold your country for a refrigerator.”</p> <p>“(...) But he [Erdogan] just cannot stand it because I think it has very much to do with religion because Atatürk was very much like state and religion are separated and we see that the Ottoman Empire really stayed behind because have been more focused on the Islam and uh, more towards the East so we now have to go in another direction. So then he also had a, uh, quite a group, uh, believers in the parliament he also sidelined. And that has with a lot of Turks, then that has a bit of, you know, we do not think so. And perhaps it also has gone too fast for certain groups of people in Turkey. “</p> <p>“But you should not think, maybe those Erdogan supporters are now very much against the Netherlands, but enough Turks are also very positive about the Netherlands.”</p> <p>“You know which is also why it comes, my mother is, uh, my father and mother have just said yes we are really going to vote. And they tried to, uh, with my aunt also, tried to get together all the no-voters and to go there with a kind of carpool, you know. But a lot of people from whom we thought they are going to vote no, uhm, they said yes I do not want to vote, you know, because it is, uh, you are a bit in the minority in the Netherlands. And if you, uh, if that is kind of known that you voted no, then they will shut you out a little bit you know.”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“Yes, at the same time. Turkey with the referendum and that it was just 51 against 49 percent. And maybe it would have been different if there had been no things with the Netherlands (...).”</p>
Interview 3	<p>Not mentioned</p>
Interview 4	<p>“Do you know what it is, you can easily form an opinion from a distance. I notice that very much with the Turkish Dutch here in the Netherlands. They can easily say that things are going very well in Turkey, but to what extent are they aware of things? For example, we just have an antenna at home, we just follow Dutch channels and Turkish</p>

	<p>channels. And, uhm, that is very funny because Erdogan actually owns almost all channels throughout Turkey. What does that mean? That means everything is broadcast according to him. In my view, that is just propaganda. And if it is not done according to his method, you will find them behind bars. (...) And you also notice that many channels are his. You just notice that, they are very bad, they are going to exchange very bad general information. And they are never really specific. So you always have an idea like something is missing. And they also hide a lot of things (...)."</p> <p>"Yes, I also notice that, for example at the elections. I also voted and you notice that you are in an environment with only Turks. But that there is still a tension. I also asked my aunt, do you think they see we are left? And things like that. And my aunt really looked at me like, you know, I think about that too. And my mother who keeps listening in between and who says they can really see that from us. Because of course you have the real believers who really wear a headscarf, do not smoke, are all well-dressed. And then you see us, smoking, just wearing jeans, a t-shirt, you notice that you are really being watched by people every time (...)."</p> <p>"Exactly. Maybe it is bad what I say, but Turkey is in such propaganda and he has so much power. And of course he is lucky that he could get votes from Europe, because thanks to Europe he moved higher. One the one hand I also have something like it will change. I do not know."</p> <p>"Yes. And I have only one Turkish friend who is extremely right. You can hardly talk about politics with her. So that tension prevails. That is a pity, but it is just how it is."</p>
Interview 5	Not mentioned

	Dutch politics
Interview 1	<p>"I think it is very bad, thinking more in camps. So you are with us or you are against us. And I think that, for example, Rutte and the Dutch politics just have a very wrong picture of the Turkish community. Because the Turkish community is just really diverse. There are many groups, many, uh, you also have Turkish Kurds, you have Turkish Alevis, you have Kemalists, you have a lot (...)."</p>
Interview	"Yes, and he actually also has a function as an example for others. And then I think that

