

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND
SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT OF TURKISH
WOMEN IN THE NETHERLANDS
SINCE THE MID-1990s**

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AUTHOR DECLARATIONS

1. The material included in this thesis has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award or qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.
2. The program of advanced study of which this thesis is part of, consists:
 - i) Research Methods course during the undergraduate study
 - ii) Examination of several thesis guides of particular universities both in Turkey and abroad as well as a professional book on this subject.

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ABSTRACT

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POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND SOCIAL INVOLVEMENT OF TURKISH WOMEN IN THE NETHERLANDS SINCE THE MID-1990s

Women of Turkish origin who form a heterogeneous structure related to the political, economical, ethnical and religious positions have become active social and decisive actors of the Netherlands today. Particularly, the second generation women and their third generation children have achieved the integration with the social, political, economical and cultural life in the Netherlands. The modern role of the woman that changes and develops in the traditional Turkish family structure is the peak point of this study. The goal of this study is to examine the political participation and social development of second and third generation Turkish women, living in the Netherlands closely, to analyze the concrete data obtained for the inquiries and questionnaires in the light of existing observations, to announce the acquirements of the multicultural social structure which was created by this process to the public. The reason for the evaluation of the period after 1990s of the nearly 45-year-old integration process is to demonstrate that immigrant Turkish women have shown a more tendency for the adaptation to the rules and norms of society, its social and political life in which they live in this period. Consequently, in this study, while Turkish women's political and legal developments like the local and national policies in the Netherlands are analyzed, on the other hand, the development of one- to-one relationships like family, neighborhood and friendship with the social and societal development like the participation to the activities of socio-cultural institutions and association parties will be analyzed. In this comprehensive study which aims to research for the participation of women of Turkish origin to the public life, as the method of collecting data, an inquiry of 47 questions performed by 239 people and a thorough interview with 12 women has been preferred.

Key words:

Turkish women, the Netherlands, Political participation, Social involvement, Integration, Integration policies, Migration, Citizenship

KISA ÖZET

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Ekim 2009

HOLLANDA'DAKİ TÜRK KADINLARIN 1990'LARIN

ORTALARINDAN SONRAKİ SİYASAL VE SOSYAL KATILIMI

Ekonomik, siyasi, etnik ve dini konumları kapsamında oldukça heterojen bir yapı oluşturan Türkiye kökenli kadınlar, bugün Hollanda'nın aktif sosyal aktörleri ve karar alıcıları haline gelmişlerdir. Özellikle ikinci nesil kadınlar ve onların üçüncü nesil çocukları Hollanda'daki sosyal, siyasi, ekonomik ve kültürel yaşamla bütünleşmeyi başarmışlardır. Geleneksel Türk aile yapısı içerisindeki kadının değişen ve gelişen modern rolü bu çalışmanın ana çıkış noktasıdır. Bu çalışmanın amacı, Hollanda'da yaşayan ikinci ve üçüncü nesil Türk kadınının siyasi katılımını ve sosyal gelişimini daha yakından gözlemlemektir. Ayrıca anket ve mülakatlarla elde edilen somut verileri mevcut gözlemler ışığında analiz etmek ve gelinen sürecin ortaya çıkardığı çok kültürlü toplumsal yapının kazanımlarını kamuoyuna duyurmaktır. Yaklaşık 45 yıllık bir geçmişe sahip entegrasyon sürecinin 1990'lardan sonraki periyodunun değerlendirilmeye tabi tutulmasının sebebi ise göçmen Türk kadınının yaşadığı toplumun kural, norm, siyasi ve toplumsal yaşantısına bu dönem içerisinde daha da uyma eğiliminde olduğunu göstermektir. Bu ampirik çalışmada ilk olarak Türkiye kökenli kadınların Hollanda'daki yerel ve ulusal politikalara katılımı başta olmak üzere siyasi ve hukuksal gelişimi analiz edilecektir. İkinci olarak ise kadınların aile içi ilişkileri, arkadaşlık ve komşuluk ilişkileri gibi birebir ilişkilerinin gelişimi incelenecektir. Son olarak ise Türkiye kökenli kadınların parti, dernek ve sosyo-kültürel içerikli kurumların faaliyetlerine katılımı gibi sosyal ve toplumsal gelişimi analiz edilecektir. Türkiye kökenli kadınların kamu hayatına katılımını araştırmayı amaçlayan bu kapsamlı araştırmada, veri toplama yöntemi olarak yaklaşık 239 kişiyi kapsayan ve 47 sorudan oluşan bir anket uygulaması ve 12 kişiyle derinlemesine yapılan mülakat tercih edilmiştir.

Anahtar Kelimeler:

Türk kadınlar, Hollanda, Siyasi katılım, Sosyal katılım, Entegrasyon, Entegrasyon politikaları, Göç, Vatandaşlık

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AK Party	Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
CBS	Statistics Netherlands
CDA	Christian Democratic Appeal
CEE	Central and Eastern Europe
CLIP	Cities for Local Integration Policy
D'66	Democrats '66
EU	European Union
EUMC	The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia
EUROSTAT	Statistical Office of the European Commission
F. U.	Fatih University
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOT	Inspraak Orgaan Turken
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PvdA	Labour Party
TAM	Turkish Research Center
TGNA	Turkish Grand National Assembly
UETD	Union of European Turkish Democrats
UN	United Nations
VVD	People's Freedom and Democracy Party
WTO	World Trade Organization

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PREFACE

Generally, in the limited number - migration literature, the in the limited number - examination of the process of the women's migration independently from men is one of the factors that particularize this study. Lack of field studies that examine the participation in social and political activities in public area of women of Turkish origin in Western European countries is another factor which made us take up study in this area. Another reason is that in the existing literature, there is not enough study on the qualified woman immigrant. However, it is known that the women immigrants who are educated and qualified, in contrast to the women immigrants who are less qualified, have more opportunities to participate in public activities and work in specialized, high profile professions. In conclusion, in this study, however their appearance is not clear, the social and political developments of qualified women immigrants of Turkish origin in the Netherlands will be analyzed.

Despite the achievements in public area and in labor market of women immigrants of Turkish origin whose qualification level increases related to the education, the traditional gender roles and vantage points show that the disadvantageous manner of woman goes on. As in the other Western European countries, a Turkish woman who constitutes the significant risk group of the Netherlands tries to obtain a place for themselves in an environment where it is hard to take place in public areas except home and to be a woman immigrant.

INTRODUCTION

A migration phenomenon that is one of the significant realities of the modern world has become a global phenomenon recently and has changed the demographic structure of national states. The last period of the twentieth century has become a scene for the huge and different migration wave contrary to the other aggregate migration activities. This century in which the exploitation ceased and the national states reshaped has become a century in which the modernization and technological developments come out at the same time. Particularly after the industrial revolution, the increase in the need for the swift economical growth in labor market in Western European Countries, the weakness of the sector related to the agriculture in rural areas before the sectors relate to the market economy, the application of hard administrative policies against the ethnic groups, living in the boundaries of national state authorities; all these reasons have made the international migration compulsory. The migration phenomenon that these reasons trigger and bring an international dimension has become one of the important tools of intercultural interaction with the impact of the technical developments in transportation and communication fields.

Turkish migration which began in 1961 to Europe has become one of the important realities of social, economical, and political life of Europe with over 4,2 million mass today despite the certain measures in certain periods. Among the immigrants, Turks¹ constitute the most crowded national community with this

¹ ‘Turks’ (or ‘women of Turkish origin’) refers to first, second and third generation immigrants or women of Turkish origin, regardless of their nationality. This terminology follows that of the Dutch administrative definition (also see website of Statistics Bureau (CBS) www.cbs.nl).

population. In the community of European Union (EU) with 27 member countries, Turks has left eight EU countries behind with their existing population by taking place in 19th turn. 42,1 percent of 4,2 million Turks, living in the boundaries of EU have in the citizenship of the country in which they live in (TAM, 2007: 18)². Today, immigrants of Turkish origin and their children in Europe form a heterogeneous structure in relation with economical, political, ethnic and religious manners. On the other hand, it is essential to say that immigrants of Turkish origin and their children of second and third generation became integrated with the social, political, economical and cultural life of the country in which they live. Particularly, second generation Turkish immigrants have become today active social and decisive actors. As a natural consequence of this, many Turkish citizens have achieved to be selected to the national and international parliamentary by succeeding in the elections in local and national level. Besides, the establishments of institutions by Turkish immigrants in most Western European Countries by forming their own employment areas have contributed to communitarian and economical integration seriously.

Most of the research studies in which social, economical, political and cultural dimensions of international migration phenomenon are handled have been conducted on Germany, where there are a lot of Turkish residents. Today, after Germany and France, the country in which Turkish immigrants live much is the Netherlands. The population of Turkish immigrants which consists of middle aged men mostly coming in the first years of the migration has obtained a heterogeneous structure with the

² The objectives of the Turkish Research Center (TAM) on Turkey are to promote German-Turkish relations and the level of knowledge and information about Turkey and Turkish migrants in Europe, to advance the cooperation between Turkey, Germany and other European countries and also to support research and public relations' (also see website of TAM: <http://www.zft-online.de/index.php?site=43>).

participation of women, men, children who come through family unification, and marriage. This quest employment that is planned related to certain return and short term has converted into permanency with the transition to the Netherlands citizenship together. Besides, the easiness of technical opportunities with their interaction twith their hometown for the first few years, the adaptation of the inhabited country into the social, political and legal structure and the education process of the children has required to be permanent. In this respect, the immigrants in the Netherlands are not transitory. Contrary to this, the late comprehension of economical, social, political and cultural dimensions have gained an application field for the integration policies. In contrast to this, in the last quarter of 20th century, the high unemployment that comes out with the global economical crisis, the sudden increase in population that stems from the arrival of other family members via family unification and marriage, the traditional socio-cultural structure of immigrant community which is not well with the Western cultural structure have all had the harsh measures taken in migration and integration policies. In parallel to the harsh measures in integration policies, the racism, xenophobia, and social exclusion have increased the need for the new cautions. These so-called cautions aim to provide immigrants with their active participation for communitarian life and labor market, on the other hand, to prevent the existence of ‘unequal’ population parts from the aspect of right and freedom (Koca, 2001). In this respect, for the people coming from different cultures to live together in peace permanently, there is a need for the active and permanent integration policies. Many Western European countries getting this need prevent from the arrival of new immigrants on the one hand; they apply the integration policies for the former comers on the other hand.

In this study that aims to research for the social and political participation of second generation women immigrant of Turkish origin, main reason that the Netherlands example has been chosen is that there is a more stabilized and successful integration process in the Netherlands rather than the other Western European Countries. The achievements obtained in the education process and in the family affairs in the participation of social, political and economical activities illustrate the changing status of women. Contrary to this positive change, the traditional Turkish family structure which is exposed to radical change with the migration and the changing profile of Turkish woman which is the significant element of this structure cause several social problems to emerge. This manner has caused fragmentation that stems from severe inconsistencies and conflicts in the family. The Turkish woman who experiences culture shock in communitarian life has achieved to acquire a place in the process of making decision in family, in working life, and in political world despite all these. Modern Turkish woman who attach importance to the participation in public, takes regular exercises and follows the fashion closely today is the nominee for the important roles in the Dutch community.

There are certain differences between first, second and third generations from the aspect of taking charge of social, economical and political roles. I can say that the first generation woman in the Netherlands most of her life in the house. In the first years of the migration, women had to take charge of the roles related to the house works which the male dominated society foresees for them. The role distribution in a limited area has changed in a way that the communitarian structure foresees with the impact of globalization and as a result of this; the socio-economical status of women

has changed. In this respect, in this 45 year-old migration process, however much it is limited, there emerge developments that will give opportunity for communitarian and political life for first generation and mostly second generation women. The most important one of the developments that raise socio-political progress in public field is undoubtedly is the average-sized dwelling change. In the following years of migration, woman has lost her fertility with the effects of especially economical reasons and modernization and as a result; the average family size that urban life determines has decreased in the Netherlands Turkish community. That's why the decrease in child number in one house has cut down the burden of the house works and has increased the social, political and economical freedom outside the house.

Today, the political identity of Turkish immigrant that entered into the party programs of big political parties with a serious voter mass and began to be felt in the Netherlands political life started to make the Netherlands political comprehension gain variety. It is important to pay attention to especially the achievements of second and third generation women of Turkish origin among Turkish society that adds colorfulness and variety to the Netherlands political life recently. The increase in the education level of women in Turkish society has made politics attractive for women and has increased the political representative power of Turkish society in the Netherlands. Consequently, the interest in socio-economical and political problems of second and third generation women of Turkish origin who know two cultures well, completed their education in this country and brought up in the Netherlands is increasing day by day. In this respect, women of Turkish origin express the social and political problems in different political platforms with the socialization and

increasing education level and they oppress for the production of concrete solutions. Besides, women of Turkish origin struggle with social ailments like racism, discrimination, Islamic phobic that trigger revenge and hatred, do harm on communitarian peace and prosperity. On the other hand, Turkish woman who has these qualities is the nominee for the break of some prejudices with an approach to society through a gentle and protective vantage point and her openness for all the cultures and world views. In a conclusion, the modern roles of woman that changes and develops with the education in the traditional Turkish family structure and her social and political participation that develops with her possession of equality values are the peak point of this study.

Despite these positive changes, according to the mutual view of many authorities in Europe and the Netherlands on the integration of Turkish immigrants, an unsuccessful integration process has been experienced between Turkish immigrants and the host society³. The failure of a great part of Turkish immigrants in socio-economical field in Western Europe has made the host communities anxious about integration point. The areas where these anxieties are collected can be arranged such as; low-education performance, high leveled unemployment, alienation, education abstractionism for women in a limited way, the honor killing and oppressed marriages (Kirişçi and Erzan, 2004). As in the other Western European countries, there emerged several factors in the political and social exclusion of women and men of Turkish origin in the multicultural socio-economical system of the Netherlands. Being influential of these factors in especially women, there are several cultural and

³ The term ‘host society’ will be often used in this empirical study. ‘Host society’ the term is implied the Netherlands and Dutch society.

structural reasons. In the Netherlands society, the motherhood and home identity come before the political identity of the woman. According to this, the traditional Turkish family structure has become one of the mechanisms that provide women with exclusion from the politics. The activities outside home like the participation in political party activities that is accepted as active policy and being representative of a political party are obstructed by the male dominated control mechanism. This control mechanism that prevents as well as confine to her autonomous activity has been broken much rather than the first years of migration did.

In general, this empiric study consists of three chapters. In the first two parts of Chapter 1, the demographic structure of Turkish community living in the Netherlands and the historical process of migration has been surveyed briefly. In the third part of Chapter 1, the family affairs, education matters, economical matters, social and cultural developments and political participations that change in the 45 year-old migration process of second generation women of Turkish origin have been analyzed with the statistical data. While surveying the political participations of the women of Turkish origin, the subject has been deeply surveyed by making use of the term of political participation, its definition and the changing factors that determine the political participation.

In the first part of Chapter 2, the current developments demonstrating that women who form almost the half of Turkish community are permanent in Dutch community have been analyzed. In other words, in this chapter, the effect of the elements that involve being permanency as demand for the permanent business fields, social and political demands, religious ones, that of citizenship and housing demand on the

social and political participation have been surveyed. In the second part of Chapter 2, 40 year-old periodical development of integration policies of the Netherlands that form a limited appearance and change in time that are the applicators of multicultural migration and integration model. In other words, in this Chapter, the effect of the permanent Turkish community and Turkish women's interest or non interest in political and legal system against migration and integration policies on the participation has been analyzed.

In Chapter 3, the political participation and social developments of the second and third generation Turkish women that become a source for this study have been discussed with the theoretical and empiric results of standard questionnaire study that has been done with the participant subjects. In general, in this chapter, the participation of women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands into local and national policies and their political and legal development has been analyzed at first. Secondly, their mutual affairs such as family affairs, friendship and neighborhood of women have been surveyed. Besides, the social and communitarian development of women of Turkish origin such as their participation into the activities of the parties, association and socio-cultural contextualized institutions have been analyzed.

I. Aims and Objectives of this Study

Today, most of the EU countries show differences from the aspect of migration. Although some countries are interested in migration and the migration process of the immigrants they meet for the first time, they do not develop a successful adaptation policy because of the lack in experience of adaptation. The other countries find themselves in a migration activity and nearly for the last fifty years, they have lived

with the internal and external migration activities. In the countries that do not see themselves as a immigrant country and in which there are few immigrants, the subjects about the political participation and representation of immigrants do not take part in both in political platforms and academic literature much. As integration policies for the solution of adaptation problems that experience in these countries, immigrants' employees are not regarded as potential citizens. In these countries, immigrants are not supported to be active and effective in public spaces and such an activity is not linked to them. On the other hand, in the second group that sees itself as an immigrant country for years and gets on well with immigrants perpetually, the representation of ethnic immigrant communities, their political participation and political motion become active only by the local administrations until the long years. Thus, in the first years of migration, the immigrants play mostly economical roles in the host communities that belong to both of countries (Martiniello, 2005: 2).

Within the framework of migration and integration policies, when we compare Netherlands with the other European countries, we are faced with a totally different picture. Especially, recently, the Netherlands which adopts French style political approach has preferred a pragmatic approach to struggle with the exterior and interior dynamics and symbolical policies, in a way, have changed their place (Favell, 1998). Consequently, migration and integration matters have been evaluated throughout the macro political events by handling out the election policies in the Netherlands. Internationally, the integration which has gained a new meaning has acquired a meaning that makes a contribution to the solution of the problems and has been far away from the local symbols. From 1990s on, the migration and integration

policies in the Netherlands became more dependent on each other. The so-called migration policies do not make the integration easy, the harsh integration policies are not enough to prevent the migration.

The settled-traditional functions that are related to the woman have pushed her to possess the experiences more different than men do in addition to the social and economical conditions every country has. In almost every democratic country, the women are excluded from social, economical and political life by being influenced from the communitarian values and traditions. The women, whose social role is limited to the boundaries of the house, do not participate in political activities out of it. In traditional communities, the fundamental problems that the women face can be put into order like that; the limitation of improving herself and education with the oppression of traditions and religious beliefs, violence, abuse, the limitation in the facilities of working and unequal payment for unequal work, that is to say; the problems like inequality in opportunities (Gürses, 2004). Thus, the struggle of the women with these problems is possible only directly with the ones who experience these problems and with the participation of the ones who are aware of in the political decisions. Besides, the women who see the social events and phenomenon through their perspectives are separated from men with the experiences they develop against the problems. By this way, the participation of women into making decisions has two important results: one of them is the development of public administrations by enhancing and making use of the mutual and separated experiences of woman and man. The second one is the prevention of the neutral behavior of men who have

different experiences from those of women when they make a decision, belonging to every part of the society.

I can also add two necessities into these two results that emphasize on the essentiality of participation of woman into the public administrations' decision processes. Through the idea that integration can reach success only in its space, to give importance to mutual dialogue studies in towns, cities and districts in order to make the integrations of women of Turkish origin into local community is necessary. Thus, in this mutual dialogue in social and political space, to do useful works by taking part in socio-cultural institutions and political parties and to represent Turkish society is essential. Consequently, the first result to take part in making political decision process is its positive contribution into mutual integration process. On the other hand, citizens have a very important place in shaping of modern liberal democracies as a political actor. Thus, the term 'modern citizenship' that includes civil, economical, political and social rights requires a membership to national state. The immigrants who are aware of this membership try to be citizens in order to make use of political and social rights. Thus, we explain the problem that Turkish immigrants define their dependence on democratic institutions and the Netherlands law and define themselves as either the host country or original country with the term, citizenship. The second result to take part in making political decision process is the adaptation of the immigrants who are dependent on citizenship into the political and legal system. The main goals of this study that aims to analyze the political and social participation of women of Turkish origin by using certain parameters such as;

- To show the participation of the second generation immigrant women who are born in the Netherlands into the social, cultural and political organizations in their own spaces actively,
- To reveal the effect of the form of brought-up that comes from the intergenerational socialization and education difference on the political and social participation,
- To demonstrate that the women who get the Dutch citizenship, whose socio-economical status has been healed and who become a member for the social-political qualified organizations are more interested in political system and give much importance to democratic participation,
- To reveal the variable that influences the social and political behavior of the Turkish woman whose appearance changes in public space, socio-economical status, experiences and social gender roles in the multicultural Netherlands society,
- To reveal the effect of the negative or positive perception of migration and integration policies related to minorities by the public on the participation.

On the other hand, of all the reasons to make woman take part in decision and application process, the main one is the development of democracy. Since democracy is a kind of administration that is dependent on the efficiency of every part of society in representation and administration. Thus, the participation of not only the women but also of every part of society into the political life is necessary for the development of democracy. On the other hand, it is unable to think that the women who form almost the half of the communities are excluded from political process that supplies the function of administration form every country has. In short, the

participation of women into political life actively is both a right and a necessity. Undoubtedly, taking part in active politics of Muslim woman politicians that live in Western European societies will provide with the removal of the elements like prejudice, hatred, revenge that deport two communities from each other. In this respect, there will be a foundation for a more prosperous and peaceful community. By this way, women politicians of Turkish origin who see the politics as a way to serve the society have to move by knowing that the politics will cause interaction between the cultures. In conclusion, women of Turkish origin that change their social gender roles, experiences and socio-economical status in the next years of migration have made contribution to social and political life of the communities. In light of all these evaluations, the main goals of this study are the contributions of women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands society into the studies in private-public spaces and the determination of their manners in social and political spaces.

According to Martiniello (2005: 2-3), the political integration has four dimensions. The first dimension of political integration is the guarantee of the rights that are given to immigrants by the host society. The goal in the protection of the rights that belong to immigrants by political organs is the adaptation of immigrants to the society in a good way. The second dimension of political integration is the definition of the identities of immigrants within the identity of the host society. According to this, the existence of the immigrants who define their identities with that of the host society have been shown as an achievement of political integration. The third dimension of political dimension is the acceptance of democratic norm and values by immigrants. In a report that has been published by Block Commission in

the Netherlands, it has been said that; “Group or an individual will supply the adaptation to the Netherlands with the possession of equal legal position, to take part in socio-economical space equally, to speak Dutch, to give respect to existing norm, value, and behaviors” (UETD, 2006).⁴ The last and fourth dimension of political integration is the guarantee of the main rights like activity, political participation that belong to immigrants. Of all the dimensions that the political integration has, the last one is one of two main titles that this study focuses on political participation. Political participation takes part in literature as an active dimension of citizenship. On the other hand, practically, political participation means that immigrant individuals take part in the administration works of the host society in different ways as a political community. Thus, political participation includes to be candidate and to vote that are the traditional forms of participation as well as less traditional types like boycott, to be in hunger strikes, to join in shows, to protest the political facilities.

Almost half of the Turkish community in the Netherlands consists of women and girls. It has been seen that a great part of second and third generation women and girls have supplied a successful and active participation in social, cultural, economical and political spaces. This situation also shows that there will be a successful integration process when the potentials of women who have direct contributions to the integration of the next is evaluated well and equal rights are give by curing their conditions of living. Contrary to this, prejudices in social life against

⁴ Union of European Turkish Democrats is short name UETD, was founded to contributing to and encouraging active participation immigrants living Turkey origin for political, economic and social life in the Western European countries. In addition, aim of the UETD has been established to activities for the purpose the in the European Union-Turkey process of integration.

women, the application of discrimination in religion, ethnical origin, and gender like education, profession, health and social services cause an unsuccessful integration. Thus, to increase the power of women to struggle with the discrimination, one of the social and legal steps to take is to increase in the participations of women socially and politically. First of all, the defense of rights and the equal participations of women in social and political spaces are dependent on a tough grammar, self confidence, their education in citizenship. To do this, a perfect school and profession education and a perfect support are required willingly. Particularly, the opportunities to develop their potentials should be given to girls by supplying with equal opportunity in their area of interest. In the same way, their freedom in social rights and in the selection of profession and partner is all dependent on the responsible behaviors of local authorities and families. In this respect, women have a central role as a parent about the integration of next generations. As a natural consequence of this, women have to be at the center as a first target mass in the national and local integration policies. In light of all these evaluations, the concrete determinations this study will manifest on immigrant women of Turkish origin will guide national and local politicians. On the other hand, the visions and vantage points of this study will help to activate again in the future by revealing the potentialities of women. As a consequence, if the visions of this study are perceived sufficiently by both the immigrants and the host society and the old traditionalistic views are abandoned, a successful adaptation policy will be prepared.

It is inevitable for women to transmit the experiences that the women who join in social and political activities with their profession and occupation obtain into the

next generations. At the same time, the continuity of healthy generations is dependent on family atmosphere particularly, on parents. To do this, the applications related to the needs of women like healthy life, sexual education and social rights that are done in the early periods of family, school, and profession educations will make great contributions to the integration of next generations. Such kind of successful educational applications will not only prevent family violence, forced marriages and generation conflicts but also make contribution to social prosperity. Thus, this study that aims to determine the participation of third generation girls, being educated into education and youth programs will manifest the phases of transition between the generations. In this study, also the traditional social sexual roles of Turkish immigrant women, who live in big cities like Rotterdam and Amsterdam, have been analyzed. According to this, generally, while the shortage of self confidence and target among Turkish women is much; they manifest a more conservative attitude. Contrary to this, it has been observed that second generation immigrant women who are qualified and born in the Netherlands join religious, political and social organizations actively in their own educated, cultural areas. Yet, the social and cultural activities of young women who have a traditional family structure cause mostly separations from their family and this brings the generation conflict in family. In this respect, we keep vision that the acquired results of study will be evaluated by the related institutions and decisive ones. This study that researches the active participation of Turkish women who live in the Netherlands into social and political activities will present this success to Turkish immigrants in the other countries as an example and will show it as a target. At the same time, this study will make contribution to break the prejudices that stem from ignorance and

misunderstandings between the immigrants and the host society by creating a positive synergy in scientific and academic environments.

Rather than the modern Western values, the first generation Turkish society in the West where the traditional and conservative are dominative experiences an introvert life. The first generation immigrants who come from rural areas of Anatolia rather than the modern city centers of Turkey have adopted a traditional structure in European cities. The migration process of first generation immigrants who have a historical background to be understood well and to reveal their cultural identities, social status and the employment manner of the current generation in the multicultural Netherlands society have been shortly studied. Today, in social and public space, the Turkish woman in the Netherlands who completes her socio-economical and political development largely has adopted a modern life style by isolating herself from traditional image. The main point of this study is the modern role of women in the developing and changing traditional Turkish family structure. This study aims to closely examine the developing profile of Turkish women living in the Netherlands, to determine the current process by scrutinizing the concrete data obtained with questionnaires and interviews in light of existing observations, and to announce the acquirements of multicultural social structure this process reveals to the public. In this study, which is based on the example of the Netherlands, the social and political development of second generation women of Turkish origin has been handled out on the multicultural integration model, while the determination of the point as a process have been done in the basis of questionnaires and binary dialogues. The other side of the study is that the next period after 1990s of integration process

that has nearly 45 year-old past have been evaluated. The reason why I chose to evaluate the period after 1990s of integration process is the observation of higher participation of immigrant Turkish women into the rules, norms, and political and social life of the society. The other reason is the acceptance of the permanency of the immigrants in the Netherlands from this period on and the beginning of solutions related to integration policies. Consequently, in this study, while the political and legal development like the participation of Turkish women into the local and national policies in the Netherlands on the one hand; the social and communitarian development like participation into parties, associations and socio-cultural institutions will be analyzed as well as the development of mutual affairs like family affairs, friendship and neighborhood will be analyzed on the other hand. In this comprehensive study, as a data collecting method; a questionnaire which includes nearly 239 people and consists of 47 questions and an interview method which is made with 12 people deeply have been preferred.

II. Theoretical and Methodological Backgrounds

For the last years, in many EU countries, there have been very harsh political discussions on assimilation, integration, citizenship and nationality. The anxieties on the integration of immigrants have caused the changes that regulate the citizenship and citizenship right. The integration models that become resources for these regulations have played a role in regulations on the citizenship right for the immigrant who is not a member of European Union, in the determination of the countries related to immigrants. While these rights that rearranged in this way reflect the different tendencies on the way to liberalization in some countries, new

limitations come out in the other countries. The policies related to exclusion and integration of the immigrants in the Netherlands has been shaped according to different factors. The factors like how long the immigrants have been living in this country, the economical and social development levels and their similarities and differences with the local public have given shape to the migration and integration policies in the Netherlands (Koca, 2001).

There are two attractive models that are applied in European countries on exclusion and integration of the ones who are not citizens of European Union. One of these models, secular and republican assimilation model has been seen in France. This model is an integration model that foresees adaptation attitudes for the society that the immigrants live from the aspect of language, culture, and social character. This model is a multicultural model which is applied to the immigrant communities and individuals who live in separated parts from the integrated from the spatial and cultural aspect. This integration model is a brought-up process as a citizen by getting national identity through socialization and education of individual. In this integration model, immigrant citizens can express cultural differences and can protect yet can not make them political.⁵ French Republican and secular assimilation model wants all the individuals to be one type in public space; opposes the transportation of ethnical, religious, philosophical, social and political features to the public space. French assimilation model that feeds from two sources like Republicanism and Secularism is dependent on a neutral and abstract public concept in which an

⁵ See also; “Türkiye'nin ulusal kimlik meselesi”, *Sabah*, http://arsiv.sabah.com.tr/ozel/kimlik897/dosya_897.html (03.05.2009).

individual who is isolated from every kind of cultural and social concerns will take place (Benichou, 2006: 83-84). Lately, while most of European countries have granted the immigrants the right to citizenship and made them powerful ethnical communities, France has insisted on the continuation for secular character of Republicanism by ignoring ethnical and religious differences. Because of this insistence and as a result of the wrong policies of 1960s, the revolts that began on 27, October has put the immigrant policies in France into discussion against 40 year-old immigrant policies of young immigrants in ghettos. The limitation of citizenship and the other social rights that were given to immigrants and their children with the change in regulation of the current days have shown that France approached to the exclusion model that is applied in Germany for years by separating itself from assimilation model (Koca, 2001).

To be a classic national-state in which multicultural social structure is not seen, and to be a country which receives much immigration of Europe, France obstructs pluralist policies to develop (Jennings, 2000: 575). Michael Walzer emphasizes that France that is one of the countries receiving much immigration of Europe does not become a pluralist because of the revolutionary structure of republican national-state (Walzer and Yilmaz, 1998: 54). Thus, the obsession on secularism and republicanism and the fidelity to assimilation policies of French statesmen have obstructed the development of multiculturalism for years (Bleich, 1998: 81-82). This assimilation model is constructed on the policies to decrease the social differences between the individuals not on the production of policies in this way or to know the differences of immigrant communities that have ethnical and cultural varieties (Laborde, 2001:

719). Thus, French assimilation model which is opposed to the existence of cultural differences in the public sphere regards the existence of different identities and languages as a reason of cultural separation.

Contrary to French assimilation model, in the second model which is known as multicultural model and names as Anglo-Saxon integration model and is applied especially in England and the Netherlands, to have equal economical, social and political rights with the local community without expecting the minorities to forget their languages, cultural and social differences of immigrants is fundamental. By this model it is expected that the citizen who is bounded to a certain country by citizenship, participate in the search for solutions of cultural problems, according to the local law system and individual human rights. In the multicultural Anglo-Saxon integration model that knows differences in public space and in private space and rejects assimilation, individual becomes integrated with a community through a membership of a cultural society that it belongs to (Danış and Üstel, 2008: 7). Through the immigrant policy, Anglo-Saxon pluralist model leads an opportunity to express ethnical, religious, philosophical, social and political features.

The multicultural integration model that is applied successfully in the Netherlands and England and sees the differences as a wealthy has begun to be discussed after several events. In 2004, the murder of Theo van Gogh by a Moroccan because of a provocative film in 2004, the burning of an English flag in front of a mosque in London in the same year bring the examination of multiculturalism model in Europe. After these developments, according to a report that is prepared by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (EUMC), there has been an increase

in revolt against multiculturalism in the countries which are member of EU and nominee for EU. We can easily express that the negative attitude devoted to multiculturalism policies that 71 percent of Germans and 80 percent of Greece had increased in the public of the Netherlands. It has been observed that nearly the half of the public, member of EU were against the existences of immigrants and multiculturalism policies.⁶ As in the other members of European Union countries, the Netherlands is not indifferent to the demands and oppressions of its own public. The Netherlands public has been shaped with the wrong or accurate image of minority groups through media. It is clear that this image is the reason that Germany which has much Turkish population opposes to the membership process of Turkey for European Union explicitly and implicitly. Despite the negative image of Turkish for German public, an image problem that stems from the evaluation of the minority groups living in the Netherlands as integration is still in use for Turkish immigrants.

Contrary to these two models, especially from 1980s on, the role of European Union on the determination of mutual policies, the change in the powers in the administration have influenced the migration and integration policies of the countries deeply. Besides, form the last quarter of 20th century on, the political systems that are shaken by the threat of social disintegration before the increase in identity demands have been collected around similar citizenship and integration policies that are regulated around mutual tendencies (Constant, 1998: 120-121). European Union, moving with this aim has prepared a report that includes local integration polices that

⁶ “AB’de Çok Kùltürlü Topluma Direniş Artıyor”, AB Haber, (16.03.2005), http://www.abhaber.com/haber_sayfasi.asp?id=3942; Lucia Kubosova, “Rising Number of Europeans Think there are Limits to Multiculturalism”, EUObserver, <http://www.euobserver.com/?sid=9&aid=18672> (cited by Altınbaş, 2006).

will be applied in 14 European cities and 12 states who are member of EU. In the report, to develop an efficient and targeted integration policy, the development of an integration model dependent on a mutual experience (CLIP, 2007).⁷ Undoubtedly, the application of concrete integration precautions in European cities and countries that have very different migration pasts and habits will make contribution to the existence of mutual experience and application spaces. On the other hand, it is obvious that the national integration models like Anglo-Saxon and French integration models are not close to reality today from many aspects. Preaches of these two models of national ideologies on migration and integration, conflict with the practices of policies on migration and integration. In addition to this, the contradiction between some social, political and administrative applications against the integration model that is protected by both national policies and national ideology make an approach to two models carefully essential (Martiniello, 1997: 49-53). As a matter of fact, the Netherlands which is accepted as one of the most successful examples of Anglo-Saxon differential model has approach to the French type integration concept through compulsive language courses and immigration tests swiftly (Danış and Üstel, 2008: 8). It is clear that the Netherlands that adopts differential and liberal Anglo-Saxon integration model as a long term expression against the discriminative dimensions of real republicanism is opposed to the multiculturalism policies recently. Consequently, the social and political participation of women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands which this study is based

⁷ CLIP (Cities for Local Integration Policy), the name of project is Local Integration Policy that published by European Forum for Migration Studies. The names of authors are Maren Borkert, Wolfgang Bosswick, Friedrich Heckmann and Doris Lüken-Klaßen.

on after 1990s will be analyzed through an integration model based on mutual experience which is much confined lastly and differential Anglo-Saxon model.

In many countries, particularly September 11 in New York and the subway attacks in London are influential in the change of general attitude in the adaptation policies and the adoption of integration model based on mutual experience. Also the countries which are comfortable with Muslim population like England, Spain and the Netherlands have begun to manifest negative attitudes towards Muslim immigrants after terrorist attacks. The murder of Pim Fortuyn who is known with his racial views on Islamic and Muslim immigrants by an over-left environmentalist activist in 2002 has aroused a shock in the Netherlands despite not being permanent as a trauma that is experienced after the murder of Theo van Gogh. To prevent the negative attitudes that happen in the Netherlands, the Hilda Verwey-Jonker Institute has made suggestion for the government to step out much on multiculturalism. Contrary to this, in Parliamentary Commission, the 30 year-old integration policies of the government have been questioned and the suggestions of the Institute have not been accepted. The discussions of January, 2004 have been written down and a report has been published and the result, “the failure of a project to create an ethnical community” has come out. In the report, it has been expressed that huge ethnical ghettos emerged, the government has been divided by sub-cultures, and the polarization has become an obstacle for being a Dutch of Muslim immigrants.⁸ The report in which the

⁸ BBC News Online, 21 Ocak 2004'ten naklen Liz Fekete, “Anti-Muslim Racism and the European Security State”, *Race & Class*, Cilt 46, No. 1, 2004, s. 20, (cited by Altınbaş, 2006).

bankruptcy of multiculturalism policies has been expressed, the necessity to provoke the adoption of the Netherlands values has been defended.⁹

After September 11 events, there have been harsh discussions about multicultural democracy in many Western European countries. The special concepts that are based on these discussions are the ones like terrorism, violence, Islam, democratic values and fidelity to democratic institutions. In the aftermath of the collapse of the twin towers, there have been serious discussions on the political integration of immigrants in the Netherlands who have a multicultural political system. In these discussions, there is a search for an answer to these questions in general. These; how much convenient the democratic values like man-woman equality and freedom of expression is for Islam? Are the immigrants bounded to laws and democratic institutions? If they are, then how can this be further developed? Do the immigrants define themselves as the host country or the original country? For Tillie and Slijper (2003), even these questions have shown that the term, political integration has multidimensional. Again for these two researchers, there are at least four political integration concepts; formal political integration, participant political integration, republican political integration and communitarian political integration. When we look at the equality paradigm, formal political integration puts equal civil, political and social rights at the center; participant political integration puts political participation and expression. On the other hand, when we look at form the aspect of community paradigm, republican political integration foresees the identity definition with constitutional system of the host country from the cultural aspect.

⁹ “Multicultural Troubles”, *The Economist*, Cilt 139, Sayı 8368, 27 Mart 2004, s. 54 (cited by Altınbaş, 2006).

Communitarian political integration foresees the acceptance of minor political values from the cultural aspect. These four political integration views are not dependent on each other, nor are they exclusive of each other. For instance, formal integration and participant integration are not opposite; in fact, these two political integration views are not preconditions for each other.¹⁰ Of all four political integration models that Tillie and Slijper establish devoted to the comprehension when the immigrants provide integration politically, participant integration model draws a general frame of this study. Participant integration model that owns political participation and its expressions will be used to explain the socio-cultural development and participation in public space of women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands in this study.

In such kind of studies that are based on second generation immigrants, the gender factor has an important place. Many qualities such as education career, socio-economical developments and participation into political life of second generations change country by country in accordance with the gender factor. The variables that are used in determination of positions that change country by country are the ones such as education, the position in business market, income, house, ethnical and religious identity, political participation, social relations, gender roles, and the choice of partner (Crul and Heering, 2008: 22). This study aims to survey the participations of women of Turkish origin in making decision mechanisms in various levels and the integration and combination activities with social environment. Thus, in this study,

¹⁰ Immigrant political integration and ethnic civic communities in Amsterdam, in: Seyla Benhabib, Ian Shapiro and Danilo Petranovic (Eds.) (2007), *Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances*, Cambridge University Press, pp. 206-225 (with Boris Slijper) At the same time, the paper presented by Jean Tillie and Boris Slijper at the conference on “Identities, Affiliations, and Allegiances”, Yale University, October 2-3, 2003.

political participation concept analyzed by making use of the variable such as membership to the syndicates with political parties; the nominee and being elected for mechanisms of making local, national, regional and international political decisions. In this study, also the socio-cultural participation by making use of the variable such as family affairs, friendship and neighborhood; associations outside the government, women organizations, international organizations, youth organizations and religious groups that do not aim for a participation into organizations analyzed.

