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Acculturation Process of the Immigrant Turks Living in Deventer, The Netherlands

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ACCULTURATION PROCESS OF THE IMMIGRANT TURKS LIVING IN DEVENTER, THE NETHERLANDS

1. INTRODUCTION

Approximate populations of non-European origin in Europe are 3 - 4% of the total population. Moreover, statistics show that the European Union will need at least 1.6 million migrants a year to ensure the continuity of its workforce in the next fifty years or so (Economist 2000 in Laachir, 2002). Europeans face that for their future prosperity and indeed their survival, immigrants are necessary and 'desirable' and that xenophobic fears of the 'other' must be overcome (Laachir, 2002) within the framework of culturally diverse societies.

That is, people of many cultural backgrounds come to live together in a diverse society forming cultural groups that are not equal in power (numerical, economic, or political). Thus in both popular and academic circles, anthropologically-inspired notions of cultural difference have been widely debated (Soriano, et al., 2004) with popular and social science terms such as "mainstream", "minority", "ethnic group" etc. (Berry, 1997). What varies however is the course, the level of difficulty, and to some extent the eventual outcome of acculturation (Berry, 1997) as reflected on the experiences of the global human community in modern times with the aim of preserving different cultures without interfering with the 'smooth functioning of society'.

This study aims to discuss the acculturation process experienced by Turkish immigrant communities in Deventer, the Netherlands. Antecedent conditions that will be given as the internal and environmental contexts will be analyzed by being risk and preventive factors based on quantitative and qualitative methods of research realized in 2008. In qualitative analysis, method of data collection was public survey studies. During the application of survey attention paid on not exceeding 5% error rate in the number of survey and working on the sample group of having the common properties. Pilot survey and synchronous interview techniques are primarily used in the research. The purpose of the pilot survey was to determine the monitoring status of the Turks living in Deventer in urban scale, and spatial segregation shaped by their ethnic relation accordingly. Survey questions were created in accordance with this preliminary survey and pilot survey results (six sections composed of household interview, immigration, income status, work environment, living area, identity and integration).

Quantitative analysis based on the fact that truth is realized differently by different groups and individuals. For this reason, during data collection interviews of different groups and their members, Alewi and Sunni Turks, Republic of Turkey Attached of Labor, authorized representatives of foundations and institutions, local administrators, teachers, health officers were realized and participant observation, self expression, analysis of official documents and media analysis methods were used (Robinson, 1998).

2. ACCULTURATION PROCESS

The classical definition of *acculturation* was presented by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits (1936, qtd. in Berry, 1997): "acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups". Although acculturation is a neutral term in principle (that is, change may take place in either or both

groups), in practice acculturation tends to induce more change in one of the groups than in the other (Berry, 1990). The focus is on how individuals who have developed in one cultural context manage to adapt to new contexts that result from migration (Berry, 1997) as expressed through acculturation strategies.

2.1. Acculturation strategies

The ways an individual (or group) attempt to relate to the dominant culture has been termed “acculturation strategies” (Berry, Kim, Power, Young, & Bujaki, 1989) originating from the result of interaction between ideas deriving from the cultural maintenance literature and the intergroup relations literature. In the former, the central issue is the degree to which one wishes to remain culturally as one has been (e.g., in terms of identity, language, way of life) as opposed to giving it all up to become part of a larger society; in the latter, the central issue is the extent to which one wishes to have day-to-day interactions with members of other groups in society, as opposed to turning away from them and relating only to one’s own group (Neto, 2002).

When an individual in a nondominant culture does not wish to maintain his identity and seeks daily interaction with the dominant culture, then the **assimilation** mode is defined (Berry, 1997). In contrast, when one values holding on to one’s original culture and at the same time wishes to avoid interactions with others, then the **separation** alternative is defined (Berry, 1997).

When there is interest both in maintaining one’s original culture and in daily interactions with others, **integration** is the option; here some degree of cultural integrity is maintained while one moves to participate as an integral part of the larger social network (Berry, 1997). The term integration as used here is clearly distinct from the term assimilation (although the two sometimes appear in the literature as synonyms); cultural maintenance is sought in the former case, whereas in the later there is little or no interest in such continuity.

In regions with a large presence of an ethnic minority group, ethnic identity may constitute part of national identity. Thus biculturalism appears with one component specifying the ethnic group and the other specifying the nationality (Gong, 2007) whereby immigrant groups acquire certain cultural practices from the dominant culture, while maintaining their own (or elements of their own) ethnic culture.

Finally, when there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance (often for reasons of exclusion or discrimination), then **marginalization** is defined (Berry, 1997). If all other acculturation strategies represent an active choice by an individual or a group, marginalization represents an occurrence. It happens to individuals or groups when they are out of cultural and psychological contact with both their heritage culture and the larger society. At this point, Landis (2008) states that religion (in the sense of fundamentalism) has become the most visible aspect of cultural conflict. It is an increasing element of fundamentalism that prepares the necessary grounds of marginalization as an inevitable byproduct of the increasing levels of economic globalization; a globalization that increases the economic disparity between classes.

These strategies are conceptualized within the framework of the acculturating population. However when the dominant group enforces certain forms of acculturation, or constrains the choices of non-dominant groups or individuals, then other terms need to be used. Most

clearly, people may sometimes choose the separation option; but when it is required of them by the dominant society, the situation is one of **segregation** (Berry, 1997).