2	<p>Pechtold was much better at that by saying yes, if I am president, or at least prime minister, then I become prime minister, or say, the leader of whole the Netherlands.”</p> <p>“But because of ‘DENK’, people think that because of ‘DENK’ people start to feel less Dutch, but because of ‘DENK’ you feel okay, we are participating again in politics. You are heard and there is someone who speaks for us. Because when you watched television, you would think if someone was there who had a bit of my opinion. But, now you see for example Tunahan Kuzu or someone else, then you think okay, even if you do not agree with him, a part of what I would say he says too. So you are feeling relieved.”</p> <p>“Yes, because of that all of sudden very, very many people are involved in politics. While, they first were not interested at all. And then you automatically come, I think that is good, because when you are concerned with politics, you actually hear how other people think. And that is good for those people, who are actually totally concerned with their own circle. They also hear for example what the VVD thinks or what the PVV thinks.”</p> <p>“And especially where I am disappointed by are those Christian parties. The political parties are actually a bit scared and they do not want a different religion.”</p>
Interview 3	Not mentioned
Interview 4	<p>“I feel addressed. But I must say that I can also give Rutte and Wilders the same. Because Wilders also said that if you are in the Netherlands you should keep to Dutch politics and no to Turkish politics. I partly agree with that and partly not. You can compensate for it by keeping an eye on both. But it is also true that, in my opinion, many immigrants, who do not know who is in the Dutch Second Chamber, they do not know, just that kind of things. And if you know all about Turkey, why do not you know about it in the Netherlands? Because you live here anyway? Maybe that is my westernized attitude. That I think in a Dutch way. But it is true (...).”</p> <p>“And I watched the broadcasts, because I was curious what ‘DENK’ stood for. And of course I already had some ideas, but then I think something like why are you going to establish such a party in the Netherlands. And if you encourage him so much, why do not you help him in Turkey? How many votes did they get again? They did have a lot of votes.”</p>
Interview	Not mentioned

5	
---	--

	Norms and values
Interview 1	<p>“I think he is referring more to that, like you are a Dutchman because you have to be loyal to certain norms that the state prescribes and to values that the state adheres to. Just like Erdogan, but not, he is very much in, in the private sphere of people you know, that he, for example, I think it is very bad, uhm, personally, because he, it is also more like non-western immigrant, western immigrant he is not talking about, but non-western immigrants with a Muslim background from certain countries you know. In any case, religion is also something private, you know, as a state you cannot give judgements. So, it is more, uhm, it seems like he also implicitly says, uh, yes Dutchman so you should not be so extremely religious or something you know, you just have to do normal.”</p> <p>“I think that he is very much referring to, the private characteristics, you know, uh, especially Islam and maybe a certain, yes I do not know, uh lifestyle or something, a certain norm, which he identifies with a certain group of people, that it is very much against Dutch standards and values or something. Being a Muslim and identifying with Western values is simply not possible. He actually says with that you cannot, those messages I get, as a Dutchman with a Turkish background you cannot be Dutch, you understand?”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“Maybe in Eastern, Mediterranean, uh, in the Middle East also not. But, in the Netherlands it has been the case for many years and then you cannot say like yes okay, Christianity cannot exist safely over there so then the Muslim cannot do their freely over here. That is actually against the norms and values of the Netherlands. Then I think like yes, if the Netherlands stands for freedom of religion, of speech then that must also apply for everyone. And then there should not be such a thing like that does not belong to the Western culture. If I say, for example, let me say, if someone walks here with a headscarf then it should apply that it does not belong here, that is no Western culture. Then you have to say okay, that is freedom of speech and that one is expressing it that way.”</p> <p>“I always thought so, this is also my country and I do still think that. And then I think you claim that the country is only for a part of the Dutch. And then I am not talking about white, black or whatever. But a part. You are actually saying the Netherlands is ours and</p>