CHAPTER 1

INTEGRATION OF TURKISH SECOND GENERATION

WOMEN IN THE NETHERLANDS

The first generation women of Turkish origin came to the Netherlands that has different language, culture, religion without any physical foundation by not thinking what they will come across. The women who form the first wave came after their husbands and they accepted a life which does not exceed the boundaries of their own home. The women who came with a direct study at least did the works that are pointed out and expressed to themselves as long as they came. The first generation women that came by separating from traditional family and society structure confronted very serious troubles to get a place in the Netherlands market in which the foreign and heavy working conditions are dominative. Contrary to this, the existence of women who are integrated with communitarian life and get a new environment, become keen on their own business without feeling alienation is a truth. The first generation women who are troubled with the heavy working conditions and are far away from their relatives in Turkey have been exposed to several psychological problems. Most of these women have become withdrawn because of psychological illnesses and separated from communitarian life through a lack in doing work. They become entangled with anti-social life that consists of kitchen, bazaar and friend-comrade visit far away from the social and economical activity. The first generation women who become old in this way and are mostly not alive do not give respect to these lands after death and they suggest their corpses to be taken to Turkey. Today, the first generation women who are alive face with

another problem; they are alone with the question whether they spend the rest of their life in their old age in nursing home or in children. In the light of this general evaluation related to the first comers, by focusing on only the first generation, to make a generalization about Turkish woman in the Netherlands or to express an idea will not be a realist approach.

Although the grandsons and the children of the first generation women in the Netherlands become a permanent community today, especially the first generation does not develop an affair with the society in which they live despite the long years. Because of the traditional cultural differences against the first generation women who do not take place in communitarian and economical life as the men do, the prejudices have made the life with the Dutch community difficult in the first days. Especially several negative examples of the media on Turkish women become influential in the existence of prejudices with their share to public. The negative examples like family violence, custom killings and forced marriages that are written down by media have caused one-sided and wrong thoughts on Turkish women in the public to come out and have been going on. Yet, despite the extremity of Media, it is possible to see Turkish and Moroccan women that take refuge in the refuge homes thanks to the family violence or are the victims of honor killings in the Netherlands.

The traditional and religious moulds became determiners in the distribution of role outside and inside the home of the families that come first. Despite this traditional structure, the number of families which do not bring up their children with their own cultural values is extremely high. The habits such as living together out of marriage, homosexuality, the use of drug that are the projections of comfortable and free

communitarian structure belonging to the Netherlands have influenced the young of Turkish origin profoundly. In addition to this, the exclusion of the women who use headscarf as part of traditional clothing style by the people, having extreme pious tendencies have postponed the cultural and social adaptation of women. It is a truth that not only the women of Turkish origin but also the other Muslim women of ethnical origin, living in the Netherlands have been exposed to the discrimination. Another truth is the racism and discrimination that stem from the prejudices and that are applied especially to Muslim immigrants. For women who work, the discrimination is related to business space and much employment. The number of the corporations that discriminate against the foreign and do not give importance to the differences in the Netherlands business market is not little. Contrary to cultural and economical discrimination, the existence of women who take place in communitarian life by taking their families and who are bond to business sector among the first comers is not ignored. The first generation women of Turkish origin worked so much and dreamed of returning in short time by saving. They sent the savings they obtained by working to Turkey or they made contribution to family incomes by working in the Netherlands. The position of woman in the traditional Turkish family structure that contributed to the family income by working became different and her economical independence has been increasingly secured thanks to it.

Undoubtedly, the first generation immigrants who came to the Netherlands with a low-level education experience caused the integration process to extend. The immigrants who come from the other countries had saving related to different vocation branches and work experience. Yet, Turkish immigrants came as

inexperienced employers. The first generation that is one of the most important and fundamental actors of migration adventure for European countries represent a mass that has low socio-economical and cultural level. The first result that is determined by the discussions on integration is about the increase in the conflict by the lack in cultural and educational level of the first generation. Being citizen ghetto in migration inside Turkey left its place to Turkish ghettos in European countries. After a while, the local public in the regions Turks live densely became uncomfortable with the ghetto and a part of these moved to another regions. Turkish districts belonging to certain regions came out as many small quarters by expanding in time. In many suburbs of Amsterdam, it is not unusual to come across with such kinds of Turkish districts. Hundreds of satellites dishes that are hanged out in the balconies of the apartments in these small quarters make us feel as if we were in any Anatolian city. Turkish immigrants watch Turkish channels through these satellite dishes and they follow the agenda of Turkey rather than that of the country in which they live. Besides the ones who see the life of Turks in the same districts together as an obstacle before the integration, it is possible to see the ones who meet this matter normally. Contrary to those who defend that people living together in masses hinder the socio-cultural interaction, the other groups allege that social and cultural interdependence is experienced only by living together. Those who accept that this spirit of mutual dependence that strengthens social bonds consider that I ought to grant that this interaction prevents social explosions and family conflicts of larger scales.

Contrary to the first actors of the migration to Western Europe, the desire and achievement of the third generation in school age and the first generation which is born and grown up in the Netherlands to integrate with the Dutch community occur under the invalidity of their desire of return. On the other hand, new problems that the second generation and the third generation, which is about to complete its education, will face have already started to come up. In the bases of the adaptation problems for the last two generations, there are reasons like lack of education that stems from learning language not sufficiently and the generation conflicts that stem from the lack of communication in family. Today, despite the existence of the second and third generation that do not consider returning to Turkey by adopting the Netherlands as their home, the identity and possession problems have started to come up in these two generations. In short, the situation of the second and third generations in European prisons that are deprived of their own traditional values and do not know where they belong to, demonstrates this dram explicitly.

In this study where the social and political development of Turkish woman in the Netherlands; it is impossible for us to make a generalization by ignoring the differences between the generations. Since the first, second and despite its limited area the third generations have so much difference in them that to express them in the same line and mutual share is not a good approach. The point in the existing situation with the great analysis of the change between the generations will supply the targets that will be reached with an explicit vision. In nearly 45 year-old migration process, the manner and degree of the young generations that are replaced with each other to be influenced by the elements of communitarian life have varied. Thus, the positions,

living standards and futurity visions of the second generation women that are born, brought up and get educated in the Netherlands will be different from those of the first generation women. Before all the evaluations that will be made on the situation of the socio-economical positions of Turkish woman in the Netherlands, which generation she belongs to, the environment she is brought up, her education level, her adaptation grade with the environment should be scrutinized. The majority of mass that this study focuses on consists of second generation and third generation women.

In the first chapter of this study I analyzed the immigrant population belonging to Turkish origin in general and the second generation of Turkish women in particular. I have analyzed their demographic structure, manner and their own dynamic qualities under two sub-titles, with tables and graphics. After their socio-demographic statistics, the economical, social and political developments of second generation women of Turkish origin in multicultural Netherlands society have been analyzed by making use of the secondary sources. The secondary sources consist of articles and book related to EU reports, various national statistical reports, and the Netherlands reports.

1.1. Migration History and Demographic Characteristics of the Turkish Community

From the second half of 20th century on, the term demography came out much than before in the survey of social, political and cultural issues. The population activity in the last century, the exterior and interior migrations related to this activity and the increase in city population and with its influence on labor statistics have played an important role in the importance of term demography. Demography, which

surveys various social and economical aspects (like a city's existing population's age, marriage, living, education, health, housing situations and the number of household) also surveys the developments of the population range, the mortality rate and the migration, at the same time. Consequently, in this chapter, the developments like the migration process of immigrant of Turkish origin, the change in population, their socio-economical status, their education manner and their political participation will be analyzed by the statistical data obtained from the secondary resources. In addition to this, in this chapter, the data related to the Turkish community will be compared to the data related to Dutch community and the Dutch foreign immigrants in the light of some factors.

In the wake of the Second World War, the demand of foreign labor came out in the Western European countries where the industrialization process gained speed, yet the need for labor was not supplied by the native resources. As an answer to this demand; Turkey in 1961 to Federal Germany, in 1964 to Austria, the Netherlands, and Belgium, in 1967 to France and in 1968 to Australia exported labor to these countries by signing mutual treaties (Doyuran, 2006). The deficiency of labor in the Netherlands became intensified in mostly textile, building and ship sectors in those days. Turks who came firstly to the Netherlands settled in the big cities where the need of labor was dense and in the harbor cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam where the building and ship sectors were intense.

While Western European countries went on their enterprises to get labor from foreign countries, an interior migration activity was experienced towards the cities from the spaces thanks to the sudden change in agriculture sector in Turkey. With the effect of interior migration, to create a decrease in the increasing unemployment rate

and to make contribution to the solution of employment problem; sending employers abroad became an activity which was controlled by the government. According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2004),¹¹ the labor treaty between Turkey and the Netherlands in 1964 has constantly increased, until 1973, the working Turkish. Yet, after the energy crisis that was influential around the world in 1973, the mutual migration treaties between the governments were ceased one sided by the Western European countries. Until the date in which the mutual treaties were cancelled, a great part of 775 thousand people who went to the Western Europe mostly from Turkey kept on this migration process by taking their families next themselves. Turkish migration that began in 1961 to Europe is one of the most important realities of economical, social and political life of Europe with a mass over 4, 2 million today despite all the measures that were taken in certain periods. Today, nearly 1, 5 million of 4, 2 million Turks that live in European countries have become the citizen of Europe (ÇSGB, 2007).

According to Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2006), while the number of Turks who have working permission in the Netherlands was 22 in 1960, this reached 200 in 1961 and increased to 4.300 in 1964. The labor treaty that was signed between Turkey and the Netherlands in 1964 had an important role in this increase in the population and the migration activity continued to 1974. Between 1976 and 1981 known as the second wave of migration, the migration activity that came out as family unification firstly the young and women by gaining speed. In 1974 and after

¹¹ Statistics Netherlands (CBS) is responsible for collecting and processing data in order to publish statistics to be used in practice, by policymakers and for scientific research. In addition to its responsibility for (official) national statistics, Statistics Netherlands also has the task of producing European (community) statistics.

then, the loneliness of the Netherlands and the European countries brought the serious limitations about the migration together and there was a decrease in the migration to the Netherlands. Just after the crisis, the migration that was about to stop with the move of the partners and children in Turkey to the Netherlands began again. Especially between 1980 and 1990, this process went on with the marriages from Turkey under the name of imported bride and groom and with the political migrations (Küçükcan and Güngör, 2004). After 2000s, the applications between two countries like adaptation exam and the efficiency in language changed the migration vision in a broad sense. Today in which the going backs increase, the increase rate in population of Turkish community in the Netherlands have been shaped according to the demographic structure of the permanent population. The immigrants of Turkish origin in the Netherlands form the biggest immigrant group of the Netherlands with nearly 372 thousand populations.

The Netherlands which is one of the five Western European countries in which mostly Turks live takes 8th turn after Germany, France, Great Britannia, Italy, Spain, Poland and Romania with its nearly 16 million 405 thousand population (January 2008) among 27 EU countries. Rather than the other European countries, the Netherlands which has a more heterogeneous population structure includes early 3 million 290 thousand populations of immigrant origin. While 1 million 810 thousands of immigrant minority that live in the Netherlands immigrated from outside European Union, nearly that of 1 million 480 thousands migrated from European Union countries. According to Statistics Netherlands (January 2009) reports, the immigrants who came outside European Union are 378.400 people with Turks, the biggest group, then Moroccans, Surinamese, and Netherlands Antilleans.

TABLE 1.1. MAIN MIGRANT MINORITIES AND NATIVES IN THE NETHERLANDS, JANUARY 2009

Periods	2000	2007	2008	2009
Total Population	15 863 950	16 357 992	16 405 399	16 486 587
Total number of males	7 846 317	8 088 514	8 112 073	8 157 074
Total number of females	8 017 633	8 269 478	8 293 326	8 329 513
People of Dutch origin	13 088 648	13 187 586	13 189 983	13 196 916
People of foreign origin	2 775 302	3 170 406	3 215 416	3 289 671
People of foreign origin, rate (%)	17.5	19.4	19.6	20.0
Of Western origin	1 366 535	1 431 954	1 449 686	1 479 939
Total non-western	1 408 767	1 738 452	1 765 730	1 809 732
Morocco	262 221	329 493	335 127	341 640
Netherlands Antilles and Aruba	107 197	129 965	131 841	134 486
Suriname	302 514	333 504	335 799	338 519
Other non-western background	427 945	576 890	590 249	616 687
Turkey	308 890	368 600	372 714	378 400
Total number of first generation Turks	177 754	195 113	194 556	195 520
Total number of second generation Turks	131 136	173 487	178 158	182 880

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS), 2009

According to 2009 numbers in Table 1.1, all the communities of immigrant origin that come outside an inside the boundaries of European Union have a 20 percent rate around the Netherlands. On the other hand, the immigrants who come from inside the boundaries of European Union have 44,9 percent rates among all the ones of immigrant origin. The immigrant population of Turkish origin who live in the Netherlands today has 11,5 percent rates among all the ones of immigrant origin, around the Netherlands it has 2,3 percent rates. The first generation is 51,6 percent of the population of Turkish origin and 48,4 percent consists of the second generation (See; Table 1.1).

Officially, in the Netherlands which separates into 12 settlement regions, the regions in which the Turkish immigrants live are South-Holland, North-Holland, North-Brabant, and Gelderland. According to the population range related to December, 2006, the number of the immigrants of Turkish origin, living in these four provinces is 277 thousand 97 and this forms 76 percent of Turkish community (See; Table 1.2). While the Turkish community is intense in two big cities of South-Holland, The Hague and Rotterdam, in North-Holland, they live in Amsterdam.

TABLE 1.2. IMMIGRANTS OF TURKISH ORIGIN IN THE NETHERLANDS ACCORDING TO PROVINCES (31.12.2006)

Provinces	Male	Female	Total
South-Holland	61 438	57 310	118 748
North-Holland	37 732	35 210	72 942
North-Brabant	24 800	22 971	47 771
Gelderland	19 490	18 146	37 636
Groningen	2 345	2 134	4 479
Overijssel	17 701	16 698	34 399
Utrecht	12 775	11 971	24 746
Limburg	6 136	5 645	11 781
Zeeland	1 621	1 557	3 178
Flevoland	2 778	2 599	5 377
Drenthe	929	742	1 671
Friesland	849	756	1 605
Total	188 594	175 739	364 333

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS), 2009 and Ministry of Labour and Social Security, 2006.

After the mutual migration treaty signed in 1964, the Turkish migration wave towards the Netherlands went on though it was prevented in some periods. The last ten year-old past of marital and generation, population, gender status of immigrants

of Turkish origin are subjected to be evaluated in Table 1.3. According to this, the Dutch community that has a population nearly 13 million 200 thousands gets an increase rate in population between 1998 and 2008 is only 1,2 percent. While the population increase that in this ten year-old period is 27,8 percent among the Moroccan immigrants, this rate is nearly 22,2 percent among Turkish immigrants. The increase rate in population between 1998 and 2008 is 23,8 percent among women; yet this rate is 20,8 percent among men. The increase rate in population in the same circle is 11,4 percent in the first generation; this rate is 34,1 percent in the second generation. The population gap between two generations is only 12 thousand 640 from 2009 (See; Table 1.3). Today, it has been estimated that the total population that belongs to the first generation will end in the future and will increase on behalf of the second generation.

TABLE 1.3. TOTAL POPULATION, GENERATION, MARITAL STATUS OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

Periods	Total Turks (x1000)	First Generation	Second Generation	Total Never Married	Total Married	Total Divorced
1998	289 777	172 416	117 361	142 621	132 758	11 855
1999	299 662	175 229	124 433	147 382	136 797	12 721
2000	308 890	177 754	131 136	151 554	140 831	13 518
2001	319 600	181 595	138 005	156 445	145 573	14 349
2002	330 709	185 943	144 766	161 131	150 584	15 505
2003	341 400	190 219	151 181	165 221	155 990	16 493
2004	351 648	194 319	157 329	169 437	160 218	18 052
2005	358 846	195 678	163 168	172 656	162 159	19 813
2006	364 333	195 711	168 622	175 935	162 431	21 479
2007	368 600	195 113	173 487	178 939	161 676	23 233
2008	372 714	194 556	178 158	181 370	161 478	24 833
2009	378 400	195 520	182 880	-	-	-

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS), 2009

On the other hand, according to the statistical data in Table 1.4 in which Turkish population in the Netherlands is divided into classes for certain age groups, in the last ten-year-old term, the first generation is stuck in 30 and 50 age range. 58,3 percent of the first generation population that is 194.556 is between 30 and 50 age groups. Contrary to first generation, the second generation population is 178.158 and 496 of this population is over 40 year-old. In other words, the rate of the second generation immigrants under 40 year-old is 99 percent (See; Table 1.4). Consequently, while the average age of the first generation immigrants of the Turkish community increases, the average age of the second generation of the Turkish community is concentrated in the 1 to 30 age-range. Besides, while 6 percent of the whole Turkish population is over 60 year-old, this rate reaches 15,9 percent in the Dutch origin. Contrary to

general population, while the population rate under 20 year-old of immigrants of Turkish origin that has a much young population, this is 23,3 percent in the ones of Dutch origin.

TABLE 1.4. IMMIGRANTS OF TURKISH ORIGIN BY AGE GROUPS IN THE NETHERLANDS

Age Range	Total Population	First Generation	Second Generation	Turkish Woman Immigrants	First Generation Turkish Woman Immigrants	Second Generation Turkish Woman Immigrants
1-10	65.518	1.562	63.956	31.857	728	31.129
10-20	70.913	6.599	64.314	34.241	3.124	31.117
20-30	66.868	28.601	38.267	33.853	15.466	18.387
30-40	72.551	61.426	11.125	35.605	30.331	5.274
40-50	52.478	52.063	415	23.265	23.070	195
50-60	21.300	21.266	34	10.940	10.921	19
60-70	17.149	17.126	23	7.724	7.716	8
70-80	5.441	5.424	17	2.424	2.413	11
80-90	455	449	6	320	317	3
90+	41	40	1	37	36	1
Total	372.714	194.556	178.158	180.266	94.122	86.144

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS), 2009

The evaluation of the divorcing and marriage rates that influence the increase rate in natural population in any country for the last ten years will make us easily see the dimensions of demographic change. There is a decrease, 4,8 percent in marriage in the privacy of the Netherlands society throughout the last ten year-old term (1998-2008). The marriage rate among the immigrants of Turkish origin has an increase rate, 17,8 percent. Yet, this is 29,1 percent among the Moroccan immigrants. There is

a 19,9 percent increases in divorcing rates in the Netherlands in contrary to the decreasing marriage rate. Despite the increase in the marriage number among the immigrants of Turkish and Moroccan origin, there is a serious increase in divorcing numbers much than that of the previous years. Until 1998, while 11 thousand 885 people divorced in Turkish community, this number reached 24 thousand 833 people in 2008 (See; Table 1.3). Thus, the divorcing rate in this ten year-old term is 52,3 percent among the immigrants of Turkish origin; but, this rate is counted as 19,9 percent among the ones of Dutch origin.

One of the important factors that influence the natural population increase in a certain country except birth and death is the migration to and from that particular country. Turkish society that has the most crowded immigrant population of the Netherlands has continued on expanding through marriage and family unification nowadays. Yet, especially recently; a part of the immigrants of Turkish origin have returned to Turkey that enjoys economical and political stability. Of the ones that separated from the Netherlands, there are the ones which settled to the other Western European countries. In the 13 year-old term that includes 1995 and 2007, the number of the ones who come and settle to the Netherlands is 65 thousand 767; the number of the ones who leave and migrate and settle to Turkey or another country is 32 thousand 5 people. Thus, in this 13 year-old term; there are only 33 thousand 762 people who join in Turkish community in the Netherlands through migration.

According to 2006 year reports of Statistics Netherlands, among EU countries, the Netherlands is one of the countries in which the number of the ones who leave the country through migration is so much. In 2005, while 121 thousand people migrated to settle to in other countries except the Netherlands, only 92 thousand people settled

to this country. In 2005, 25 percent of the ones who left the Netherlands went to Belgium and Germany in which the dwelling (real estate prices) and working conditions were better (ÇSGB, 2007: 96). In the 13 year-old term that includes 1995 and 2007 years, while 65 thousand 767 immigrants of Turkish origin came to the Netherlands for dwelling, 32 thousand 5 people left the country. These numbers show that Turkish migration activity to the Netherlands and Europe has been balanced. For the last ten years, while the number of Turks who live abroad has decreased, there has been an increase in the numbers of the ones who return to Turkey. The economical liveliness in Turkey and the acquaintance obtained in the Netherlands and Western European countries are the influential factors for the Turkish immigrant in a level to lead the life quality. As a matter of fact, in the last ten years, there has been a decrease in the number of Turkish immigrants, living in Europe (Arem, 2007: 16). These statistical results show that the reevaluation of economical, social and political reforms related to the immigrants in the Netherlands and the other Western European countries have to be made.

The population activity related to the existing Turkish immigrant society and the other factor that come out according to this activity have been analyzed in the parts above by making use of the data belonging to Statistics Netherlands. The factors like housing number, household number, unemployment, employment that reveal the socio-economical situation of the foreign communities in the host country will be searched by making use of the secondary sources. For this, in 12 month-old term of 2006 year, the unemployment rate in the Netherlands has been estimated to be 5,5 percent. The unemployment rate which has decreased 1 percent according to the two previous years (2004 and 2005) has reflected the normal manner in markets and

employment. On the other hand, the unemployment rate in the Netherlands is 3,6 percent in totality. In January, 2006; according to the statistics that were explained European Statistics, the young unemployment rate in totality is 6,6 percent in the Netherlands in 2006. The Netherlands is with this rate in the position of the country which has the lowest rate among 27 EU countries which have 16,5 percent young unemployment rate. Again, in 2006, while there has been a decrease in the unemployment rate of the young under 5 year-old, not being Western in the Netherlands, there has not been any decrease in unemployment rate of the ones over 25 year-old.

While the unemployment rate of 2006 year of all the non-Western who include the foreigners of Turkish and Moroccan origin, this rate has been measured as 16,4 percent in the previous year; in 2004 it was calculated as 10,4 percent. In 2005, the number of Turks who join in employment actively was 118 thousand; this number shrank by 14 thousand to 104 thousand (See; Table 1.5). This rate in 2006 refers to the active part of between 15 and 65 year-old Turkish population that can work. This participation rate for the Netherlands is 67,6 percent. In 2006, in the Netherlands where there were 13.000 unemployed of Turkish origin, the rate of the unemployed between 15 and 65 year-old to the active population has been calculated as 15,1 percent. This rate belonging to the unemployed of Turkish origin is 10,3 percent among the most crowded second immigrant group, Moroccans and is 8,4 percent among Surinamese. According to the statistical data of 2006 year, the unemployment rate of the women of Turkish origin has been calculated as 20,6 percent (See; Table 1.5).

TABLE 1.5. EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT BY ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE NETHERLANDS (31.12.2006)

Ethnic Origin	Number of employees (between 15-65 age)			Number of unemployed (between 15-65 age)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Dutch	-	-	6.613.000	112.000	101.000	213.000
All foreign background	-	-	1.323.000	66.000	64.000	130.000
Turks	70.000	34.000	104.000	9.000	4.000	13.000
Moroccans	60.000	30.000	90.000	7.000	3.000	10.000
Surinamese	79.000	78.000	157.000	6.000	8.000	14.000
Antilleans /Aruba	30.000	27.000	57.000	2.000	4.000	6.000

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2006) and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2006.

On the other hand, the 12.900 private businesses that Turkish business managers established (the number of 2005 year in totality) have a 12 percent share among all the businesses that the ones who are of foreign origin. Of all the businesses in the country, the ones who have the greatest share are the immigrants coming from North Europe 20 (%). When we look at the distribution of enterprising of Turkish origin in the sectors; especially the businesses on commercial is much in number. In 2004, nearly 3.600 businesses on commercial and 2.500 hotels and restaurant businesses are in the hands of Turkish entrepreneurs. Besides, Turkish entrepreneurs also have an important role in accountancy and real estate agency sectors. On the other hand, the sector plays an important role in the Netherlands is the service sector. The ones which are employers in manufacturing and transportation sectors have made contributions by opening transitory agencies. Recently, especially, while

accountancy, advocating and engineering bureaus with the maintenance and advertising sectors are in rivalry in employment line; there is a loss in manufacturing, governmental sectors and transportation sectors (ÇSGB, 2007: 72).

The research results that The Turkish Research Center (TAM) established in April, 2007 titled as “The Economical Power of The Enterprising and Housing Data, Turkish Population in the Netherlands and EU Countries” revealed the socio-economical power that Turkish migration in the Netherlands reached in its 40th year. According to the report that was prepared by making use of questionnaires and the secondary sources in the Netherlands, a Turkish household, on average, consists of 3,9 people in the Netherlands. The number of the people working in a house in total is 1,6 and the accurate income in Turkish houses has been calculated as 2.150 Euro. The average income of a Turkish family in the Netherlands is approximately 1.751-2.750 euros. A great part, 1.780 of the accurate income, 2.150 Euro that enters into any house is used for the family living and consuming expenses; yet, 370 Euro is saved. On the other hand, according to the field research of Turkish Research Center, the number of Turks having a house among 93.600 Turkish dwellings in the Netherlands is about 17.000. Thus, 18,2 percent of Turkish families in the Netherlands have a house.

According to the 2006 year number that was estimated by EU Statistics Department (Eurostat), the Netherlands is the 6th country that has the biggest economy with GDP (528 billion Euros) in EU. According to the study of TAM, the yearly contribution of Turkish population working in the Netherlands to this country’s GDP is about 8, 4 billion Euros. Contrary to the contribution of Turkish population working as 8,4 billion Euros, its 1,5 percent rate share from GDP is

thought provoking. The reason that this share is so little is generally the efforts of Turkish employers and entrepreneurs in less efficient and lower income sectors. On the other hand, a great part of Turkish employers in the Netherlands work in Dutch businesses.

In the figures and tables above where the demographic data related to local and foreign people living in the Netherlands, the data related to population, marital status and employment have been expressed by ignoring gender and generation difference. Thus, in the light of these factors, demographic data that interest the women will be studied under the next title. The demographic data related to second and third generation women of Turkish origin that is the targeted mass of this study will be analyzed with data that includes all the ethnical minorities comparatively in the next chapter.

1.2. Demographic Characteristics of Turkish Second Generation Women

From the beginning of 19th century on, the economical development that comes with especially the industrialization, the changes in transportation opportunities and agriculture that develops with the building of new roads increased the migration to big cities. The exterior migration process that came out parallel to the interior migration in Turkey has become a beginning of a new period. The women of Turkish origin migrated to the Netherlands in mass after the mutual labor agreement in 1964 for the first time. As in the other Western European countries, the most basic reason that lies behind the Turkish exterior migration to the Netherlands is its emergence from economical causes. A great part of first generation immigrant women coming from family of employee and as an employee to this country came from the rural areas of Turkey. Beside the ones who come from the rural areas, the semi-city

women who came to the Netherlands just after and settled with interior migration to city centers consists of the first wave. Additionally, the most part that came to the Netherlands, separating from city life and worked for a salary is the women employees and they took part in the massive migration group.

The first immigrants of Turkish origin coming to Germany, the Netherlands and Belgium at the beginning of 1960s consist of low experienced and inexperienced employees. Turkish exterior migration activity that directs to the Western European countries was institutionalized with the mutual employment agreement with the Netherlands in 1964. The number of Turkish immigrant employees increased until the beginning of 1970s; yet, after the energy crisis that was influential around the world in 1973, it was about to stop. So, in 1968, the number of all the immigrant employees in the Netherlands is about 80.000 and thousand of those include women. In the Netherlands, among all the immigrants which is about 80.000, the number of Turkish employees is 13.643 and only 400 of those are women. After the economical crisis that influences the entire world, especially from the mid-1980s on, the migration activity gained momentum. Yet, the reason that triggered this speed is not just the new comers; but also their taking families that are left behind in previous years. In addition to family members that were taken from Turkey, the immigrants married their daughters and sons from Turkey and this increased Turkish rate in the Netherlands. Besides, after the economical crisis in 1970 and after the terrorist events in the south of Turkey, many religious and political refugees took refuge in the Netherlands. In 1968, 13.643 immigrants of Turkish origin reached 289.777 people in 1998 and from 2009 this number increased to 378.400 people (Bevelander and Veenman, 2006). From 2008, among 178.158 second generation immigrants living in

the Netherlands, there are 86.144 people from second generation woman. Finally, today; nearly 48 percent of Turkish community that is the inevitable part of the Netherlands forms the second generations; yet, 48 percent of the second generation is the women (See; Table 1.6).

TABLE 1.6. TURKISH POPULATION BY GENERATION BETWEEN 1998 AND 2008

Periods	1998		2008		1998		2008	
					One parent born abroad	Both parents born abroad	One parent born abroad	Both parents born abroad
Second generation background								
Total Population	289 777	372 714	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	172 416	194 556	-	-	-	-	-	-
First Generation								
Total	117 361	178 158	9 991	107 370	29 185	148 973		
Second Generation								
Total Female	80 772	94 122	-	-	-	-	-	-
First Generation								
Total Female	56 576	86 144	4 837	51 739	14 247	71 897		
Second Generation								

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2008)

According to data in Table 1.6, the first generation of Turkish origin consists of the ones who are born in Turkey and their mothers and fathers are from outside the Netherlands. Thus, besides the ones and their family from Turkey, the children born in Turkey of Turks who migrated to the Netherlands form the first generation according to this definition. For this definition, the second generation is the ones who are born in the Netherlands, whose mother or father is from Turkey. The ones who are born in the Netherlands, also his parents can not be regarded as immigrants in the

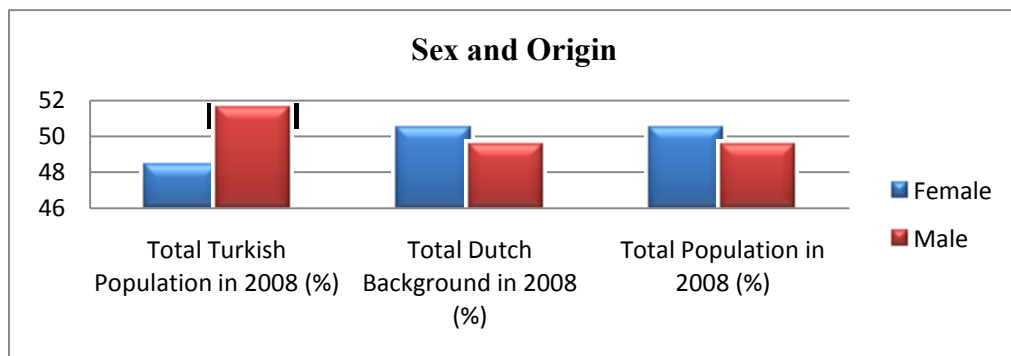
Netherlands. In the last ten year-old term includes 1998 and 2008; the number of the second generation immigrants who are born in the Netherlands has increased gradually. According to this, the number of the second generation immigrants whose mother or father is born in Turkey was 9.991 in 1998; yet, it was 29.973 in 2008. On the other hand, the number of second generation immigrants whose parents both are born in Turkey was 107.370 in 1998; this number increased to 148.973 in 2008 (See; Table 1.6). In the same way, the difference between the first and second generation in 1998 was 55.055 people in favor of the first generation, this difference decreased to 16.398 people in 2008. This difference in women receded to 7.978 people in 2008. Thus, in a few years, it has been estimated that this difference would be reversed and it would increase in favor of the second generation.

On the other hand, age group in which the women are so crowded in the general population is 20 and 40 age group (45.797 women) from the side of the first generation and 1 and 20 age group (62.246 women) from the side of the second generation. The numbers of the second generation women in 20-40 age group are 23.661. Thus, the age range includes second generation Turkish women this study focuses on is 20 and 40 age group. The number in total of second generation women of Turkish women in 2008 was 86. 144 and 237 of this population is over 40 year-old (See; Table 1.4). Today, the young and children in school age that are the ones of the second and third generation are collected in 1 and 20 age group.

According to 'Population Projections Report' of 2005 year of United States, except Island, Korea and Turkey, all the OECD countries have much woman population than that of men. In all OECD region, there are 104 women for every 100 men; in the Netherlands; the rate of the women to men is 1, 01. As the Netherlands,

in many Western European countries, the birth rate of boys is much than that of the girls; but, because of many reasons, women live much than the men do. So, the men-women ratio of the population, which is equal in young ages, increase in favor of women in senior ages. In the Netherlands, 101 women are for 100 men; yet, this rate shows difference in Turkey. According to data of Statistics Netherlands 2008, while the woman rate was 48,4 percent in Turkish minorities, the man rate was 51,6 percent. In the Netherlands where all the ethnic origins gathered, the woman rate is 50,5 percent; this rate in men is 49,5 percent (See; Figure 1.1).

FIGURE 1.1. THE GENDER RATES OF TURKISH IMMIGRANTS AND DUTCH POPULATION IN THE NETHERLANDS



Source: Statistics Netherlands, 2008

The evaluation of women of Turkish origin in 13 year-old term between 1995 and 2007 will make us easily understand the last period better. The numerical data show the migration activities in a year of women that separate and rejoin in the Netherlands. Another factor is the marital status of the new comers. The changes in this one year-old term give us a few clues. According to this, while there is a perpetual decrease in the number of the comers to settle to the Netherlands, there is an increase in the number of the ones who leave the country. Consequently, in 13 year-old term, while the number of the women who come and settle to the

Netherlands was 31.234 people, the number of the ones who left the country was nearly 11.000 people. In other words, in the last 13 year-old term, while 2.402 women come to the Netherlands every year, 846 women in average leave the Netherlands. Another attractive factor is that in this 13 year-old term; there is a population which perpetually decreases for the women who settle to the Netherlands for the first time. For instance, in 1997; while there were 3.222 women to settle in the Netherlands; there were only 1.222 women in 2007. On the other hand, while there was a decrease in the number of single and married, every year 30 women were divorced from their partners.

While there was a decrease in marriage of the women of Dutch origin between 1996 and 2008 in 13 year-old term, there was an increase in divorcing rates. In 1996, 3.026.598 women were married; in 2008 this number decreased to 2.859.078 people. In this respect, in this 13 year-old term, the marriage rate of women of Dutch origin decreased 5,9 percent. While this rate is 37 percent among the women of Moroccan origin; this is 24 percent among the women of Turkish origin. On the other hand, for these three ethnic origin women, the divorcing rates are 24,7 percent among the ones from Dutch origin; this is 64,5 percent among the Moroccans and is 67,6 percent among the women of Turkish origin. Shortly, in the 13 year-old term including 1996 and 2008, while 18.969 women of Turkish origin were married, 9.121 women were divorced (See; CBS, 2009).

The changes in population in any country determine generally the rates of birth, death and migration. If the difference between births and deaths was in favor of births, the accurate population increase would happen. The most important reason that the population increase shows regional differences is varying of fertility rate

(live birth rate per woman). The factors like age of women, their education, their place in working life and the developmental level of the place they live in influence the fertility rates. Generally, the population increase rate in developed countries is so low. Since as the education level of women increases and their activity in working life increases, the birth rates decrease. The Netherlands is one of the countries that have the lowest fertility rate in the Western European countries. In most of Western European countries that also includes the Netherlands, one of the most important reasons that the fertility rate is so low is that women postpone founding a family in a long time. The basic reason to postpone the marriage age is that women do not want to leave their education to have an economical career and a better social life. Although many Western European countries and the Netherlands government adopted supporting employment policies for the family life like fatherhood/motherhood permission, child care services, the fertility rates were not increased. The population increase rate among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants compared to Dutch community is high because there is an increase in birth rates that is the extraction of traditional family structure and increase in population through family unification and marriage. In Muslim families compared to Dutch community, one of the basic reasons of the increase in the number of children is that the couples are married in early age.

The meaning of fertility rate, being an important factor to see the differences, is the average number of children born to a woman during her lifetime if current age-specific fertility rates were to continue. According to the reports published by Eurostat (2008), in terms of fertility rates, almost all West European countries are still well below the replacement level. We see that fertility rate that has an important

place in having a stabilized population structure decreased under the risk limit in all OECD countries. Being of 2,1 of fertility rate shows a stabilized population construction; yet, today, this number is 1,6 in OECD countries. Like the Netherlands, in all Western European countries, one of the most important reasons of the decrease in fertility rate is the decrease in fertility rate in women who postpone founding a family. The basic reason to postpone the marriage is the desire of women who get a good education to have an economical career rather than the previous generations.

In the Netherlands, according to the numbers of 2004, the average birth rate was 1,7; yet, there was a decrease in fertility rates, nearly 0,84 between 1970 and 2004. On the other hand, in the Netherlands, 39,7 percent of the children who were born in 2007 came to the world as a result of out of marriage affairs. According to 2008 Statistics Netherlands yearly report, while 207.000 children were born in 2000 around the Netherlands, in the same year, 141.000 people died. 44.700 of born 207.000 children consist of the children of the foreigners who are not from Dutch origin. Nearly 7000 of 44.700 children belonging to the ones of foreign origin form the children of Turkish origin. In 2007, while 181.000 children were born, 133.000 people died. When we add the immigration and emigration rates to birth and death numbers, we face to a natural population increase of a country. According to this, the natural population increase of the Netherlands was 7,8 percent in 2000, this rate decreased to 2, 8 in 2007. Consequently, as long as the lack in fertility rate that has a great contribution to natural population increase is not compensated with migration, population will continue to decrease day by day. On the other hand, the highest fertility rate, 2,43 in average in OECD countries makes Turkey the most important labor source in this region. Turkey will not miss the opportunities that might come

out can make the potential young labor qualified by experimenting education reform that is essential (TISK, 2008).

According to basic economical values like employment and unemployment that show the living situation of the existing woman population in the Netherlands, 41.000 of 118 thousand employees of Turkish origin that join in employment actively in 2005 is consisted of women. In 2006, this number decreased in 14 thousand, it became in average 104.000. On the other hand, 34.000 of the employees of Turkish origin, 104 thousand consist of women. In 2006, in the Netherlands where there are unemployed of Turkish origin nearly 13.000, the unemployed women are 4 thousand. According to data of Statistics Netherlands of 2006, the unemployment rate of women of Turkish origin was calculated as 20,6 percent.

The women entrepreneur of Turkish origin in the Netherlands has 20,7 percent rate among Turkish enterprising. Since Turkish entrepreneurs make their own family members work in the commercial businesses that they founded, numerical labor data about the wives and daughters of the men entrepreneurs were not kept. Thus, 13.500 Turkish entrepreneurs in the Netherlands consists of 10.700 (79,3%) men, 2.800 (20,7%) women entrepreneurs. The average age of these entrepreneurs is 30 and 40 (46,1%). On the other hand, Turkish Research Center's study results (2006) show that the employment number that was created by Turkish businesses in 2006 reached 62.000. With this economical employment, the business managers of Turkish origin have a great power with 5,6 billion Euro backing. When we look at the sectoral range of Turkish businesses in 2006, a great part of businesses retail in commerce (37%) and gastronomy (28,2%) are collected. In this sectoral range, the share of services that will be the most prestigious sector of the future is 20,4 percent.

Consequently, the demographic indications belonging to the immigrants of Turkish immigrants and especially to women that have a rooted and permanent position in the Dutch community have been summarized under two titles with the help of tables and graphics in this chapter. In the other titles related to the first chapter next, while the role distribution belonging to family life of second generation women of Turkish origin is analyzed on the one hand, the factors like education, socio-economical development and the participation in political activities will be analyzed in the privacy outside home.

1.3. The Condition of the Turkish Second Generation Women in the Netherlands

Migration that is as old as the human history is multifunctional and much actor process beneath being the result of a better life search of people. The needs the global economy cause, the transportation and the developments in communication technology with migration have gained continuity day by day. Immigrant individual who is the three basic actors of migration process has brought the mutual interaction between the original country and the host country and adaptation, assimilation or inconsistency. The change of this three sided mutual interaction in time actually comes out as an instinctive phenomenon. For the people who lacks in fidelity to their own hometown, the distances are not important. Naturally, rather than the exterior affects, the concepts that the immigrant community are attributed and are internalized supply the bonds with the original country. Generally, Turks carried their traditions to the countries they migrate to. These traditions change in time in the original country; yet, they do not change easily in the European countries. Thus, the

migration phenomenon has important social, cultural, sentimental, economical, political and legal consequences from the aspects of these three actors.