2.2. Antecedent conditions

Figure 2.1. Acculturation process

Norms and ideologies reflected in a society's public rhetoric provide the environmental context within which all society members form attitudes towards acculturation (Pfafferott and Brown, 2006). The psychological pre-conditions in the host country - the widespread (un)acceptance of the value to a society of cultural diversity (i.e. the presence of a positive/negative "multicultural ideology"); relatively low/high levels of prejudice (i.e. ethnocentrism, racism, and discrimination); positive/negative mutual attitudes among cultural groups (i.e. specific intergroup hatreds); and a sense of (un)attachment to, or (un)identification with, the larger society by all groups (Berry, 1997) – are conceptualized as the environmental context of antecedent conditions.

So to the extent that a person perceives differences between his home and host culture will influence which acculturative strategy is adopted (Bhawuk et al., 2006). The greater the difference the more likely will be that the person will adopt either a marginalization or separative strategy. Researches show that **acculturative stress** is the main risk factor in psychological maladjustment and social disorder as a result of first **perceived discrimination** that is reflected with prejudice towards immigrants. As Kosic et al. (2005) and Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, and Se´ne´cal (1997) suggest, the more prejudice the respondent is, the more negative is his or her attitude towards separation and marginalization and the more positive is his or her attitude towards assimilation public opinion being effective in this occasion. This can be foreseen in the changing atmosphere of (in)tolerance to diversity in Europe. As which initially was an attitude of ‘social tolerance’ towards immigrants, it has become hostile and xenophobic in recent years with the element of racism (Sniderman, Peri, De Figueiredo, & Piazza, 2000; Ter Wal, 1999; Triandafyllidou, 1999; Laachir, 2002; Cremer-Schafer et al., 2001; EUMC, 2005a, b; McLaren, 2003; Pettigrew & Meertens, 1995; Quillian, 1995; Scheepers, Gijssberts, & Coenders, 2002; Augoustinos & Reynolds, 2001; Stangor, 2000; Hogan and D’arcy, 2007).

Yet in political and public debates immigrants are often depicted as trouble-makers. The events of September 11 added further to ethnic tensions. Nonetheless the results of public opinion polls, conducted regularly in the European Union, show a high percentage of people having negative attitudes towards immigrants.

In this regard mass media and some politicians have been accused of being partly responsible for the negative attitudes towards immigrants because of their portrayals of immigrants as being involved in clandestine, illegal and criminal activities (Ter Wal, 2001; Kosic, et al., 2005). A study on the language used in newspaper titles and articles reveals that ‘Albanian’, ‘immigrant’, ‘arrested’, ‘public force’, ‘clandestine’, ‘extracomunitari’, ‘drugs’, ‘Moroccan’, ‘refugee’, and ‘away’, were the ten most frequently used words to describe migration-related events. Therefore, perceived acculturation strategies along with the level of ethnic prejudice, predict the over-inclusion of immigrants into the most ‘threatening’ out-group (Kosic and Phalet, 2006) mostly related with group size.

Some (Blalock, 1967; Quillian, 1995) have suggested that **ethnic prejudice and discrimination** against specific out-groups increase with relative group size because they are more visible, and are therefore perceived as a potential threat to the native population in terms of economic and political power.

Thus **the neighbourhood effects of segregated housing** within larger geographical areas appear to be a second risk factor. This desertion destroys the empathy between the larger society and those who live in these spaces (Van Kepmen and Özüekren, 1998). For example Muslim populations in Europe, settling in to second- and third generation status and supplemented by more recent arrivals, however, tend to be hyper-concentrated in containerizing neighbourhoods of urban centers or decaying suburban peripheries, and relatively young of age.

If all Muslim immigration to Europe were closed off immediately, the Muslim percentage of the European population would double every ten-to-fifteen years, given differential birth rates. Following these discussions, Hjern (2004) argues that second-generation immigrants are at particular risk for illicit drug abuse and adverse socioeconomic living conditions are very important in explaining this high risk (Hjern, 2004). Selten et al. (2007) suggest that adverse

social circumstances are effective in explaining the association between migration and schizophrenia.

However some argue that families with higher levels of human and social capital by their strong social and family networks and a strong positive identification with their own culture are better able to support their children's selective adaptation to life (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). Portes and Rumbaut (2001) argued that resources such as the presence of a co-ethnic community may provide a filter to help immigrants confront obstacles such as discrimination. Participation in ethnic units, which are supported by the social capital hypothesis, influences the emergence of social trust and tolerance.

The foremost positive aspect of residential concentration is that it eases the desired cooperation in the unfamiliar living space. It provides the continuation and development of social relations. These social relations help protect the cultures of those groups which are outside the values and norms of the majority culture.

At this point, **new legislation, policing and counter-terrorist measures** are casting the immigrants and mostly the muslim population, as the 'enemy within' (Fekete, 2004). According to Fekete (2004), assimilation is being forced through by the adoption of a number of measures, which include the recasting of citizenship laws according to security considerations; the introduction of compulsory language and civics tests for citizenship applicants; code of conduct for the trustees of mosques; and the like. The security state demands a cultural policy towards minorities based on cultural homogenization and forced assimilation. This eschews pluralism and fears diversity.

Bourhis, Moise, Perrault, and Senecal (1997) argue in their interactive acculturation model that the combination of immigrant separation orientations with host assimilationist or exclusionist orientations predicts problematic or conflictual intergroup relations. Thus **strangeness** becomes an important risk factor as a result of perceived discrimination. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) acknowledge the importance of the social - environmental - context as a challenge that both immigrants and their children face when they attend schools and live in neighborhoods that "may promote a set of undesirable outcomes such as dropping out of school, joining youth gangs, or participating in the drug subculture" that are inconsistent with the values and norms of the dominant culture (p. 59). These challenges are most widely encountered in predominately minority inner city neighborhoods and schools.