	<p>we determine the norms and values and if you do not stick to it, then you will leave the Netherlands. While, I think the Netherlands is from all of us. So if someone does not adhere to a certain norm or let me actually say a law, that is most applicable here, then have a rule of law over here and that must then ensure that it applies an appropriate punishments and then I do not think, you cannot immediately cut it away, you have multiple solutions. Just make sure that the person feels more Dutch first and I really think if you make them feel more Dutch. When I in elementary school, let me say, everyone got an orange garland or everyone, it is already being tackled from the beginning, that you are being raised as a Dutchman, say at elementary school, a bit of nationalistic practices, let say it that way. Or during football that everybody gets orange hair, you name it. Or with King's day."</p>
Interview 3	<p>"Uhm, I get the point of what you said, crazy behavior does not belong here. But, uhm, to be honest, I think it is quite hypocritical of the Western society, because they say that we, the immigrants, must stick to certain norms and values, here in the country. Fine, I am completely behind that. But when they are going to a country in the Middle East, so to say, then they think it is strange if other rules are valid there. They also set the norms of Western society in the Middle East, for example. If there is criticism on that, they do not agree on that. That is actually the same idea. As if they are superior."</p>
Interview 4	Not mentioned
Interview 5	Not mentioned

	Turkish community
Interview 1	<p>"I think it is very bad, thinking more in camps. So you are with us or you are against us. And I think that, for example, Rutte and the Dutch politics just have a very wrong picture of the Turkish community. Because the Turkish community is just super diverse. There are many groups, many, uh, you also have Turkish Kurds, Turkish Alevis, you have Kemalists, you have lot, uh. But look up, uh, yes, on superficial level they just go well together, but when it comes to politics then it can really fact, uh, yes become aggressive. (...)."</p>

<p>Interview 2</p>	<p>“In addition, it is also true that the Turkish community experience emotions really extreme, say something stronger. Both the negative and the positive. Such as when the Turkish national teams wins, they are all honking and the other way around they sometimes have a shorter fuse. “</p> <p>“(…) And besides that it is true, yes, you get a part of what is happening in Turkey, but Turkey has a very big terror problem. And also with that PKK, because here it is seen as a terrorist organization. But if they are here, so to speak, to do a demonstration with their leader in the streets, then nothing happens. That is often released. And that is that part, in combination with the short fuse that works extremely sensitive. If you then, what I see on Turkish television, I see soldiers die every day. And then you get a very different feeling.”</p>
<p>Interview 3</p>	<p>“I do find it annoying, because I think that such questions lead to more polarization in society. Because if you ask me such a question, I think about myself, what, am I doing something wrong? Then you start to think about the position of the Turks in the Netherlands and that can lead to more polarization, that they eventually choose a side. While, that was never discussed before.”</p>
<p>Interview 4</p>	<p>“(…) It also strikes me that in large cities like Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Zaandam, especially, there you also have a lot of Turks, the Hague, you notice that people think like you just said. And that may be due to the fact that they isolate themselves. If you isolate yourself from the Dutch society., you will always have that opinion and then you will always form that opinion. An example of this is during the Referendum there was a girl in Rotterdam who was wearing a Turkish t-shirt and she said yes, if I had the chance I already had been gone to Turkey. And then even the reporter said why do not you go? (…).“</p> <p>“I have seen with my own eyes that, uhm, that we are not approved in the society. That happened when we were going to protest in Cologne, that was in 2013. (….) Only in Cologne to protest against Erdogan. And, uhm, I remember very well that we were in a big bus with flags, it was just, as demonstrators we were going there and then a van did catch us up with a big picture of Erdogan. So we immediately knew not to get too close. You noticed that when we drove like that and when the bus wanted to catch up on us, they really just hit windows. It was, in my eyes, a very painful moment. I was confronted with the truth and the news that I had followed on TV and on the internet you name it,</p>

	it was just hard truth. How I experienced with my own eyes how we were treated was very painful. They were name calling us, you could hear it through the class on the highway, realization. And they threw all kind of things to us. Yes, it was very painful.”
Interview 5	<p>“Exactly. While, there are also many not against. So I do actually not represent the Turkish community with my opinion. I also do not think there is any Turkish community at all.”</p> <p>“No, I do not really have any problems with it [to be accepted]. I have more problems with the Turkish community in the Netherlands.”</p> <p>“Yes, I used to have a lot of Dutch friends. Actually quite a few Turkish friends and actually there were not many Turks at my high school. So it was not even my own choice. But then I noticed that they thought like you are very much doing stuff with Dutch people, why do not you do stuff with Turks, what do you have against Turks? That I really think, I do not choose something. “</p>