Today, in the world, there are 200 million immigrants outside the country of origin.¹² The most crowded one of three groups of immigrants living outside their own country is the Chinese with 50 million, Indians with 38 million, and the immigrants of Turkish origin with 6, 5 million. While the number of the immigrants of Turkish origin living outside the boundaries of country is 9 percent of Turkish population, 27 members EU countries with their 4.217.000 take 19th turn. Nearly 2.800.000 of this population is in the citizenship of the country they live. One of the most important factors in the emergence of adaptation is that citizenship lays foundation for the voting mass at the same time. Turkish voter mass that is shaped with the transition to European citizenship is a potential power in behalf of influencing political elites. Consequently, the immigrants of Turkish origin that have an equal legal position with the local public play an active role in local, national and regional administrations in voter status. On the other hand, as a result of the wrong education policies of Western European countries, today; the toughest issue that the second and third generation immigrants come across is education. Yet, recently, the serious approach of both the families and civil communitarian institutions to the issue reveals that around Europe, today 54 thousand Turkish young studies at university. In addition to this, Turkish entrepreneurs that open 131.500 workshops around Europe work in 115 different professions. From 2008, Turkish businesses that

¹² The speech of Gervais Appave who is a Special Policy Adviser to the General Director of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) on “Turks Abroad: The Symposium on Migration and Integration in its 50th Year” in 21-23 May, 2009 in Ankara.

have 45 billion Euros backing make contribution to economical adaptation compared to European Budget that has 122 billion Euros.¹³

Undoubtedly, the basic principle that keeps the different individuals and communities together is the values based on basic human rights. The mutual internalization of these basic and global values gain meaning to integration. Thus, while the immigrants strive to adapt to social and legal structure of the host country, the host country should develop supporting policies to be able to help their integration. In short, the local and national governments will provide a successful adaptation if they develop integration policies to compensate for the favor of immigrants and their demands by being isolated from absolute circle. Today, Euro-Turks, the permanent dwellers are at the center of this adaptation process with these social and political activities. The ones of Turkish origin that protect language, culture and traditions with traditional family structure and durable cultural codes have a more powerful cooperation compared to the other immigrant minorities in the Netherlands. The political, cultural and communitarian activities in the Netherlands of the women of Turkish origin that are the source for this study will be analyzed in next chapter by making use of secondary sources. In this title, the factors that shape the choice of marriage and the role change in family of second and third generation women of Turkish origin have been analyzed with the help of statistical data. Next, the social and political development of women have been studied by making use of factors like their place in the education system of the Netherlands, their proficiency

¹³ The speech of Faruk Şen who is the head of Turkish German Education and Scientific Research Foundation (TAVAK) on “Turks Abroad: The Symposium on Migration and Integration in its 50th Year” in 21-23 May, 2009 in Ankara.

in language, their working styles and position in business market, their interaction with social and physical environment.

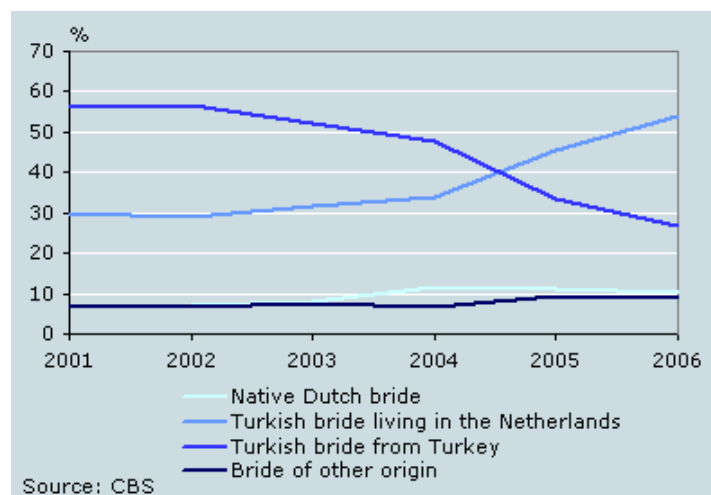
1.3.1. Marriage and Family Formation

One of the current issues of Turkish society that has the youngest population in the host community where the ethnic groups living in the Netherlands is the marriage problem of the young generations. There are three kinds of marriages that protect their currency and actuality for the countries in which Turks are dense in Western Europe. Of all, the most important one is the partners that are taken from Turkey, this choice of marriage that is known as “imported brides and grooms” has decreased from 55 percent to 25 percent among public in the last five years. For the last years, the choice of marriage that has increased is the partners that have the same ethnic origin living in the Netherlands. Thirdly, the one which shows increase financially is the choice of marriage to the partners of foreign origin.

The Moroccans that form the biggest second ethnic group and the young of Turkish origin living in the Netherlands chose to get married to the one in the same ethnic origin. While the choice of marriage to the one who has the same ethnic origin, to be born in Turkey and the Netherlands have been considered. The second generation young related to these two groups have begun to choose the marriage to the one living in the Netherlands and having the same ethnic origin recently. In 2006, over 80 percent of Turks and Moroccans that got married and lived in the Netherlands are married to the ones from the same origin. The women whom Turkish men prefer are the ones who live both in Turkey and in the Netherlands in the same origin. In other words, 9 percent of these two groups got married to the Native

Dutch. In short, in 2006, one man from ten men of Turkish and Moroccan origin is married to a woman of Dutch origin. The rate of the other women of foreign origin that the young of Turkish origin chose except the ones of Dutch origin is 10 percent. In 2006, while 54 percent of Turkish men got married to a Turkish woman living in the Netherlands, their 27 percent rate got married to a woman taken from Turkey (See; Figure 1.2). As it is understood from the numbers, there has been a decrease in the number of the marriages that are named as migration marriages and taken from Turkey. In 2001, while 1.100 brides were taken from Turkey, in 2006, only 400 brides were taken. Consequently, the matchmaker style marriages that were preferred by conservative families have begun to lose their currency. There is a belief that the brides have fidelity to the Anatolian culture and they are so religious in the bases of the marriages through matchmaker or the close environment of family from Turkey. In these marriages having a side of traditionalist, the grooms from Turkey are preferred as the ones who have fidelity to their children and according to their professional skills.

FIGURE 1.2. TURKISH MEN MARRYING IN THE NETHERLANDS, ORDERED BY BRIDE'S ORIGIN



As it is seen in Figure 1.2, we face to the imported bride issue that was moved to European countries from Turkey through marriage as a different phenomenon. The expatriate families preferred to take the brides and grooms that they will choose to make their children who are born and grown up in European countries get married from Turkey until long years. In this way, every year, thousands of brides and grooms come to the Netherlands from Turkey. According to the studies on this subject, the brides and grooms who came to the Netherlands and the other European countries in the last days are more educated and more cultured compared to the previous periods. Undoubtedly, being more cultured and educated of the brides and grooms moving to the Netherlands will make their adaptation to the environment easier. On the other hand, the disadvantageous side of this profitable manner is a return to the beginning on the integration point with the imported brides and grooms. The imported brides and grooms who are born and grown up in Turkey feel alienation to the language and culture of the Netherlands they come across for the first time. As a natural consequence of this, the women do not give enough confidence in the culture and language of the Netherlands to their children. In conclusion, the unique optimistic side of the brides and grooms from the Netherlands is their nobility education level.

Of the reasons that force the expatriate families and young men to have an imported bride and partner from Turkey, the first one is that they are not fond of the children of the other expatriate families they live together as a partner. There is a serious prejudice and fear against girls who are grown up in Europe in expatriate families. The reason of this is that the brides do not have convenient behavior for the

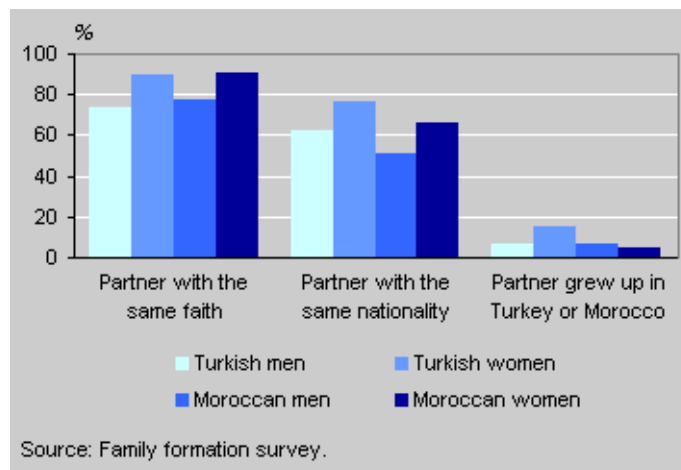
traditions and they have easy attitudes and all these behaviors are opposite to the traditional and hierarchical Turkish family structure. To think of the brides from Turkey as faithful to her home and to accept this communally helps them be preferred. These thoughts of the young and families in abroad for choice are to protect their currency despite the cultural and language unfamiliarity of the brides and partners from Turkey. The integration of imported brides who feel unfamiliarity to the country they come to lasts long and this manner keeps their children away from the education and language problems. Furthermore, a part of such kind of marriages fails because of the cultural differences between the partners. Today, among the couples who get married in this way, there are brides and grooms who are divorced and have psychological problems. A part of these people return to Turkey; yet, another part continue to live in the Netherlands with their children or alone. The statement of Ayşe Y., who lives alone with her two children in The Hague, clearly expresses the manner:

I graduated from primary school. My husband's family asked my hand from my father. They told that my husband lived in the Netherlands and his economical situation was good. We accepted, they came to Turkey with his family and they took many gifts which I had never seen before. After the wedding, we came to the Netherlands. My husband treated me softly before... after the first child, the saying 'out' began I did not know anywhere. I asked my mother in law; she said he was a man he comes, it seemed that he went to other women I understood much later. I heard from a few friends, the government supported the women who got divorced; they helped children, who study; in fact, they helped for the house rent. After I heard those, I sued without waiting; he did not come to trial two times, in the third trial, the court made us got divorced. Now I try to stand with my children and I do not consider returning to Turkey, too.

On the other hand, men and women of Turkish and Moroccan origin give importance to their partners from the same religion. Eight in fact nine individuals among these two ethnic groups want their partners from the same religion. In a way,

the individuals of these two groups prefer to get married to the one who has the same religion and ethnic origin. Yet, to share the same religion in the choice of marriage of these two groups' members has more important place than to share the same nationality. Five or six out of ten men give importance to their partners from the same nationality; yet, nearly 70 percent of these men pay attention to their partners from the same nationality. On the other hand, one of ten people of Turkish and Moroccan origin want a partner who is brought up in Turkey and Morocco and in the same ethnic origin (See; Figure 1.3). Thus, the brides and grooms who are brought up in these two countries are preferred much than those who are brought up in the Netherlands.

FIGURE 1.3. OPINIONS OF YOUNG TURKS AND MOROCCANS ABOUT THEIR FUTURE BRIDES, 2004



The number of the mothers who live alone among the ones of foreign origin that are not Western in the Netherlands is 28 thousand for Surinamese, 12 thousand for Netherlands Antilles, is 9 thousand for Turkish and is 7 thousand for Moroccan. The extreme number of the mothers living alone among especially in the groups of foreign origin shows that the divorcing is a serious risk. While the half of the

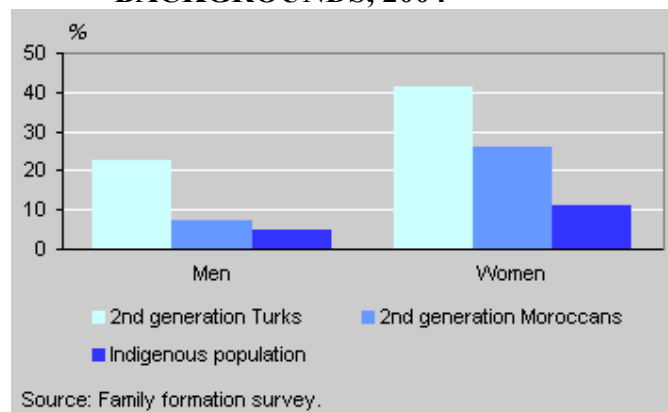
mothers living alone and being the Dutch origin were divorced from their partners, 25 percent is widower and 25 percent is the women who have children out of marriage. Half of the Turkish and Moroccan mothers get divorced from their partners, 25 percent is widower or single and 25 percent is the married women. The reason that the number of the women who live alone, being of Turkish origin is much is that their partners live in Turkey and the Netherlands. Thus, although many women are married formally, they live apart from their partners. On the other hand, two by three mothers living alone are Surinamese and Antillean consist of the ones who do not get married ever. This show that while many women live with their partners, they have children and they look after their children without their partners.

The mother whose native tongue is the Dutch have entered to the first turn in the list of being mother late of the world recently. 30 age average of mothers who have a baby for the first time in 2004 have kept increasing. This manner is experienced among the ones of Dutch origin as well as the second generation immigrants of foreign origin. On the other hand, the women who are not western but foreign origin recently have a baby less. In fact, the second generation Turkish and Moroccan mothers give baby as much as the native Dutch mothers do. Yet, in 1965 and 1969 period, the fertility rate was 2,7 among the first generation Turkish and Moroccan women; this rate decreased to the dangerous levels in the last term. The number of the women who become mothers in 15-19 age-group is much among the ones of Turkish origin. Yet, in the last years, there are important decreases in the mothers of Turkish origin who have a baby in early age. The reason of this is the postponement

to have a baby and to get married with the increase in socio-economical status among the second generation women.

Generally, the second generation Turkish and Moroccan young get married at an early age. 41 percent of Turkish women in 18-27 age-groups are married or divorced. In this age category, 23 percent of Turkish men is married. On the other hand, in the same age category, only 11 percent of the native Dutch women and 5 percent of the Dutch men is married or divorced (See; Figure 1.4). These rates show that the marriage age of the young men of Turkish origin is postponed much than that of the one who are from the same ethnic origin. Undoubtedly, girls getting married who are a part of traditional Turkish family structure keep its currency.

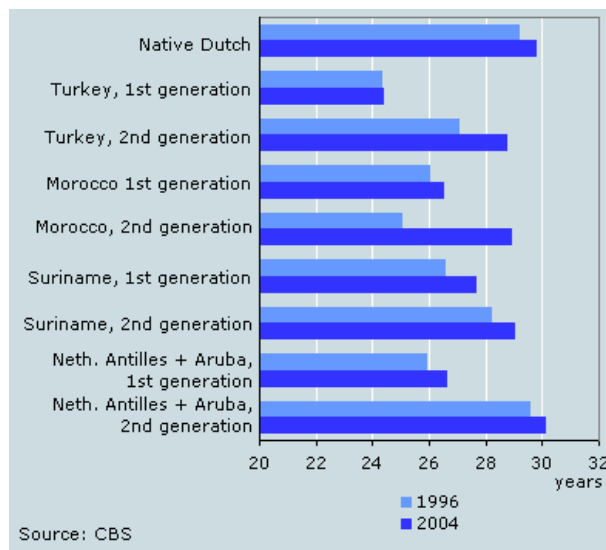
FIGURE 1.4. MARRIED OR DIVORCED (AGED 18-27) BY ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS, 2004



The number of the young Turkish mothers is the highest among both Dutch origin and other ethnic groups. The young Turkish mothers generally have their babies before their 20th birthday. In 1999, while 60 percent of the young mothers from foreign origin, being nonwestern had a baby, this rate was 40 percent among the first generation immigrants. The number of the second generation young mothers who have a baby is less than that of the first generation. Between 1996 and 2004, the age

average of the mothers of Turkish origin who have the first child was about 24. Yet, the age average of the second generation mothers reached 27 in 1996; this arose to 29 in 2004 (See; Figure 1.5). This manner shows that the new generations leave the age of marriage and to have a baby much later compared to the first generations.

FIGURE 1.5. AVERAGE AGE OF HAVING THE FIRST BIRTH



On the other hand, among the Dutch and Surinamese couples do not have a choice of girl or boy. Yet, the desire to have a boy is much among the Turkish couples. According to the study of Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2003), 50 percent of the Dutch mothers who have the first child of boy or girl want to have a child for the second time. In fact, among the Dutch families, the ones who have two children determine their third child's choice according to the genders of the first second children. If they have two boys and two girls, the desire to have a third child is 25 percent yet, this rate decreases to 20 percent while they have a boy and girl. Shortly, their desire to have the third child changes according to the gender the first two children. This situation is completely different in Turkish families; Turkish families

want to have two boys rather one girl and boy much. In fact, if they have two girls, they want to have a third child by 50 percent rates. If they have already had two boys, the desire to have a third child decreases to 35 percent. The preference of Turkish mothers who have three girls to have a fourth child is 65 percent; the desire of the mothers who have a boy and girl to have a child apart is 45-50 percent. Among Moroccan families, the genders of the children are not important. Among families who have two boys or a girl, 45 percent rate is eager to have the third child. Thus, the ones who have two boys and two girls even want to have the fifth baby. Thus, the difference between the ethnic origin foreign families being nonwestern and the families of Dutch origin is that of the fourth child.

1.3.2. The Educational Achievement

The distance between the different ethnic groups in one country does not always stem from the physical reasons. This distance stems from mostly the norm, view, and behavior differences among ethnic groups. Opposed to this, the combination and approach come out with the separation quality of different view and attitude moulds but their unifying position. Thus, the supply of the closing and coming closer of the distances are only possible with knowing each other. The most influential factor that provides the mutual approach and to know each other is the participation to education and to learn the Dutch.

While the developments in science and technique continue gradually, the demographic change stipulates the evaluation of the potentials of citizens of immigrant origin. Thus, unless the communities do not develop themselves with high technology and scientific inventions in the global world, they will stand behind the

information production. In addition to the usage of their own potentials, to provoke the creativity of the specialist immigrant in their space and make them beneficial to the country have a national importance. Their contribution to thinking and cultural power of the countries in which the well-educated and successful immigrants live is entirely a fact. Despite this fact, a less part of the young of immigrant origin around the Netherlands and Europe go on their profession that requires specialty and high education. The Turkish immigrant families and their children in the Netherlands who are aware of this have been so eager to keep on high education recently.

The compulsory education age in the Netherlands where the preschool education is common has been determined as 5 and 16 and the kindergartens and preschools have been unified and systematized under the title 'The Basic Education'. In the education system of the Netherlands, the students pass to secondary education after 8 year-old basic education. The results of the exam that is named as CITO in the pass to secondary education in which the variety of schools is common, the suggestion of school and the desire of the tutor are the determining factors. The high schools which are preparatory for university (VWO), high leveled secondary education (HAVO) and vocational high schools (MK-B-O) that have level and content difference take part in secondary education. The students of foreign origin are intense in the vocational high schools where there is not language education in high level and have tendency to forward looking application. The most successful students in basic education have been sent directly to VWO that lasts 6 years and prepares for the university. The normal high school, being a level under VWO and the vocational high schools prepare the students for the university. There are horizontal and vertical

pass according to success range among these high schools. In secondary education, they are educated almost in every field and level on especially art and profession. After these three kinds of high schools, the students can be enrolled in two kinds of university like HBO (High Vocational School) and WO (University). There is not an entrance exam into university and any high education. Everyone who gets essential conditions can be enrolled in any faculty and can study (Yanık and Ada, 2002). The rate of the children of foreign origin, being nonwestern to continue on the Preparatory Schools for University and a level under, high degree secondary high schools is so low compared to the Dutch children. Most of Turkish and Moroccan students continue on the schools that give vocational education and they prefer the courses based on economy in general. However lower the pass rate of the children of foreign origin, being nonwestern from secondary education to an upper level is than that of the Dutch students, this difference is decreasing. On the other hand, generally among the children of foreign origin, being nonwestern, the girls do speak Dutch much better than the boys do.

**TABLE 1.7. PARTICIPANTS IN DIFFERENT FORMS OF EDUCATION
(X 1,000)***

Education level	Native Dutch**	Foreign background***	Turkish
Primary (Aged 4-12)	1.549.500	236.700	54.651
Pre-vocational and secondary (VMBO)	156.830	51.840	10.250
Senior secondary general (HAVO)	118.320	26.120	3.120
Pre- university (VWO)	123.420	25.090	1.820
Senior secondary vocational	356.000	123.000	19.000
Higher professional (HBO)	212.600	59.700	5.100
University bachelor (WO)	144.000	41.900	2.400
Total	2.660.670	564.350	96.341

Source: Statistics Netherlands (CBS), 2006

* The numbers include between 2005 and 2006.

** Dutch group also includes dual citizens.

*** Foreigners include also Turkish students.

In 2005 and 2006 education year, the number of the students of Turkish origin who continue on the school among the education system of the Netherlands is 96.341 (See; Table 1.7). Over the half of the Turkish students continue their basic education between 4-12 ages. The students of Turkish origin prefer mostly the vocational high schools before university education. In the Netherlands where there are three kinds of high school education, there were 3.200 students keeping on HBO (High Vocational School) Turkish students strive too much to enter in 2000. This number increased to 5.100 in 2005, and reached 6.400 in 2007 (CBS, 2008). On the other hand, the rate to continue on university after high school increases every year. While the number of Turkish students who study in university and colleges was 1.600 in 2000 according to 2008 National Statistics reports, in 2005 this rate reached 2.600 and in 2007 increased 2,700. After the ones of Turkish origin, Moroccans, the biggest ethnic

group had 1.300 students, going on universities in 2000; this increased to 2.200 in 2007.

The education application in native tongue that the one of foreign origin living in the Netherlands had started in the first years of migration has been kept under the control of the Dutch education system form 2004 on. This decision has influenced nearly one million including Turks, thus; to learn the native tongue and apply this has been excluded from the school. After 2004, out of the school hours, the Turkish education has been not successful around the country in an organized way. In the bases of this failure, there are reason like that the successful Turkish teachers are not required, the lack in the equipments that will compensate for the necessities, and that the formal applications are not made to school officials in an organized way. Apart from those, the decision to remove funds about the lessons of native tongue by the Netherlands government is a political decision far away from the education science that triggers assimilation, opposes to the human rights, multilingual and cultural society structure that Europe seems to accept (Dođaner, 1986). In addition to this, with a law that came into force in 2004, Turks who wanted to settle in the country including some foreign groups would be exposed to the exams for the proficiency related to the Dutch before they came. In addition to the limitations for the native tongue, it is obvious that the exam for the language proficiency that has been applied in the entrance into the country has been not accepted ethically from the aspect of social responsibility.

On the other hand, the Netherlands government spares 3 billion 800 million Euros for the foreign students every year. Through several projects of The Dutch

authorities, to provide the young of foreign origin with scholarship to back up them scientifically. The university students who graduated just new have been supported with the aim of their bringing up as a scientist among the ones of foreign origin by the Ministry of Education and Science of The Netherlands and The Netherlands Scientific Research Institution. By this way, in 2008, four Turkish girl students were successful among 22 students around the country in a contest that was made among the ones of foreign origin and they were supported with scholarship to complete their educations.¹⁴ This will not be exaggerated to express that the success levels between the students of both of two countries after nearly ten years. Despite this, after September 11 terrorist attacks and those in European capitals, there have been inconsistencies in the multicultural policies of the Netherlands with the increase in prejudices against the Muslim immigrants. This intolerance environment that keeps harsh statements against the Muslim has increased the tendency to return of many Turkish students to their countries and to continue on their education.

Particularly, to increase the success of the young in the school age for their education, there are important duties for the tutors and schools except the politicians. To reach the target in education, it is necessary to provide the affair between student and tutor before everything. In addition to this, it is a must to spare additional fund for schools in order to give equal opportunities for each student. The language level of the insufficient students who have not enough Dutch language by giving additional courses should be increased. To increase the pass to high education instead of vocational education that is common among Turkish students, the preparation for projects that arouse anxiety for science and general culture should be supplied.

¹⁴ “Türk kızlarının başarısı”, *Star*, (07.06.2009)

Besides, the mutual tolerance should be developed by providing the projects about the issues like discrimination, racism and Islamic phobia. There are effects like language deficiency, lack of order, structureless, aimlessness, loss of motivation, environment factors under the education failures of students. NGOs, adapted to the solution of these problems, associations, schools should be cooperate with the media and prepare an action plan and should develop projects. On the other hand, to provide the young with a tendency to art and sports instead of obtaining bad habits, the run of socio-cultural studies have very important place.

Furthermore, the seminars, courses and activities that will supply the tutors with becoming close to school and the Turkish civil communitarian institutions should provide the regulations. To make these activities and seminars for the tutors in the schools around the close area will increase close relation between school and tutor. One of the most important factors of the failure in education is undoubtedly that the tutors do not have enough information about education, their insufficiencies arouse and they do not show the essential sentimentality. Thus, being successful of the students in schools is only possible with the close affair of the parents with them. That's why; first of all, NGOs, then associations, schools and the informative campaigns for the tutors in accordance with media, courses and brochures should be prepared. These campaigns and brochures will provoke the tutors to join in school activities and the participation into school-tutor unions. In this respect, the schools are not only the places where the students get introduced and become closer but also they are the places where the tutors get introduced. This togetherness of the foreign

and local families that come together for their children, their most precious creatures will bring the collapse of the intercultural prejudices and the existence of tolerance.

1.3.3. Position in the Labour Market

Another field that makes contribution to the rise of Turkish immigrants to citizen status is their experiences of economical enterprising. The immigrants of Turkish origin are the most impulsive enterprising group compared to the other ethnic minorities in the Netherlands in the enterprising field. According to a study by Turkish Research Center (TAM), today, Turkish entrepreneurs recruit nearly 62 thousand employees in the Netherlands. On the other hand, the annually backing of the business managers of Turkish origin in 2006 has reached 5,6 billion Euros. According to 2008 data, the number of Turkish entrepreneur in the Netherlands is nearly 13.500. All business managers of Turkish origin in the Netherlands consist of the biggest group in Germany, then in EU countries. Here, the emphasis is that these entrepreneurs consist of nearly 2.800 women entrepreneurs. Women entrepreneurs have an important place among Turkish ones in the Netherlands with 20,7 percent rate. According to the calculations of Turkish Research Center, the annual contribution of Turkish population working in the Netherlands to GDP of this country is about 8,4 billion Euros. This amount is in the same line with 1,7 fold of GDP of Malta that is the member of European Union.

The entrepreneurs of Turkish origin in the Netherlands are active in over 100 areas. The new generations of Turkish origin that prove them except the usual certain professions demonstrate their existence in every field. They have occupations in a broad area like from film producing to media, from sport of boxing to cleaning

sector, from the city groundwork services to sport club business, plastic surgery and psychiatry. Beside these professions, the Dutch Turks who are specialist in their field and educated even are judge, advocate, doctors have been regarded with their successes. These successful entrepreneurs that are on the Dutch agenda frequently are told with their life stories and they are regarded with the name 'Neo-Turks'.

In addition to this, 13.500 entrepreneurs of Turkish origin that function in the Netherlands make contribution to the national economy and they show that they are so permanent (See; Table 1.8). Another shocking matter is that 12 percent of the ones of Turkish origin functions as entrepreneurs; yet, only 11 percent of the Dutch entrepreneurs does their business. The result than can be reached there is that Turkish entrepreneurs with their young and dynamic structure prepare to be the locomotive of the Dutch economy in ten years in front of the Dutch businessmen who are getting old. According to another study by Turkish Research Center whose center is located in the Netherlands, while 37 percent of Turkish entrepreneurs in the Netherlands are intense in retailing commerce, 28,2 percent of those is on gastronomy, 20,4 percent is on service sector, 7,9 percent is on handicrafts, 4,3 percent is on bulk commerce and 2,2 percent is on production and building industry (TISK, 2008).

**TABLE 1.8. ECONOMIC POWER OF THE TURKISH ENTREPRENEURS
IN THE NETHERLANDS (2006)**

Data	Numerical data
Number	13.500
Average investment per business (Euro)	110.000
Total investment (Billion Euro)	1,5
Average turnover per business (Euro)	418.000
Total annual turnover (Billion Euro)	5,6
Average number of employees per business	4,6
Total employment	62.000

Source: The Turkish Research Center (TAM), 2007

According to the data of EU Statistics Department (Eurostat), the average unemployment rate of 2006 was 8,4 percent in Germany, it was only 3,9 percent in the Netherlands. While the unemployment rate is about 30 percent among Turks in Germany, this rate is 15 percent in the Netherlands. The lower unemployment rate in the Netherlands compared to that of Germany reflects to the number of people in the houses working. According to this, the number of people in the Turkish houses working in Germany is 1, 3; this number increases to 1,6 in the Netherlands. Thus, the rate of the ones in this 15 and 65 age group among all the workers to the total population is 73,2 percent.

There was a significant progress in their position of nonwestern people of foreign origin in business market in 2006 and especially in 2007. In this respect, the participation of the ones from ethnic origin to business market is much than that of the Dutch and in parallel to this, there has been a gradual decrease in unemployment rate. In 2005, while the unemployment rate among nonwestern young of foreign

origin is 27 percent, this rate decreased to 15 percent in 2007. However, in these two years-old term, the unemployment rate among the Dutch young decreased from 11 percent to 8 percent. Thus, the unemployment range between the Dutch young and nonwestern young of foreign origin is so low. Besides, the participation level and the position of nonwestern people of foreign origin in labor market show parallelism with their education level. According to this, the participation rate of individuals from ethnic origin who increase their education level to labor market is so high.

As a result of the mutual interaction of the consuming habits and demands, in the Netherlands, the consuming habits of ethnic groups and the ones of Dutch origin become closer to each other. In the Netherlands where nonwestern foreigners of Muslim origin live mostly, the businesses to be able to supply the consuming habits belong to them began to increase from the first half of 1980s. These businesses related to supply the special needs of a certain part played an important role in the foundation of their own business by attaining self-employment for Turkish population. The changing consuming habits and changing social structure and the increasing tendency in education have increased the direction towards the enterprising. Undoubtedly, this trend perpetually increasing adopted to the enterprising will gain economical vividness and employment for markets and will make contribution to the integration of the country in which they live. Another reason that the self enterprising has increased recently is the change in the structure of Turkish community which lives in the Netherlands. Turkish community which adopts a more heterogeneous structure has obtained a more comprehensive development related to the Dutch market and its consumers. The mass of Turkish

entrepreneurs which leads these developments consist of second and third generation masses.

On the other hand, in the last quarter of 2008, as in all the world economies, the economical recession reached serious dimensions in the Netherlands. According to the last data of Statistics Netherlands, nearly 298 thousand people in the Netherlands- this number is 3,9 percent of labor- were unemployed in this period. While the unemployment rate reached 6 percent in Amsterdam, this rate increased 6,6 percent in Rotterdam, and to 4,2 percent in The Hague. The general unemployment rate of 2008 is 3,3 percent among men in the Netherlands; 4,8 percent among women (CBS, 2009). Besides, in 2008, the unemployment rate was 9 percent among the ones of foreign origin, being nonwestern. This rate is almost 3,2 percent, threefold of the group of Turkish origin. While the unemployment rate among the ones of Turkish origin was 7,7 percent in 2000, this rate increased to 8,8 percent in 2007. The unemployment rate among the ones of Moroccan origin, the most crowded ethnic group was 8,9 percent in 2000. Yet, this rate was calculated 11,4 percent in 2007. In this sense, one of the groups which have the least unemployment rate among the ones of foreign origin, being nonwestern in the Netherlands is the ones of Turkish origin (See; Table 1.9). Consequently, with the effect of the economical crisis that is experienced today, one by every four women is unemployed in the Netherlands. Thus, several measures and targets should be determined to struggle with unemployment and economical crisis. These targets are to form a new business with smart and convenient investments, to struggle with every kind of discrimination in

business market, to make the recruit of foreign employees easier by developing variety policy of the corporations.

**TABLE 1.9. UNEMPLOYMENT BY GENDER AND ETHNIC GROUP
(UNEMPLOYED LABOR FORCE AS A % OF THE LABOR FORCE)**

Country of origin	2000	2005	2006	2007
Total	3.5	6.5	5.5	4.5
Men	2.5	5.6	4.5	3.6
Women	4.8	7.8	6.9	5.8
Native Dutch	2.9	5.2	4.4	3.8
Western foreign background	4.6	7.9	7.0	5.6
Non-western foreign background	8.5	16.4	14.1	10.2
Turkish	7.7	14.8	14.3	8.8
Moroccan	8.9	18.8	16.5	11.4
Surinamese	6.9	13.7	10.7	7.6
Antillean/Aruban	9.1	15.7	15.1	10.8

Source: 2008 Statistical Yearbook, CBS

On the other hand, in 2008, while the labor participation rate among the ones of foreign origin, being nonwestern was 62 percent, in a previous year, this was calculated as 54 percent. The labor participation rate among the ones of Turkish origin was 49,6 percent in 2001, this rate increased to 50,8 percent in 2007. The labor participation rate was 68,1 percent among the ones of Dutch origin in 2007, this was calculated as 48,9 percent among the ones of Moroccan origin. The reason that this rate is 66,2 percent around the Netherlands where all the ethnic groups take part is the unemployment rate that increases among the young of foreign origin (See; Table 1.10). On November 6, 2008; according to the Netherlands Integration Activity Report that was published and composed by Statistics Netherlands, the shortage in the participation to business market between the native Dutch employees and the ones of foreign origin, being nonwestern employees is getting less. The employment deficiency among the natives and the nonwestern foreigners is getting closed much quickly among especially the second generation employees. Besides, the income

position of the people of foreign origin, being nonwestern has cured recently, and this situation stems from their achievements in education and their proficiency in language.

**TABLE 1.10. NET LABOR PARTICIPATION, AGED 15 TO 65 YEARS
(EMPLOYED LABOR FORCE AS A % OF THE POPULATION)**

Country of origin	2001	2005	2006	2007
Total	65.0	63.2	64.6	66.2
Men	76.8	73.3	74.0	75.1
Women	52.8	53.0	55.0	57.2
Native Dutch	66.7	65.2	66.7	68.1
Western foreign background	62.5	62.1	62.9	64.3
Non-western foreign background	52.7	49.2	50.1	54.0
Turkish	49.6	48.0	47.3	50.8
Moroccan	46.7	45.2	43.3	48.9
Surinamese	61.9	58.6	61.6	63.7
Antillean/Aruban	56.5	56.2	57.6	59.0

Source: 2008 Statistical Yearbook, CBS

The high participation rate of over 45 age group of the Dutch origin in labor that is used in the Netherlands is the discussion. The high participation rate of the over-45 age group related to the old generation in 2006 increased to 36 percent. According to the vision of Statistics Netherlands, there will be decreases in potential labor in the following years and the rate in potential labor of the over-45 age group will increase in serious scales. The reason that the potential labor decreases is that the immigrants who come to the Netherlands are less than the ones who leave the country. The majority of those who leave the country permanently form the 20-65 age group. On the other hand, in 2006, while the unemployment had a tendency to decrease in all the age groups, around the same year, 302 thousand people was paid with unemployment money (ÇSGB, 2007: 71).

1.3.4. The Social and Cultural Integration in Dutch Life

When compared to the other European countries, it is seen that the immigrants of Turkish origin in the Netherlands represent the most organized group with their local, national and international institutions that are founded in social and cultural spaces. The immigrants of Turkish origin who want to go on the mutual corporation in social, cultural and economical spaces activated their civil communitarian institutions even in the smallest dwelling areas. The Turkish civil communitarian institutions in the Netherlands increased conveniently to the development process of migration and became different in time. The number of NGOs that were founded by the immigrants of Turkish origin in the Netherlands was determined as 1125 according to a study in 1998 (Küçükcan and Güngör, 2009: 438). The individuals who join in these activities and become member for these civil organizations know the society better and make a great contribution to the integration with this mutual combination. It is seen that the civil communitarian institutions that the immigrants of Turkish origin found begin to increase from 1990s on. The most important reason for that is that the civil conscience among the first generation Turks is not well developed, the equipped and cumulated human labor sources, essential thinking foundation for institutionalization are not sufficient.

It has been 45 years for the signing of the labor treaty that was made among Turkey and the Netherlands in 1964. Turks who came to the Netherlands to work and earn money and return to their hometown forty five years ago have proceeded seriously in many spheres of the community in which they live in time. Today, the immigrants of Turkish origin followed the policies in different political platforms

like Parliamentary, European Parliament, local administrations, and province administrations. Undoubtedly, the concentration of Turkish immigrants in European policy has prepared a foundation for the reversal of immigrant status to citizenship status. On the other hand, we can say that Turkish woman is represented in social and cultural life better than the men are. The reason of this is that while the men function only in the activity based on their own group, the women try to address to the general. The address of the women to the whole community is an attitude towards the role that their traditional communities try to dress up. Today, when we look at the immigrants of Turkish origin whose achievement graphic in social and political life in the Netherlands rise, we come across with the women.

There are large and small associations that are founded in big cities like The Hague, Rotterdam, and Amsterdam with the aim of supplying the social, religious, economical and political needs of the immigrants of Turkish origin and the number of these associations increase every year. The majority of these associations were founded with religious and cultural aim. In the Netherlands, there are nearly 230 associations that are founded with these aims and federations, belonging to these associations. Beside the associations, 'Consultation Committee' belonging to the minorities to make decisions, by forming social, cultural and legal policies about the nonwestern foreigners in the Netherlands have been activated. 'Consultation Committee for Turks in the Netherlands' (IOT) representing 9 Turkish federations organized in Dutch level and founded in 1985 in the Netherlands has provided Dutch government with making decisions and expressing their visions through cooperation with the other minority consultation assemblies. 200 local associations are

represented in 8 federations dependent on ‘The Consultation Committee for Turks in the Netherlands’ (ÇSGB, 2007: 81). In conclusion, the Dutch Turks who see themselves as a part of Europe undertake the social responsibilities of the country they live in, on the other hand; they seek for the ways to run the activities for the benefit of Turkey where its roots expand through these associations.

Contrary to the general situation of Europe, we can say that there is an important progress in the politics and business world in the Netherlands. Both the social positions and the prestige of Turkish immigrants that arise to the boss position by separated from employee position in the community they live in have increased. Turkish immigrants who obtain voting right by being a citizen firstly in the Netherlands where their descendants came with the name of employee entered into the parliamentary by making use of their voting rights in next process. Turkish immigrants who are represented in ministry level not only within the entrance into parliamentary have removed the image problem devoted to the future. Today, Turkish immigrants who have active roles among local and national policies in Belgium, the Netherlands, and Germany have risen to the important points politically. The best example to be given for the successful and willing of Turks in the political life is; the existence of five deputies of Turkish origin who are in charge of The House of Representatives of The Netherlands. In addition to this, there are many Turkish immigrants who work as a member assembly of municipality and in charge of local policy of the country. As France, contrary to the other Western European countries, one of the most important reasons for the immigrants in the

Netherlands to take place both in local and national policy is that the legal regulations give permission to the representation.

In the Netherlands, among Consultation Committee for Turks, there are Turk Islam Culture Association Federation, Turkish Employees Union of the Netherlands, Turkish women Union of the Netherlands, Islam Federation of the Netherlands, Turkish Islam Institutions Union of the Netherlands, Democratic Social Associations Federation, Islam Center Foundation of the Netherlands, Turkish Sport and Culture Federation of the Netherlands and Alawi Unions Federation of the Netherlands. According to a study project that was supported by Turkish Research Center (TAM) of the Netherlands in 2004, Turkish civil institutions (associations, foundations, syndicates, media organs e.t.c.) are keen on especially culture, identity, integration, political representation and the basic human rights with the economy. Some of the associations and federations above have been founded with the aim of introducing Turkish cultural values. It will be an incomplete evaluation to think the associations centered on the Netherlands are dependent from social, political and religious points. Thus, today, it is a truth that the associations and federations and mosques that are founded with the aim of compensating for the religious needs of the Muslim in the Netherlands with Turkey have volunteered and institutional affairs. An important part of Turkish civil communitarian institutions concentrated on the studies that will be an obstacle for the identical solution and cultural assimilation. A part of these institutions consists of organizations for the struggle with the discrimination and integration against the Dutch community. Consequently, Turkish civil communitarian institutions have begun to be the symbol of cooperation and

integration with the social environment and become a potential power from the quantity and quality.