However government policies in favor of integration pushing them to melt in a pot of uniqueness may further increase the tension between the excluded and the others within the framework of an increasing element of **ethnic pride** which is a newly developing but effective risk factor. Destroying their social ties with their communities is in fact destroying their support in an environment in which they are excluded with the elements of prejudice. Muslims claim that the Europeans are the partisans of freedom and faithless, the Europeans however judge Islam for being reactionary and terrorist. Thus the coming ages will be characterized by an increasing tendency of especially the second and third generation immigrants coming from Islamic countries to the **radicalization** of Islam and isolation from the mainstream society, under the umbrella of ethnic pride, as a reaction to the assimilationist policies of the European governments. Partially as a reaction to the secular family environment and partially because of their faith to the youth groups they belong to, this generation turns towards radical-conservative Islam.

Nonetheless ethnic pride brings with itself **separation** as an active choice of the immigrant through holding on to his/her original culture at the same time avoiding interactions with others. This is reflected on everyday life with strong family ties structured on a closed environment.

3. ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS EFFECTIVE IN THE ACCULTURATION PROCESS OF THE IMMIGRANT TURKS IN DEVENTER, THE NETHERLANDS

The research defines antecedent conditions effective in the acculturation process of the immigrant Turks in Deventer as segregation/concentration; perceived discrimination as a result of new legislation, policing and counter-terrorist measures and an increasing element of ethnic pride.

3.1. Segregation/Concentration

The population of Deventer in 2006 was composed of 78,9 % local, 12,4 % non-European and 8,6 % European ethnic groups, Turks having the biggest share (6,7 %) (Table 3.1) and being the most segregated/concentrated in non-European ethnic groups (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1. Distribution of Turkish population in Deventer

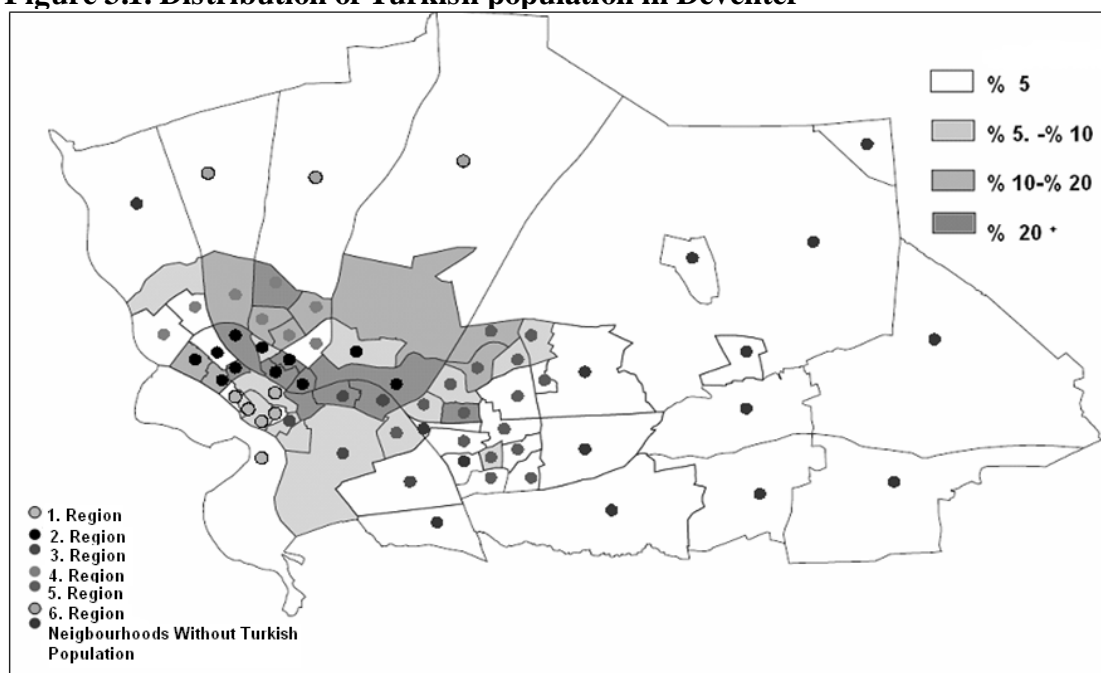


Table 3.1. Region and Neighborhood Based Distribution Ratio of Turkish Citizens in the City of Deventer (2004-2006)

Ethnic Structure	2004		2005		2004-2005 Population Change (%)	2006		2005-2006 Population Change (%)
	Population	Rate (%)	People	Rate (%)		People	Rate (%)	
Native (Autochtoon)	69760	78.3	75530	79.0	8.3	76138	78.9	0.8
Westerner (Westers)	5978	6.7	6180	6.5	3.4	8309	8.6	34.4
Non-western (Niet-westers)	6231	7.0	6326	6.6	1.5	6347	6.7	0.3
Moroccans	294	0.3	311	0.3	5.8	307	0.3	-1.3
Antillians	444	0.5	485	0.5	9.2	483	0.5	-0.4
Surinames	635	0.7	635	0.7	0.0	638	0.7	0.5
Chinese	946	1.1	992	1.0	4.9	859	0.9	-13.4
Other	4802	5.3	5105	5.4	6.3	3251	3.4	-36.3

Total	13352	15.0	13854	14.5	3.8	11985	12.4	-13.5
Un-known	28	0.0	26	0.0	-7.1	26	0.0	0.0
Total	89118	100.0	95590	100.0	7.3	96548	100.0	1.0

For the majority of Turks (90%) living in Regions 2, 3, and 4, and for 57% of those in the 1st Region, Deventer is the first place of settlement in the Netherlands. This indicates that those who arrived in the Netherlands for the first time chose locations which are densely populated by the Turks. They also (43% in the 1st Region, 23% in the other Regions) moved in with relatives. On the other hand, those Turkish immigrants who settled in Deventer afterwards, mostly (70%) preferred the city center where they would live alongside foreigners.