	Integration
Interview 1	Not metnioned
Interview 2	<p>“And besides that I have something like, I do not even have to integrate, I was born here.”</p> <p>“It is more like, yes, is it what I want? To integrate? I was born here. I follow a certain line. And that could just as well be someone else who also has an, uh, interest in the Turkish culture. So of course you get something, but it is my choice whether I will deepen myself more into it yes or no.”</p> <p>“But, if, for example, something can ensure that those people become more involved. Then it happens automatically, that Dutch feeling will come. And I think so, yes, if you just going to work the other way around, like yes, a bit distance, going to dissociate, that people will be pushed away. Then those people automatically say okay, then you are going to do things with your own group. And they do not want us, whatever we do, we are not accepted and then that motivation part also drops. That you also often hear people say yes why should I get a diploma, while I will not be accepted. That is not the right way of reasoning and it is also their own fault if they do not study, but that</p>

	<p>motivation part is limited.”</p> <p>“Yes indeed. And then you think integrate to where? And then they say yes Islam does not belong in the Western world. Then I think Christianity also did not originate in the Netherlands. They come from next to each other, Christianity, Judaism.”</p> <p>“Yes, like I could not do it, I am working, and make sure they get it [a good education]. And, yes I am now with my sister, for example. She also studies at Erasmus. It is then a successful generation if I can say it about myself. I think if you take them along then you automatically ensure that the fourth and fifth generation automatically participate because you have addressed the third generation well.”</p> <p>“But then you think, then I will end up on the same again, if you let them participate with King's Day, if you actually get to know the Dutch holidays, or simply get to know the Dutch culture. What the Netherlands have to do with the Second World War and everything. If you learn history, just learn everything what the Netherlands is and the society works, what we find normal here, for example, uh, what is allowed here. If they all learn that, including the language, then they can get started right away. And of course in the beginning you have lost some money, but in the end they will pay taxes again. That pays back.”</p>
<p>Interview 3</p>	<p>“I do find it annoying, because I think that such questions lead to more polarization in society. Because if you ask me such a question, I think about myself, what, am I doing something wrong? Then you start to think about the position of the Turks in the Netherlands and that can lead to more polarization, that they eventually choose a side. While, that was never discussed before.”</p> <p>“As I say, there is more and more polarization. Because of what is being said and there is also so much framing in the media. There only needs to happen one small thing in Turkey, like something that is not very important at all. Before it would not even be in the news.”</p> <p>“Well, I think that adaption from the Dutch society is a bit too heavy, but more tolerance should be allowed. But you do not have to fully adjust.”</p>
<p>Interview 4</p>	<p>“And yes, I do not want to say that every migrant thinks that way, because there are definitely people unfit for work here in the Netherlands. But, I think you have to integrate yourself very well. And if you do not integrate yourself in a Dutch way, such as learning Dutch, going to a book club, you name it, giving yourself a place in society. And</p>

	just sitting on the couch at home, you will forever form such an opinion. I really think so, because I have an older aunt, who speaks a lot of Turkish. But, she does have of number of Dutch neighbors who she meets, drink coffee, drink tea. I do see that as a way of doing it, she does her best, you know.”
Interview 5	Not mentioned