One of the most important studies of these institutions for the women is undoubtedly is the studies against the violence actions and murders that are committed against the women. Thus, the problem should be discussed in the Turkish community of the Netherlands to overcome the violence actions based on the custom without waiting. The discussions that will remove the wrong views, explained by cultural values like honor in different platforms like NGOs do should be made. The Ministry, Eberhard van der Laan, responsible for the adaptation of the foreigners expressed that 40 percent of the violence actions and murders in the Netherlands that are mostly committed against the women on behalf of honor and custom among the Turkish community. Nine Turkish institutions that function in the Netherlands signed a ‘participation protocol’ that determines the studies which will be done with the aim of struggle with the violence actions based on the custom. This protocol that was prepared in the leadership of the Consultation Committee for Turks in the Netherlands (Inspraak Orgaan Turken, IOT) centered on Rotterdam, representing Turkish community by the government aimed to oppose to the violence based on the custom and provide the change of the mentality by collapsing the taboos on this matter.¹⁵

¹⁵ “Hollanda’daki Türk dernekleri töre cinayetine karşı birleşti”, *Gurbetport*, <http://www.gurbetport.com/avrupa-haberleri/hollanda/1521-hollanda-daki-turk-dernekleri-tore-cinayetine-karsi-birlesti.html> (28.12.2008).

1.3.5. Political Participation

1.3.5.1. Definitions and Scope

From the second half of 20th century on, ‘political participation’ that is one of the concepts that is used often in the field of politics is one of the most important features of the participant modern government. Because of this feature, many politics scientists said that the most important discrimination between the participant modern community and traditional community is the participation of the public into the politics (Huntington, 1968: 36-37). In the last century when the publics and democratic institutions related to modernization and urbanization, the term “political participation” has been defined in different terms. For instance; Münci Kapani (1975) defines political participation as a term, ‘that determines the attitudes, matters and behaviors of individuals and (citizens), being member of community against the political system’ in seventh chapter of his book titled “The Entrance into Politics Science” (Kapani, 2003: 130-131). The participation among a political system is defined as a changing process to influence the administrators by being administrated, to change their mutual decisions in relation to their profits and choices. Eroğul also defines political participation ‘as having the right in administration by the ones being administrated’. Thus, the participation coming true depends on the existence of those who govern and those being governed. The active and passive matters of the ones being governed can be accepted as political participation to get the existing aims by making use of the ways of the existing political participation (Eroğul, 1991: 13-14). Consequently, political participation involves not only voting in the elections but also joining in political activities in different ways and types.

Baykal (1970: 30-31) defines political participation ‘as the integration of the activities that are done for the political incidents’. The individuals who are involved in politics actively can directly influence the administrators by joining in political life through organized communities such as associations, volunteered institutions and political parties. Kışlalı (2003: 219) defines political participation ‘as the actions to influence the decisions and applications of the government and citizens in different levels’. On the other hand, the individuals who keep their interest in politics limited from election to election can influence the administrators in different ways by voting in certain periods in addition to their oral and written communication with their complaints and demands against the institutions and persons (Çaha, 2004: 45).

For Özbudun, ‘political participation is the enterprise of the citizens to legal or illegal and successful or unsuccessful designed actions by the others or themselves to influence the decisions or staff of the local or central governmental organs’. Özbudun classifies the reasons that make the individuals join in political participation in his book titled as “Social Change in Turkey and Political Participation” such as; persona independence, cooperation, profit and the feeling of citizenship (Özbudun, 1975: 4-6). Particularly, in less developed countries, in certain times, the one that the public masses show the traditional political leaders is a political participation that stems from overwhelming personal dependence. The second that pushes to the political participation is that of individuals who are the member of a certain social group to show their fidelity on behalf of their mutual opinions. The third matter is the encouragement of individual, grouping and communitarian financial profits for the individuals and group members. The expectations of all these mutual profits can

reach the group members and individuals directly or indirectly. The fourth matter that pushes the individuals to political participation is their perception of political participation as a kind of duty with the feeling of moral responsibility and the feeling of citizenship.

On the other hand, Robert Dahl divides the dimensions of political participation in his book, "Modern Political Analysis" in four categories. In his work, the author mentions about four different political participation levels, to be interested in, to give importance, to be informed and action (Dahl, 1963: 57). Most of the citizens that form the basic object of the participation are contented with their interest in politics in a limited and sole way. In the phase of giving importance that is the second dimension of participation, the citizens take the political events as a responsibility besides being interested in them. In the informing dimension that is one of the political participation phases in these different levels, connected closely; there are the pursuit of political events form massive means, attendance in demonstrations as a listener and discussion of political subjects in privacy. Beyond these three participation phases, there are activities against problems and political incidents both by behaving in favor or against. Thus, in the phase of action that is the active dimension of the political participation, the citizens play an active role in the incidents and become a direct side by being influenced from the political incidents (Milbrath, 1965: 18-20).

In democratic regimes, the political participation emerges in three levels in general. First of all, it an individual leveled participation in which the citizens are interested in political incidents and vote in elections. This level in which the

participation ways are not various is more limited than the other participation levels. In the participation that emerges in group, the individuals try to direct and influence the political decision makers in groups where they activate within the mutual profits. In this participation level, the political life becomes a part of the lives of the group members. In the third leveled political participation that comes out with the political parties, the individuals try to influence the whole political system with the participation in political parties (Çaha, 2004: 54-55).

Tekeli (1995: 292-293) divides the types of political participation into two as individual and communitarian. The duty to vote that is the most obvious example of the individual political participation is influenced by the social incidents and its participation density changes despite its individualistic matter. For women, the political participation increase or decrease with the factors such as income, education and encouragement or family oppression and care. The women who become in the patriarchal and traditional family structures are always open to the intervention of their partners both in political participation and party choices. We can say that the women have the economical freedom and are educated become freer from these oppressions and directions. For Tekeli (1995: 293-295), the participation of women into political life as communal is a multidirectional process that makes the social activity compulsory in many fields and makes the group behavior necessary. This process makes the membership for a political party different from individual participation, taking charge in social and political actions actively or involving in group activities.

According to an article of Ayşe Kadioğlu that is based upon Nicolaidis, the specialist of International Affairs, EU has two important ways that are perceived as a political institution. One of these is the truth that representatives of member countries do not allow the limiting and exclusive policies for their own national sovereignties. The second truth is that a mutual European identity will be based on the national identities. The author mentions about a third perception beyond these two truths. According to this, rather than a sole identity, a mutual democracy union that represents the unification of the public and member countries is a more rational way. In this sense, the one that keeps the member countries together is not a mutual 'European Identity', whose boundaries are drawn with certain lines; but the participative elements that increase the fidelities between them. Among these elements, common market, common currency, social justice, equality in gender, continuous development and full employment are the values that keep the public of member countries together and protect them from separation. Another meaning that this notion triggers is that the term, citizenship portrays a participation into an over national system where the common values are represented beyond the expression of the fidelity in nation (Kadioğlu, 2008).

In this respect, the usage of the term, citizenship for bigger and more economical political communities by getting beyond the national states makes another truth come out. Nowadays, to become a citizen, a nation loses its validity to become a member for the government. The participation into the mutual projects that foresee the political mechanisms such as EU becomes an inevitable necessity of citizenship. Thus, getting over the boundaries of national identity of the term, citizenship makes

the participation of the ethnic minorities into local, regional, national and over national institutions legal. For instance, if a citizen who is from Dutch origin and a Dutch citizen from Turkish origin express their notions related to EU Law through referendum freely, it means that the participation gets an important unification aspect. In other words, the participation of the adults of Turkish origin, living in the Netherlands into national and over national institutions is their necessity to become a citizen. Shortly, from the aspect of minorities, political participation is the precondition to become a citizen.

1.3.5.2. Factors Influencing the Political Participation

Modernist approach that develops from the beginnings of 1960s on handles political participation as the result of the factors such as massive communication means, socio-economical matter, vocation, education, urbanization and political participation. Besides these factors that determine the level of political participation, 'gender' and 'age' factors are the determiners of the participation (Çaha, 2004: 58). For Özbudun, the modernism that develops dependently on urbanization influences the participation in four ways. According to this, modernism increases social discriminations and groupings by influencing the nature of the participation and this causes the participation to be autonomous. Secondly, modernism motivates the individual in political participation and increases the instincts that provide the political participation. Thirdly, modernism changes the bases of participation and supplies the development of a multi-classed fidelity. Fourthly, modernization changes the participation share of participation and this causes an increase in the rate of the individual participation (Özbudun, 1976). Thus, one of the factors that

influence the political participation is “city life” related to “modernization” (Özbudun, 1976: 217-218; Kalaycıoğlu, 1983: 27-29). In other words, urbanization, a dimension of modernism forms a space where the communitarian and grouping interaction are intense; this also influences the political participation positively in grouping. In this sense, in traditional and patriarchal Turkish family structure; we can say that social and political participation of the women increase in the Netherlands with the modernization and socio-economical development. The results that are obtained about the women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands reveal that there is a positive relation between modernization and political participation.

A few politics scientists that see urbanization as a reflection of modernization allege that the factors that complete the city life such as grouping organization, access to massive communication means, and access to education opportunities increase political participation (Lerner, 1958: 111; Milbrath, 1965: 113-114). Kalaycıoğlu (1983: 23) stresses on two important factors that influence the political participation as communitarian and individualist. He divides communitarian into three such as ‘community structure’, ‘family-communitarian class’, and ‘profession-status’. Kalaycıoğlu who accepts urbanization as an important dimension of modernism finds urban life useful from the aspect of its participation into political decisions and its vision in political events with group activities and education opportunities in itself. On the other hand, family structure that is one of the communitarian factors influencing political participation has a differential quality because of showing difference between wide and small families of political interest level. In the families where the education level increases, there is a political

participation that increases with the development of political culture in a family. In the same way, in the families that have a low income; the density in political participation is less than that of the families with high salary (Öztekin, 2000: 225).

Another factor that influences political participation is ‘education’. Education that gains ability, knowledge and capability to comment on and follow the events for the individuals supplies the development of the conscience of duty. The educated individuals who see the political participation as the inevitable part of the citizenship internalize political culture much more than the ones who do not get enough education (Baykal, 1970: 53-55). Thus, education influences the political behaviors of the individuals multifunctional. In this sense, with the increase in the education level of second and third generation migrant women in the Netherlands; it has been seen that they become socialized and become active in participation by gaining political dynamism.

On the other hand, the individual experiences gain meaning to participation since they teach the share of duty and the function of the political system for the individuals. Thus, the educated and experienced individuals who learn the communitarian and individualistic functions of political system move with responsibility consciously. In other words, education decreases the xenophobia against system and increases the demands from political system, gains meaning to abstract concepts. Thus, all these acquirements increase the participation of the individuals into political system. Consequently, education increases the social status of the adults, teaches method for organized and political activities, provides the

internalization of abstract concepts in the complex political system and causes them to see the political participation as a necessity of citizenship (Hasırcı, 2008: 26).

In modern communities, one of the factors that influence the political participation is “socio-economical status.” Turan (1996: 76) surveys political participation and socio-economical status in the concepts of ‘income’, ‘education’, ‘profession’, and ‘gender’ and ‘settlement place’ differently from Kalaycıoğlu. Kalaycıoğlu (1983: 32) surveys the relation in the concepts of ‘education’ and ‘profession’. In this sense, socio-economical status makes the individuals politicized with a few elements such as interest, knowledge, anxiety and activity dependently on education. In parallel to the increase in the socio-economical opportunities, many field studies reveal that the political participation increases. As a matter of fact, the expectations of the ones who have a good income from the political system become different and to compensate for these differential expectations, the enterprises increase the political participation.

The cities are the spaces where the individual who have a profession because of being the places where the educational opportunities are much. In conclusion, ‘profession’ comes first of all the factors that influence the political participation. For Kalaycıoğlu (1983: 230-231), profession and social status that are obtained related to education level and urban conditions are from the communitarian factors that influence political participation. The variety of the communication webs that develop related to profession and socio-economical matter makes the public that develops according to political decisions and social events valuable form the aspect of political powers. On the other hand, the communitarian classes that develop related to

profession and the organized level of the politicians' mutual affairs make political participation much intense and conscious.

The space and the social instincts are the other elements that influence the political participation. In democratic communities, the first ones of all the instincts that direct and push the individuals into political life are political campaigns, demonstrations, cultural activities and social groupings and political actions and activities (Rokkan, 1970). In this sense, however vivid and dynamic the physical and social environment is, the political participation becomes colorful and dynamic. Since in participant democracies, variety, discrimination and plurality presents a comfortable space and prepares the environment where the dynamism is experienced from the aspect of political participation (Çaha, 2004: 57). Thus, one of the factors that influence political participation in modern and democratic communities is 'media' that becomes a source for knowledge and news.

Apart from political parties, in participant democracies; a means that provides the political participation is social groups (Saribay, 1994: 118-119). Social organizations that cause the political culture to develop in communities is one of the most dynamic and vivid existences that mobilize the individuals within the common targets. Social activities that organize the actions in groups and social organizations cause the notion of political participation to settle and develop with the opportunities that the democracy supplies. These organizations contribute the development of political culture and provide the variety in the ways of political participation at the same time. Social groups try to influence the political power by demanding a policy on behalf of their own profits and get suitable decisions for their own norm and values. The

social, cultural, economical and political organizations that Turkish community organizes in Western Europe increase its activity day by day on behalf of opposition parties and powers.

Political participation that causes the minority members to see themselves as citizens in a foreign community is a kind of social activity space at the same time. These social and political activities that emerge related to influence the political decision makers cause the citizenship to be internalized and the political culture to settle. Putnam (1993) alleges that civil organizations have a positive effect on political participation from the aspect of development of democracy. Fennema and Tillie (2001) who make effective studies on ethnic groups in Amsterdam observe that civil organizations and institutions belonging to immigrants have effects on political participation. It is a truth that Turkish civil organizations have a great effect on Turkish voters that show the biggest attendance in the elections of Amsterdam and the other big cities. Apart from civil organizations and activities that are one of the factors that influence the political participation, there are education level of immigrants, political culture political trust and socio-economical status (Heelsum, 2008). On the other hand, the increase in citizen rights that is reflections of multicultural integration policies cause social and political activities to develop and move freely. Among the minority groups from modern social activities in the Netherlands, the women activities have an important place in this sense.

In democratic communities, the reason why the individuals give importance to political participation with responsibility, join in political activities actively and are informed about the political actions is that they believe in obtaining several rights

and trust in political authority. The citizens show an active participation successfully with the system as long as they trust in political authority, leaders, administrators, political institutions; in short in political system (Arthur, 1974). Nowadays, it is a truth that the individuals and groups apply the violent and terror activities by leaving the democratic participation ways aside.

For Kalaycıoğlu (1983), the personal factors that influence the political participation are 'gender' and 'age'. Nowadays, in the analysis of political behavior based on field studies; the women attend in politics less than men (Tekeli, 1981: 128-129). This difference in political participation causes changes in gender factor, the matter of women single or married, working or not working, their education level and ages (Yuva, 2005: 45). The women who do not get enough education, do not work, are married and have children attend in politics less than that of women in the opposite side. Since the women who get education and have a high economical income feel freer, they are much interested in political activities (Alkan, 1981: 48-49). On the other hand, the political participation of the groups such as women, teens and the old, not involving in social life actively have a less political participation (Çam, 1995: 171). Thus, in democratic communities, 'age' and 'gender' factors influence the political participation. In Turkish community of the Netherlands, the age average of second and third generation women reveals a more intense and more comprehensive political activity in every level with a rate to their same generation in high average. In conclusion, in the empiric studies, it has been pointed out that the women do not vote as much as the men do in many Western communities. Yet,

particularly, in developed countries, it has been stated that the women start their activities in groups and they struggle on behalf of the women rights.

The affair of the young with the politics at the age of 16-20 who do not have a profession and do not complete their education is not intense. As they get over this age group of the young; their abilities to understand and grasp the social events develop. This matter pushes the individuals to individual and organized political participation to protect social and individual profits (Öztekin, 2001: 229; Turan, 1996: 80). Thus, it can be said that the people who are at the age of 25 and 45 who get a world notion to get the ideological vantage point and reach the consciousness of responsibility attend in political participation much intensely. The people who are at the age group; 45-65 where the interest in political and social events attend in political participation less.

According to the data of OECD, the participation rate of women into labor is less than men all around the world. In 2007, while the participation rate into labor in the Netherlands among men was 75,1%; this rate among women was 57,2% (CBS, 2008). Thus, in the traditional and industrial communities; the economical freedom of women is less than that of men. Form the aspect of participation; the sole difference is that the women who live in the industrial communities attend in political activities more organized and comprehensively compared to those in traditional communities. According to study data; the political participation and civil organization of the women in Dutch Turkish community is the most comprehensive one among the other ethnic groups. In 2006 local elections; the participation rate of the voters of Turkish origin in four big cities of the Netherlands approached to the

whole Netherlands. In conclusion, from the aspect of political participation; the women of Turkish origin are the most flexible group among the ethnic groups in the issue of trust in governmental organs and the political system of the Netherlands.

One of the reasons of the political participation is undoubtedly is the compensation of financial and spiritual needs of the individuals. The individuals are interested in politics that triggers the possession feeling and give importance to political participation to satisfy and compensate for the basic needs. For the aspect of the individuals who live in a foreign country; political participation is seen as a means besides obtaining the rights and compensating the basic needs. The immigrant masses that lack in political and legal rights look for the ways to get the rights by using the ways of political participation with the democratic aspects. Besides, both the individuals and social groups use the ways of political participation actively to increase status and to get a prestige (Çaha, 2004: 55).

In conclusion, income, education level, profession, gender, age, the house and personality structure, psychological, cultural and environmental factors influence the behavior of the individuals against the political systems (Kapani, 2003: 132-133). In this study, a field study reveals that there are affairs in certain levels among the factors that influence the political behaviors of the individuals with the political participation. So, it has been observed that the ones who have a high education level and income related to profession among the participants are much more interested in political activities than the ones who have a low socio-economical status. On the other hand, within the ones who have a high economical level have a tendency to direct and influence their environments and behaviors and their own actions. One of

the psychological factors that influence the political participation is ‘activity feeling’; it directs the political behaviors comprehensively (Baykal, 1970: 33-34).

1.3.5.3. Participation of Women in Political Life

Women have begun to take part in the political life in different levels and degrees with the effect of the woman activities that developed in time and started after the French Revolution. The most important acquirement that obtained in different times is to be able to ‘voter’ right; that’s to say, ‘equal vote right’ (Gemalmaz, 2001: 89). Surely, this acquirement is not enough on its own. Since to have ‘an equal vote’ will only supply the women with the representation fairly in the processes of making decision and in political life in general. Yet, the settled social and economical conditions in traditional communities influenced the political participation of women negatively and continued to influence. Rather than the social and economical activities, the political activity is the area in which the gender discrimination is experienced intensely for the women. Contrary to the political area in which the gender discrimination is experienced, we come across with the space in which the woman takes place and has great responsibility as ‘the life in home’. The woman is isolated from the decision and application processes of the host country or her own country by being imprisoned in this narrow space. The woman who tries to live outside the social, economical and political life is seen as a family worker who is not paid for her labor at home (Gürses, 2004: 23). The women in limited number who are able to go out of the patriarchic society structure are able to join in the social life and working life especially in cities. Despite the acquirements that are obtained in political life recently, the inequalities have continued from the aspect of education

opportunities in rural and urban parts. The woman who do not make use of education opportunities and is kept away from the working life out of home will be forced to break the shell of the life inside the home.

The women of world have lived without founding a bond and an affair with the political systems in which they have took part in for ages. The reasons that lie in the foundations of this weak affair between the women and political systems are insufficient education level, types of traditional life and value judgments and the discriminative judgments against women in the laws. The equitable laws and regulations that were separated from value judgments and traditional life styles in 20th century illustrated a modern appearance on the political participation and suffrage of women. Despite these modern participative regulations, the level of political participation of women does not come to the same one with that of men. The women left behind the men on the subjects of taking part in political decision mechanisms and making use of voted right as an active participation reflection of women explicitly. This inequality between the genders keeps on their existences in a broad sense around the whole world. The problem, inequality between the genders that reflects as a lacked representation in the political decision mechanisms of women is not in the same line with the participation principle into equal administration of democracy. In modern democracies, the equal participation of women into making decision processes is not only a demand of law and democracy but also an essential condition of the development of woman status. In addition to this, the active participation of women into political decision mechanisms and especially their sensitivity for woman problems are important dynamics that raise the

woman status. However, 13,9 percent rate of women in the political decisions mechanisms around the whole world show that the decisions about woman and woman problems are made almost by the men (Kılıç, 2000: 3).¹⁶ Consequently, there is not enough sensibility for the woman problems in decision mechanisms where the woman does not take place and these problems that are not understood sufficiently make the solutions for development and modernism. In ‘The Fourth World Conference on Women’ in Beijing, 1995, the equal participation of women into decision processes is seen as a condition for the protection and guard of women profits:

‘Universal Declaration of Human Rights expresses that woman or man, everyone is right to be charged in their own country. To develop the economical, social, and political status of woman as well as to strengthen women and their autonomy is essential in order to reach the perpetual development in every field of life and to achieve a clear and responsible government and administration for women. The force affairs that hinder a satisfying life for women have been seen in many communities from individual to public and up to the most obvious points. To reach a target for the equal participations of women and men into decision processes will provide a balance, reflecting the community structure accurately as well as to spread the planned study and strengthen the democracy. Equality has a supporting duty in the processes of making political decision. Without this duty, the integration of the equality dimension of government with the processes of forming policy is impossible. The equal participation of women into political life plays a centered role in general process related to the progress of women. The equal participation of women into the processes of making decision is seen not only a demand for only democracy and justice but also an essential condition for the profits of women. As long as the vantage point of women on all the decisions and active participation in every field does not happen, equality, development and peace targets will not be obtained’ (Fourth World Conference on Women, 1995).¹⁷

¹⁶ In accordance with this issue, the study, titled as “Quota Policies for Equality” published in 2000 by “Women Problems Research and Application Center” of Ankara University can be surveyed.

¹⁷ The drift “Beijing Declaration and Action Platform” was accepted in the meeting of 16.Council in September, 15; 1995 by the Governments which attended to Fourth

Thanks to the existence of legal foundation for the participation of woman into politics in Western Europe, the representation of woman in the parliamentary in EU countries has been not supplied in desired level. Despite this, to get the demanded level of political participation in Western Europe; positive developments that regulate the position of women in politics have come to a point with the decisive struggle of women. As in every culture, there is a patriarchic sovereignty, namely a male dominated structure in Western culture. Thus, the level that woman reached in political participation will be not enough to explain according to the European culture. Consequently, the patriarchal structures based on male domination in many communities have tried to supply the openness for the development.

In 21st century, despite the opportunity for the political representation, the affair of women with the politics is a global problem. Throughout the years, because the laws do not form the legal regulations that increase the participation for women, woman representatives do not take charge in national parliamentary at will. For instance; the women had political rights in England, in 1918; in the Netherlands, they had these rights from 1919 on. On the other hand, until the rate between man and woman was equaled in consultation institutions in the Netherlands in 1992, only the women were accepted to be in charge in new duties. Yet, some Scandinavian countries tried to approach the equal rate, 50 percent of woman deputies in assemblies by forming special measure and quotas applications. From 1999 on, the rate of woman members of assembly was 45,3% in Sweden, 38% in Denmark, 36,4% in Norway, 36,7% in

World Women Conference and gathered in Beijing in September, 1995; 50.anniversary of the foundation of United Nations.

the Netherlands, 32,2% in Germany, 29,5% in South Africa, 30,7% in Argentina, 21,8% in China, 28,3% in Spain, 23% in Switzerland, 20,6% in Canada, 17,9% in England, 14,3% in USA, 23,3% in Belgium, 11,5% in Italy, 12,2% in France, 15% in Israel, 7.6% in Iraq, 8,7% in Greece, 4.8% in Iran, 7.3% in Japan, and 4.4% in Turkey (Yaraman, 1999: 9). According to a study about public appearance by United Nations Organizations, the average of woman deputies in all national assemblies rationally is 12,7 percent. The rate of the women in the parliamentary of Central and Eastern European countries that entered into EU in May, 2004 is so low (See; Table 1.11). There is no a woman deputy in European Parliamentary who represents Cyprus and Malta who became member in 2004. Poland which is the biggest of the new members has 54 deputies whose 7 deputies are women.

TABLE 1.11. RATE OF WOMEN REPRESENTATIVES IN THE PARLIAMENT (%) (UNDP / 2004)

EU (new members)	(%)	AB (older members)	(%)
Latvia	21.0	Greece	8.7
Poland	20.7	Sweden	45.3
Slovakia	19.3	Denmark	38.0
Estonia	18.8	the Netherlands	35.1
Czech Republic	15.7	Belgium	33.9
Slovenia	12.2	Germany	31.4
South Cyprus	10.7	Austria	30.6
Lithuania	10.6	Spain	26.6
Hungary	9.8	Portugal	19.1
Malta	9.2	United Kingdom	17.3
		Ireland	14.2
		France	11.7
		Italy	10.3

Source: United Nations; The World's Women 2000, New York, 2004.

According to a Eurostat report in March, 2008, the rate of man and woman in parliamentary was not equal in any country of European Union. In even Sweden where the number of chairs is about to be equaled in parliamentary, 47 percent of parliamentary members consists of women. In second and third turn, there are Finland (42%) and the Netherlands (39%). Below the list, there are Romania (12%) and Hungary (12%). Contrary to 23 percent average rate of Europe, in Turkey, only 9 percent of Parliamentary members consists of women. Thus, first of all many European countries, women were given the voting rights in Turkey.¹⁸ Consequently, in 27 member country of European Union, woman status should be developed and strengthened form the social, economical and political aspects.

The general and equal right that is one of the most important acquirements of the representative democracies gives the power to determine the political authorities and distract from the duty through the elections for the citizens. Thus, to get some criteria of the democratic elections is compulsory. One of these criteria is that any group or minority can found a part freely and show themselves as a candidate in the elections (Butler et. al., 1981). Nowadays, the election which is the commonest method in determining of the political authorities is to determine the powerful ones by all the members of community. In this sense, election is a fest of a various notion unification that forms the base of legacy in all the systems (Duverger, 2004: 143). For Margaret Conway, in a country; to get a political participation; one of the four basic conditions is to make regular elections that supply an opportunity for an equal

¹⁸ Turkish women were given the right to elect and be elected to municipal councils in 1930, and to Turkish Grand National Assembly (TGNA) in 1934.

participation for citizens (Conway, 1991: 2-3). In democratic regimes; the election, one of the basic means of participation is a mechanism that prepares a ground where the administration staff will be consisted.

Instead of classical democracy that handles the elections, the representative democracy that aims a political participation from 1960s on begin to be prevail. Thus, to make the politics a means for all the adults is possible with the participant democracy. United States of America is the first Western country that supplies the voting right for its citizens. In Western Europe; the voting right was obtained as a result of long struggles and the first elections were done in France in 1848. After these elections; in Western European countries, democratic reforms emerge and ‘the general and equal vote right’, one of the most important features of modern participant democracy came to alive (Harrop and Miller, 1987).

In the current pluralist democracies, the elections alone are not the only way for the political participation. The citizens can attend in political activities by playing role in political events, institutions or a party where they take part in as a member. As they declare their complaints and demands to the authorities in local and national within the decisive organs of the regions they live, they can attend in the protesting demonstrations. Yet, it is a discussion issue how much the political decision makers are influenced for participation into protesting demonstrations. In democratic communities, this kind of enterprises attracts the political organs. In pluralist democracies developed socio-economically; the communities which believe in the importance and superiority of the participant democracy can change this matter. On the other hand; they do not vote only; but the rate of the active participants that join

in political actions is so less. In many communities; since the participant rate into the political actions actively, some researchers point out that democracy doesn't base on the public (Mills, 1974).

In shaping of the modern liberal democracies; the most important factors are undoubtedly national citizens. The individual legal rights, from the basic rights of modern citizenship in Europe start earlier than the political rights. After political rights, we see that social rights start to develop with the prosperous state policies (Kadıoğlu, 2008). In conclusion, as a result of democratization process, the citizens are accepted as the chief actors of modern policy. In this process, sovereignty, that is; the idea to appoint the fate by the public increases the general participation into politics. In 21st century, the national states began to take the members who are not natives into themselves. The most vivid example of this is that EU citizens have the right to attend in the elections related to local, regional union. In Western European countries, the different application of citizenship, migration and integration policies for the immigrants from the countries who are not member for EU and who are the member of EU change the civil, political and social rights' contexts (Benhabib, 2004: 156-157). In almost Western European countries, the immigrants try to transfer to EU citizenship and the citizenship of the country they live in to make use of civil, political and social rights. Such as Turkey; the immigrants who aren't the members of the countries for EU do not have a right to vote in elections related to local, regional unification. One of these is the Netherlands. From 1985 on, as the immigrants who stayed for less than 5 years and who had valid settlement permission in this country, they can vote in local elections (Council of Europe, 1999: 49). Yet,

compared to the Netherlands, in the countries such as Germany and France, the exclusive feature of the policies related to citizenship are ineffective in relation to adaptation.

In the governmental administration; the lack in a group or people who are authorized means the profits are not as important as the authorized. If any group does not have a right to speak in a country, for whom will this group speak? If there is no one to speak on behalf of the group, who will protect the basic minority rights and profits of this groups? Actually the answer is clear. The basic profits of the group and group members who are not allowed to be involved in administration will not be protected as it is demanded. Undoubtedly, for the democracy, one of the criteria is the involvement of the adults in administrations (Dahl, 2001: 80-82). Thus, in a state where democracy is dominant, the citizens can attend in politics to be involved in administration equally.

For the foreigners who get the certain dwelling conditions, in the Netherlands where they get local and regional election right; they have the right to vote and to found a political party in the elections in the city. In the Netherlands where these rights are given under the name of “city citizenship”, the ones who are the citizens of city have the right to vote and to be voted in city without being a Dutch citizen (Benhabib, 2004: 157-162).¹⁹ In conclusion, it is a truth that the citizens in the third

¹⁹ The foreigners who have the permission to settle for less 5 years in countries such as Denmark, Ireland, Norway, Sweden and Switzerland can vote in local and quarter elections (Council of Europe, 1999).

world in the Netherlands have a better representation rights compared to the ones who are in the other EU countries.

1.3.5.4. Turkish Women in Dutch Political Life

The equal participation of women into political life is the guarantee of peace and communitarian development. The participation of immigrant women into authority and decision making mechanisms is the guarantee of being citizen. Since modern citizenship which includes civil, political, economical and social rights requires a membership for a national state at the same time. The national states wait for the acceptance of democratic norm and values by the immigrants in exchange for the citizenship that they give to immigrants. These mutual expectations have been seen as an advantage in behalf of the solution for the development of social integration and deficiencies in a constructive way. In conclusion, taking part in socio-economical and political space equally and having equal legal position of immigrant women is only possible with being a citizen of the country in which they live in. The immigrant women who are aware of this try to be a citizen in order to make use of political and social rights. The main aim behind all these general evaluations related to the political positions of women on the world is that the political participation of women immigrants of Turkish origin in the Netherlands and their troubles on this path and their endeavors for these troubles are well understood.

The adaptation of the people of ethnic origin who have different religion and cultures in a foreign country is first of all up to its usage of political means actively. To vote in certain times and to try to influence the decision mechanisms are the most important criteria of political participation. To vote, the most influential means of

political participation shows that the voters participate in decision making processes in a passive way. Beyond voting, the membership for a party and a candidate for any country show that they participate in the political decisions actively. Thus, in a tolerant, democratic and pluralist community where the individuals from different religion and culture form, to make use of political means actively shows that democratic culture is adopted.

One of the most important reasons that the voters of ethnic and native origin participate in political decision making process is that the benefit that they will obtain as a result of participation is positive (Bulutoğlu, 1988: 122). In this respect, the Netherlands is a country where the immigrants of Turkish origin are born and fed. Thus, the immigrants of Turkish origin become partners with the community in which they live and its fate by voting in certain times. Today, in multicultural and democratic community, the voters of Turkish origin participate in the elections actively and direct the politics of the Netherlands. The most vivid example of this is the existence of men and women deputies who are in charge of in National Assembly and are of over 100 assembly members in municipalities and provinces in the Netherlands. The conscience of voting, the most important step of the participation into political decision making is a result of first of all the adoption and internalization of democracy and democratic culture. Turkish women and men who are aware of this carry the most determining quality of being a citizen within the participation into native, national and regional political activities of the community in which they are permanent. The voting aspects of the women immigrant of Turkish origin of the Netherlands' local, national and regional existence are the basic issues. Besides,

under the title of this issue, the political systems of the Netherlands and the political parties have been evaluated in short.

1.3.5.4.1. Political Participation and Voting

There are four different elections in four different levels in the political system of the Netherlands. In municipalities, 150 chaired the House of Representatives and the States- Provincial elections that are made four times in a year, the deputies and members are elected by parties or directly by the public. The elections of European Parliamentary are made five times in a year. In the European Parliamentary, consisting of 27 nations, the Netherlands is represented by 27 deputies. Everyone who is the citizen of the Netherlands is EU citizen at the same time. The most important political aspects of EU citizenship are the possession of being elected and voting right in the local elections as in European Parliamentary. The most important regulation of EU citizenship that is enlarged with 1997 Amsterdam Treaty and accepted with 1982 Maastricht Treaty brought in political space is the right to participate in Parliamentary elections. In this respect, the immigrants who get EU citizenship as the other native citizens obtain the opportunity to participate in regulations that will be made and in the decisions that will be made about the future of EU. Emine Bozkurt who is the member of Labor Party (PvdA) is one of the 27 deputies who represent the Netherlands in European Parliamentary. She is one of two women of Turkish origin who get this opportunity. The other woman member in AP is Filiz Hüsmenova, being elected in July, 2009 from Bulgarian the Movement for Rights and Freedoms (MRF). In conclusion, everyone who is the citizen of the Netherlands has the right for these four different elections in different four levels.

Yet, the ones who dwell in the Netherlands for five years, not being the citizen of the Netherlands just join in the elections of Municipality Assembly.

In the Netherlands where the women got the suffrage in 1919, there are active or passive participation for the elections and voting right of each Dutch citizen. Until 1970s, while the rate of the woman ministries in Dutch Parliamentary was under 10%, for 1980s on, this rate reached 20%. From 1990s on, three by one consisted of woman member in the parliamentary (Meier et. al., 2004: 3). According to the laws of the Netherlands, everyone who finishes 18 year-old and has proficiency in voting is accepted as a voter. In the Netherlands, only in 1985, the foreigners had the right to vote and to be voted with the changes in the law (Waldrauch, 2003: 17). Turkish community which evaluates the right to vote and to be voted for the foreigners went to the front of the voting box for the first time in 1986. After this date, the voters from Dutch citizen and of Turkish origin who went to the front of the voting box in 1990, 1994, 1998, 2002 and 2006 voted six times in the elections. Thus, the immigrants of Turkish origin, being the citizen of the Netherlands could vote as a voter in the elections, the House of Representatives (Tweede Kamer), the States-Provincial (Provinciale Staten) and Municipalities (Gemeenteraden) that are made once in every four years. The voters who are foreign or native, citizens of the Netherlands in the multicultural Dutch community determine 150 members of the National Assembly, the members of the States-Provincial and through these assemblies; they determine 75 members of chamber (Eerste Kamer) and the members of municipalities which form the other wing of the parliamentary. In the Netherlands where the people in foreign national, having permission to settle and stayed for 5

years legally, the local elections have an important place. Turkish community in which the women form the half of it has an important position from the aspect of the vote it has. According to 2005 year-data by Central Statistics Netherlands Department (CBS), in the Netherlands where 358.846 of Turkish origin live, there were 240.460 people who have right to vote and to be voted in local level. For the voter mass, in the classification, the first one is Turks; the second one is Surinamese, 237.546 voters; Moroccans with 154.664 voters in the third turn.²⁰

In 2002, the parliamentary elections nearly 725.000 Dutch citizen of foreign origin had the right to vote and this number was %6 of all the voters (Michon and Tillie, 2003: 127-128). In 2006, parliamentary elections, 1.2 million Dutch citizen of foreign origin had the right to vote. 235.000 of 1.2 million voters of foreign origin consisted of those of Turkish origin (Dekker, 2006).²¹ In the day when parliamentary elections were done in 2006, according to a study that was done with the voters of foreign origin by Foquz Institute; 22% of 227 voters of Turkish origin voted for Socialist Party (SP); 21% voted for GroenLinks (GL), 36% for Labor Party (PvdA) and 12% for Christian Democrat Party (CDA) (Foquz Etnomarketing, 2006). All these results show that both the immigrants and voters of Turkish origin have a tendency for the left parties. In 2006 parliamentary elections; the rate of the minorities who vote for Labor Party was over the rate of the votes of the voters of Dutch origin. Socialist Party (SP) is the second party that was supported much by the

²⁰ Doğan, Basri “Hollanda yerel seçimlere hazırlanıyor”, *Zaman Hollanda*, (06.05.2009)

²¹ In the 2006 parliamentary elections, 1.2 million persons originating from the main immigrant countries, representing about 10% of the electorate, had the right to vote, 235.000 of Surinamese descent, 195,000 of Moroccan origin, and 85,000 from the Dutch Antilles (Dekker, 2006).

ethnic minorities. Christian Democrat Party (CDA) and right tendency-based, Liberal Party (VVD) was supported less by the immigrant voters. The reason of this antipathy is the intolerance of Liberal Party against the powerful migration and integration policies recently (Heelsum, 2008).

In general, in local elections, the voters of foreign voters attend less than those of Dutch origin. The reason of this is that there is a low education level and less interest in local election campaigns. The only group in the participation into local elections is Turkish voters. In Amsterdam and Rotterdam where Turkish population is intense, the voting rate of Turkish voters in local elections is the highest one among the other ethnic groups. In last local elections, the participation rates of Turkish voters were %51 and %56 in Amsterdam and Rotterdam, the two big cities (See; Table 3.9). On the other hand, in the local elections in Amsterdam, Labor Party (PvdA), in ideologically left side, achieved to get the votes of Turkish voters (Turks 87%, Moroccans 77%, Surinamese 82%). In 1998, in local elections in Amsterdam, 18% votes of Turkish voters were for GroenLinks (GL) and 18% for Christian Democrats. After Amsterdam, in Rotterdam where Labor Party (PvdA) is powerful, 83% of Turkish voters voted for this party (Heelsum, 2008).

The interest of the minority group members who have a low socio-economical level compared to the ones of Dutch origin for the politics varies. Among the minority groups in the Netherlands, voters of Turkish origin show variety in much in local and general elections. Among the Western European countries, the Netherlands which is one of the communities, having a high socio-economical status is at the same time one of those which has low participation into elections for the local voters.

Particularly, in the last elections, the voters of Dutch origin show lower participation than the voters of foreign origin do.²² For a group of politics scientists; the goodness of a general life in a country makes the individuals uninterested in politics and keeps them far away from policy (Vedel, 1966: 437). Contrary to this, we can come across with the truth that the participation in the elections, a dimension of political participation is along term and permanent, but a temporary and short term one. Our current democratic communities have various political activity fields and there are centers to influence the decision makers (Duverger, 1953: 353).

In conclusion, as in the whole world, in Turkish community of the Netherlands, the women have a less interest than the men do in every level of participation. Particularly, exclusion in social, cultural and economical fields that are applied for the first generations show itself in political decision makers and elections. Turkish woman who does not get enough and qualified education and obtain economical independence did not take part in public spaces until 1990s. Besides, the duty to be wife and mother, as a part of traditional Turkish family structure keeps Turkish woman away from politics. Thus, the women become insufficient in The Dutch politics where the woman-man inequality is seen clearly. Socio-economical status of Turkish woman which develops within education and profession and makes her be in a close relation with political system. Turkish woman who sees voting in local, regional and national elections as a responsibility of being a citizen take part in the ones of ethnic origin as a most intense participant group. Turkish woman who does

²² See for example: Tillie, 1994; Tillie and Van Heelsum, 1999; refer also to Tillie, 1998; Michon and Tillie 2003; Michon, Tillie and Van Heelsum 2007.

not refine the political participation with voting gets the representative power in every phase of politics.