In Region 2, the Turkish population, which was 926 in 2004, has increased to 2492 in 2006, thereby indicating that the majority of Turkish immigrants arriving in Deventer in this two-year period has settled in this region.

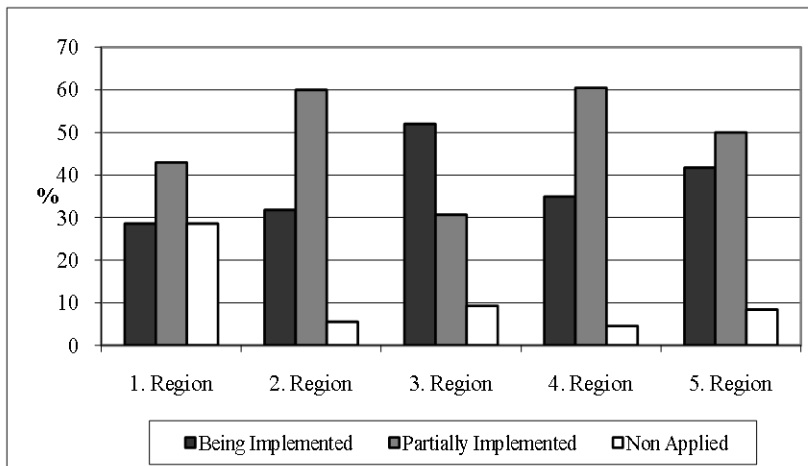
In Region 3, the ratio of the Turkish population to the neighborhood population is the highest (21.4%), whereby those who are not Dutch constitute approximately 45% of the Region's population. Moroccans and the Surinamese also reside here. Despite sharing the same religion, Turks do not establish communication or everyday relations with the Moroccans because of the Moroccans' tendency to commit crime and violence. Living areas in this Region, which is named as "Dertalan" (trouble area) by the Turks, consist of housing awaiting demolition, a primary education school mostly (92%) attended by Turkish children, a small trade center where traditional Turkish food is sold, and a Turkish style coffeehouse where men spend time (Photo 3.1).

Photo 3.1. "Dertalan" Neighbourhood



In the social lives of those who have immigrated from Turkey customs and traditions, as well as their interaction with the society are distinctive. In Regions 2,3, and 4, where the Turkish population is high, a rather enclosed life style is carried out (at a rate of 50%), and customs and traditions (religious holidays, circumcision, weddings, rituals of birth and death, and the like) are preserved according to denominational differences and transmitted to future generations. Yet the Turks living in Region 1 where they interact more closely with the Dutch drift apart from such habits (Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2. Continuing Traditions



Social life of the Turks is limited in their rather infrequent participation in various courses, charity bazaars, associational activities, sports activities, and trips within the country or abroad (usually Turkey) organized by religious associations. The most significant social activity for the community is shopping at the bazaar set up at the city center on Fridays and Saturdays. The bazaar is also an essential place for communication and for dining together (Photo 3.2). Apart from the bazaar, shopping is done mostly at Turkish markets (Table 3.2, Photo 3.3) which are also seen as meeting places.

Photo 3.2. Immigrant Turkish Women at the Bazaar at the City Center



Photo 3.3. Turkish markets in Deltaalan



Table 3.2 .Shopping places

Shopping place	1. Region	2. Region	% 3. Region	4. Region	5. Region
No answer		3,6	12,0		
Big markets	42,9	9,1	37,3	9,3	6,3
Big markets- Dutch grocery stores	42,9	0,9	6,7	0,0	0,0
Big markets- Turkish grocery stores	14,3	48,2	1,3	55,8	8,3
Big markets- Turkish grocery stores- Dutch grocery stores		16,4	16,0	18,6	37,5
Other		1,8	2,7		
Dutch grocery stores		1,8	2,7		20,8
Turkish grocery stores		2,7	16,0	7,0	2,1
Turkish grocery stores - Dutch grocery stores		15,5	5,3	9,3	25,0
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0

One of the most important products of segregation is explained as low level of education. In the view of teachers at a primary school attended mostly by Turkish children in the Turkish neighborhood Dertabuurg:

“[...] The basic reason for difficulties in education is not language. Ghettoization applies not only to the adults but also to the children. Turkish children are attacked by other youngsters because they are ‘foreign.’ For this reason, in education, schools are replaced by Turkish associations whose training is not appropriate to this country although their defense zones may be powerful.”

The fact that these associations have become more active is explained by the Turkish Government’s putting an end to sending teachers over to the Nerherlands. As such, the new generation either discontinues education or is unsuccessful. Under these circumstances, training in Turkish and in religion is provided by the mosques and/or other Turkish associations (Photo 3.4).

Photo 3.4. Turkish Immigrant Children being Trained at a Mosque



Nevertheless, from the point of view of Turkish immigrants, it is not the Turks but the Dutch who create segregation. According to an immigrant who is the President of Deventer Central

Mosque and Municipal Councilor from the Green Party, the Dutch have laid the foundations of spatial and social segregation in the city firstly in the field of education:

“[...] With the arrival of Turks, the Dutch stopped sending their children to these schools which are, today, named as Turkish schools. As such, the children and the parents had no Dutch friends left in these schools.”