	Acceptance
Interview 1	<p>“I think, uh, yes I feel accepted. I think that I, uh, I am not all for Erdogan and that is where it lies I think. I think if you are really pro Erdogan then you probably would not feel accepted at all. Maybe you even drop more off, which I actually see now. But, I notice for example, my parents, my father, are all really against Erdogan. They are not, they do not quite have a grip on the subject and when they hear Turks this and Turks that, then I do realize that they often ask why they are so busy with us. Then they are much more, uhm, then they may feel a bit more distance from society (...).”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“I think that the acceptance already, uhm, is pretty little in the Netherlands. While it is actually against the norms and values of the Netherlands itself. When we talk about, I sometimes find it very hypocritical, and then I go into it deeply, but for example with that freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and so on. Okay, it is true that in many other countries that does not apply.”</p> <p>“Yes, I just hear mainly things like this is probably not our country. Probably they say, because they get it that way. Then I think yes you should not think that way. But they continue have the feeling, is this our country? Like do we belong here and such things actually.”</p> <p>Yes, also very proud and that nationalistic feeling. And that also works very well from Turkey, which ensures that people also become nationalistic, which embraces people in Europe. They say whatever happens, we see you as a Turk-Turk. And if the Netherlands, the Netherlands should do that too, like no matter what happens you are a Dutchman. If that happens.”</p> <p>“You are going to take it personally earlier. Maybe that is also a characteristic of me or maybe I actually grew up like that or just become like that with time. But you take things</p>

	<p>more personally. If I am parking my car wrong or park somewhere and someone gets grumpy or starts screaming I think does he like that to me because I am doing something wrong or because he sees that I have a certain background.”</p> <p>“Or with doing the groceries, the same story, if you do something and someone looks at you, for example, very grumpy. Then you automatically make the connection with why does it happen? And then you come very often to your background and then you pay attention to what, how does the person react to person behind me. Then for example I take my back very slow and then I see that person also reacts grumpy to the personal and then I think oh okay, I am happy it is not because of my background.”</p>
<p>Interview 3</p>	<p>“I think they are looking for acceptance. Depending on how I feel about it, when I speak Turkish, I feel an aversion, and if I, uhm, talk from the Dutch perspective, then I feel an acceptance. That is very strange.”</p> <p>“Uhm, yes, but I think it also depends on my environment. I am not, uhm, let me put it this way, I know from a number of other Turks that they have it less easy than me. But perhaps it is also because I grew up with Dutch people and because I know the language well. Also in terms of accent. But I notice more and more, there is always an aversion towards the Turks. I notice that in my environment. Only, uhm, I am lucky with the people around me. With where I ended up. With work, internship and everything, that I am more accepted yes. But for other people it is not that easy.”</p> <p>“I think that it is mainly something very cultural. Before the year 2000, the attacks and everything, there was more tolerance. And after these attacks, after more terrorism, the culture has gradually started to change. And to get such a change out of the culture again, I think that will take a long time.”</p>
<p>Interview 4</p>	<p>“(…) It also strikes me that in large cities like Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Zaandam, especially, there you also have a lot of Turks, the Hague, you notice that people think like you just said. And that may be due to the fact that they isolate themselves. If you isolate yourself from the Dutch society, you will always have that opinion and then you will always form that opinion (…).”</p> <p>“I have seen with my own eyes that, uhm, that we are not approved in the society. That happened when we were going to protest in Cologne, that was in 2013. (…) Only in Cologne to protest against Erdogan. And, uhm, I remember very well that we were in a big bus with flags, it was just, as demonstrators we were going there and then a van did</p>

	<p>catch us up with a big picture of Erdogan. So we immediately knew not to get too close. You noticed that when we drove like that and when the bus wanted to catch up on us, they really just hit windows. It was, in my eyes, a very painful moment. I was confronted with the truth and the news that I had followed on TV and on the internet you name it, it was just hard truth. How I experienced with my own eyes how we were treated was very painful. They were name calling us, you could hear it through the class on the highway, realization. And they threw all kind of things to us. Yes, it was very painful.”</p> <p>“Yes, I feel at home here. I also feel accepted and I already have a place here in society (...).”</p> <p>“(...) It is not always the Dutch who do this, but it is often the differences that are actually in between. It are the differences than cannot be accepted by others. And that is why they only make it a kind of struggle.”</p>
Interview 5	<p>“No, I do not really have any problems with it [to be accepted]. I have more problems with the Turkish community in the Netherlands.”</p> <p>“I also understand that as an Erdogan supporter you really think like where all this hate comes from. And how can you think that way and that you then have a lot of incomprehension.”</p> <p>“Yes, yes. A Turk remains a Turk. Even though you are not an 'Erdo-Turk', you are still a Turk.”</p>