1.3.5.4.2. Political Participation and Representation

After the place of world women in the political decision making mechanisms and the general evaluation of the political system of the Netherlands, we will explain the political achievements of women of Turkish origin in local, national and regional levels with examples. According to this, there were total 11 members in different terms, 2 women and 9 men of Turkish origin in The States-Provincial in the Netherlands. 8 of members in the States-Provincial belong to the Labor Party (PvdA), the second biggest party of the assembly; one of the members belongs to the People's Party For Freedom and Democracy (VVD); and 2 of the members belongs to Christian Democrat Party (CDA) (See; Table 1.12). After the foreigners had got the right to vote and to be voted in local elections in 1986 in the Netherlands, the politicians of Turkish origin started to show themselves in the elections of the provincial administrations in the first half of 1990s. While the number of the candidate of Turkish origin who can be voted for 12 provincial administration in 1994 elections was so low, after the elections in March, 2007; 15 politicians of Turkish origin achieved to enter into the States-Provincial from different parties. In the provincial elections in March, 2007, Düzgün Yıldırım who was selected for the membership from the first turn of Overijssel province and he was selected as a chamber from Socialist Party (SP) with the votes by choice. After he had become a politician minister of Turkish origin for the first time in the history of the Netherlands, he again got the title of member chamber of Turkish origin for the first

time. Yet, after a while; Düzgün Yıldırım fell into a conflict with his party thanks to various reasons; he started to keep on his political studies in chamber under the name, Solidara Group.

On the other hand, of 5 deputies of Turkish origin in The Netherlands Parliamentary, 3 of them are women; 2 of them are men. Of these 5 deputies in Representative Assembly, 2 of them are the members of Christian Democrat Party (CDA), 1 of them is the Labor Party (PvdA), and the other 2 of them belong to People's Party For Freedom and Democracy (VVD) and Democrats 66 (D66), the party of Fatma Koşer Kaya. Except the States-General of the Netherlands, Emine Bozkurt is another woman of Turkish origin who obtains a place for herself in political arena. Generally, in local elections, Emine Bozkurt, a member of Labor Party (PvdA) who is supported by Turk voters was in charge in European Parliamentary, representing the Netherlands. On the other hand, after the general elections of November 22, 2006; Nebahat Albayrak was taken to the duty of Government Secretary in coalition government that was established by PvdA, CDA and CU parties in February, 2007.

After the foreigners had got the right to vote and to be voted in the Netherlands, in 1986 in local elections, Turkish community showed its first success in political life with a few members it achieved to make them enter into the College of the Gedeputeerde Staten. From this date on, the participation of the woman politicians of Turkish origin who have a different ethnic identity, the representatives of multicultural political life kept on by increasing. The first entrance of woman politicians of Turkish origin into the House of Representatives became in the general

elections in 1998. In 1998 elections, Nebahat Albayrak, who was in charge as a “Ministry of Foreign Policies and Prisoners” in the triple coalition that was founded in February, 2007 in the list of Social Democrat Labor Party (PvdA) and Fadime Örgü who was in the list of Liberal Party (VVD). In 2001 general elections after 1998 general elections, Coşkun Çörüz achieved to be elected as a deputy from Christian Democrat Party (CDA) form the standby list.²³ In the four year-old term between 1998 and 2002, the deputies of Turkish origin who were selected as a deputy showed up in the politics as the people who were born in Turkey and brought up in the Netherlands, the children of the first generation Turk worker.

TABLE 1.12. TURKISH MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE PROVINCES

Provinces	The member of the Provincial Assemblies	Political Parties	The member of the House of Representatives*	Political Parties
South Holland	Sevilay Akkaş	CDA	Nebahat Albayrak	PvdA
North Holland	Songül Akkaya	PvdA	Fatma Koşer-Kaya	D66
North Holland	Köksal Gör	VVD	Coşkun Çörüz	CDA
South Holland	Bekir Çelebi	PvdA	Fadime Örgü	VVD
South Holland	Resul Özdemir	PvdA	Nihat Eski	CDA
South Holland	Yaşar Vural	CDA	Emine Bozkurt**	PvdA
North Brabant	Erdoğan Saçan	PvdA	-	-
Limburg	Selçuk Öztürk	PvdA	-	-
Utrecht	Fethi Kılıç	PvdA	-	-
Gelderland	Mehmet F. Kaplan	PvdA	-	-
Overijssel	I. Mercanoğlu	PvdA	-	-

Source: Statistics Netherlands and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2007.

* The deputies of Turkish origin in The Netherlands National Parliamentary.

²³ ‘Avrupa siyasetine yön veren Türkler’, *Zaman Gazetesi*, (10.01.2008)

** The only woman deputy of Turkish origin in the Netherlands European Parliamentary.

The first reason that increased the interests of the ethnic communities for the politics which live in the Netherlands and the other Western European countries is that the individuals who have identities are successful in the politics. In the term 1998 and 2002, the three deputies from Turkish community increased the interest in the local and national politics of the Netherlands. Turkish community, today with 240 thousand voters mass is a candidate to bring up politicians who are active. Turkish community started to pick up the interest of big political parties which entered into the power contest after especially 2002 elections with the successful examples both of its own and of its potential voters mass. In this respect, despite the negative communitarian atmosphere that September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks created, the parties gave place for Turk candidates much than that of the first in the deputy candidate lists in 2002 general elections. Albayrak, Çörüz and Örgü, three candidates of Turkish origin who achieved to be elected in 1998 and 2002 period also succeeded in being elected directly in the general elections in 2002. From the substitute lists of parties in 2002 general elections, Fatma Koşer Kaya from Democrats 66 (D66), Nihat Eski from Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) and Nevin Özütok from Green Left achieved to enter into the Dutch Assembly. Thus, after 1998, 2001, 2002 elections, the number of deputies of Turkish origin who achieved to enter into the House of Representatives of the Netherlands increased to six. There are six deputies of Turkish origin in the House of Representatives of the Netherlands, 4 of those are women and 2 of those are men. These numbers show that

the political participation and interest in politics of the women in Turkish community is so high.

The interest of deputy candidates of Turkish origin and the voters mass in Turkish community in politics and the interest of big political parties which direct the politics of the Netherlands in the potential Turkish voters have provided the nearly 20 candidates of Turkish origin with their candidacy for lists of political parties in November, 22, 2006 elections. While 6 or 7 candidates from 20 ones waited for being elected in November 2006 general elections, the claims of so-called Armenian genocide overshadowed these general elections. Osman Elmacı, Ayhan Tonca and Erdinç Saçan, three candidates who are from the party lists to be elected faced to the oppressions and pressures in accordance with ‘accept the claims of genocide’ statement, expressed from public and parties. Yet, when these three candidates did not accept the claims of the so-called Armenian Genocide, they were excluded from the list by the parties which showed them as candidates. Even this situation is very exemplary for us to understand the troubles of being elected and being candidate in the politics of the Netherlands. At the end of November 22, 2006 elections that were held after the general elections, Nebahat Albayrak was reelected as a third term deputy. After November 2006 elections, Nebahat Albayrak showed a great success by entering into the cabinet in trilogy coalition government that was founded in February 22, 2007. Nebahat Albayrak became ‘Ministry of Foreign Policies and Prisoners’ in the Netherlands government which is still in charge and was founded in the presidency of Jan Peter Balkenende, as a politician of Turkish origin for the first time in the political history of the Netherlands. At the end of November 22, 2006

elections after the general elections of 2001 and 2002, Coşkun managed to get elected as a third term deputy. After 2002, Fatma Koşer Kaya who was reelected from Democrats 66 achieved to enter into the assembly with 35 thousand votes in choice. Beside the 6 deputies of Turkish origin, 4 women and 2 men, Saadet Karabulut from Socialist Party (SP) which raised swiftly in November 2006 elections achieved to enter into the House of Representatives.²⁴ Of 7 deputies who managed to enter the House of the Representatives, 5 of those are women; this illustrates the interest of woman in the politics in Turkish community of the Netherlands.

One of the important indications that Turkish community announced its extremity in the country politics of the Netherlands is its sending Emine Bozkurt, a candidate from its own to European Parliamentary. The number of the candidate of Turkish origin was 3 in term between 2004 and 2009 in European Parliamentary increased to 5 with the membership of Bulgaria in 2005; yet, the number of the ones of Turkish origin who were elected for AP in 2009 decreased to 4. Emine Bozkurt from Labor Party of the Netherlands, İsmail Ertuğ from German Social Democrat Party, Filiz Hüsmenova from Bulgaria Freedom and Right Party, and Metin Kazak was elected as a deputy for European Parliamentary in 2009 and 2014 period. Of these four deputies, the three, Bozkurt, Kazak and Hüsmenova took charge in a previous Parliamentary. From 1979 on, in the European Parliamentary elections where the lowest participation appeared, while Socialist and Social Democrats Parties experienced a historical fiasco, Christian Democrats and central right parties gained great success. In AP elections where there is a struggle for 736 seats, less than half of 375 million voters went to the front of the voting box. The low participation was in

²⁴ “Avrupa siyasetine yön veren Türkler”, *Zaman*, (10.01.2008)

favor of racist and against EU parties.²⁵ The unexpected success of Geert Wilders, a Dutch politician against Islam, Turkey and immigrant in European Parliamentary elections shook both the Netherlands, known as ‘the most liberal country’ of the world and Europe, running laws that struggle with racism each day. Freedom Party which Wilders who has a film, ‘Sedition’ leads became the second biggest party of the country after Christian Democrats by taking 17 percent of the votes.²⁶ Undoubtedly, moving of right and racist parties to AP powerfully will influence the affairs of Turkey and EU negatively. Comprehensive announcements and advertisement campaigns were made in order to increase the participation of Turk voters in 4 and 7 June 2009 European Parliamentary elections and next local and general elections. Yet, Turkish community in the Netherlands that knows the importance of local and national elections better did not show the expected participation in EP elections. A mutual Europe is important not only for the citizens of the member countries but also for everyone. Thus, around the whole Europe, the subject of equal rights and deal for the minorities is as important as the interest of the minorities in elections to get these rights. Ankara Treaty that was signed in 1963 gave important rights for the individuals of Turkish origin, living in Europe. To know these rights and opportunities is only possible with the participation into the election phases of the members of these organs and the knowledge of the international political organs. On the other hand, in Belgium, structured federally, 3 deputies of Turkish origin started to take charge in new Brussels Parliamentary, with 89 members that were formed after the regional elections in June 7, 2009. There was

²⁵ “Dört Türk asıllı vekil AP’de”, *Zaman*, (09 Haziran 2009)

²⁶ “Hollanda’da ‘fitne’ci partinin zaferi”, *Zaman*, (06 Haziran 2009)

a unique situation in Belgium Parliamentary where Mahinur Özdemir, the member of Christian Democrat Party and Emir Kır and Emin Özkara, the members of Socialist Party were selected.²⁷ Mahinur Özdemir entered into the assembly as the first member in head scarf in both Belgium Parliamentary and in the national parliamentary in Europe.

The right to elect and to be elected in local elections given to foreigners in the Netherlands, 1985 made the politicians of Turkish origin is seen frequently in the Municipalities (Waldrauch, 2003: 17). The ones of Turkish origin who took part in local administrations with a few members from Rotterdam and Amsterdam in the Netherlands in 1986 for the first time began to enter into the Municipalities more frequently from 1990s on. From 2000s on, the number of the members, entering into the assemblies become over nearly 100. For instance, in 2002 elections, over 145 Dutch citizens of Turkish origin gained a right to enter into the town and central municipalities. In November 2006 elections after four years, the number of the members reached 180 in States-Provincial by adding 30 members to this number. Except the normal membership, the members of assembly of Turkish origin in many local administrations raised up to the assistantship of mayor. For instance, Hamit Karakuş and Orhan Kaya who are of Turkish origin in Rotterdam took charge in assistantship of president in one term.²⁸

In local elections, the number of assembly members is determined according to the rate of the city population. The number of municipality members of four big

²⁷ “Belçika'dan başörtü dersi: Mahinur Özdemir Parlamento'da”, *Zaman*, (23 Haziran 2009)

²⁸ “İşte Avrupa siyasetine yön veren Türkler”, *Zaman*, (10.01.2008)

cities of the Netherlands like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Utrecht and The Hague has been determined as 45. In the local elections that were made in 2002, 9 Turkish councilors in the three Dutch cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Utrecht, 4 Turkish councilors were elected in The Hague among Turkish community.²⁹

In conclusion, between 1986 and 1990, only one deputy of 150 deputies in the Netherlands national parliamentary was of ethnic origin. In 1994-1998, this became 7 people; in 1998 and 2002; this was 11; in 2002-2003; became 12; in 2003-2006 reached 17 people continuously. Consequently, in 2006-2010, the number of deputies of foreign origin decreased to 12 (8%). The rate of immigrants of foreign origin, being non-Western compared to Dutch origin is 10%; 8% rate is insufficient. From 1998 on; all the big parties have one immigrant representative chose from their own parties. Yet, in local level, there are important differences between big cities and small settling places. Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague where the immigrant minorities live intensely have a decreasing matter in number of assembly members of foreign origin in small municipalities (Heelsum, 2008). In Table 1.13, form 1994 on, in local level; there is the number of assembly members of foreign origin. In 1994 elections, the number of the assembly members in success was two folds in 1998. Though the number of assembly members of foreign origin, being non-Western has increased recently, this number is still 3% of all the members. It is obvious that population of foreign origin that forms 12% of population is not in the demanded local level.

²⁹ “Hollanda yerel seçimlere hazırlanıyor”, *Zaman Hollanda*, (06.05.2009)

TABLE 1.13. NUMBER OF COUNCILORS OF FOREIGN ORIGIN IN THE NETHERLANDS, 1994-2006

Country of Origin	Year of Elections			
	1994	1998	2002	2006
Turkey	32	74	113	157
Morocco	7	21	26	66
Surinam	21	33	36	38
Dutch Antilles	1	8	5	6
Other	12	14	24	35
Total	73	150	204	302

Source: IPP, 2006:8/Michon at al., 2007

In Table 1.13, the numbers show that the most participant and active group in local politics among ethnic groups of the Netherlands is Turkish community. The half of assembly members of foreign origin consists of assembly members of Turkish origin. Yet, the number of assembly members of foreign origin is not sufficient in all the national parties of the Netherlands. A large part of assembly members of foreign origin gathered in Labor Party (PvdA) (IPP, 2006: 9; ISS, 2002; Heelsum, 2008).

In conclusion, Turkish woman is represented well day by day in political arena in the multicultural Dutch community. Today, in the House of Representatives of the Netherlands with 150 members, the examples like Sevilay Akkaş, Songül Akkaya, Nebahat Albayrak, Fatma Koşer Kaya, Fatma Örgü and Emine Bozkurt who took charge in the States-Portvvincial and European Parliament as the member of assembly and deputy are the ones for the existence of Turkish woman in political life. In addition to this, 180 local politicians of Turkish origin take charge in city and provincial assemblies (Pilancı, 2004: 1-3). In conclusion, the participations and

interest of the second generation women of Turkish origin who gained the citizenship of European Union and the Netherlands in the general and local administrations of the Netherlands increase day by day.

CHAPTER 2

THE GROWING DEMANDS OF TURKISH WOMEN FOR POLITICAL AND SOCIAL RIGHTS IN THE NETHERLANDS

The basic aim of the workers of Turkish origin who come to the Netherlands is to earn money and return to Turkey after earning enough amounts. The first generation ignored some priorities to make this aim happen. The most important one of the priorities that the immigrants of Turkish origin ignored and lastly they have begun to realize is their health, family and children. The Turkish workers that are selected by the Labor Placement Office make use of their bodies in heavy industry sectors of the Netherlands. Unfortunately, the unemployment problem came out and the Netherlands and the other Western European countries which experience the distrust problem began to exclude the first workers. The immigrants of Turkish origin who are torn between the communitarian exclusion and discrimination withdrew into their shells. When the generations who are born and grown up in the Netherlands took part in the community, the adaptation with the social and physical environment increased parallel to this rate. The development of the second generation on the subject of language and education brought the level of economical development together. The first generation experienced several cooperated enterprising that will protect their social and cultural values including the education of their children by realizing the priorities they ignored. The mutual enterprising that the old members of the community created became the members of the group, acting for the mutual aims among the immigrant of Turkish origin.

Particularly, after 1985, we can say that the social, cultural, economical, political and religious institutions among Turkish community in Europe where the civil conscience gained speed and the activity spaces began to expand. With the rights given, the immigrants of Turkish origin who have the equal legal position began to give importance to the participation into many spaces including the socio-economical fields. The increase in the participation into the local and national decision making processes and increase in the number of the volunteered institutions that show the civil conscience develops illustrated the dimensions of integration and combination with the community of the Netherlands (Küçükcan and Güngör, 2009: 456). In addition to this, the members of Turkish community began to carry out the responsibilities that they ignored and neglected individually in the first years. Today, in the big cities of the Netherlands like Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague, the opening of the centers like mosque, foundation, culture centre, association belonging to Turkish community is a result of these group activities.

From 1990s on, we can say that the women of Turkish origin had a tendency for an adaptation to communitarian, political life, norm, rules of the community. The acceptance of democratic norms and values by immigrants also by women makes it clear well that the immigrants are permanent. After this acceptance, the integration policies that redeveloped in the Netherlands began to be made against the discrimination based on adaptation. The local and national governments began to develop integration policies enough to compensate for their expectations and in favor of the immigrant community integration by isolating from sole assimilation circle with the mutual dialogue. Today, the women of Turkish origin, being citizens of the

Netherlands as permanent dwellers demonstrate that they are in the center of this adaptation process with social and political activities. In conclusion, in this chapter; the analysis of the social demands and changing roles that illustrate the women are permanent among the immigrants of Turkish origin who carry out very important roles in the Dutch community has been made. While these analysis have been made, the solution has been made without making discrimination of man, woman, young, member of Turkish community. The basic reason of this is the powerful existence of the moving together as a necessity of patriarchic and traditional Turkish family structure. In short, in this chapter, Turkish community will be evaluated in general and specifically around the subject of the women of Turkish origin.

In the first part of Chapter 2, in the Netherlands community; among the immigrants of Turkish origin who have the important roles, the social demands and changing roles of women that show they are permanent have been analyzed. In the last part of Chapter 2, the historical development of integration and migration policies for minorities have been surveyed in the privacy of Turkish immigrants. From 1990s on, with the change of the temporary migration process; the need for the new measures that aim to prevent the social exclusion and xenophobia, racism that were applied for migrant citizens made integration policies reshape. Besides, the context of the integration policies that were rearranged in relation to the compensation of social, economical and political demands, increasing in the Netherlands was broadened after 1990s. In conclusion, in this chapter; while the increasing demands and changing roles related to participation have been handled, the integration policies have been analyzed in the light of these demands and desires.

2.1. The Change in the Demands and Roles of Turkish Women in the Netherlands

Before everything else, it is necessary to know that; although the first generation had their heart in their hometown, their minds was wrapped up in the country they live with the effect of new conditions. Beside the ones who want to assess their existing savings permanently in their country, a majority search for the ways to get commodity in the Netherlands. A part which accepts the necessity to get commodity in the Netherlands reach the level to be able to perform service as employer in immovable sector. Many reasons that make the first and second generations stay in the Netherlands permanently can be classified by this way:

- The social opportunities and health guarantees that are presented for the group members, getting old: In many countries of Europe, when the comprehensive social and health services that are presented for the old and patients are compared those of Turkey, the immigrants do not want to leave the country they live in.
- The fear and anxiety not to supply an adaptation with the former environment which they are separated for years: The first generation immigrants who become alienated against the neighborhood and quarter they left ages ago do not want to live in their countries again the first experience they get in Europe.
- The education situation of the children who keep on their education in Dutch: Since the families who are so sensitive on the subject of the education of their children do not want them leave their education off and they know the

difficulty of the readaptation of Turkish education system, they do not think to return.

- The negative atmosphere that some returning examples in the past: Since the families who return do not cut the communication with the others, being behind, many negative things in Turkey are heard and the ones who do not live the same experience look at the return with doubt.
- The familiarization of the massive communication tools for Turkey: In our world where the technological developments decrease the distances, the immigrants compensate their home longing for the visits to Turkey in different times. On the other hand, the immigrants follow the agenda as if they were in an Anatolian city with television at home.
- The supply of the daily social and life needs of the ones of Turkish origin as in their desires: the construction of the ground for the life standards belonging to them decreases the feeling of alienation. Today, in the Netherlands; Turks reach the available products for their consuming standards easily, they can find the space and opportunities to do social and cultural exercises and they can access opportunities to worship in their own worshipping places.

Because of the close commercial affairs of Turkish immigrants with Turkey, economical crisis created great influences on the permanency notion especially after 1990s. Turkey which experienced an economical crisis in 1994 began to apply April 5 decisions to make the macro economical balances that deteriorated regain the stabilization. Since there was not enough sufficient and stabilized steps to make the structural recycle in economy happen, April 5 decisions did not create the desired influence and as a result of this, 2000 and 2001 economical crisis blew up. In this

respect, the economical recessions in 1994 and next years ceased the desires of Turkish immigrants to return to Turkey. Thanks to the speculative capital movements particularly in 1994, the immigrants who had money in the banks in Turkey lost great amount of money. In a way, Turkey did not hinder the output of 11 billion dollars capital in 1994 (Yıldırım, 1998: 139).

Particularly, the certain indications that the permanency notion has entirely been accepted recently will highlight the evaluation to be made on this issue. Social, economical and legal demands and expectations like the demands to get commodity, the demands of the citizenship, religious demands similar to Muslim graveyard demands, the social helping demands for the old and the disabled who need care and the preference of the long term professions are the causes that strengthen the permanency notion.

2.1.1. The Increase in Housing Demands

One of the important signs that the immigrants of Turkish origin are permanent is their demands to get a commodity in the Netherlands. According to the result of the study that has been made in this way by TAM foundation, an average house in Turks consist of 3,9 people. Among 93.600 Turkish houses in the Netherlands, the number of Turks who have a house is over 17.000. Thus, nearly 18,2 percent of Turkish community in the Netherlands has a house. The population of Turkish origin which consists of the biggest national immigrant group in EU will transcend the limit, 440 thousand in 2020 according to the estimations of Statistics Netherlands. This also shows that the demands of Turkish community whose permanency rate will increase with the new generations to get a house will increase day by day.

Change in the consummation habits is one of the important habit changes that 40 year migration process has developed in the migrants. Since the first comers did not have the idea of permanency, a great part of the savings was directed to the needs in the hometown instead of house and income. Since today Turkish houses give importance into the permanency, they spare nearly 17 percent of their income for saving (TAM, 2007). With the change in the current consuming habits, there is an increase in the tendency to obtain commodity in the Netherlands. The rates to get a house show that the habits of expending and investment related firstly to the hometown have been directed into the Netherlands in the last ten years.

Today, the housing policy of the Netherlands has a structure that supports to own a house and present the different housing preferences related to increasing the urban quality to the community, and gives priority to the individualization of the community (Sarioğlu, 2007; Heins, 2005). The social housing policy that continued until 1990s made the Netherlands one of the biggest stock countries of Europe (Sarioğlu, 2007; WBO, 2002). The average rate of social housing around the Netherlands is 36 percent. The number of the houses that are not used or are empty is so high. To gain these houses to the community will supply the rent and housing prices with decrease. The high price of credit interest and houses in the Netherlands especially in big cities made the tenancy style as an oppressive commodity come out. For instance, 79 percent of the houses in Amsterdam where Turkish community live much stay in rent houses. In the Netherlands where traditionally has a tenant community structure, a direct policy for house ownership except mortgaged credit system has not been developed. Thus, the rate of house ownership is low compared

to the other Western European countries. In 1947, the rate of house ownership was 28 percent; this reached 56 percent in 2002 (Sarioğlu, 2007; WBO, 2002). The most important provocation recently is the exclusion of mortgaged credit interest from the income tax. In addition to this, in big cities where Turkish community is intense, the prices of the houses increased from 1988 on over two fold. The reason of this matter is that the housing demand is superior to the desire of housing. The first of the reasons that push the immigrants of Turkish origin to buy house is that they are made to own house without paying deposit. The second one is that the conditions in mortgage space become more flexible. To prolong the mortgage credits until thirty years is the one of this flexible quality. In conclusion, the second and third generations Turks who have good economical situations in part obtain immovable, the clear symbol of the transmission to settled life instead of rent houses.

2.1.2. The Increase in Citizenship Demands

From 18th century on, the political rights that developed as a condition for the modern parliamentary systems were evaluated within the subject of citizenship. Citizens have an important place to shape the modern liberal democracies as political actors. Thus, the term, modern citizenship which shelters the civil, political, economical and social rights includes the membership of nation-state. The immigrants who are aware of this membership try to be a citizen to make use of the political and social rights. Today, the citizens of 27 European Union member countries can vote in the elections related to the local and regional union and can be candidate (EP) in the elections. Yet, the immigrants who are the citizens of the countries, not being the members of EU including Turkish community do not have

right—except a few ones- to participate until their applications are accepted and become citizens (Kadioğlu, 2008).

The access of the third country citizens to the political rights in Europe change according to some special situations. For instance, in Germany, the participation of the third country citizens in any way is dependent on the condition to obtain German citizenship. However, the immigrants, coming from EU countries to Germany can participate in politics in local and regional level as long as they carry out the needs of residence. Thus, the political participation is only possible with national citizenship or local and regional leveled beyond nation citizenship, namely EU citizenship. On the other hand, the countries like Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands and Sweden give the local and regional voting right to the ones who have the certain residence conditions. The cities in the Netherlands give the right to found a political party and to be candidate in elections around the city, the right to vote to the foreigners after 5 year-old permitted residency by getting ‘city citizenship’. Thus, the ones who are the city citizens in the Netherlands can have the right to vote and to be voted in city though they are not from the countries, EU member and being a citizen of the Netherlands and without being a part of the national union of the Netherlands. In conclusion, for the immigrants, it is possible to express the political rights in city without the national and beyond national rights (Benhabib, 2004: 157). In this sense, it is possible to say that the third country citizens including Turks in the Netherlands have much better representation rights than those of the third country citizens in EU countries in city (Kadioğlu, 2008).

37,1 percent of 4,2 million Turks who live in EU boundaries are in the citizenship of the country they live in. From the last of 2006 on, the number of our citizens who are in the citizenship of a foreign country is 1.480.256. The ones who get the citizenship of foreign country with the birth are not including this number. In the Netherlands, the ones who live for years legally by having the permission to residence permanently in the Netherlands can apply for the citizenship. According to 2008 year data of Statistics Netherlands, the ones who carry the status of Turkish Republic citizenship among the immigrants of Turkish origin, living in the Netherlands is about 93.746 people. This number consists of 45.903 men and 47.458 women. Thus, the ones who carry the status of Turkish republic citizenship has a share, 25,2 percent among the population of Turkish origin, 372.714 people. The other 74,8 percent population has the status of Dutch citizenship.

TABLE 2.1. TURKISH POPULATION WITH DUTCH NATIONALITY, BY YEARS

Periods	Turkish Immigrants	Periods	Turkish Immigrants
1946 – 1989	11.277	1998	13.484
1990	1.952	1999	32.484
1991	6.105	2000	11.000
1992	11.520	2001	4.708
1993	18.000	2002	4.678
1994	23.900	2003	3.726
1995	33.043	2004	4.026
1996	30.559	2005	2.325
1997	21.324	Total	234.111

Source: Statistics Netherlands and Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2006

On the other hand, 234.111 people Turkish Republic citizens transfer to the citizenship of the Netherlands until 2005 (See; Table 2.1). For the immigrants of Turkish origin, this rate is the first turn among the other European countries. The transition to the citizenship of the Netherlands among the ones of Turkish origin gained speed especially from the beginning of 1990s on and at the beginning of 2000s, it recessed. Especially between 1992 and 1998, 140 thousand people who have the status of Turkish Republic citizenship transfer to the citizenship of the Netherlands of Turkish origin. The proficiency in language which the new citizenship law stipulated, coming into force in 1998 and the transition tests to citizenship that started after 2003 decreased the transitions to the citizenship of the Netherlands compared to the former ones (TAM, 2006: 7).

Of the Western European countries, Belgium is the country which gives firstly the right to participate in the local elections and to vote for the immigrants in 1969. The Netherlands gives the right to vote for the immigrants from 1994 on. Thus, Belgium and the Netherlands try to hinder the unification, being inside the immigrants by provoking the political participation. In conclusion, the Netherlands chooses the way to supply the individualistic and communitarian integration by giving the right to vote and to be voted through the citizenship. The desire to transfer to the citizenship among Turks increased the interest in the political life; by this way, a mass that the local administrations will not be able to neglect. Contrary to the other European countries, both countries' and their governments' mutual constructive project and applications played an important role in being of the Netherlands as the most successful country on the subject of adaptation.

Although to be effective in the interior politics of the countries the foreigners live in is only possible with their transition to numerical majority and citizenship, we have to accept the truth that the minorities are not seen important which are away from the interaction and organization that will influence general and local politics. The best example of this is the France example. Although France is the community that gets much immigrants of Turkish origin after Germany in Europe, it is an argumentative result that almost any one of Turkish origin is not influential in the politics. Although this matter is about the institutional structure of the government and the formal approach that is against the foreigners of the French government, the abstention of Turks on this subject is not a reason to be ignored.

2.1.3. The Increase in Religious Demands

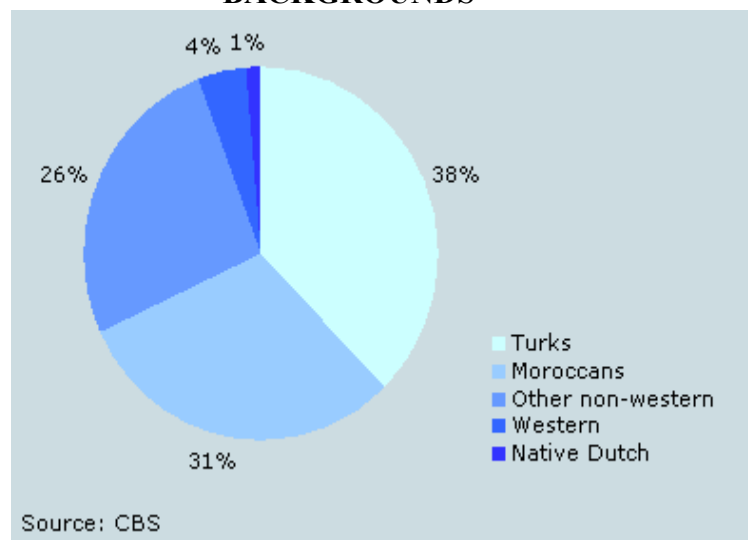
In democratic communities, the desire of the people of different ethnic origin to live according to their beliefs and their demands in this way take place among the basic rights. To be Muslim of a great part of the ones of Turkish origin in the Netherlands take an important place in business life, individual and communitarian life with the Islamic teachings. While the Muslims who live in a multicultural but foreign space carry out their religious responsibilities, it is natural to come across with some difficulties. Yet, to carry out these responsibilities is not regarded as a reason that makes the adaptation difficult as it does not violate the communitarian rules. It can be said that very important part of the ones of Turkish origin and the Dutch have this approach. When it is evaluated generally, for the Muslims who live in the Netherlands, there are not important obstacles to carry out the basic religious responsibilities-in addition to the exceptions-. One of these exceptions is the Muslim

Graveyard problem. A part from many religious community graveyards that are used mutually and for Christianity in different settlement places is separated for the Muslims.

While the Netherlands shelters different ethnic groups on the one hand, a part of these minority groups becomes a host for the Islamic belief. According to this:

According to Figure 2.1, there are 850 thousand Muslims in the Netherlands, i.e. approximately 5 percent of the population or one in twenty residents is Muslims. This implies that nearly half of people with a non-western background living in the Netherlands adhere to Islam. Turks and Moroccans, with nearly 700 thousand, constitute the largest groups of Muslims. Furthermore, Surinamese, with 34 thousand, constitute the largest group of Muslims within the group of other persons with a non-western background, followed by Afghans (31 thousand) and Iraqis (27 thousand). Lastly, there are 12 thousand native Dutch Muslims (CBS, 2007).

FIGURE 2.1. DISTRIBUTION OF MUSLIMS BY ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS



In Western European countries, the importance of cultural values for different nations is much apparent than their own countries; their protection and internalization lies on a basic reason. Every individual wants to show his own difference, superiority or religious belief and prove against the opposite side. Thus,

against the integration policies based on assimilation that the capitalist system of the West imposes, Euro Turks are bond to their religious elements and local identities that differentiates them, traditional pasts tightly. In conclusion, Euro Turks that are alienated by the system stand against West's and Modernism's capitalism, industry, racism, observation, egoism, loneliness, distrust, structural exclusion and militarism with the cooperation webs that they found with Islam, culture, originality, ethnicity, nationalism, congregation and traditions (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 143).

There are associations that are founded within the religious and cultural aim by its big majority that supplies to make decisions and form social, cultural and legal policies about the ones of foreign origin and also founded by foreigners in the Netherlands. There are nearly 230 associations and federations that those associations are dependent on in the Netherlands through these aims. One of the foundations that shelter the small associations legally is Religious Foundation of The Netherlands. This foundation collects many foundations that are founded in various places of the Netherlands within the purpose of carrying out especially religious duties under its roof. The foundation has 138 worshipping houses, 63 are rent and 75 are commodity around Europe. From 2005 on, there are 996 teachers and 914 religious instructors that take charge religiously and Turkish education abroad. Around the Netherlands, there are nearly 40 mosques and mosque associations that Religion and religious groups open (ÇSGB, 2007: 81).

According to the Netherlands Constitution, private schools were opened by many religious institutions within the education freedom. In this respect, Muslims have schools in the Netherlands including the ones of Moroccan origin. In these private

schools, the religion lessons are compulsory and they are two hours in a week. In public schools, the religion lessons are optional. In public schools, the religion lessons are run according to the cults (Bolay and Türköne, 1995: 65). The acceptance of all the students to these private schools is compulsory and this is seen as a positive step. In addition to this, the religion lessons that are dependent on the selection do not compensate for the needs of the Muslim children. The families send their children to the close mosques since they do not afford. On the other hand, for Carle; the second generation immigrants of Turkish and Moroccan origin carry out the religious rituals less than the first generation does. The old members of the first generation attend to the mosques much than the second generation does. In addition to this, immigrants of Turkish origin make their children attend the religious courses in summer months in these mosques.

Second-generation Dutch Muslims are less devout than the first, but not by much. In *When Democracy and Islam Meet*, Joyce Cesari reports that 37 percent of second-generation Turks attend a mosque once a week while 47 percent of their parents did. Among Moroccans the equivalent figures are 32 percent and 46 percent, respectively. In both groups, about two-thirds said that they would not want their daughters to marry a non-Muslim. First and second generations have the same view on this issue. Some 29 percent of immigrants from Turkey and 32 percent of immigrants from Morocco feel that Islam should have some say in Dutch politics, but only 2 percent and 3 percent, respectively, feel that it should have the final say (Carle, 2006).

Consequently, the most fundamental priorities are the demands to open Koran courses and mosques to meet the religious needs of women and children of Turkish community including Muslim Graveyard. The supply of these demands that are the most obvious signs that Turkish community is permanent in the Netherlands will contribute to the mutual integration.

2.1.4. The Increase in Social and Political Demands

Within the increase in the old average in the population of the Netherlands, the burden the retired and retired through disability into the state budget increases day by day. Thus, to lessen the burden of the state budget, some reforms in social laws are needed. It has been estimated that the number of people who get the old retired salary form AOW according to July numbers reaches 2,5 million. Within the transition to Euro as a mutual money means of European Union, the prosperity level decreased in the Netherlands life conditions. First of all, the social laws that the government reform is the law of incapability of working. Today, WAO will be replaced with the law, WIA “De Wet Werk en Inkomen naar Arbeidsvermogen”. With this law, the government plans to save 1,7 billion Euro.³⁰ In this respect, according to the 2006 year report of the Netherlands’ Social Security System, the ones who left the Netherlands, going to the other EU countries and the foreigners who return definitely to their hometowns, over 65 year-old consist of 221.039 people; they are paid pension by the Netherlands government. According to the CBS report in December, 2005; the number of the ones who get their pensions from the Netherlands and dwell in Turkey is 14 thousand 577 (See; Table 2.2). According to the Netherlands laws, to make use of this pension, it is necessary to spend 50 year-old process in the Netherlands legally between the age range, 15 and 65. Thus, the ones who do not spend this process for the retirement do not get their pensions because they are paid insufficient prim. The majority of the ones who get their pensions insufficient from

³⁰ “Hükümet İş Göremezlik Yasasında köklü değişiklik,” *Damla Gazetesi*, (16.05.2009).

the Netherlands consist of the immigrants coming to this country in 1960s and 1970s. In this respect, the demand of many Turkish immigrants who do not get their pensions is the modernization of the retirement law and the state fed business opportunities by rearranging. The other demand is that the supply of the state fed by the government for the salary outcomes with the employers who recruit the employees for so long.

TABLE 2.2. TURKS LIVING IN TURKEY RECEIVING A PENSION FUND FROM THE NETHERLANDS (31.12.2005)

Salary and Allowance	Numerical Population	Social Security Payment (x1.000)
General Old Age Act (AOW)	14.577	38,501 (Euro)
Incapacity Act (formerly the WAO)	2.265	-
Widow and Orphans Pension Act (ANW)	1.227	17,073 (Euro)
Child Money Act (AKW)	2.492	2,853 (Euro)
Return Act (REM)	1.443	-
Total	22.004	-

Source: Statistics Netherlands and the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2005

As a necessity to become a socialist state, Pension Fund is given to the ones who have a disability that will hinder his working and to the ones who get old, living in the Netherlands as a helping. According to this:

First generation people with a foreign background have lower pension claims than native Dutch. In general, people with a non-western background can claim only half the amount received by native Dutch. For several age categories, the situation is even worse, as they can claim only one third. On the other hand, the upward trend for second generation people with a foreign background is more or less the same as for the various age groups in the native Dutch population. Second-generation Turks and Moroccans aged between 35 and 40 are involved in a major catch-up operation. Their pension claims are more than twice as high as the amount their parents could claim when they were of the same age (CBS, 2008).

21 percent of the women participants who attended to questionnaire studies with 239 women around the Netherlands is supported by the government under the name of disability of working or incapability of working. The ones who are supported through the incapability of working consist of 58 percent married women. The ones who get help are 26 percent, the ones graduated from secondary school, 40 percent are from high school, and 28 percent is from college and university.

Within this law that came into force in 2004, before some foreign groups including Turks who want to settle in the country, they were exposed to several proficiency exams related to Dutch language. We can say that the rules that are applied to the next comers within the frame of family unification from Turkey mean as 'discrimination'. This adaptation exam is made by consulships in Turkey. The lessons based on language and adaptations in exchange for salary are given by private courses. However, for the citizens of Turkey who make family unification, it has been ignored that for them the exam compulsory on this subject and to learn Dutch will apply after they come to the Netherlands instead of Turkey. Besides, this different application that was brought to a few countries and Turkey in only family unification is against the universal declaration of human rights. Besides, the demand of the adaptation course for a high price that the foreigners have to give through family unification from abroad has been evaluated as an unfair earning. 66 percent of 236 women participants expressed that the adaptation exam had been convenient. 34 percent of the participants gave the answer, no. The reason for the ones to think that the adaptation exam is a convenient application is that the women and men who came without a ground could not supply an adaptation with the Dutch community.

To have a high education level of the ones who support the adaptation exam triggers our vision. Before coming to the Netherlands, the ones who thought that adaptation exam is accurate applications consist of 13 percent, graduated from secondary school, 42 percent from high school and 43 percent from college and upper.

On the other hand, in the education period of Turkish children, including 4 and 12 age group, to resupply with Turkish teachings is one of the most expressive demands. In addition to this, the decision of the removal of the funds about the education by the Netherlands government is a political decision far away from education science, triggers assimilation, opposes human rights, multilingual and cultural social structure that Europe seems to accept. In addition to the limits of the education in the native language, it is obvious that the exam of proficiency in language that is applied in entrance into the country is not ethical from the aspect of communitarian responsibility. The adaptation exams that the immigrants of Turkish origin wait for the solution and the subject of Turkish education have not been solved.