A Turkish student at a vocational school, on the other hand, relates education to legal obligations:

“[...] If we discontinue education, health insurance gets cut off, we cannot get driver's licenses, child benefits that the families' receive get cut off, we can even be deported. Since the teachers are aware of this as well, they do not mess with us, and we do not attend classes but spend time here.”

Moreover, according to a Turkish immigrant:

“[...] When the Turks first arrived in the Netherlands, they were significant. Later on, the circumstances changed. First, the teachers alienated the students. Yet, the segregation in schools is not the only barrier in education. The first generation who are, at most, elementary school graduates and who have not improved themselves here are not helpful in the training of the new generation.”

According to the research findings, education level displays an increase parallel to double citizenship (Table 3.3). Throughout all the Regions, among those who possess double citizenship, the percentage who have completed their education or are still continuing is approximately 50. In Region 1, education beyond high school level increases with double citizenship. In the other Regions, the rate of Turks' participation in education is around 30 %. These data indicate that there exist significant differences among the five Regions in relation to the education level. While the education level of the 1st Region, which has a low segregation level, increases, that among those living in segregated neighborhoods decreases.

Table 3.3. Nationality and Level of Education of Head of the Family

	Nationality	Missed	Educational Status (%)				Total	
			Unfinished	Primary School	Secondary School	High School		University
1. Region	Dual Citizen		14,3	28,6	14,3		14,3	71,4
	Dutch						14,3	14,3
	Dutch -Other						14,3	14,3
	Total		14,3	28,6	14,3		42,9	100,0
2. Region	Dual Citizen	9,1	0,9	15,5	15,5	16,4	6,4	54,5
	Dutch			0,9		0,9	1,8	3,6
	Dutch -Other					0,9		0,9
	TC *	1,8	0,9	13,6	4,5	10,9		31,8
3. Region	Total	10,9	1,8	30,0	20,0	29,1	8,2	100,0
	Missed	18,7						18,7
	Dual Citizen	2,7	1,3	14,7	9,3	14,7	5,3	48,0
	Dutch						1,3	1,3
4. Region	Dutch -Other			1,3			1,3	2,7
	TC		4,0	4,0	12,0	9,3		29,3
	Total	21,3	5,3	20,0	21,3	24,0	8,0	100,0
	Missed	9,3						9,3
5. Region	Dual Citizen	7,0		16,3	18,6	14,0	2,3	51,8
	Dutch			2,3				2,3
	Dutch -Other							0,0
	TC		2,3	9,3	9,3	7,0	2,3	30,8
6. Region	Total	16,3	2,3	27,9	27,9	20,9	4,7	100,0
	Missed	12,5						12,5
	Dual Citizen			14,6	8,3	22,9	8,3	56,3
	Dutch	2,1				2,1		4,2
7. Region	Dutch -Other							0,0
	TC			10,4	8,3	8,3	2,1	27,1

* Republic of Turkey

The other factor which is explained with segregation is the economic structure. In Region 1, 15% of the families have a monthly income of more than 3000 €, and 60% have a low income between 600-1200 €, and these figures suggest that high and low income groups reside alongside one another. In Region 2, the fact that the high income group is very small (4%) and that those with a 600-1200 € income constitute 30% stands for the density of the unskilled workforce. In Region 3, the smallness of the high income group (3%) and the fact that the 600-1200 € income group is almost 40% and those who do not indicate their income make up 20% can, again, be taken to signify the low income level in this region. Residents of Regions 4 and 5 are also members of the medium income group (those who have a monthly income below 1200 € make up 10%).

Of the Turks living in Region 1, 43% are retired, 14% receive social benefits; the rest are paid workers. In the 2nd Region, paid workers (34.5%) and the retired population (11%) constitute an important percentage. Regions 2 and 5 are the areas in which most depend on social benefits (20%). Regions 3 and 4, on the other hand, are the areas in which the rate of those who utilize retirement incomes and social benefits is relatively low. In Regions 4 and 5, the rate of those who have poor economic standing (50%) is identical to that of paid workers. The 2nd and 3rd Regions display a similar status.

According to an official who works in a health institution in Deventer:

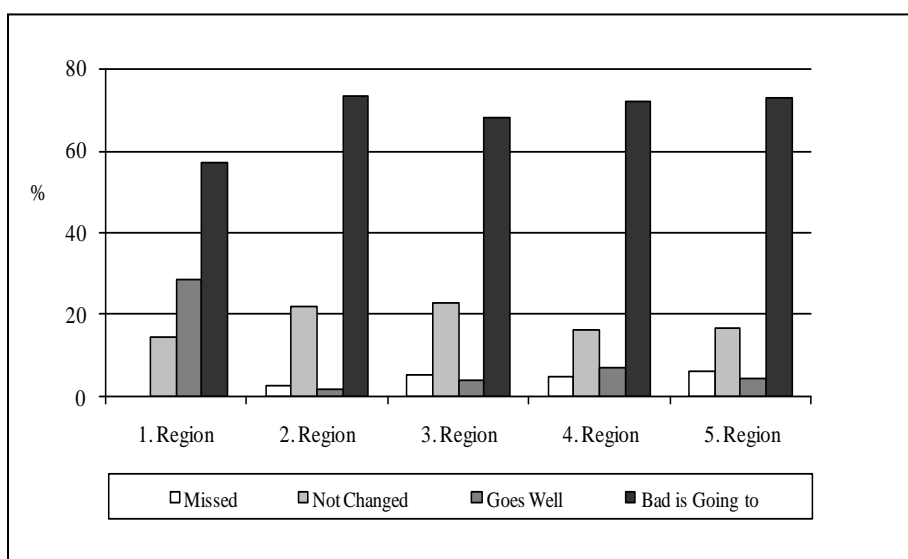
“Social benefits are abused among the Turks starting with the first generation. When factories started to lay off workers, both women and men found ways of achieving early retirement due to incapacitation. Due to these negative examples, the young started to retire early and live on social benefits rather than working.”