	Framing
Interview 1	<p>“(…) Also here in the Netherlands , they see, uh, how can I not feel Turkish when other people see me as Turkish. It is very, uhm, yes I think that is comes not only from yourself but also from how others see and frame you.”</p> <p>“So, you cannot. You can feel like that yourself. But if others see it differently, that is actually also a part of you, your identity.”</p> <p>“Yes, because you feel a bit, that fear of are they going to see us differently now? They are going to see us in a much more negative way. At moments like that you do have, oh, I would rather have just one identity, one-dimensional.”</p> <p>“Yes, but I am also Turkish and I am Dutch too. I also feel, maybe also nice, when I had to apply for my Digi-D for the first time, I had to note my nationality. I thought nationality, that is just your passport, you know. At that time I only had a Dutch</p>

	<p>passport. So I just filled in Dutch. And immediately a day later I received an email that something had changed. And my nationality was changed to Turkish. I think like how is this possible, you know. But it is because my parents are both born in Turkey that I am immediately registered as Turkish.”</p>
Interview 2	<p>“Yes, especially at times when, uhm, that you speak to someone and the word ‘Turkish’ appears, for example, I went to the Turk, for example to a Dönerstore or a bakery. And at that moment you are there and then you think like okay, does the person also look at me like that, does the other person see me as a Dutchman? Or a Turk? Or, how does that other person see me?”</p> <p>“It is more like that. And I have the feeling the way the other sees you, so you start to see yourself too.”</p> <p>“And when I see the media more and more like okay, uh, there is a certain Turk, Turks, Turks, Turks. If you see that all the time, with every word or something. For example, if something is stolen and you see, then they say it is a man, but is a Turk steals it, they might say it is a Turk. And when you see that you think okay, that is the way they look at me as a Turk. Whatever I do, how well I integrate, they see me as a Turk.”</p> <p>“Yes, especially that is it present. So, I accepted it but sometime I am really I am really okay, I would have preferred it differently at the moment. That I, uh, or that they cannot see it or hear it from me. Usually they do not hear it when I am talking, but they see it by my name. So even in you change your name, you will remain your last name. That is something you always get, that goes from generation to generation. And so actually, name, appearance, to that they immediately notice and then you think it was only something else. For example, my mother has blond hair and green eyes, so it is the same again, of her they notice it a little less.”</p>
Interview 3	<p>“As I say, there is more and more polarization. Because of what is being said and there is also so much framing in the media. There only needs to happen one small thing in Turkey, like something that is not very important at all. Before it would not even be in the news.”</p>
Interview 4	<p>“I have to say that, of course you have different movements within Islam. And you are very often stereotyped with you and you do that. Hey, you have a skirt on, are you allowed to put that on? That kind of things. And, uhm, then you always have to explain who you are. And you always have that vicious circle, that you have to explain who you</p>

	are again (...).”
Interview 5	<p>“I have thought about it. Because my sister who is, for example, who is much lighter. She used to be very blond and with my father you do not see it either. And there were much less confronted with this kind of things. So I once said like I would I did not look Turkish or if I had no Turkish surname, I would not have received those questions. But it is not true that I am not proud or something.”</p> <p>“Yes, I thought a bit of okay I think there is quite a lot of hatred in people. And on the one hand it is out of ignorance that I think yes, he or she cannot know better. Because, if you look at Dutch media, then there is outlined one image of Turkey and vice versa. That is where the media manipulated. But on the other hand, I also think yes people, you can think a bit further. Perhaps it is also in their advantage that such an image is created to say that foreigners are bad. I actually also had that prejudice about a certain number of people, that I thought like oh, if you think about Turks that way then I also know how you are as a person. While, in fact, I do not even want to think people about me like that, but I am also thinking it about other.”</p> <p>“Yes, yes. A Turk remains a Turk. Even though you are not an 'Erdo-Turk', you are still a Turk.”</p>