In this chapter which I have evaluated the developments that show the expectations of the first and second immigrants of Turkish origin from the Netherlands government and public are permanent, it will be suitable to add another expectation. These expectations are from the institutions abroad and Turkish Republic government. To take measures against the increasing racist attacks recently, the demands like the enterprising within the Netherlands authorities, the meetings of the documents that are wanted for the immigrants by the External Representations, the participation of External Representations in the activities Turkish civil institutions organize are the first ones. Most of the participants that have been

interviewed mutually think that it would be a good step to organize activities with the participation of public, authorities from civil institutions, authorities from External Representations from the aspect of the reinforcement of the mutual excitement and cooperation in national days and religious festivals. It has been thought that the public would be enlightened on the subjects that interest Turkish community by inviting the journalist from publishing organ and the Netherlands media to these activities and celebrations. Particularly, the public will be conscious against the comments and news based on the unfair and wrong information like honor killing and family killings. Consequently, the expectations of the immigrants of Turkish origin from the Netherlands authorities and the desire to carry out the necessities to be a permanent community are evaluated as the studies related to increasing the social, economical and educational levels of these immigrants. The applications related to Turkish community's protection of their national identities and languages, their transmission to next generations, the meet of religious needs and the forward-looking expectations are all seen as the guarantee of Turkish existence in the Netherlands.

2.1.5. The Preferred Permanent Jobs in Business Services

In the report that Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) published because of World Women's Day, it was expressed that the number of women was not enough in the business life. In the report, titled as "Gender and Perpetual Development", it has been stated that to make use of the woman population would increase the economical growth, decrease the poverty, develop the social media and would help a perpetual development in all countries to come out. On the other hand, in the chapter titled as "Women and Economical

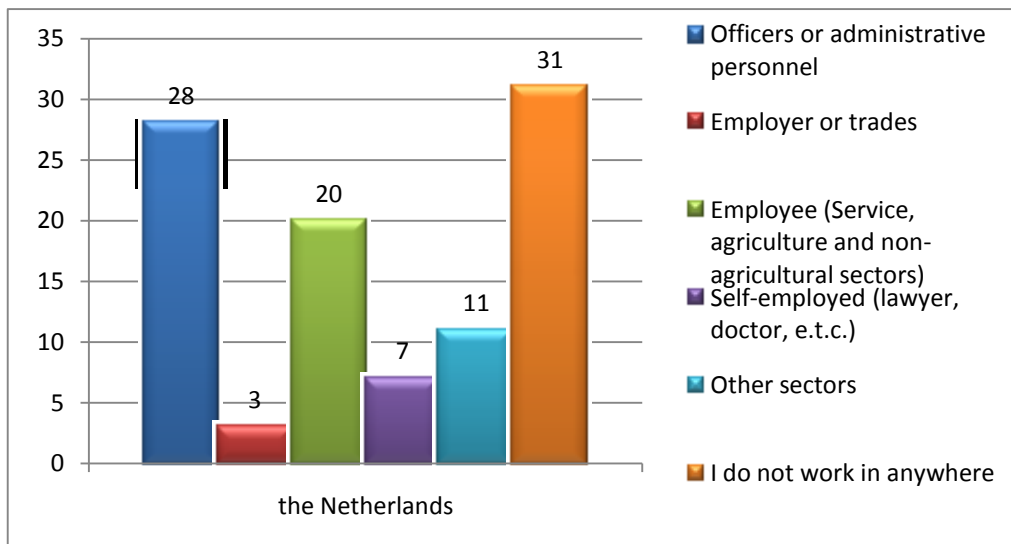
Growth” of the report, it was stated that the women who form the half of the humanistic capital became “the source that is used less” in the world. It has been stated that the economical growth was dependent on the usage of the vocational abilities, their gifts, and their participation into labor of the women much more. In the report, it has been recorded that the effects of getting old and “insufficient fertility” that were seen in many OECD countries with the participations of the women into labor would be compensated. On the other hand, in the report where the difference between the woman and man employment was closed in favor of woman, the increase in general employment in the last period in Europe belonged to women in half from 1995 on; the participation rate of the women into the labor was less than the men in all the countries. According to this report, average 60 of every 100 women participate in labor in OECD countries.³¹

In the chapter, titled as “Women and To Govern” of the report that was published by Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), it has been stated that there was a direct relation between the share that the women got in labor and their representations in the parliamentary. It also reflected the economical participation and the participation into political life of the women. The countries in which the women have the highest representation in parliamentary and take part in labor market are Scandinavian countries like Sweden, Norway, Finland and Denmark; also the Netherlands. The rate of the low experienced workers among the first generation immigrants in the Netherlands is so much than the workers of Dutch origin. This matter explains that the unemployment rate among the immigrants is

³¹ ‘OECD: Kadınlar yoksulluğu azaltabilir’, *Global Siyaset*,
<http://www.globalsiyaset.com/haberler/2008/mart/oecd-kadinlar-raporu.html>
(20.06.2009)

higher than that of the ones of Dutch origin (Coppel et. al., 2001). Yet, the rate of educated and experienced ones among the second generation reached the same level with the ones of Dutch origin. In addition to this, recently, it is possible to see the members of the second generation Turkish community in permanent and long term business branches. The preference of the vocational branches belonging to the public sector in the Netherlands by the women of Turkish origin confirms our determination. According to the results of the semi-structured questionnaire from the primary resources of this study, 28 percent of the participants stated that they took charge in official and administrative staff of the qualified public institutions (See; Figure 2.2).

FIGURE 2.2. WHAT IS YOUR OCCUPATION IN THE NETHERLANDS?



On the other hand, it has been seen that the women have an important role in the adoption of the traditional and modern image of their vocational positions. It has been observed that the women employees that take part in occupations in employee status where the men are intense form the group, close to the traditional woman

image. The women who work in self employment and officials have more modern woman image than that of women employees. There are many factors in the adoption of traditional and modern woman image; the factors like age, the process of residence, and the country where education is obtained, the education level, the discrimination between employed and unemployed, occupation and lastly the fidelity to the religious values can be counted.

2.2. Immigration and Integration Policy Making in the Netherlands

In scientific researches, there is not a comprehensive union of view and compromise referring to what it could be understood from integration concept. In this respect, because of the different vantage points change in time, it is impossible to develop an integration theory that is accepted. The term, “integration” that is shown as a solution for the discussions “immigrant” and “foreign background” means a whole, completion, unification and adaptation. In sociological meaning, integration means living of the minorities in a community with the host society adaptively by protecting their national identities and cultural values. The different ethnic groups’ having the same rights with the host community and their wholeness with the community without compensating for their national identities and cultural values are inevitable elements of integration. The supply of the mutual interaction by compensating and standing far away from the cultural values and national identities is not explained with the integration, yet it is explained with the assimilation. As a matter of fact, today all the Western European countries show ethnic and cultural variety. Thus, the intercultural interaction will be transmitted from one culture to another among different ethnic groups both outside the boundaries and in a

community. This mutual cultural interchange will make contribution to the enrichment of the cultures at the same time.

Many scientists think that democratic legal governments do not have assimilation means. Thus, minorities have the rights to protect their cultural identities, religious rights and native tongues. It is natural to protect these rights; yet, it is not natural to look for the ways to provide the adaptation with the host society. Although to protect their culture and language is precious for Turkish community, to behave inconsistently in learning the language of the country they live in will not be a consistent approach. On the other hand, according to a field search in the Netherlands, it has been determined that the immigrant community who shows the fewer endeavors on the subject of their language and culture protection is Turkish community. Consequently, the immigrants have to look for ways of dialogue for the development of the mutual affairs and in order to show respect for the language, culture and the beliefs of the community they live in addition to the protection of their own language.

It won't be exaggerating to see the ghetto, the natural result of immigration phenomenon as the work of the fears of both sides stemming from non-communication. The studies that were made show that the Turks of the Netherlands do not want to live in cultural ghettos and they are in favor of living with an integrated life instead of a life that is pushed with its cultural discrimination walls, being isolated from the Dutch community without losing their own identities, being away from conflict. The Turks of Dutch try to communicate with the other parts and regulate their activities for everyone. The tendency of the Turkish civil community

institutions that function in this country for a mutual activity with the Netherlands institutions should be read actually as they have a tendency for combination and integration of Turks with the Dutch community (Küçükcan and Güngör, 2004).

Integration is not a mechanism that functions in one side but also is a both sided mechanism in which the mutual shares are gathered. While the immigrants strive to adapt to the social and legal structure of the host country, the host country develops policies that will be helpful for its own integration. Yet, this mutual agreement is not enough on its own. If the host country builds the change and adaptation on the xenophobia in the integration policies, the name of this is not integration, it will be racism. The aim of the assimilation targeted change and adaptation policies is to convert the immigrants into the secondary personality individuals who think like the host country does, similar to it. Opposed to this, if the universal mutual values are accepted in individual profile the host country wait from the immigrants, integration will gain meaning. Thus, if the local and national governments develop integration policies that will compensate for their expectations and in favor of the integration of the immigrant community by being isolated from sole assimilation circle; a successful adaptation will be supplied.

2.2.1. Dutch Context of Identity

Until 1961, there was a separated and unbalanced migration process in the Netherlands. After the Second World War, the Dutch and the groups in favor of the Netherlands who had a former colony in Indonesia had to return to their country. The Netherlands, which did not get rid of the fatigue, yet became insufficient against the migration wave, 300.000 populations from Indonesia. In the country where the

unemployment and the need for house was on the top, there was not a policy for the comers with the migration. In 1950s, the Netherlands started a migration campaign for the external side by putting forward the difficulty of the economical conditions in the country. As in the previous centuries, the half million Dutch who were encouraged and provoked to go to other places of the world migrated to Canada, America and Australia. After 1961, in the Netherlands which experienced a quick economical growth, there appeared a deficiency in employment (Canatan, 2008: 222). When it was compared within the other European countries, despite its late time, inexperienced and cheap labor was accepted for the countries like Turkey, Morocco, and South Europe which were the Mediterranean countries in 1960s and 1970s in the Netherlands. After the economical crisis around the world, began in the mid-1970s, the boundaries of Europe closed for the migration. Most of labor immigrations who came from the countries like Yugoslavia and South Europe returned to their countries. Contrary to this, the worker immigrants of Turkish origin and Moroccan origin stayed in the country; this matter is a policy that was planned by the Netherlands government. In 1975s, the Moroccan and Turkish workers began to take their families near through the family unification, for the mid-1880s on, these two immigrant groups began to take their partners to the Netherlands through marriage form their own countries (Ter Wal, 2005: 1). From the 1974s when the economical crisis was recovered on, the Netherlands was seen as a migration country. Taking their partners and children near them, the men who formed the active labor showed that the transitory migration concept had ended. From 1990s on, the Moroccan, Turkish and the other immigrant groups and their children and grandchildren who were born in the Netherlands had an important place in the

migration and integration policies of the Netherlands. Today, the second and third generation immigrants of Turkish origin, born in the Netherlands, take over the important roles within the integration as apart of socio-economical and political life of the Netherlands.

In the last quarter of 20th century, the high unemployment that emerged owing to the global economical crisis, the increase in population due to taking of the other family members through family unification and the socio-cultural structure of the immigrant community caused to take harsh measures in migration and integration policies. The reason of the sudden change in the attitude and behaviors of the Western European countries against the immigrants is the fear for the immigrants who have high birth rates in these communities where the natural population increase is almost zero. This fear phobia that emerged owing to the demographic decrease opened the door for the cultural conflicts and separation. Indeed, another reason that triggers this fear is that a great majority of immigrants have Islamic religion which is another civilization. In other words, the existence of Muslim immigrants who have high birth rates and the immigrant mass which rejects to be assimilated and sees its own civilization superior to the Western civilizations increase the anxiety and fear.

The subjects “immigrants” and “foreign population” that are shown as a reason for break and fear that are felt against these problems and social troubles in many Western European countries protect their currency today. Although the refugees are in the center of the discussion in different times, the immigrants want to withdraw to the center of these discussions deliberately. However, today, the Western European countries become an immigrant country and they get used to the multicultural life

style. Instead of struggling with different cultures in minority status, the communities which are in favor of a cultural marketing based on mutual respect only can remove the current prejudices. Although the Netherlands is a scene for the violent actions that will reveal the thesis of civilizations' conflict recently, it is one of the countries which invest much on the integration with the immigrants. In the Netherlands, 1,5 billion dollars are expended every year for integration. The country where the best adaptation is supplied among European countries on the subject of integration is today the Netherlands. In most of big cities, there are examples fill the integration term, in the big posters in big streets.

In this study where the migration and integration policies of the Netherlands are surveyed in the privacy of the immigrants of Turkish origin, the different four terms will be analyzed deeply. In the first term where 1970 and its former period have been handled, the migration and integration policies have been discussed within the Turkish immigrants and the other minority groups that consist of men for their active labor. The next term after 1980s in which the migration process was experienced with the family unification after the global economical crisis has been discussed within Ethnic Minority Policy (EM Policy). Thirdly, the analysis of the integration policies that were applied in the privacy of former immigrants and new comers in 1990 and afterwards when the family unification was supplied with the marriage will be made. The last term will be discussed within the new integration policies that put forward the settled immigrant individuals and responsibilities and were applied from 2002 on. At the same time, essential evaluations will be made by referring to

Bruquetas-Callejo and other authors who analyze these different four periods within the integration policies (Bruquetas-Callejo et. al., 2008).

2.2.2. The Immigration and Integration Policies of the 1970s and Before

The migration of Turks to abroad began with the individual goings towards the end of 50s. In 1961, Turkish external migration that lies in a ground within the mutual labor treaties that were made in Federal Germany, after Austria, Belgium, France, the Netherlands, Sweden, Switzerland, England and Australia kept on. Until the beginning of 1970s, there was a swift immigrant movement form Turkey within the labor treaties, after the first oil crisis, the migration movement descended and afterwards, the migration motions was about to stop and rather than that, it continued as the family unification.³² From 1980s on, the appearance of the Turkish immigrants in public space and their tendencies for being a settled community distracted many Western European countries. The Western European countries and their politicians who do not make a serious revision in integration policies and accept the statement of Max Frisch “We asked for workers but the Turks have sent us people!” caused the adaptation process to prolong.³³ However, in the first years of the migration, the external appearance of the migration based on a study and return targeted, reflected

³² “Turks Abroad: The Symposium on Migration and Integration in its 50th Year” was organized through the cooperation of the Ministry of State of the Republic of Turkey and Hacettepe University Strategical Research Centre (HÜSAM) in Ankara between 21-23 May 2009. I was invited as audience to the symposium, which focused on integration of migrants, the main language of education, religion education, vocational acquisition, working rights, citizenship and political rights, policies for especially nonworking migrant women, the problems on economic and financial activities, civil society organizations and the media’s role in integration.

³³ ‘Aim and Scope’, Migration and Integration Symposium, <http://www.goc50-husam.org/en/aim-and-scope/> (03.06.2009)

on black and white tables now become colorful. Today, the half of Turkish immigrants whose number overdoes 5 million were born in the countries of Europe and the contribution Turkish community which has a big voter mass made and will make to the economical, political and cultural structure of the country where they live is not denied. Despite the lack and inefficiency of the integration policies, Turkish community illustrated successful examples in economy, science, art, sports, and politics and in the other fields and they added richness to the country they live in. Thus, the host countries which want to see and see the immigrants as social, economical and cultural richness have to develop integration policies for the women and the young.

Until the last times, the migration has begun to be seen as the fear and inconsistent source for the Western national states. Among the reasons of this serious change, there are being far away from the industry, increasing fertility, unemployment, poverty and neo-liberal policies in addition to the political inconsistency and the ethnic conflicts that emerged after the solution of the former East Block. In addition to gaining of collective quality of the migration activity, the migration of hundred people to Western European countries influenced the migration policies of national states deeply and began to be applied refining migration policies for the citizens of the countries outside European lands. The period after communism started the homogenous process in many Western European countries and the statements like “civilization conflicts”, “culture wars” and “Islamic fear” created a discriminative influence for the Muslim immigrants (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 17-18).

In this respect, the general idea of the people we interviewed mutually is the necessity to look for the crime in both sides within the troubles. It can be said that the immigrants of Turkish origin who come firstly to the Netherlands are influenced by the alienating and unfamiliar attitudes of the community in a broad sense. If we do not regard the individualistic structural attitudes of the first immigrant against Turks, there are not social and cultural activities both in community and the policies of the government. The first immigrants are considered to belong to a transitory time slice at the beginning as cheap labor and were not considered that they would come out in one day permanently. This matter made the integration too late for both sides. Today, on the subject of education and language, the most reinforcing element of the integration process, the first generation was criticized and it is not the only guilty. Undoubtedly, one should show tolerance and interest as much as that of the country one lives in. Waiting for the first step from the opposite side on the subject of integration forced the first immigrants to live together and as a result of this, there appeared quarters where the families which do not need to found a communication with the local public were gathered.

2.2.3. The Ethnic Minorities (EM) Policy in the 1980s

The first regulation to control the immigrants and the migration that came out with the legal or illegal ways was in January, 1972 by France. The Netherlands began to apply the measures to control the migration towards the end of 1970s. In nine European countries, the number of the foreign workers that stood between 1960 and 1970 increased from 2.5 million to 5.4 million. In 1973, the number of the immigrant workers, reached 6.3 million decreased from 1987 on, it recessed to 5.8

million (Dearden, 1997: 4-5). As the result of the confining applications for the immigration of EU countries, the ones who lost the opportunity to migrate legally prefer to migrate through different channels. Although the Union countries supplied the country citizens with the developments to make their activities easy, for the third country citizens, they decided to apply confining regulations (Gençler, 2005: 183). Until 1980s, while the private applications of the countries in migration policies were preferred, from 1990s on; gaining speed of the integration caused the policies of the member countries to get close and to determine mutual policies in many fields. In EU, it has been understood that the regulations that were made in migration policies supplied with a development based on the aim to develop and protect the social and political structure, internal security, economy of the Union with the purpose of the keeping the humanistic rights secret. The satisfying steps in this way are only possible with the development of the mutual values of the Union. In the strategy of development and existence of EU, the ideal of creating “Mutual Europe”, the idea of the member countries compared to the other member countries to provide rivalry superiority and the idea to move independently in some issues are seen to be protected (Gençler, 2005: 192).

In the Netherlands, the approach that was paid attention firstly at the beginning of 1980s is the application of the explicit integration policies and known as the Ethnic Minority Policy (EM Policy). The Ethnic Minority Policy of the Netherlands which has a settled migration culture is an early development for the other Western European countries. Before the Netherlands, only Sweden applied the integration policies from the mid-1970s on. The adaptation policy of the Netherlands showed

changes in years by being influenced both in itself and by the events outside. The Netherlands tried to carry out the necessities of the prosperous state throughout 1980s. The applicators of the Ethnic Minority Policy made studies to be individuals of the immigrants who have equal legal position. The main aim in these studies is to provide the democratic norm and values with acceptance by the minorities. Yet, from the end of 1980s on, the Ethnic Minority Policy became the target of the criticisms that the local and political statements focused on. In 1989, the failures of the minorities on the subject of employment and education were reported by The Netherlands Scientific Council to the government. After this report, there appeared harsh political criticism, the first result is that Ethnic Minority Policy failed. After these developments, Republican Integration Policy 1990s that put forward to the integration of the individuals instead of ethnic group integration was applied. Republican Integration Policy gave importance to the term, citizenship that made contribution to the integration process of the individuals as not being so much as before. Throughout 1990s, the language and adaptation courses were expanded and the urban policies were rearranged in the privacy of the minorities (Bruquetas-Callejo et. al., 2008: 16-17). From the beginning of 21st century on, the migration and integration policies were left into the popular applications of the political parties. The wrongness of this subject to the hands of the political parties was seen clearly with its abuse in 2002 national and 2009 EP election campaigns. It confirmed our approach that the usage of the subject, minorities by the xenophobia and opposing Islam, Geert Wilders' the Freedom Party (PVV) was important to get the support of the public in these elections.

From 1980s on, in the Netherlands, Ethnic Minority Policy that was defined as the acceptance of the ethnic communities in equal position and the encouragement of the immigrants, who are in the center of minority policies in the Netherlands was applied so long. The cultural, religious and political minorities were accepted as the completing parts of the Netherlands, and they took over active roles in the completion of the communitarian integration. In this sense, the ethnic and religious minorities got the right to found their own radio and school stations and they obtained an institutional structure as private consultation organs for the Netherlands government. In addition to this, the local voting right that was given to the immigrants in 1985 to immigrants come before us as a participative and freer citizenship compared to the other European countries (Heelsum, 2008; Waldrauch, 2003: 17). Summarizing, Doomernik characterized the general integration philosophy of the Netherlands as follows: ‘Dutch society is founded on the principle of ‘differences’ perhaps as much as on the idea of ‘commonness’, which helps to explain the present stance towards recent newcomers, and has been conducive to formulating the idea of a Dutch multicultural society (Doomernik, 2003: 171). At the same time, the Netherlands has been known among Turkish migrants as a country of tolerance towards foreigners with its liberal laws and regulations, as well as for the relaxed attitudes of its inhabitants.

The basic emergence point of the Ethnic Minority Policy that was applied throughout 1980s is the anxiety of the different ethnic groups from cultural aspect and which have weak socio-economical manner to be under the influence of

marginal groups. The three basic principles of New Ethnic Minority Policy have been classified in this way by Penninx, Garces-Mascareñas and Scholten (2005):

- The policy aimed to achieve the equality of ethnic minorities in the socio-economic domain; inclusion and participation in the political domain; and equity in the domain of culture and religion within constitutional conditions.
- The policy was targeted at specific groups regarded as endangered of becoming distinct minorities: guest workers, Moluccans, Surinamese and Antilleans, refugees, gypsies and woonwagenbewoners.
- The policy should cover all relevant domains and ministries, and be anchored strongly in the governmental organization.

There were various enterprising in the fields like employment, education and housing that are the main targets of the Ethnic Minority Policy. The field where these enterprising became successful is the education space. Because the developments in employment and housing fields last long, there was failure in these fields within the short term targets.

2.2.4. The Integration Policy in the 1990s

The other development of 1990s in the level of both European Union and of countries is the comprehension of the permanency of the immigrants and of the economical, social and cultural dimension. To be able to live for the people who come from different cultures permanently in peace, there is a need for an active and permanent integration policy. To compensate this, while the new immigrants tried to be hindered, the integration policies for the former comers are on the way to apply. The policies of the countries that are related to the integration and exclusion of the immigrants change according to various factors. The first ones of all these factors are how long the immigrants live in this country, their economical and social

developmental level and the cultural similarities and differences with the local public.

The Western European countries including the Netherlands approached the take of the immigrants as an economical profit to fill the gaps in the labor firstly. This profit relation shelters the reactions of the popular political parties for the multicultural policies and the increasing immigrant population. Beside the popular parties, the media organs pushed the governments to take indecisive policies by wishing the more confining measures for migration and refuge. These oppressions reflected to the public as an indecisive migration control; there aroused harsh statements against the refuges and immigrants. September 11 New York terrorist attacks and the ones in European capitals triggered these statements to be harsher. Particularly, with the increase in the prejudices against the Muslim immigrants, there were turns in the multiculturalism policies of the Netherlands. The President of the Netherlands, Balkenende expressed that the idea of multiculturalism came to the end. Balkenende explained that before the events of Van Gogh, the tolerance culture has been used worse, the problem about the people in different cultures who do not learn language and not been open for the Dutch culture would be handled and these sentences started a discussion in the country (Fekete, 2004: 20). After these developments, instead of the multiculturalism policies in the Western European countries, the idea to develop an integration and migration policy for a mutual EU was adopted. From 1999 on, Treaty of Amsterdam that came into force provided with the responsibility of European Union for different immigrant policies and the determination of a mutual EU migration and integration policy. For the integration and migration

control of the immigrants, the aim of this mutual migration policy is to prevent the race and ethnic discrimination and provide the equality of the immigrants. In the mutual movement plan that was formed with the Treaty of Amsterdam, signed by 15 member countries, a fair system where the equal rights are given like for the citizens of the country including the third world citizens has been targeted (Gençler, 2005: 188). In conclusion, in the next periods after these 1990s, it has been seen that the multiculturalism has been getting weaker in the Western European countries and in the Netherlands, the sole culture or dominant culture have become intense.

The xenophobia that has been categorized as “the other” or “the immigrant” that rose within the terrorist attacks in Europe and began in September 11 provided the security bond of the Muslim immigrants with the entrance into its context (Doty, 2000: 73). Generally, because of the reasons like the oppression of the regimes that are not democratic, unemployment, poverty, the immigrants who left the country began to be regarded as a threat for the host community security. The ethnic, religious and identity demands of the immigrants were diverted into a struggle by misunderstanding by the public that was directed by the media. The media organs in the Western European countries reflected the migration as a potential threat and it also showed the migration as a targeted mass that based on different cultures and religions, increased the unemployment, consumed the resources, did damage to cultural structure of the host community (Shapiro, 1997: 1-2). The ethnic and religious rise of the immigrants was perceived as a challenge for the internal security by the governments as a result of the popular approaches. Undoubtedly, these “otherness” perceptions and statements keep the migration problem from dialogue

ground away and make the integration and migration policies that will be produced on this subject inefficient.

The first obvious change in migration and integration policies, a new political document, ('Contourennota' Ministerie 1994) was formed. The new integration policy had much republican aspect than that of the former ones. This new integration text put the individual responsibility forward instead of group responsibility. ('Contourennota' Ministerie 1994) text that reminded the members of the minority to be a good citizen and to own every responsibility brings actually a new citizenship term. This citizenship text that reminds that the minority members had to carry out some duties and responsibilities with the rights they had socio-economically and the right to be a citizen of the Netherlands determined new duty spaces. One of these spaces is to take responsibility actively for every immigrant citizen to become the desired scales of the mutual adaptation. The ones who criticized the aims of multicultural integration that are applied to the minorities began to increase in this period. The representatives of extreme right party who put forward that the integration policies failed in education and employment spaces were supported against the minorities in the media. In these broadcasts against the Muslim immigrants, the norm and values of the Netherlands were not accepted and to develop these values of the Netherlands, the assimilation policies were developed. In this period when the critics increased, there were new developments to make the critics become right (Penninx, 2006). 9/11 attacks in USA and the popular politician Pim Fortuyn event and the killing of the Dutch film producer, Theo Van Gogh by a radical Islamic brought the harsh reactions together in the Netherlands (Fennema,

2002). These reactions that influenced the public started the violent shows. All these events caused two important effects in the Dutch public. One of these made contribution to the illustration of an unsuccessful and ineffective vision for multicultural integration policy. The second one was the foundation of Parliamentary Research Committee for the survey of the integration policy in this period.

While the legal, economical, political and legal roof of Europe and European Union with the Treaty of Maastricht, the Treaty of Amsterdam made changes institutionally and contextually by bringing important changes to Maastricht. The community took the subjects to make decisions on migration, refuge, deportation and self wandering took part in the subjects to have to make decisions in supranational quality (Lokrantz Bernitz, 2002: 51-55). Thus, the approach related to supranational and to the communal institutions of the working method inter governments with 1992 the Maastricht Treaty narrowed the subjects on their sovereignty spaces formerly with the Amsterdam Treaty, there was a progress to strengthen the supranational institutional structure.

For the existence of integration communities' union and their existence in the future, EU and the member countries' administrations that are aware of this make contribution to this process with their national integration policies. The Western European countries started integration programs for the new and old immigrants by adopting the idea, "integration with a new concept" recently. For the first generation immigrants, they did not apply the citizenship regimes enough; they entered to the liberalization path for the second and third generation. Besides, in achieving the national and regional integration policies, the bureaucratic obstacles were removed

for the supply of the active participations of the organizations by the immigrants. In the Western European countries, the Netherlands and the local administrations that are aware of the mutual dialogue try to construct a ground for the togetherness of all the individuals with equal rights.

2.2.5. The Integration Policy New Style since 2002

Particularly, after the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks in USA, the migration and adaptation subject that began to be handled with the religious and cultural aspects form the general frame of political approaches. 'Islamophobia' that emerges as an anxiety issue culturally, physically violent and terror forms a ground for the development of many discriminative policies for Muslim immigrants. However, the basic right and freedom in the laws and the values that are represented by EU countries became opposite to the discriminative policies. The exclusion of the immigrants that will be the actors of the civilization cooperation by the discriminative policies and the supporting of this exclusion by the public is very anxious for the humanity. However, the immigrants who joined in the political administrations and social life of the host country make contribution to the democratic culture of the country they live in. The policies that provoke to be participant and hugging the immigrants, preparing ground for the cultural life and giving value to views of the immigrants in social, cultural, economical and political spaces will be do services for the well intentioned for the mutual endeavors. Thus, the dominance of an approach based on variety and achievement, not seeing the immigrants as a threat is important for both sides.

The French assimilation model, republican and secularist and the integration policies of multiculturalism in the Netherlands and England imprison the ethnic, religious and cultural statements by preventing of the national and local governments to represent the immigrants in legal political institutions. Particularly, the bombing attacks in Madrid and London after September 11 caused the criticisms of the multicultural integration policies of the popular political parties that are diverted with the public oppression by media harshly. The killing of Theo van Gogh, the Dutch film producer by a Moroccan Muslim made many defenders of sole culture and assimilation instead of multiculturalism. The supply of the assimilation of immigrants and their cultural integration or being of guilty on one side will not be enough to solve the problem. The reason that lies under this problem is that the governments which accept immigrants are not willing to make the economical and political integration policies happen in the desired range. Besides taking economical measures, increasing the employment in business market without seeing any discrimination of the immigrants, the regulations legally and politically, increasing the rights to vote and to be voted in local and national degree are very important (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 36).

From 2002 on, a new political majority handled the power in minority policy and internal policy. The charge of the coordination of the integration policies of the new government was given to Minister for Aliens' Affairs and Integration depending on The Ministry of Justice by taking from the hands of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.³⁴ This lower and private ministry dependent on the Ministry of Justice made

³⁴ Secretary of State for Home Department has continued coordination of immigration and integration policy during as 22 years in the Netherlands.

regulations on the migration and integration policies from the context. The most important of those gathered the migration and integration policies together. Minister for Aliens' Affairs and Integration that works in the adaptation with the parties in the assembly gained a powerful position in the migration and integration policies (Van Heelsum and Tillie, 2006). On the other hand, in this period, another development is that the radical changes would be made by the parties of the majority. Another development is that the acceptance of the democratic and universal norms and values among the immigrants in local level. The increase in the mechanisms to make decisions and to integrate with the social environment and the successful results of the combination organizations began to take attraction of national and local administration. In 2006 national elections, the immigrants of Turkish origin that form voter mass of the big political parties took the roles within the political participation and representation.

The pursuit of the legal regulations related to the solution of the adaptation problems and socio-economical problems of the Turks of Dutch has been done by AK Party government and with this aim; AK Party deputy Prof. Dr. Zafer Üskül leads committee and makes interviews with the Dutch authorities. In these interviews, the troubles that the rules brought recently for the people that will come through family unification are demonstrated and this means "discrimination". For the Turkish citizens eligible for family unification, learning the Dutch language and taking the exam on this language after coming to the Netherlands instead of before leaving Turkey, has been proposed as a solution. Besides, this different application is against the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in only family unification that

was brought into Turkey and a few countries. Except these, in the education period that includes 4-12 age-group Turkish children, the resupply of learning Turkish has been expressed in the interview. The adaptation exam that waits for a solution for the immigrants of Turkish origin and the Turkish education subject has not been resolved so far.

The immigration phenomenon is as old as the human history. The different cultures within this phenomenon have provided ground for cultural and communicative cooperation and harmony. Thus, the immigrants who are participant in the country they live, developing themselves, gained economical, social political success is a profit both for their own country and for Turkey. In this respect, not being a problem of adaptation brings a well intended mutual endeavor that is refined from fear and anxieties mutually. The solution of the unemployment, the equal opportunity in education, the permission to settle and work, racism, exclusion and assimilation require mutual endeavor that is refined from fears and anxieties. Thus, the removal of the social exclusion and the discrimination makes the adaptation easier. In conclusion, today the acquirements that the migration created undoubtedly are superior to its losses.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF TURKISH SECOND GENERATION WOMEN IN THE NETHERLANDS: RESEARCH FINDINGS

In the global economical world of 21st century, while, on the one hand the cycle of the commodity, service and capital provide the economical motion, on the other hand, they all gain speed to the motion centered on human. Today, the free circulation has become one of the most important acquirements of the world; the administration of national and international migration has required more comprehensive and constructive administration plans and integration policies. Today, the existence of the basic values based on human rights and of universal principles that tie the communities and individuals to each other are more important. Naturally, in the places where these values do not exist, the society is bound to be afflicted with identity conflicts, security problems and adaptation problems. The rights like political participation, activity and representation that are all guaranteed by the host countries make contribute to the communitarian adaptation and taking part in the public places of the immigrants equally. In this sense, one of the most important parameters of the adaptation is participation. Social, political and cultural participation are preconditions to feel like a citizen at the same time. Today, contrary to many countries where there are not the rights for local participation of the minorities, the Netherlands sees the political participation as a profit.

From the second half of 1960s, the population that began to settle as a labor force to the Netherlands approaches to 375 thousand Turkish community is good at

economy and politics. The second generation and the new generations that complete their education and born in the Netherlands take active role in the different business branches and in national and regional administrations. The equal citizenship plays an important role in a successful adaptation and active role in decision making mechanisms of the immigrants of Turkish origin. Among the woman population which forms half of the Turkish population in the Netherlands, the participation of second and third generation who are educated and qualified into decision making mechanisms and their endeavors for combination and integration with the social environment form the general frame of this study.

After ‘the right to vote and to stand for election’ in the Netherlands for the foreigners, Turkish community went to the front of the voting box in 1986 elections for the first time. Turkish community which gives importance to the participation much in the ethnic groups achieved to send representatives to municipality assemblies form 1990s on, to the provincial assemblies and national assembly form 2000s and on. In the Netherlands, which has a radical system, there are increases in the number of the women of Turkish origin that are represented in local, national and regional administrations. The participation of women into local, national, regional and international administrations’ processes to form policy and their active participation into many fields of the private life like art, culture, sports, media, education and law make contribution to their integration endeavors. Thus, to provide the equal participation to political, civil, economical and cultural life of the women of Turkish origin in different levels and to remove all kinds of discrimination based on gender should be among the prior targets of the adaptation policies and mutual

endeavors. Especially, in education subject, the second and third generation women who show important developments also make progresses in the participation into the paid labor. The women in the Turkish community in the Netherlands, where the traditional gender roles began to change to make themselves feel in the areas where the men are dominant. Consequently, in the multicultural Dutch community, the participation of the women of Turkish origin into economical, social, cultural and political life has gained speed with the increase in education level and vocational specialty.

On the other hand, although the women of Turkish origin have the right to vote and to be voted and form nearly half of the community in the same ethnic origin, they are not seen as eager candidates for the governmental duties. The traditional attitudes and applications under the uninterested manner of the women of Turkish origin for the governmental parts, the attitudes of the political parties, the responsibilities based on family and children and the high price of the active participation process are the reasons. In the mechanisms where the adaptation policies and immigrant woman rights are expressed in local, national and international levels, the low rate of the women of Turkish origin limits the neutrality of the decision makers. Since the abilities and visions of the women of ethnic origin in the preparation for adaptation policies and rights for the foreign women have been made used of in limited rate. Despite several reasons to hinder for the participation into social life, the existence of women of Turkish origin who are qualified and manage to be represented in different institutional structures in the public, private and volunteered sectors made this empiric study come out. Thus, in this study, we

keep the vision that the equal access and full participation of the women of Turkish origin to the decision making processes will be converted to social and legal policies by paying attention to authorities.

Consequently, this empiric study aims to search for the comprehensive activities of integration and combination with the social environment and the participation of the second and third generation women in decision making mechanisms. Thus, in this chapter, the subject of social participation will be analyzed by using the factors like participation into organization that do not aim for profit like the religious groups, the institutions out of the government, woman organizations, international organizations, youth organizations; the friendship and neighborhood and family affairs. On the other hand, in the second part of this chapter, the political participation will be studied by using the factor like the membership for political parties and syndicates, the participation in the local, regional, national and international political decision making mechanisms, candidacy and representation; the behaviors of voters.

3.1. Research Design and Methodology

This study has been prepared in order to make use of primary and secondary resources in European languages. The secondary resources consist of articles and books firstly on the Netherlands country reports, various national statistical reports and EU reports. The primary resources are based on the analysis of the supported interviews and semi-structured questionnaires. Firstly, the big cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht in many settlement regions, there are studies of semi-structured questionnaire with women of different socio-

economical status. Among the women being interviewed, there are civil servants working in public and private spaces, personnel in service sector and women in self employment branches besides ordinary person from the public. In our field work that aims to research the political and social participation of women of Turkish origin, the data was collected by means of face to face interviews. Women interviewed face to face have been selected from the participants who have different education levels and demographic features, socio-economical status. In the interviews which are applied through questionnaire form and face-to-face method, two different exemplification models have been employed. In the first one, questionnaires have been for the head of the family, his partner and daughters. In the second one, questionnaires have been for the women who work in formal and informal institutions in open and closed areas. In both cases, visits have been made by informing the people and participants that are sent out the questionnaire. In the last phase, inexperienced information that has been obtained through quantitative study has been transmitted to the Netherlands centered data base (www.thesistools.com). The data controls, encoding, editing of the data that have been transmitted to computer circle have been done by making use of corporation of specialist academicians.

Before the study of questionnaire, a quota exemplification method has been prepared by paying attention to rural and urban parts where are densely populated by Turks (See; Table 3.1). The regional differences related to population, education, communitarian participation, socio-economical status, age have been important to create a table which draws women of Turkish origin living in the Netherlands.

TABLE 3.1. THE SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY CITIES

Cities	Participants	(%) As percentage of all respondents	Population of Turkish origin	(%) As percentage of Turkish population	Total population in the city	(%) As percentage of total population in the city
Amsterdam	38	16	38.339	10	757.861	5
Rotterdam	45	19	45.457	12	584.107	8
The Hague	21	9	33.439	9	482.742	7
Utrecht	12	5	14.737	4	299.484	5
Other Cities	123	51	240.742	65	-	-
Total	239	100	372.714	100	16.405.399	2

Source: Statistic Netherlands, January 2008.

Administratively, in the Netherlands, which is divided into 12 settlement regions, the regions in which Turkish immigrants densely live are South-Holland (Zuid-Holland) and North-Holland (Noord-Holland). The number of immigrants of Turkish origin, living in these two regions is 191.690 and they consist of 52,6 percent of all Turkish population. While Turkish community is dense in The Hague and Rotterdam that are two big cities of South Holland (Zuid-Holland), in North Holland (Noord-Holland) region, they live in Amsterdam densely. In other words, the biggest city and capital of the Netherlands is Amsterdam, the second and port city is Rotterdam, the third and constitutional capital is Den Haag (English: The Hague) and the fourth city is Utrecht which has twelve counties. These cities are the ones in which Turks and the Dutch live intensely. For instance, in Rotterdam which the half population is not the origin of the Netherlands, there is a Turkish population with 8 percent (45.457). By examining socio-economical data in which face-to-face method has been applied, 16 percent of interview has been in Amsterdam, 19 percent has been in Rotterdam, 9

percent has been in The Hague, and 5 percent has been in Utrecht (See; Table 3.1). These rates have shown that nearly the half of face-to-face interviews have been made (49%) in four big cities of the Netherlands. Consequently, the quota sampling and urban distribution of these interviews show parallelism with the regional distribution of Turks who live in the Netherlands.