3.2. Perceived discrimination: New legislation, policing and counter-terrorist measures

According to the Turks; the biggest difficulties in living in the Netherlands and/or in Deventer are xenophobia, discrimination, low income, difficulty of finding jobs, language and health and education services which are in the first rank and prejudice and cultural differences are in the second rank. Majority of the Turks (60%) stated that the integration policies of the European Union cause a secret pressure and said that assimilation has replaced integration. Even the Turks who have advanced in harmonization and adaptation in the 1st region (71.4%) stated that assimilation and discrimination still continue. The percentages are 54.2 % in the 2. Region, 47.6 % in the 3. Region, 58.2 % in the 4. Region and 62.4 % in the 5. Region.

In terms of the altered views of the Dutch for the Turks: In the 1st region 57.1% said that it was getting worse, 14.3% said that nothing had changed and 28.6% said that it was getting better. Immigrants in the other regions think that it is getting worse in majority by 72% (Figure 3.3). Nevertheless, all of those who define the treatment of the Turkish by the Dutch as hypocritical, discriminatory, degrading, and oppressive (60%) are those who have no contacts with the Dutch whatsoever. The fact that the same group has weak relations with other immigrants indicates that they become further introvert through discrimination. Those who claim to have better relations with the Dutch have also made the same definitions for them. Only 1.3% of the Turkish immigrants regard the Dutch as friendly and 5.3% define them as “egalitarian and just.” These attitudes become the most distinctive barrier in sharing a social life with the Dutch.

Figure 3.3. Views of the Dutch for the Turks



However, in such living circumstances, 60% of the Turks want to live in the Netherlands and in Turkey partially when they retire. All of the immigrants living in the 1st region, 29% of those living in the 2nd and the 4th regions and 22% of the 3rd and the 5th region said that they do not want to go back to their homelands to live for the rest of their lives.

According to a Turkish politician; going back to Turkey was mostly realized in the first years of migration followed by a second surge during the 11th September disaster in 2001. People started seeing immigrants in a more negative light. Thus, the negative policies against foreigners have caused 3000 young Turks in the 20-25 age group to go back to their homelands in 2006. as a potential danger not only in the Netherlands but throughout Europe, although they were considered to be a part of the cultural mosaic until that date and this has triggered segregation and discrimination.

3.3. Ethnic pride

In the study, the sense of belonging has been evaluated in terms of citizenship and with the language spoken and identity indicators.

Among the Turks, transition to dual citizenship is common (60%). While dual citizenship is foregrounded in all the Regions, it is concentrated among the 45-60 age group and mostly the first generation; in Regions 2 and 3, it displays an even distribution, and in the 5th region, it is concentrated among the 31-45 age group (Table 3.4). While there exists none in Region 1 with solely Turkish citizenship, this rate is around 30% in the other Regions. The rate of those who are only Dutch citizens is 14.3% in Region 1, 10% in Region 5, and an average of 3% in the other Regions. The fact that the rate of dual citizenship and Dutch citizenship is high in Region 1 may be taken as the first sign of assimilation.

Table 3.4. Citizenship According to Age Groups

Age Groups	1. Region			2. Region			3. Region			4. Region			5. Region		
	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland	TC	Dual Citizen	Holland
-18								5,2							
18-30							6,1	10,2	3,4	13,8	32,2		2,5	20,0	5,0
31-45	8,3		8,5	12,0	22,4		17,1	19,7	7,6	10,5	18,4	2,3	7,5	32,5	2,5
46-60	8,3	66,7	8,2	17,2	25,7		12,4	8,8	1,4	5,2	7,2		20,0	7,5	2,5
60+				5,5	11,9			8,1		5,2	5,2				
Total	16,6	66,7	16,7	34,7	60,0	5,3	35,6	52,0	12,4	34,7	63,0	2,3	30,0	60,0	10

Although there are no Turks with only Turkish citizenship in the 1st region, this ratio is around 30% in the other regions. Ratio of immigrants who are holding only Dutch citizenship is 14.3% in the 1st region, 10% in the 5th region and 3% on the average in other regions. The first indicator of harmonization/assimilation is the high dual citizenship and Dutch citizenship ratio in the 1st region.