	Changes identity
Interview 1	<p>“Yes, but I am now, uh, I must admit that I have been busy with more and more during the past years. Also because suddenly much more attention is paid to it. Like, you loyalty to the Dutch state of to the Turkish state. Then I think why? I am just who I am. I also do not see as a Dutchman or something.”</p> <p>“I think that I feel myself more Turkish in the recent years. Because, I, yes I do not know, it is, uh, the attention now and also just that labelling like you are like this you know. Then I have more the feeling like yes I am Turk, but I am different Turkish. That I thought the Turkish image you have is not right and this Turkish image is right.”</p>
Interview 2	Not mentioned
Interview 3	Not mentioned

Interview 4	<p>"I actually think it [Turkish identity] has become less. Why? Because, uh, yes I have the feeling that I am being stereotyped every time. Also at school. About 'DENK' for example. At school everyone keeps an eye on the news of course, then I get jokes like have you voted for 'DENK'? That sort of things. I can laugh about it, of course, that is how I am, but there are other people who do not accept that kind of jokes."</p>
Interview 5	<p>"The Dutch in me has become a bit less."</p> <p>"Yes, I think I am not that kind of Turkish Dutch person that Rutte describes, but I still do not feel 100 percent welcome as I felt before."</p>

	Changes Dutch society
Interview 1	Not mentioned
Interview 2	<p>"You are actually more thinking about what is actually going on? What you did actually daily, you now think at every step like it this possible? Or does this fit? You continuously feel you have to justify for something that you may not have done. For example, I was not there in Rotterdam. Or I was not here in Turkey on July 15. Or, uhm, I am not the one who spits on people or harasses people. And then you think, I do have to justify myself in that context like what you think about the situation in Rotterdam? Or, uh, why are you going to Turkey? Do you still dare? Are you for or against Erdogan? Continuous these kind of dilemmas, you continuously become black or white. You cannot say if you say I am for Erdogan, because... cannot because you are for him. And then it is just black and white."</p> <p>"Actually, I have become more aware that it is actually more relevant than I thought. I always thought, okay, they see me in a certain way but now you think oh, it can take extreme forms. And it is pretty widespread, it is not just those 10 percent PVV people who think like that, it is actually, if you looked at all political parties, everyone actually agreed with it."</p>
Interview 3	<p>"Uh, well I have to say that in the beginning I had less trouble with it. And now, uhm, I feel sometimes, I sometimes feel the urge to justify the things I say. That has come more forward in the recent times, that is the case more and more."</p> <p>"Well, I think on basis of the developments. It is getting more and more in the media"</p>

	<p>and everything and people, yes, uhm, I do not think it is okay, uhm, people expect from me to identity myself. But, I do notice that people are curious about my opinion. They also search for certain terms, my words and my findings. I notice that more and more yes.”</p> <p>“Well, I think those questions I now get asked from the society that makes me suggest that I will be looked at differently than before. In high school, when I was 18 or 18. And I never received that question. And now, after those developments, after those events and everything, then I get all those questions.”</p>
Interview 4	<p>“I actually think it [Turkish identity] has become less. Why? Because, uh, yes I have the feeling that I am being stereotyped every time. Also at school. About ‘DENK’ for example. At school everyone keeps an eye on the news of course, then I get jokes like have you voted for ‘DENK’? That sort of things. I can laugh about it, of course, that is how I am, but there are other people who do not accept that kind of jokes.”</p>
Interview 5	<p>“The Dutch in me has become a bit less.”</p> <p>“Yes, I think I am not that kind of Turkish Dutch person that Rutte describes, but I still do not feel 100 percent welcome as I felt before.”</p>