TABLE 3.2. SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY WORKING CONDITION

Business Status	Woman participants	As percentage of all respondents (%)
Full-time work (regular-irregular)	84	35.2
Part-time work (regular-irregular)	53	22.2
Self-employed	24	10.2
Unemployed or not working	20	8.3
Retired and not working	3	1.2
Housewife or home girl	16	6.6
Student	39	16.3
Total	239	100

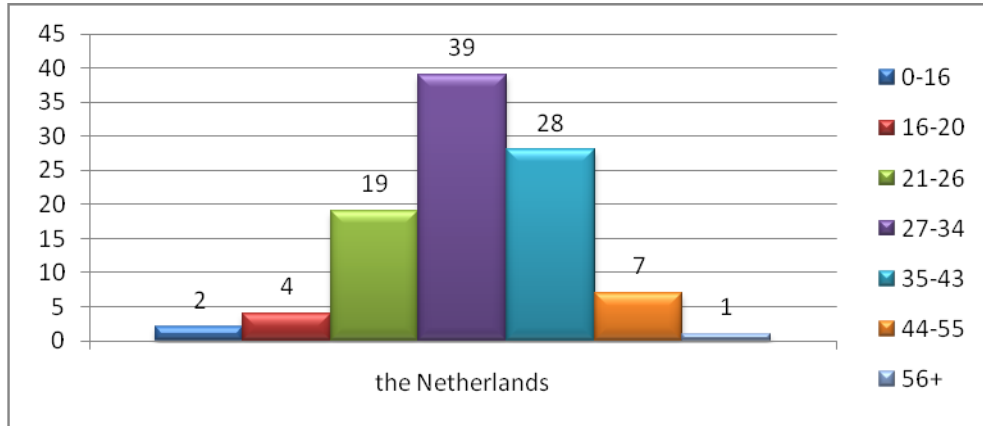
On the other hand, 35,2 percent of the participants have said that they work in official and private institutions with various staffs or in service sector, full-time and regular-irregular work with payment-salary. In the same way, 22,2 percent of the women who work in regular-irregular ones have said that they work in various sectors part-time with salary. The rate of women who work freely for their own as craftsman and tradesman in commercial workplaces of Turks or their families or relatives is 10,2 percent. The sectors which are freely run are generally hotel-restaurant business, or accountancy-estate agency. The rate of the retired and

unemployed who do not or do take advantage of unemployment insurance is 9,5 percent. 6,6 percent of the participants is the ones who do not work in any business, the housewives who only deal with home and children. 16,3 percent of them is the students from different education periods. Consequently, 67,6 percent of the women who have been interviewed work in regular and irregular business; 32,4 percent of them is the ones who do not work in any business (See; Table 3.2). According to the report which has been published in 2006 of the Netherlands Statistical Bureau, 43,9 percent of Turkish immigrants between 15 and 65 ages join in employment actively. The reason of the difference in employment distribution between general woman population and participants is the selection of the participants among qualified women. On the other hand, according to the same year reports, while the unemployment rate of Turks is 15,1 percent, this rate in the women is 20,6 percent (CBS, 2006). These results have shown that the distribution of the selected subjects according to working manner is in the same line with employment distribution.

TABLE 3.3. SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY AGE GROUPS

Age Range	0-16	16-20	21-26	27-34	35-43	44-55	56 +	Total
Woman participants	4	10	46	94	67	16	2	239
As percentage of all respondents (%)	2	4	19	39	28	7	1	100

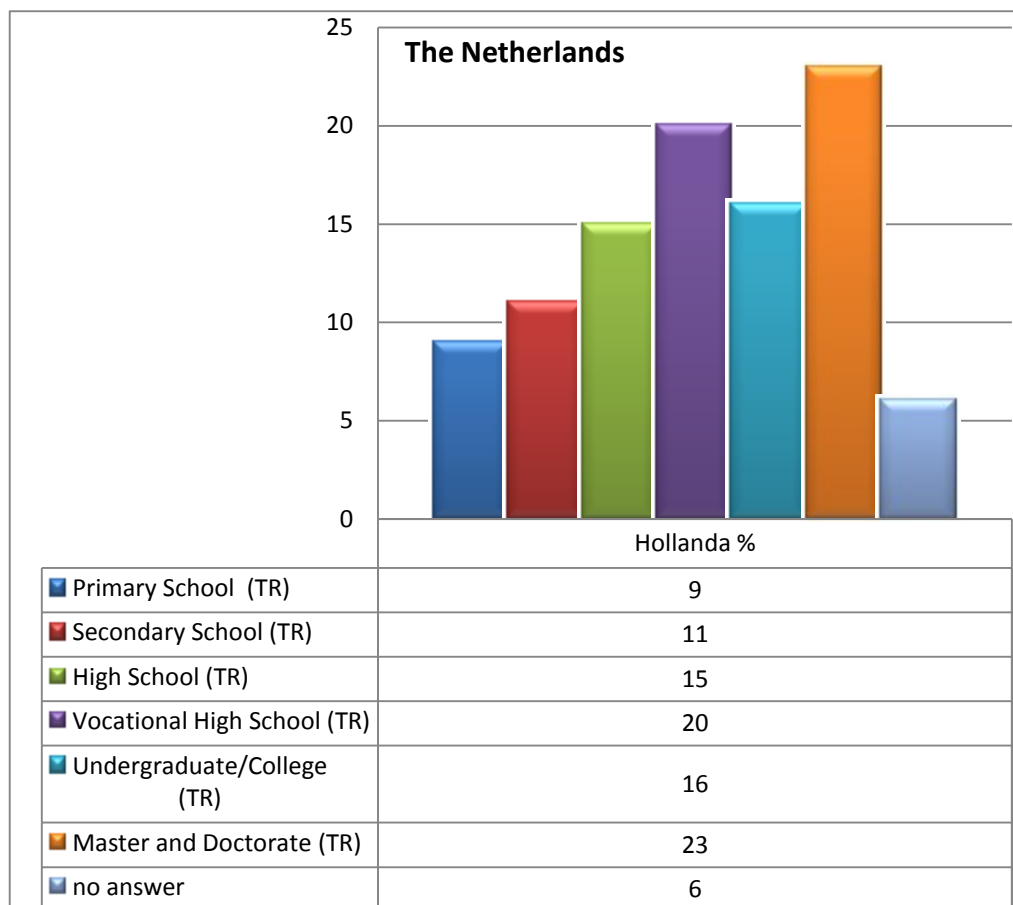
FIGURE 3.1. SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY AGE GROUPS



According to the results of questionnaire obtained through face-to-face method, 67 percent of the participants is average 27 and 43 age groups (See; Table 3.3 or Figure 3.1). The ones that have been interviewed stated that 47 percent were born in the Netherlands, 20 percent said that they lived for at least 30 years in the Netherlands. According to the report of 2008 the Netherlands Statistical Bureau, the number of women of Turkish origin between 20 and 50 ages is 92.723 and 23.856 of these women is second generation woman. In the same report, the number of the women over 50 years-old is 21.445 people. And only 42 of these women is second generation woman. Thus, these results show that a great part of the 40 and over 40 year-old participants were not born in the Netherlands. In the reports of the Netherlands Statistical Bureau that resources for this study, the first generation women of Turkish origin are the ones whose fathers and mothers are born in foreign country out of the Netherlands and are born in Turkey. According to this definition, the children who are born in Turkey of Turks immigrated to the Netherlands consist of the first generation. The second generation is the ones who are born in the Netherlands and one of their parents are born in Turkey. The ones who are born in

the Netherlands with their parents are not defined as an immigrant in the Netherlands. Consequently, the generation classifications in this study do not refer to chronological order of the generations.

FIGURE 3.2. SAMPLE DISTRIBUTION OF PARTICIPANTS BY EDUCATION



The qualification and efficiency of education of immigrant societies which undertake permanent roles in a foreign community will give their own individuals have an important place. The most important tool for the promotion in socio-economical status of woman and increase in her interest in political participation that is inevitability of modern democracies is education. In this study that aims to research the political and social participation of women of Turkish origin in the

Netherlands, a qualified part whose socio-economical status and education level are over general average has been chosen as a sample. The structure of sample has been done because the unqualified women who have low-education level and participation in insufficient working life as well as low-socio-economical status do not take part in political arena. Thus, the variable like education, income levels and life style influence the political behavior of Turkish woman whose appearance in public places, socio-economical status, experiences, social gender roles with education change.

Since the participants have completed a part of their education in Turkey and have continued the rest in the Netherlands, two education systems have been shown under one graphic. In the graphic that shows general education level of the participants, the school levels in the education system of the Netherlands have been shown with the school levels that are similar to the system in Turkey. Thus, the short brief of the education system of the Netherlands and its similarities in Turkey will make us understand the general education level of the participants. According to this, in the Netherlands where the preschool education is prevailing, compulsory education age is determined as 5-16 and kindergartens and primary schools have been unified and have been systematized under the name; 'Basic Education'. Thus, in Figure 3.2, the primary and secondary levels that are shown in Turkey system are similar to 'Basic Education' or its later name after 1990s 'Primer Education' in the Netherlands system. According to this, 20 percent of the participants has finished their basic education level (See also; Figure 3.2). At the end of 8 year-old basic education, the students pass to secondary education. In the pass to secondary education in which

there are various school types, basic elements like the demand of tutor, the suggestion of school, and the results of the exam that is named as CITO become determining factors. In a secondary education in which there are three kind of high schools as the preparatory high schools for university that has different context and level difference (VWO), high degree secondary education (HAVO) and vocational high school (MK-B-O), students of foreign origin are gathered densely in the vocational high schools that refers to application and is not based on totally language. The successful students are sent directly to VWO that lasts for 6 years and prepares them for university directly. High school HAVO that is under-leveled of VWO and the students of vocational high school (MK-B-O) prepare for high education. Among these high schools, according to success average; there are vertical and horizontal pass. In secondary education, especially on art and vocation, education is given in every branch and in every level. Two types of high school in Turkey apart from the preparatory high schools for university (VWO) are similar to high schools and vocational schools in Turkey. For this, 35 percent of the participants has got the education in the level of vocational and normal high schools (See; Figure 3.2). After three types of high schools' levels, the students can enroll two types of universities like WO (University) and HBO (High Vocational School). In the education system of the Netherlands, there is not an exam for an entrance to high education and university. Everyone who carries out essential conditions can study by enrolling the faculty she wants (Yanık and Ada, 2002). For this, 16 percent of the participants got education in colleges or universities. Again, 23 percent of the participants and the most intense participant mass are the women of Turkish origin in master and doctorate levels. They become the qualified sample profile of this study

(See; Figure 3.2). Consequently, in this fieldwork, general education levels, political and social participation of high-qualified women immigrants have been analyzed in the light of several variables.

The questionnaire study that forms primary resource of this study and is made with 239 participants from different cities of the Netherlands consists of closed-pointed 47 questions in general. It has been observed that mutual and group interviews last 20-25 minutes in average. Questionnaire questions that are closed and open-pointed that are developed as Turkish have been asked to the participants. The questionnaire study that consists of four different questions heaps includes the questions that try to grasp the socio-economical tendencies, political tendencies in public areas, family affairs, identical tendencies, demographical features of the women. Thus, the questionnaire study prepared the questions in a format that will measure behaviors and attitudes of second and third generation immigrant women of Turkish origin related to their political and social participation. On the other hand, all the decimals in the data in the analysis and solution of study information have been rounded nearly around one number.

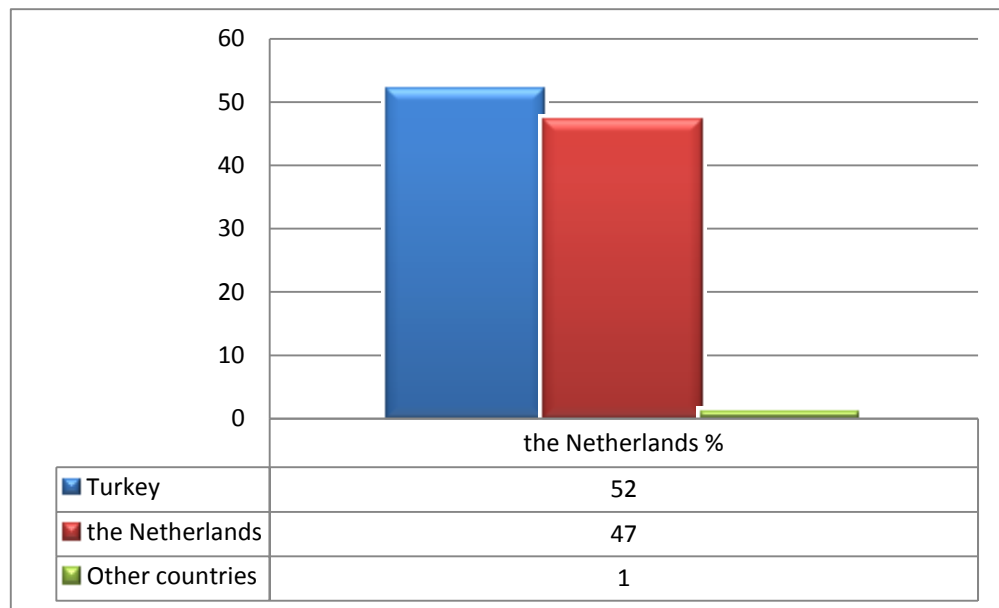
The communalization of the women of Turkish origin after 1990s by using the data of interviews and questionnaires that form the primary sources of this empirical study has been analyzed within two basically grounds. The communal space that includes the institution activities that do not make profit like vocational organization, woman organizations that are the institutions out of the government and the relational space that includes the family affairs, friendship and neighborhood will be handled as the first development trend. The second development in this sense is the

representation activities and participation into national, local and regional decision making mechanisms. Before to pass the developments and activity fields that will measure the behaviors and the attitudes of the second and third generation women of Turkish origin for the social and political participation, a general evaluation about the demographic results of sample data will be made.

3.2. Demographic Profile of the Sample

While all the ethno-cultural immigrant communities that migrate form Turkey like Sunni Turks, Alawi Turks, the Zaza-Kurds, Kirmanci-Kurds, Armenians and Assyrian (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 37) are paid attention, the population of the Netherlands Turks who come and settle in the Netherlands for different geographical regions of the Turkey is 378.400 (CBS, 2009).

FIGURE 3.3. WHERE WERE YOU BORN?



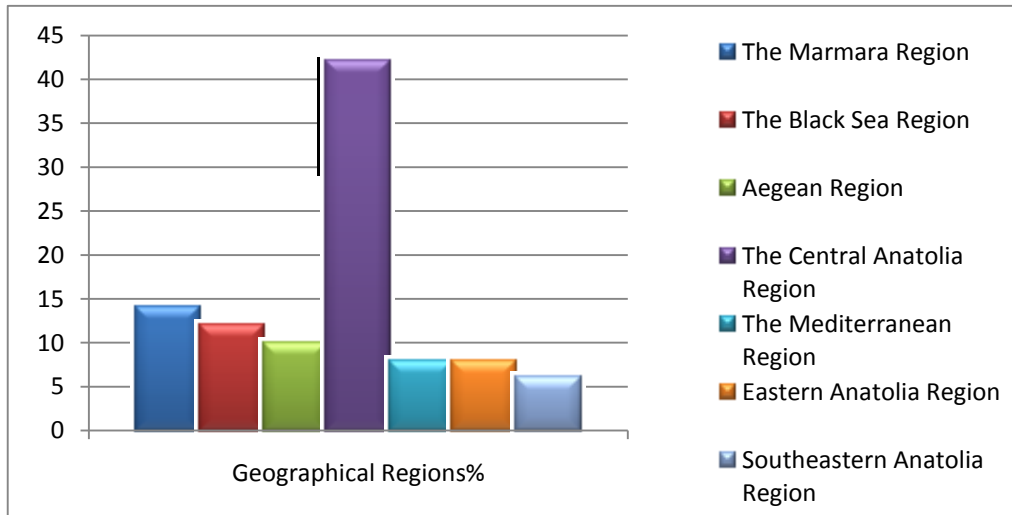
Nearly half of the number of women of Turkish origin was born in the Netherlands and 52 percent was born in Turkey (See; Figure 3.3). 15 percent of the participants who expressed that they were born in Turkey stated that they have lived for 20 years in the Netherlands; yet, 20 percent of them said that they have lived for 30 years in the Netherlands (See; Table 3.4). In this sense, 35 percent of the women, born in Turkey has lived for 20 years in the Netherlands. Thus, a great part of the questionnaire participants that form the primary source of this study consists of the women who have lived for years in this country and the second generation who completed its education in the Netherlands.

TABLE 3.4. HOW MANY YEARS DID YOU LIVE IN THE NETHERLANDS?

Years	Less than One Year	1-3 Years	3-5 Years	5-10 Years	10-20 Years	20-30 Years	More than 30 Years	I was born in the Netherlands	All respondents
Woman participants	2	1	4	4	32	36	48	112	239
As percentage of all respondents	1	0	2	2	13	15	20	47	100

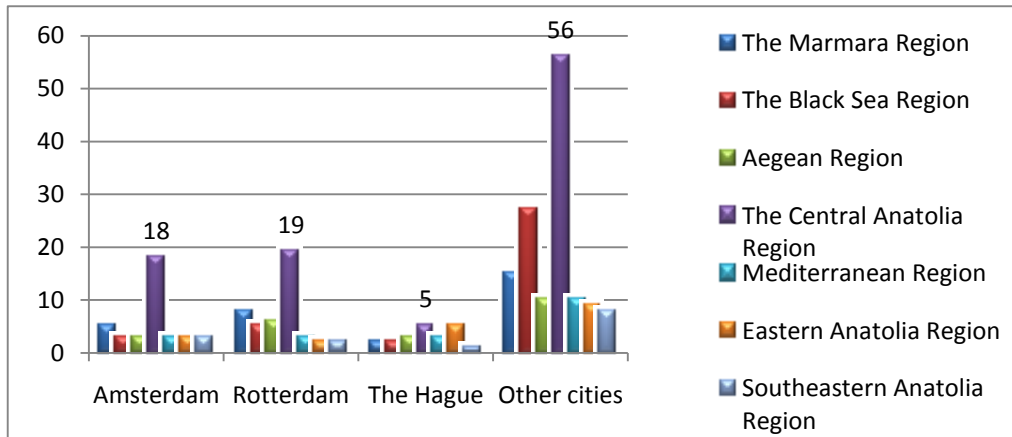
The regional range of the immigrants of Turkish origin who were born and settled after to the Netherlands shows variety in Turkey. 42 percent of the participants of participations, the families who settled in the Netherlands are Central Anatolian origin, 14 percent of them is Marmara origin and 12 percent is Black Sea and 10 percent Aegean Sea (See; Figure 3.4).

FIGURE 3.4. WHERE ARE YOU FROM ORIGINALLY?



The three big cities from the aspect of population intensity of the Netherlands are Amsterdam, Rotterdam and Den Haag known as The Hague. These centers that are the most important cities of the Netherlands from population, cultural and commercial aspects are the cities where the population of Turkish origin lives intensely. According to the data from the participants, 19 percent of the women of Turkish origin live in Rotterdam; 16 percent of them live in Amsterdam and 9 percent lives in The Hague. In other words, while 44 percent of the women of Turkish origin dwell in these three cities, 56 percent lives in other towns and cities. As in the Netherlands, the families of Turkish origin who dwell in these three cities migrated from the Central Anatolia Region in Turkey. 8 percent in Amsterdam, 19 percent in Rotterdam and 5 percent in The Hague of the families and women of the Central Anatolia Region origin dwell (See; Figure 3.5). The ones consist of the majority who come from Kayseri, Karaman, Konya, Ankara, and Nevşehir from Central Anatolian Region.

FIGURE 3.5. WHERE DO YOU LIVE IN THE NETHERLANDS?



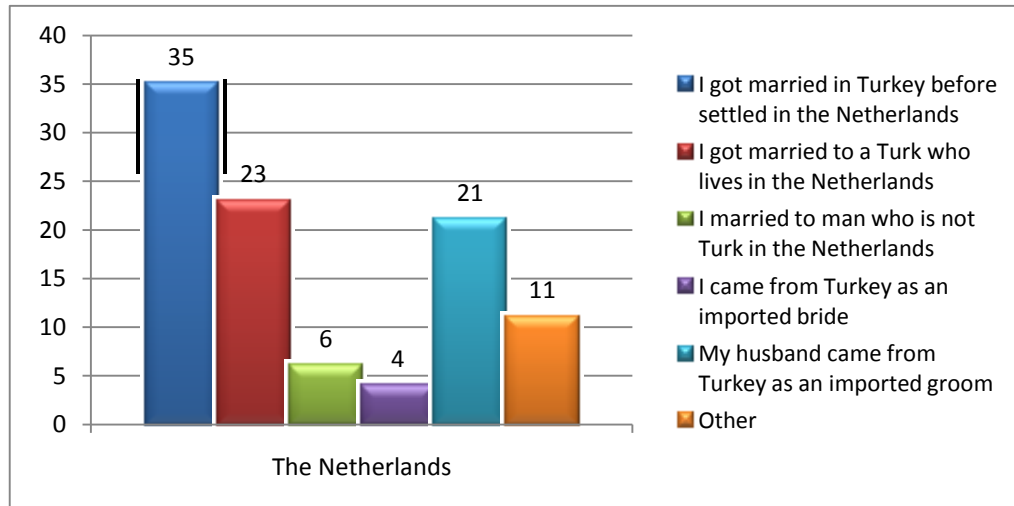
After the first migration years when the active labor was formed by the men workers, there became a heterogeneous community in the Netherlands where the woman population increased through marriage and family unification. 12 percent of the participants who live in the Netherlands and born in Turkey through marriage, 4 percent through working, 30 percent through family unification and 2 percent through education come to the Netherlands. On the other hand, 47 percent of the women of Turkish origin in the sample consist of the second generation women who are born in the Netherlands. In the Turkish community of the Netherlands, the family unification after 1974 is similar to the sample profile that occurs in the demographic structure of the marriage process after 1980s. The result that will be gained from here is that the migration to the Netherlands carries various dynamics and wishes continuity even if it is less for the future.

54 percent of the participants interviewed mutually is married, 28 percent is single, 3 percent is engaged, 10 percent is divorced and 3 percent is widow. In 2008, among the Turkish community of the Netherlands, the divorcing rate is 6,4 percent,

this is counted as 5 percent in Turkish communities of France and Germany (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 41).

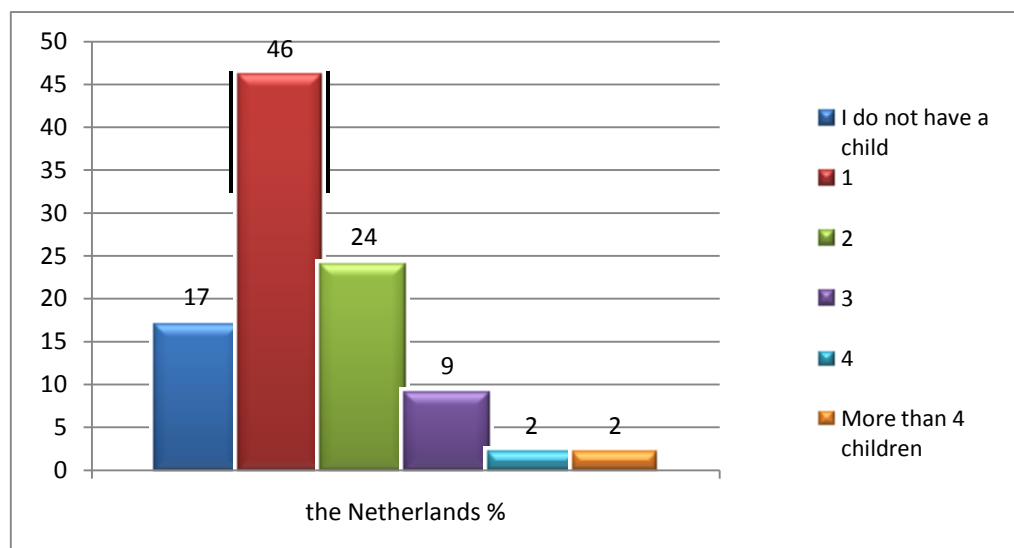
There are three types of marriage that protect their currency and are valid in Turkish community of the Netherlands. The most important one is the partners taken from Turkey; “imported brides and grooms” decreased from 55 percent to 25 percent in the last five years. The other marriage choice that increases rapidly in the last years is the partners who have the same ethnic origin, living in the Netherlands. Thirdly, the marriage choice which also increases is with the Dutch and ones of foreign origin. To the group which consists of 67 percent of the participants interviewed and expressed that they were married and divorced and widow, the question how they got married has been asked. According to this, 35 percent of this group consisting of 67 percent of all the participants moved to the Netherlands was married before through family unification. 23 percent is married to a Turk living in the Netherlands; 6 percent is married to one of foreign origin, not being Turkish; 4 percent came as an imported bride from Turkey and 21 percent stated that they got married to a Turk who was taken from Turkey as an imported groom (See; Figure 3.6). The important point here is that the ones of Turkish origin keep an important place in the marriage choice of the women of Turkish origin (94%). Additionally, there has been an increase in the marriages to one of foreign origin among Euro-Turks. The rates in the marriages to one of Turkish origin who are grown up in Turkey and the Netherlands are almost same.

FIGURE 3.6. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING BEST EXPLAINS YOUR OPINION ON MARRIAGE?



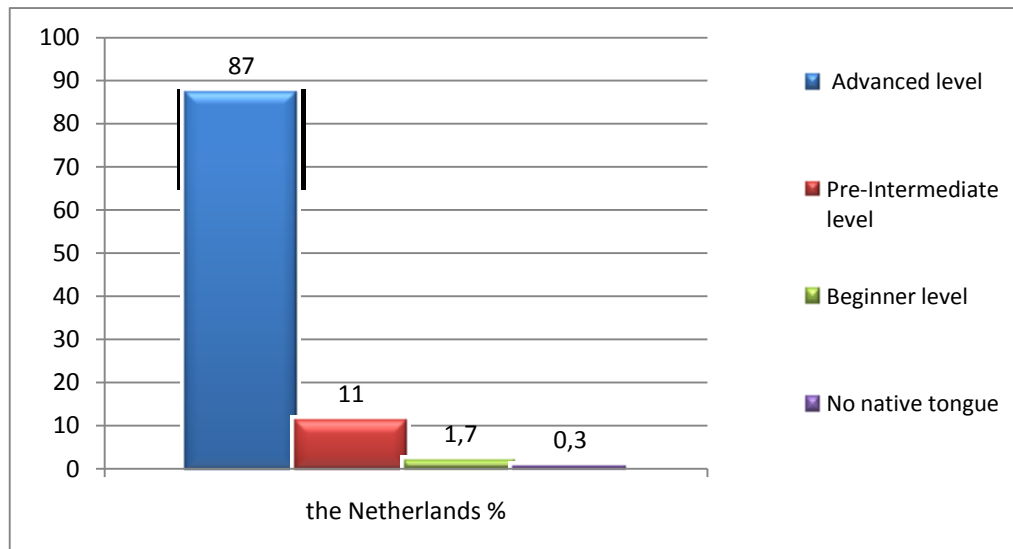
The women of Turkish origin in the Western Europe have had fewer children recently. The second generation Turkish and Moroccan mothers give the same birth with the native Dutch mothers. 46 percent of the participants, who are married, divorced or widowers have children, 24 percent has two children and 9 percent of them have 3 children (See; Figure 3.7).

FIGURE 3.7. DO YOU HAVE CHILDREN?



Today, to provide the cultural continuity, education that are one of the important necessities of modern societies, to form a pluralist democratic society, to make the life quality of the society higher are preconditions of the human development and learning that keeps on life long (Kavak, 1997). At the same time, education that provides the individuals with the opportunity to develop their individualistic skills, to make the working life honored, to high the life quality and to make right decisions is a precondition of a productive and qualified life. The key term is also education to provide the settled communities with the adaptation of change and development in 21st century and with the prior targets for the future. In conclusion, the quality and efficiency of the education that the immigrant communities which take the permanent roles in a foreign society will give for the individuals has an important place. In addition to the general education, one of the preconditions for the service of the settled cultures in the Netherlands for the social peace is the education of language. 87 percent of the women participants know Dutch in advanced level, 11 percent speak in average level (See; Figure 3.8). These rates do not reflect the Dutch level of Turkish community of the Netherlands in general. The reason of this is that to keep the general education level high in the choice of the sample participants has been aimed. This study that aims to measure the level of the social and political participation of the qualified and educated new generations has an important aspect that shows that the potentials of the next generation should not be underestimated.

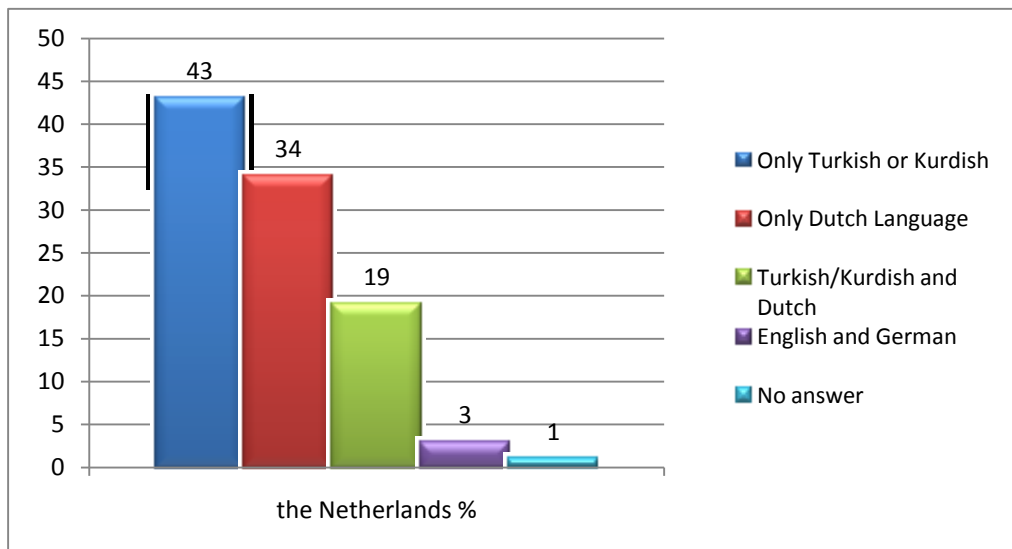
FIGURE 3.8. WHAT IS YOUR LEVEL OF DUTCH LANGUAGE?



The process to learn language that started with the birth is so important in order for the communication between the child and parents with the sentimental tie. The language level that has a key position in the communication of the mother and father with their children has a vital importance for the development of the language of the children. The process of learning language early that changes according to the education conscience and social status of the parents that will provoke the children in this issue become influential in many fields form the school success to business success. Thus, in addition to keep the consciences of the parents in this issue increase, to send the children who are not at the age of school to the kindergartens should be provoked. In this sense, for our question that aims to reveal the languages that are spoken in the houses much, 43 percent of the participants said that they speak Turkish and Kurdish at home; 34 percent speaks only Dutch and 19 percent speak Turkish and Dutch (See; Figure 3.9). Our observations confirm the accuracy rate of these questionnaires. During the interview, in the family speeches out of the

subject, there is a transition to Dutch. Indeed, in the train journeys that are used commonly in the Netherlands, young girls do not speak Turkish with each other.

FIGURE 3.9. WHICH LANGUAGE DO YOU SPEAK MAINLY AT HOME?

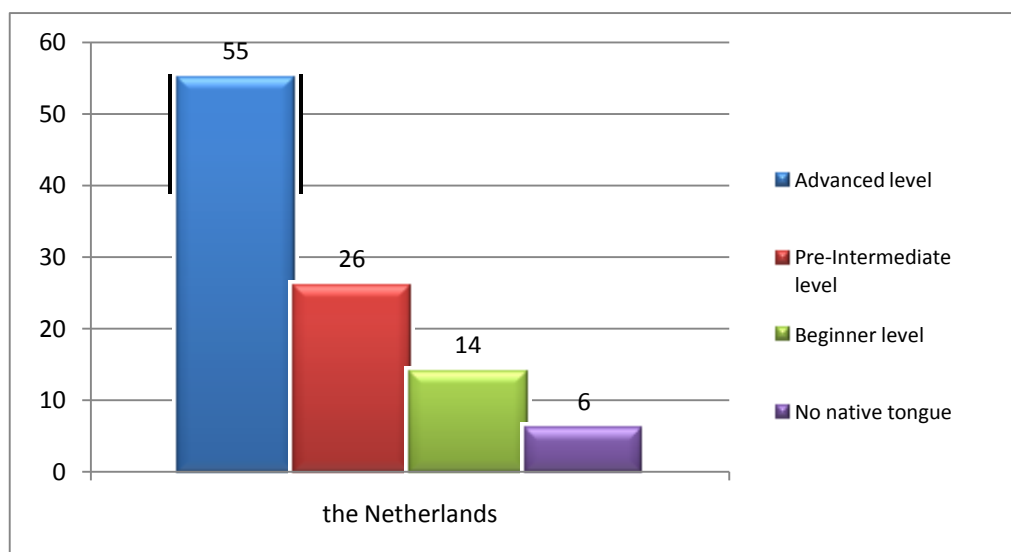


In the recent terms, there has been an increase in the rate of the women of Turkish origin with university diploma. Generally, the girls whose education level increases become helpful for the increase in the social quality addition to their contribution to the social integration process. Thus, to remove the inconsistencies between the two cultures, the multicultural education is very important. To make this, the immigrants and their children should be encouraged to learn the language of the country they live in. To the question that judges whether the immigrants who are married and have children, their partners and their children went to a language course to learn the Dutch or not, half of the participants gave positive answer.

Turkish women who do not know the Dutch language enough and want to join in the Dutch community, their men and children are told the necessity to learn the Dutch language by the municipalities by publishing brochures. In the context of the

brochures, the questions that will be interesting against the opposite side include especially the women. With the questions lie “Do you want to interview with your Dutch neighbor, to go to the doctor alone, to help in the homework your children, to interview with the teacher of your children and to get money by working?”, the importance to learn the Dutch is emphasized.³⁵ In addition to the easiness of learning the Dutch language for life, it is also important for the acquirement of the citizenship, expressed by the Dutch authorities. In this sense, the Netherlands government that makes legal regulations applied “citizenship acquirement” that includes 16 and 65 age group under the name “Citizenship Law”.

FIGURE 3.10. WHAT IS YOUR CHILDREN’S LEVEL OF THE NATIVE LANGUAGE?



To speak, understand, read and write the Dutch, one of the parameters that increase the social participation and adaptation is in advanced level in second and third generation communities. Yet, the basic language problem that the children and

³⁵ These questions were taken from the population suppression of the brochure of Uden City.

the young generation face to in this process is their own native tongue problems. For the foreigners in the Netherlands, the education application in native tongue was under the control of the education system of the Netherlands form 2004 on. After this date, to learn the native tongue and apply it is excluded outside the school. Yet, the Turkish teaching in an organized way outside the school hours failed around the country. The results in 'Figure 3.10' confirm our determinations. 55 percent of the woman participants who have a child at least said that their child or children could speak the native tongue in advanced level and 26 percent of them said that this is in middle level, 14 percent said that it was in the beginner level; and 6 percent said that they did not know the native tongue. These rates show that the second and third generation who were born and grown up in the Netherlands do not understand and speak Turkish as much as they do in the Dutch. The subject, an identity problem is inevitable among generations if the subject, native tongue is not handled by the Turkish civil communal institutions and national decision authorities and solution is not produced.

Some events that come out recently increase the attitudes and statements against xenophobia and immigrant that become common in Europe and the Netherlands. By the economical crisis, the unemployment and ethnic migration also increased, the problems like racism made the development of the multicultural space for the foreigners come out easily. The immigrants who alienated to the space where the tolerance is less try to oppose to the conservatory and cultural withdrawn by giving importance to the elements like religion, ethnicity, language and tradition (Danış and Üstel, 2008: 23). While the women of Turkish origin try to protect their identities in

a foreign culture, they keep on gaining different identities within the new affairs. The Turkish community of the Netherlands is an ethnic one which shows resistance among ethnic groups against the assimilation and integration. In 1970s, Mukaddes K. (37) a daughter of an employee family, who came to the Netherlands when she was too young, tells the method of his father not to forget Turkish language ironically:

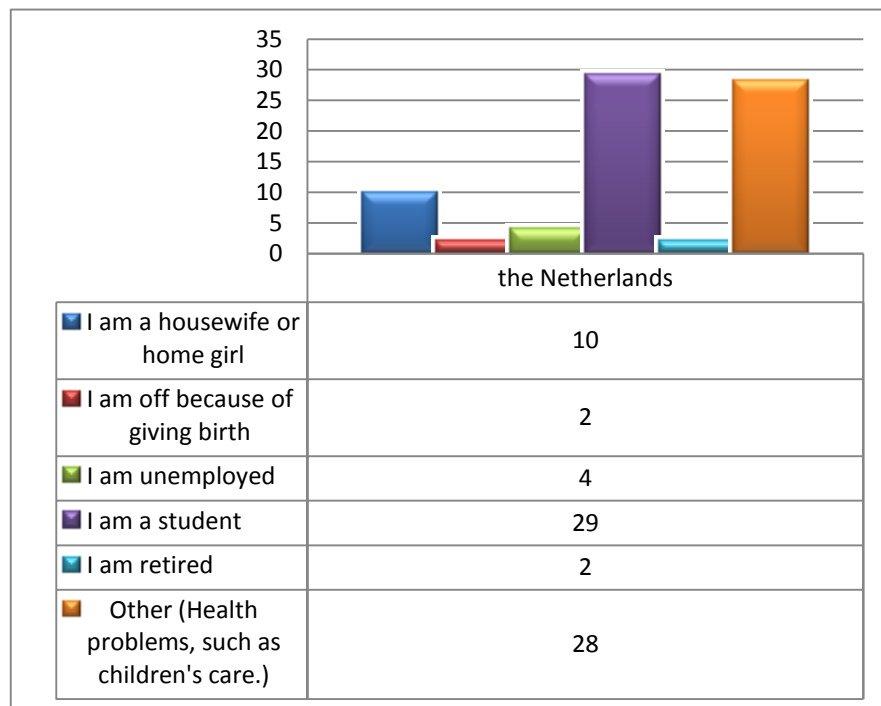
I learned Turkish custom and traditions from my family, that is; my father and mother. My Turkish is not good, but I try to improve it. I spent my life here, it has been three years. My father brought us up as a soldier, he used to shout and say that “we were Turks”. At our home, there was a huge picture of Ataturk and we lived every day according to the Turkish traditions. My dad gave so much importance to that. Many of the ones who were brought in the same year as me are like the Dutch as I have seen. My dad was so appreciated for that. Nobody believes that I was brought up here. To speak the Dutch at home was banned, that is, for my dad, to live and to behave like them is not convenient...

On the other hand, when the employment situations of the women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands are studied, 34 percent is full time; 21 percent is part time to work. 14 percent women are busy with the self employments like advocate, engineer, accountant and educator; they also run their own business like restaurant, jewelery, and beauty center. According to the findings, most of Turkish women who do not work live as a housewife or house girl. 89 percent of the participants for the interview who work are satisfied with the conditions and status in which they experience. On the other hand, a part of the women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands work in the businesses near their relatives with a low salary. The immigrants are less employed than men since they deal with home and children.

In addition to those, the acceptance of the works that women do is so much that that of men. The young girls, the last generation, work in public sector in national and local level. The women of Turkish origin take part in the works that are based on

the education; yet the men take part in the works based on the status of employee. 31 percent of 239 women, participating in the interview stated that they do not work. According to the results of Figure 3.11, the women who do not work consist 4 of 10 percent housewife and house girls; 29 percent is the students and 4 percent is only the unemployed. These results show that the unemployment problem is less valid for the women who do not work.

FIGURE 3.11. WHY DO NOT YOU WORK?