Throughout detailed interviews, especially non-governmental organizations attach high importance to the issue of language and state that the Turks speak in Turkish among themselves and with their children. Questionnaire results confirm this as well. The new generation speaks Dutch better when compared to the older generations. Those who speak Dutch very well make up 71.4% in Region 1, 43.6% in Region 2, and 56% in Regions 3, 4, and 5. Those who do so at a good level comprise 14.3% in Region 1, 43.6% in Region 2, 16% in Region 3, 37.2% in Region 4, and 35.4% in Region 5 (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5. Proficiency in Dutch Language among Children according to the Language Spoken at Home

	Languages	Missed	Very Good	Good	Bad	Intermediate	Total
1. Region	Both Languages			14,3			14,3
	Dutch			14,3			14,3
	Turkish			57,1			57,1
	Total	14,3		71,4	14,3		100
2. Region	Both Languages			32,7	0,9	6,5	40,1
	Dutch			0,9	18,2	2,7	21,8
	Turkish			10	24,5	3,6	38,1
	Total	6,4		43,6	43,6	6,4	100
3. Region	Both Languages	1,3		24	12	1,3	38,7
	Dutch			1,3			1,3
	Turkish	1,3		32	16	1,3	53,3
	Total	9,3		57,3	28	4	100
4. Region	Both Languages			41,9	11,6	4,7	58,1
	Dutch			2,3			2,3
	Turkish			11,6	23,3		34,9
	Total	2,3		55,8	37,2	4,7	100,0
5. Region	Both Languages	4,2		41,7	20,8		66,7
	Dutch						
	Turkish			14,6	14,6	4,2	33,3
	Total	4,2		56,2	35,4	4,2	100,0

All of the children whose families speak in Dutch at home, almost 80% whose families speak in Turkish, and 90% of those who speak in both languages speak Dutch very well or at a good level. Nevertheless, teachers claim that even if Turkish students speak Dutch language well, they will not be successful as they cannot think in this language so they experience problems not only in education but also in their social lives and so they cannot adapt to the larger society. That's why Dutch people are prejudiced against Turks whose skills are inadequate in speaking the Dutch language because they cannot communicate sufficiently.

Turks define prejudice as the key factor in newly emerging element of ethnic pride mostly related with religious identity. They usually define themselves as Turkish, however; being Muslim is another significant identity element. The Muslim-Turkish identity is not accepted in the 1st region where integration is intensive, whereas it is accepted highly by 35.4% in the 2nd region, by 34.9% in the 4th region and this ratio decreases to 18.7% in the 3rd region and to 4.2% in the 5th region. The 30-45 age groups prefer only their Muslim identity by 55% in all of the regions. Defining identity as Turkish and Muslim is prominent which shows that the citizenship of the country migrated to and religion are determining factors (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6. Defining Identities (%)

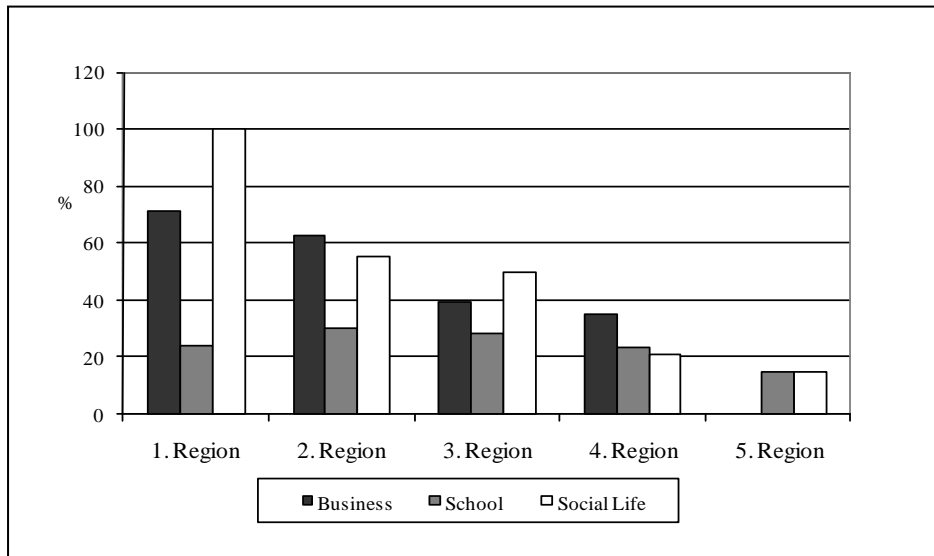
Identities	1. Region	2. Region	3. Region	4. Region	5. Region
Turks from Deventer	28.6	3.6	2.7	9.3	4.2
Muslim from Deventer	0.0	6.3	8.0	9.4	12.6
Turks from Holland	14.3	1.8	2.6	2.3	2.1
Muslim Turks from Holland	0.0	0.9	5.4	16.3	20.9
Turks	42.9	32.7	42.7	2.3	35.4
Muslim	0.0	14.5	9.3	25.6	20.8
Muslim Turks	0.0	35.4	18.7	34.9	4.2
Multicultural	14.3	0.0	6.6	0.0	0.0
Missed	0.0	3.6	4.0	100	100

Majority of the young population define themselves as Turkish. The role of families and the Turkish and Dutch states are important in this aspect. According to the civil society organizations; Turks who live in Deventer and in the Netherlands were disregarded by the Turkish state for some time and therefore a lot of young Turks who were forgotten about, could neither be Turkish, nor Dutch and lingered in between an indetermination in terms of identity and life styles. (For example; 42% of the 18-45 age groups define themselves as living in Deventer/Dutch-Turkish.)

The socialization process of the Turks change according to their definitions of identity and to the environment in which they are with the Dutch. Almost half of those who define themselves as “Turkish” and “Turkish-Muslim” and all of those who define themselves as “Dutch” or “foreign” indicated that they established close contacts with the Dutch. Only 10% of those who define themselves as “Muslim,” however, contact the Dutch closely, making it evident that those who define themselves through religion, contact the Dutch less than the other groups. The proportional enormity of those who define themselves as multicultural or as Dutch in Region 1 is also traced in the level of close contact with the Dutch in business life.

Turkish immigrants are in close contact with the Dutch in Region 1, where they seem to have become integrated at the urban scale, and contact level decreases as they move from the city center (Figure 3.4). In establishing contacts with the Dutch, the fact of “coming into this country alone,” which makes contact with the Dutch obligatory when there are no Turks in the close environment, is also as significant as integration, which 57% of those living in Region 1 have stated.

Figure 3.4. Level of Contact with the Dutch in Business, at School, and in Social Life



Business life is also an important factor in the socialization process. It is realized that the Turks living in Region 1 prefer the Dutch in business life and, for this reason, they are ahead in the adaptation process. Outside the 1st Region, business life-based friendship and fellowship can only develop if people are from the same ethnic background. Hence Sunnites, Alaouites, and immigrants with Eastern background are dissociated in business life, and the connections based on being from the same town become distinctive in business and social life-based relations. On the other hand, business owners prefer family management, and, therefore, their contact with others remain at the minimum level.

Turkish students on the other hand, have indicated that they did not make friends with the Dutch not only because of language but also according to the desire of their families and the Dutch. Hence, Turkish students, especially at vocational schools, become introvert and segregated. This segregation is also true for the grouping between boys and girls, and, among the girls, between those who use the turban and those who do not (Photo 3.5).

Photo 3.5. Turkish Youth Dissociated from the Others at School



Turks who prefer an introverted life style are able to socialize primarily with Turks, and especially with their own families and relatives, and through visits and religious activities. Religious associations and mosques are the places that Turks visit often and where they are able to socialize. Although Sunnite Muslims visit the mosque seldom for worship (40%), on holidays (60%) or two or three times a week (57%), their rate of visiting the mosque or religious associations for other activities is rather high (63%). Yet in Region 1, where the level of contact with the Dutch is higher, only 43% visit the mosque. Consequently, it can be stated that as adaptation to the foreign country is established, solidarity based on religion decreases.

Religion is a significant factor throughout all the Regions in the case of participation in non-governmental organizations. There are 145 associations under the Federation of Dutch Turkish Islam Culture Associations, which is affiliated with the Dutch Trust for Religious Affairs. Turkish immigrants become members of these associations according to their religious denominations. Throughout the interviews, it was declared that the purpose of participating in these associations is not to enrich social life, which is true for the Dutch, but to achieve personal gain (receiving financial help, acquiring political power, and the like). There has been no membership traced among the Turks in any associations related to the Netherlands or to Deventer. These data verify the fact that the Turkish community becomes introverted in the country where they are foreigners or in the society through their own identity elements.

In relation to the institution of marriage, a major tool in socialization, 43% of the Turks in Region 1, 71% in Region 5, and 60% in the other Regions do not want their daughters to marry the Dutch. The basic reason for this has been explained as cultural differences in Region 1, and as firstly religion, then nationality and lack of trust in the other Regions.

4. Conclusion

The research findings prove the fact that Turkish immigrants in Deventer preserve their ethnic culture and identities and transmit them to the future generations, and they live through difficulties in integrating to the native society because of their efforts to sustain these differences without transforming or adapting to place and time and of their resistance. Nevertheless in their integration problems, it is not only their sense of belonging based on ethnic structure and/or religion but also discriminatory policies that have become prominent in the post-September 11 period that are definitive factors.

The second and third generation immigrants who have mostly overcome the problems of the first generation, live through difficulties related to preserving ethnic culture and identity and to discrimination. Yet in the community in general, the language problem, low education levels and economic negativities cause integration problems, and that this is related to the unskilled structure of the workforce as a result of low education. The fact that discriminatory measures leading to an increasing element of ethnic pride constitute the most vital factor in the Turks' reaction to integration policies. They do not display any efforts in opening up to the outside, understanding others, and expressing themselves in these ongoing social and cultural inconsistencies and in ethnic and religious clashes.

While terms such as cultural mosaic is frequently used in political discourses, Turks are still defined as "immigrant workers" in Deventer and their inclusion in the society is not desired. The anxieties of the Dutch increase as being Muslim is an important factor in exclusion. In the recent years especially, the agenda for the Turks consist firstly of xenophobia, discrimination,

difficulty of finding jobs, language problem, health and education services, and demand for housing, and secondly of prejudice and cultural differences and the related immigrant policies.

The fact that segregation is created as a result of reasons stemming from the ethnic groups themselves and from outside the community indicates that this concept is formed through multi-layered and complex relations. Cultural diversity requires that it is preliminary to understand the dynamic ways that immigrants go about constructing and reconstructing their family lives based on an interaction between cultural and social practices from their home countries and the context of their new environment (Foner, 1999). This suggests that group differences in the relationships among immigrant generation, acculturation, social capital and school co-ethnic context may be related to differences in how immigrant families are adapting their family lives as they acculture to life in Europe. So although previous research established some relationship between acculturation and developing problems, yet no published studies have explored whether the relationships between immigrant generation and developing problems were mediated by acculturation, social capital, and co-ethnic presence with efficient data coming from comparative studies (Eitle, et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, blame is placed on immigrant populations who are viewed as potential threats to community order and defined with a different cultural identity in between **cultural sovereignty of a European Union country** and their origin. Second and third generation immigrants are believed to develop new lifestyles mostly that become associated with crime in a variety of perspectives from addictions to disorder. So as their numbers have notably increased over the last decades, immigrant youth have become a focus of social, economic and political attention and are deemed to polarise societies and politics more and more leading to cross-cultural studies that promote scholarship that will render the humanities politically effective and intellectually 'useful' to the analysis of social, political and economic tensions.

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