The anxieties on the integration of the immigrants caused the change that regulates the right to gain citizenship of the immigrants. The integration models that resource for these regulations played role in the determination of the policies for the immigrants and in the regulation of giving a citizenship for the immigrants who are not the member of European Union. The idea to expand the other part of ‘non-citizen of the society’ for the EU citizens came out after taking the Denmark and the Dutch

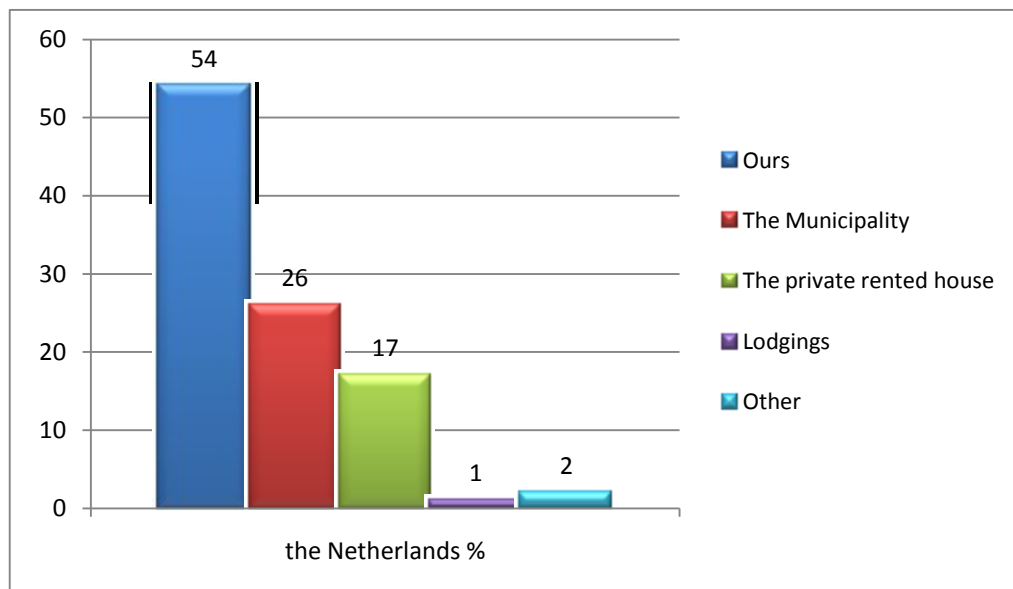
applications as an example. In 1980s and 1990s, many countries made the citizenship procedures easy for the immigrants. The immigrants today in all European countries have the right to settle long term and have the same social and economical rights as the natives do. The immigrants of Turkish origin who try to look for their rights in political life and on behalf of their identities, to found their own institutions due to the citizenship they have are the inevitable actors of this process.

In the beginning of 1990s, there were two important changes in the policies of migration and integration in the Netherlands. This change was focused on the targets and aims of the policies. This new integration model is the one which intensifies on being a good citizen of the immigrants and focuses on the citizenship term (Contours Memorandum and Ministerie van BiZa, 1994). The basic aim of this integration and migration model is to provoke the equal participation of the immigrants in political, socio-cultural and education fields and to make the integration of the new comers by supplying civil integration courses (Entzinger, 2003). This new development in integration policy has been evaluated as a turning point after the millennium.

The ones who lived for five years in legal status by having residence permission in the Netherlands permanently can apply for the citizenship. Form 2008 on, 74,8 part of Turkish community of the Netherlands have the citizenship of the Netherlands. According to the data of the interview that resources for this study, 93 percent of the participants have the citizenship of the Netherlands and 5 percent part have the right to work. The average family in the Turkish community of the Netherlands consist of 3,9 members. Out of 7 million 191 thousand houses in the Netherlands, 93.600 houses are of Turkish origin. The number of Turks who owns

their houses, out of 93.600 Turkish houses, is about 17.000. Thus, 18,2 percent of Turkish houses in the Netherlands are owned by Turkish owners. 54 percent of the participants that forms the sample group of this study stay in their own houses; 26 percent of them stay in rented houses belonging to the municipality; and 17 percent stay in normal rented houses, not owned by them (See; Figure 3.12).

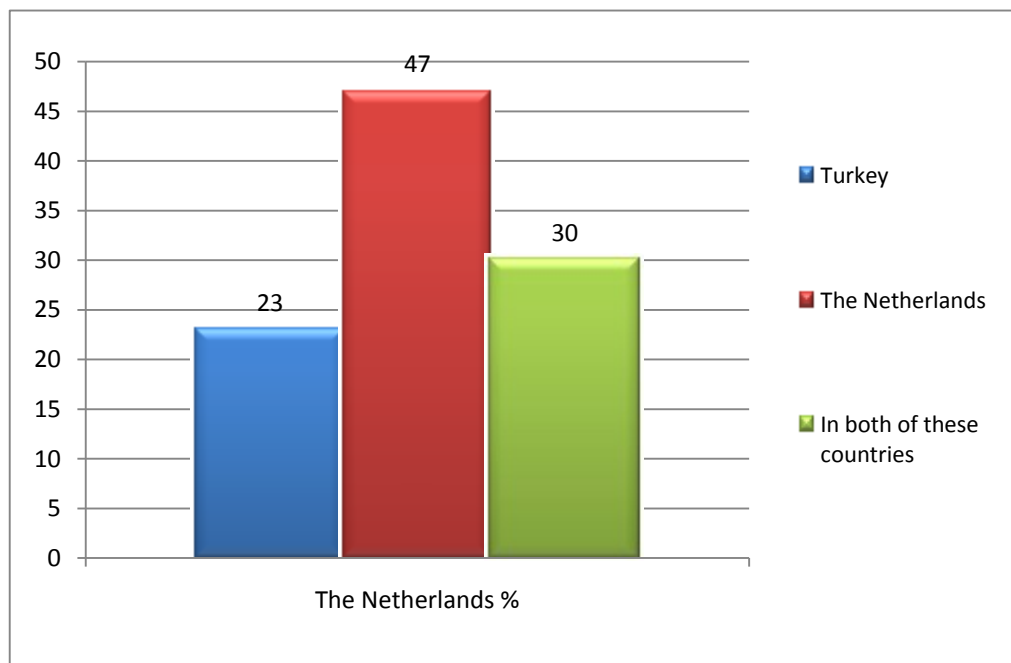
FIGURE 3.12. TO WHOM DOES YOUR HOME BELONG?



We can not say the Dutch Turks do not have a house in the desired measure in the Dutch housing market. While 18 percent Turks have a house in the Netherlands; 64 percent Turks in Belgium have their own houses; 14 percent Turks in Germany and France have their own house. That Turks invest in the Netherlands increasing numbers came out in the field studies. The rate in Turkey is 23 percent; yet, that is 47 percent in the Netherlands, being a permanent community. 30 percent of the participants value their investments in both countries (See; Figure 3.13). Contrary to Turkish community of the Netherlands, 60 percent Belgium Turks, 66 percent

Germany Turks and 80 percent France Turks invested their savings in Turkey. The reason of the investment range in these unbalanced rates is not explained with the ‘unconditional dependence’ on the hometown. In 2000, the natural explanation of over 20.000 houses that Germany citizens is the rationality of the investment (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 46).

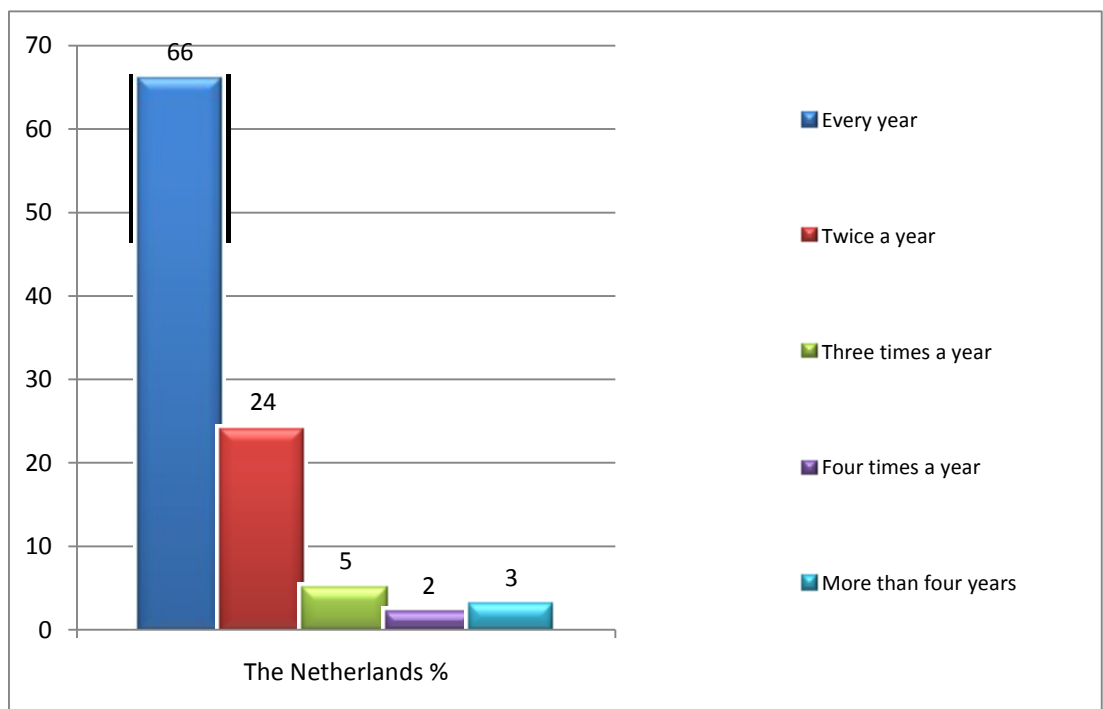
FIGURE 3.13. IN WHICH COUNTRY DO YOU HAVE YOUR REAL ESTATE PROPERTIES AND SAVINGS?



The Turks of the Netherland, 66 percent come to Turkey once in a year, which is the indication of fidelity (See; Figure 3.14). This rate is 61 percent for Belgium Turks, for Germany and France Turks that is the same. The convenient transportation conditions recently have made the visit period decrease. 90 percent people come to Turkey because of the visits of relatives and holiday. The most frequent visit is to take the family members, the family members come to Turkey within groups. From the aspect of holiday visits to Turkey, 67 percent of Belgium Turks, 56 percent of

France Turks and Germany Turks come to Turkey on holidays (Kaya and Kentel, 2008: 46). In Western Europe, Euro-Turks try to protect the relative and friend relations with these visits. The classic of imported bride and groom provides with the increase in the visits to Turkey.

FIGURE 3.14. HOW OFTEN DO YOU VISIT TURKEY?

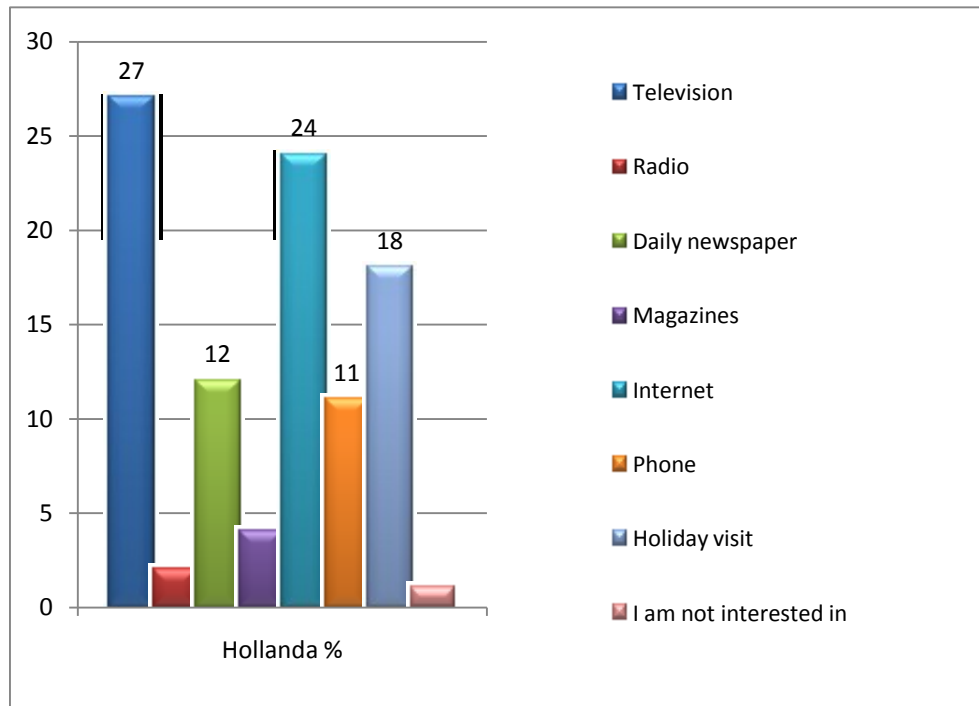


The long term of the return in the first years of the migration caused the break-up families to integrate again through the marriage and family unification. This transitory employment became permanent with the increase in the socio-status and with the transition to citizenship of the Netherlands. 52 percent of the women participants consider returning to Turkey; 48 percent of those does not consider returning. The women who want to return to Turkey consist of 17,6 percent secondary school graduate, 42,4 percent high school and the similar schools

graduate, 36 percent college and university graduate. On the other hand, the women who do not consider returning, consist of those who are born in the Netherlands, 46 percent; 18 percent of those are the women who live in the Netherlands for over 30 years and 19 percent of those live in the Netherlands for over 20 years. The result is that the majority of the women who consider returning are the ones who are born in Turkey and have a low education level.

The periodic visits once in two years play great role in the affairs with Turkey and the women of Turkish origin, living in the Netherlands. The different communication webs are also useful to announce the social, political and economical events in Turkey. The communication webs, the most common are 27 percent television, 24 percent internet, 18 percent holiday visits and 12 percent daily newspapers (See; Figure 3.15). On the other hand, Turkish community of the Netherlands makes use of Schengen Treaty that makes the limits invisible and makes the circulation easy among EU member countries. The quality of different factors like service, air-transportation, and road-transportation that influence the duration and comfortability of the journey while coming to Turkey and going back, are increased by the Schengen area. In conclusion, Turkish communities of the Netherlands are in a relation with Turkey intensely.

FIGURE 3.15. HOW DO YOU GET THE NEWS ON TURKEY? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS CAN BE GIVEN)

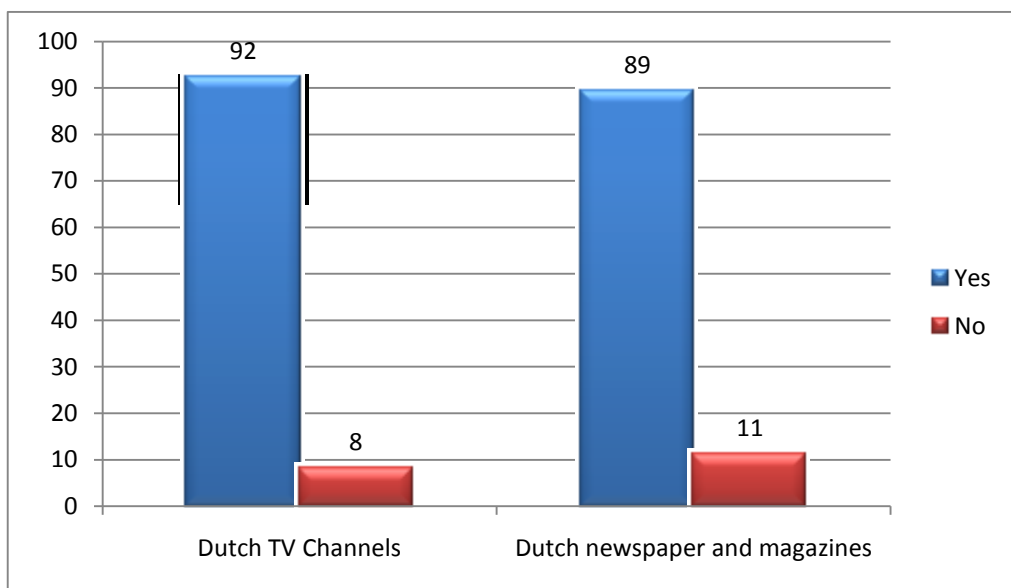


Most of the newspapers of Turkey are distributed weekly and daily in the Western European countries. In a study including the other ethnic groups of the Netherlands, 51 percent of the participants of Turkish origin follows the papers regularly. This rate is 15 percent among the Moroccan and 4 percent among Surinamese (Fennema and Tillie, 1999).

20 percent of the population from foreign origin, the Netherlands is one of the countries where English is spoken much among the countries whose language is not English. In the Multicultural Netherlands, there are different television channels and papers in different languages to announce the multicultural life. Turkish minority is much focused on the television, radio, papers and magazines in Turkish than the other minorities do. Besides, the ones of Turkish origin who speak and understand

Dutch and born in the Netherlands follow the other broadcasting in the other languages as well as the ones in Turkish (Fennema and Tillie, 1999). For this, 92 percent of the women participants watch the television channels of the Netherlands and 89 percent of those follow the Dutch papers and magazines (See; Figure 3.16).

FIGURE 3.16. DO YOU FOLLOW THE MASS MEDIA BELONG THE NETHERLANDS?



The massive communication devices for adaptation see the immigrant as a part of the dominant culture. In the Netherlands which is a country for minority, the announcement of the traditional habits of minorities and the statements of the populist parties against the immigrants by the media is the diversion of the public by exaggerating everything. These one sided and deliberate news have to wake up the Turkish civil social institutions by highlighting the public objectively. In conclusion, for the minorities, Turkish community follows the visional and auditory media of the Netherlands.

3.3. The Changing Social Involvement of Turkish Second Generation Women in the Netherlands

Today, the immigrants of Turkish origin in the Netherlands have an effective potential in social, economical and political life. Civil social organizations try to activate this potential in social, cultural, economical and political areas that will be influential on Turkish community and the Dutch political organs. Thus, to activate this potential in favor of Turkish community in the Netherlands is possible with the movement together. In the regions where the Turkish population dwells quantitative, to be able to influence the results of the elections is an opportunity for Turkish community. Thus, the Netherlands who is aware of this opportunity and political representation power provokes the Turkish civil institutions of the Netherlands to participate actively in political life. Turkish civil institutions of the Netherlands support the emergence of the men and women of Turkish origin as a candidate in local, national and European Parliamentary elections and to be a member for political parties. These endeavors occasionally do not result in representation, yet, they can show their political power on political parties and deputies of their regions.

Social webs that the civil institutions have provide a cooperation and collective union in the solution of the social problems. As the civil institutions, as the certain indication of social capital, and their webs become intense, the cooperation and union are also intense and effective for the solution of the mutual problems (Baron et. al., 2001). We can say that the women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands form a social capital from the acquirements of political, social and cultural participation.

Around the Netherlands, these social webs will prepare a ground for the cultural cooperation and the decrease in the break of ties between the generations.

To develop its affairs with the political parties and their civil social institutions and media spaces in local and national level of Turkish civil social institutions, regarding themselves as the Dutch institution have prepared a ground for the break of the mutual prejudices. The interest in the political decision making processes of the immigrants of Turkish origin and their profits in the presentation show that they want to experience a life adaptively with the Netherlands. One of the results that this study creates is that the women of Turkish origin do not accept a life isolated from the society and surrounded by the cultural discrimination walls. Instead of this, they accept a multicultural space that is respected for the norm, value and behavior codes and a life that is cooperated and integrated with the social environment. The other result is that the women of Turkish origin are accepted with their positive and tolerant approaches on adaptation with the Netherlands. Thus, as the host country needs an active and permanent integration plan, the immigrants need dialogues that are institutionalized and individualist with the community they live in.

3.3.1. The New Position in the Family Structure

As the women of Turkish origin are influential in the shape and direction of the marriage choices in the education and social-vocational position, they are all effective in the differentiation of the family structures. Turkish family structure where the social and socio-economical structure is different got a heterogeneous vision. In the Turkish family structure, the experiences of the women are influenced by the change. Those of the women became different and their existence in the

social, cultural and public fields increased. Because of the opportunities that the social state of the Netherlands, the women of Turkish origin began to be dominant in family and their self-confidence increased.

Turkish family, gaining new identities and trying to protect the identity of its members has to soften the male dominated hierarchical structure in favor of women. The immigrant women who are stuck between the different identities seem to stand compared to men. The second and third generation women who can use Dutch gain a brevity for the struggle both in the family and in the external environment due to the new friendships and new affairs. However, the first generation women lack in an environment that will develop their social affairs. The first generations who do not use Dutch well enough to keep on their affairs in limited social area where they found from their native tongue. Tülay G., 29 years-old and having a child from the women that were interviewed mutually; her memories of first years are such that we can easily appreciate the limited social lives of the first generations:

...When we first came here, it was pretty empty everywhere. There were no Turks. The whole family was spiritually in such a gloomy state that one would think they'd lost a beloved one. I did not mean at this age. When we came here for the first time, she used to sit in front of the mosque; she used to cry for hours. Because I did not grasp, I asked "why are you crying, mum?", "What is the problem with you?" There was nobody here. In the shopping, I heard my mum shouting as Is there an Özcan gum? Here there is not Özcan gum. One day, when she told father that she wanted to cook eggplants, he told her that there were no eggplants being sold here, which led to an unpleasant argument. Mum, shouting and crying, was desperately uttering these words: "Why did you bring us here?! Did you know not that this is not a place for us to live in and there is nothing for us to eat?!"

One of the most interesting results from the mutual interview evaluations is that the Turkish woman loses the currency of the traditional woman image in the answers to her role in family and social life. The new generation women who make use of the

educational and health services, human rights, socio-economical equality that the Dutch community provides accepted the norms that give value to woman and opportunities that the modern life presents. Contrary to the sides of the modern life, the neighborhood, family structure and man-woman relationships are not adopted by the women of Turkish origin, the parts of the Dutch community. The women who see important to stand in the forefront of the public space and to be apparent from the aspect of woman role as an important acquirement regarded this matter as a means of resistance against the authority in the family.

TABLE 3.5. WHICH OF THE FOLLOWING OPINIONS IS FIT FOR YOU ACCORDING TO THE RELATED LIVING CONDITIONS OF TURKISH WOMEN? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS CAN BE GIVEN)

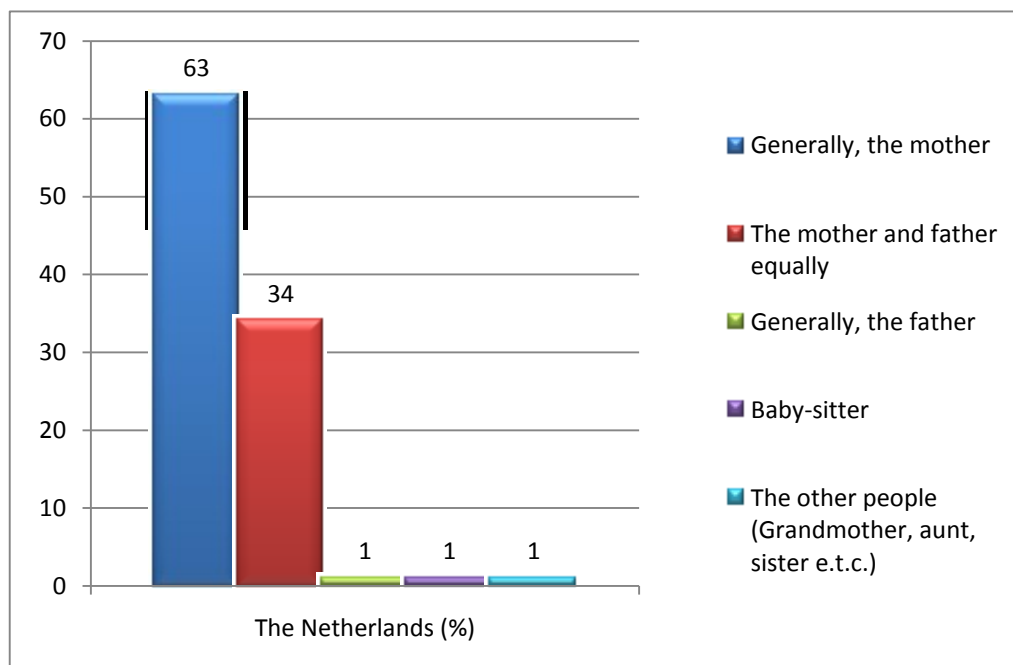
Determinations	Woman participants	As percentage of all respondents
The role of women should be empowered and supported in the political areas	125	52
The role of women should be increased in family affairs and decisions	127	53
The husbands of the working women should share the house works	164	68
The women should be provided with a job to determine their lives	167	70
The women should not be prevented from having their own incomes	141	59
The women should be firstly interested in their home and family works	23	10
The woman and children should be protected against the violence in family	137	57
The women should be free in the choice of the partner	145	61
All respondents	239	100

One of the results that the interview and questionnaires, the primary resources of this study is the comments of the evaluations related to the life conditions of the women of Turkish origin. The answers of 239 women participants to the question, ‘which of the determinations above related to the life of Turkish woman is true for you?’ carry the projections of the new woman identity. For the determination ‘the role of the women should be developed and strengthened’, 52 percent of the participants gave support (See; Table 3.5). The support of the half of the participants related to the general role of Turkish woman in social life shows that there is a demand for the democracy and a basic justice for an equal participation into the decision making processes. The participants gave support in rate of 53 percent and 68 percent for the two determinations, like ‘the role of the woman in family life and decisions should be increased’ and ‘there should be a share of duty in house works for the partners of the women who work’. It has been accepted that the social importance of the care of the other members of the family, motherhood, and birth of the woman who has an important place in the traditional Turkish family has been accepted by all the individuals of the family. On the other hand, in the share of duty in family, it is so natural for the women who work to wait for help for their partners. Because raising the child responsibility of the parents as the community as a whole. For the question, “who is responsible for the care of the children in family?” And 63 percent of the woman participants answer “generally mother” and 34 percent answer “mother and father equally” (See; Figure 3.17).

For the two determinations, “women should be supplied with a work that they can determine their lives” and “women should be prevented from having their own

incomes”, 70 percent and 59 percent supported those. Besides, 10 percent of the participants supported the determination “women should deal with the houseworks and children”. The women who do not reach the efficiency in economy, a work with salary, vocational education, and education lack in making contribution to their own countries as a part of the dominant view. On the other hand, the income of the women became a necessity for many families in the Netherlands. As a matter of fact, today there are women who work full time, part time and contractual and working at home based on the increase in employment. Thus, the determination to have an equal income and working that the participants supported is valid for the Turkish community of the Netherlands.

FIGURE 3.17. WHO GETS THE CHILDREN RESPONSIBILITIES IN THE FAMILY?



For the two determinations, “women and children should be protected against the violence in the family” and “women should be free in the choice of the partner”, the

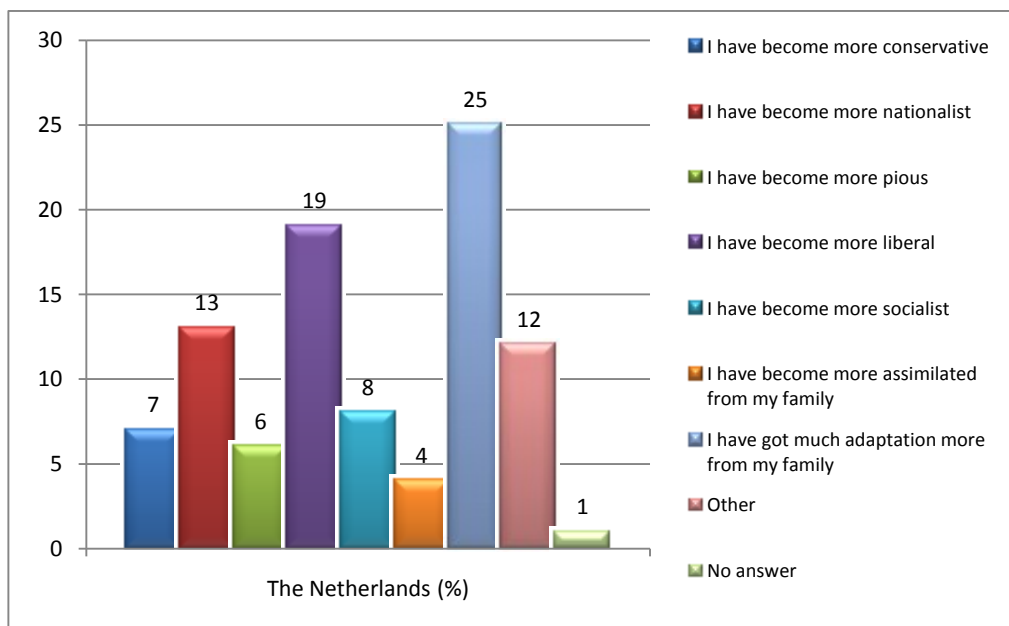
participants supported within 57 percent and 61 percent rate. Thus, one of the most important reasons that the women of Turkish origin oppose the limitation of the social rights and want to move freely in the choice of partner and profession is that they insist on the continuity of the existence of the traditional male-dominated society. On the other hand, to protect the women, young and children against the violence in family is dependent on the responsible behaviors of the families and the local authorities. In conclusion, except one of the determinations related to the general role of the woman in Table 3.5 in the social life, all of those were supported by the half of the participants at least. The other result from here is that there is a modern phenomenon that is accepted more and more in the Western communities where the determinations get acceptance by participants.

On the other hand, a great part of the second and third generation women have indecisions between cultural and social activities and the family fidelity as a part of family structures, not being traditional or traditionalist. The social and cultural activities of young women, who have a traditional family structure, cause inconsistencies and generation-gap in the family. The young women who are between the social and cultural activities of the social life are sometimes exposed to the violence by her family, this causes psychological trauma. For the question, “which changes the socio-cultural structure and the family of the Netherlands create in you and your family?” 25 percent of the participants answered as “I got the adaptation much to the community than that of my family”. 19 percent of the participants’ answers were “I became more liberal and free” and 13 percent of those answers were “I became more nationalist” (See; Figure 3.18). The second and third

generation women of Turkish origin reshape their language, identity information and values with the social and physical environment. The women develop their ethnic, religious and cultural identities; yet, they face the duality of whether they should supply adaptation or not for the Dutch community. The variety in answers of Figure 3.18' questions shows that woman population is far away from forming a heterogeneous structure. The basic reasons of this variety are the factors like socio-economical status of parents, migration process, the belief systems of the women, ethnical possession, the integration policies of the host country, education system and employment situation. The complicated and different factors reveal the differences and similarities with their families by influencing the communalization process of the young girls of Turkish origin. The communalization process includes several religious, political and ethnic concepts, exclusion, assimilation and integration. In the process of the women of Turkish origin, to be more conservative, more religious and more nationalist is a result to show resistance against the policies of exclusion and assimilation policies of the host country. While the small part of the participants state that they are more democrat, religious and social in this process, 19 percent of those express that they are more liberal and freer. Less part of the participants state (4%) that they much assimilate differently form their families in the communalization process, a great part of those express that they get much adaptation than the family does. In the adaptation process that prepares for the ground to form a behavior style of doubled identity, the life styles and lack of communication in family for the Netherlands play a determining role. 19 percent and 25 percent of the participants take the family structure of the Netherlands where more democratic relations are experienced as model by the determinations "I became more liberalist and freer than

my family does and “I got much adaptation than my family did.” The Turkish women that we interviewed have a tendency that Turkish women take the women of Dutch origin as an example. The freedom of the choice of friend and partner in determining their lives especially the Dutch woman is met natural by Turkish women. Despite this, lack in trust, in cooperation and much in responsibility are seen as the negative parts of the modern woman role.

FIGURE 3.18. IN NETHERLANDS, WHAT CHANGES DO YOU SEE IN YOURSELF, YOUR FAMILY AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF THE FAMILY? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS CAN BE GIVEN)



The internalization of the norms and values belonging to Turkey and Turkish community by the first generation caused the indecisive and uncertain affairs between the second and third generations come out. These affairs web caused a misunderstanding and inconsistencies between the generations. Especially not being internalization of the traditional values and beliefs of Turkish community of the young generation and not accepting of the traditional investments of the male

dominated authority brought the generation conflicts. On the other hand, the young generations that are exposed to direct and indirect behaviors and attitudes like discrimination, being inferior, racism are forced to develop a positive image both for themselves and their families (İrtiř, 2008: 249). Thus, the development of these dynamics, transmitted from generation to generation, depend on each other for nearly 45 years. While the affairs with the host country are followed by both: the old and the young generations. To prepare the young for vocational education, the steps like the foundation of the meeting facilities intercultural presents a opportunity to consult, supporting education help, social pedagogical help for young women and language provocation, the presentation of guidance for vocational education of the young will decrease the conflicts in less level.

3.3.2. Individual and Intercultural Relations

The women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands have been communalization recently swiftly. The communalization for the young generation became intense among the young generations. For most of women the communalization term is among the groups that consist of individuals that their mutual aims and justices brought together. 42 percent of 239 women of Turkish origin expressed that they make frequent visits to their friends and neighbor and take guest in their spare times. The visit rate of the participants who are 26 and less than 26 year-old women of Turkish origin to their Dutch friends and neighbors is less compared to the upper age groups. For instance; 75 percent of the 27 and 43 age group participants expressed that they visited their Dutch friends and neighbors. Only 27 percent of the participant group less than 26 year-old expressed that they visited their Turkish friends, relatives

and neighbors. However, 67 percent of the women participant group at the age group, 27 and 43, said that they visited their Turkish neighbors, relatives, friends. On the other hand, 12 percent of all the participants expressed that they joined in associations, parties and different consultation institutions in their spare times. Form 239 participants, 42 percent at the 27 and 34 year-old group said that they joined in parties, associations, and different consultation institutions. 64 percent of the participants stated that they preferred sports, cinema, and theatre in their spare times. 40 percent of the participants in the 27 and 34 year-old age group and 27 percent of the participants in 35 and 43 year-old group stated that they preferred cinema and theatre. The first result from these data is that the affairs of the young girls less than 26 year-old with both their Turkish friends and the Dutch friends show spatial differences. As the age average of the participants' increases, the relations of friendship and neighborhood happen among the houses. As the age average decreases, the personal and social relations become intense outside the houses.

TABLE 3.6. HOW DO YOU SPEND YOUR FREE TIME? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS CAN BE GIVEN)*

Social Contacts and Volunteer Work	Woman participants	As percentage of all respondents
I go to my Dutch friends and neighbors	101	42
I go to my Turkish neighbors, friends or relatives	158	66
I attend to party, association and club meetings	29	12
I go to fitness center, the cinema or the theatre	153	64
Other activities	54	23
All respondents	239	-

* This survey question is a multiple-choice question type. Therefore, while the percentage of survey calculating, each variable was calculated on 239 participants.

According to a report published by the Statistics Netherlands (CBS, 2007), 90 percent of the Dutch women visited their relatives once a week or more, 68 percent visited their neighbors, 83 percent met their friends. The social affair and tie of Dutch women with the comers from the same ethnic religion is more powerful than the relation with the women of Turkish origin. The socio-cultural organizations that the Dutch women participate in voluntarily are much than those of the women of Turkish origin.

3.3.3. Social Relations

The existence of the individuals in Turkish community of the Netherlands is the social, cultural and financial spaces of the host community recently have been a reflection of the citizenship struggles. They are in a striving to integrate with the priorities and troubles of their own identities, voices, colors, aesthetic comprehensions. According to Kaya, the focus of the groups which think that they are disadvantageous in the process of share of the social, economical and political resources on the ethno-cultural values is a product of a kind of resistance. The language of this resistance can be religiousness as well as ethnicity, traditionalism or violence (Kaya, 2005: 63). Thus, the cultural and religious groups based on Turkey in the Netherlands derive from the mutual defense reflex that is developed against the structural and political exclusion mechanisms of the host community. The number of the association that are founded by foundations and associations according to the context of the Netherlands within the social, political, cultural, economical, religious aims become much every year and these institutions become organized as upper ones. Today, there are 1125 associations, foundations and subsidiaries based on those within religious and cultural aims. Turkish associations, foundations and similar civil

institutions form 4,5 in thousand of the Dutch foundations and associations (The Ministry of Labor and Social Security, 2007).

TABLE 3.7. IN WHAT KIND OF SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES DO YOU PARTICIPATE? (MULTIPLE ANSWERS CAN BE GIVEN)

Social and Cultural Activities	Woman participants	As percentage of all respondents
I attend to the association activities that define Turkish culture and art	59	25
I attend to association activities with the aim of sport, education, integration and hobby	102	42
I attend to the weekly fusion meetings with Turkish and Dutch women	25	11
I attend to association activities related to the religious aims	23	10
I attend to the activities with political aims as the EU membership	17	7
I do not attend to any activity	73	31
No answer	-	-
Total participants	239	100

When we analyze the data related to the participations of the women of Turkish origin into syndicate and association life, consultation institutions and political discussions, we have the opportunity to observe some tendencies of the women. The participation of the women of Turkish origin into social and culturally based institutions and the associations based on congregation and religious targeted institutions change according to the age average of the members, socio-economical status, education manner and generation gap. While we asked the interview question that will measure the participation of the women of Turkish origin into the socially and culturally based organizations to the participants, the evaluations that become

once a week are the determining. By assuming that these social and cultural activities happen under the roof of the associations, foundations, political organization and religious institution, the detail in which civil institution does these activities is not pointed out. According to the results of interview, Table 3.7, while 25 percent of the women participants of Turkish origin, 25 percent stated that they joined in the organizations presenting Turkish culture and art, 42 percent of those expressed that they joined in sports, education, integration and hobby based association activities. The most important reason that the traditional Turkish values, the organized studies related to the adaptation and definition of Turkish identity become intense is that Turkish identity and values wanted to be transmitted to young generations and the adaptation with the host community wanted to be provided. Besides, 11 percent of the women participants stated that they joined in the activities organized with Dutch women, 10 percent expressed that they joined in association and foundation activities religiously targeted. The women of Turkish origin played active roles in the participation into association and foundation activities that try to spread and survive the cultural values and religious beliefs against the cultural assimilation and cultural solution. On the other hand, EU membership of Turkey and the rate of participation into organization targeted to get political and legal rights are around 7 percent. Besides, 31 percent of the women participants expressed that they did not join in any social and cultural activities.

From 1990s on, there were many associations with religious, political, socio-cultural, economical aims including Amsterdam, Rotterdam and The Hague. Most of those which have religious tendencies make use of the different places in mosque as

an activity field. Recently, the internal design of the worshipping houses that are used as worshipping and activity fields have been rearranged according to the multifunctional aims. To form a field that will supply the social and cultural need of the group members, the regulations like multifunctional conference hall, the television hall to watch national special matches and the game hall for the kids can be seen frequently. While the women make use of these halls in special programs, sometimes women and men make use of them together. Especially, in national special festivals, both to celebrate merry holidays and to unite by the group members these places are used frequently. In conclusion, the members of the political and religious groups constructed a relation tie between them. These social structures do activities for Turkish community in certain areas and strive to increase the number of members. Mostly, while these endeavors make the members of the groups socialized, sometimes, they keep the attention form different groups. In most of the participants who are the member of political or religious groups, there is a tendency into the participation to activities belonging to different groups. Our observation is that for the group members, the shareholder centered on belief and ideology is much meaningful than the shareholder centered on humanist and socio-culture.

TABLE 3.8. POPULATION, NUMBER OF ASSOCIATIONS AND ORGANIZATIONAL DENSITY SOME OF ETHNIC GROUPS, ORDERED BY ORGANIZATIONAL DENSITY

Ethnic group	Population in the Netherlands*	Number of associations	Organizational density (= associations/inhabitants x 1000)
Afghans	34.000	34	1,0
Vietnamese	17.000	28	1,7
Moroccans	295.000	720	2,4
Surinamese	321.000	881	2,7
Turks	341.000	1125	3,3
Somalis	28.000	161	5,8
Chinese	39.000	244	6,3
Moluccans	40.000	399	9,9

Source: Van Heelsum (2004a, b) and Penninx and Van Heelsum (2004)

* On 1 January 2003 (CBS 2003: 116) or Van den Tillaart, Olde Monnikhof, van den Berg and Warmerdam (2000: 28)

In multicultural Dutch community, the associations and foundations belonging to ethnic immigrant groups play an important role in integration process. These foundations and associations founded with the political, social, economical, religious, sportive and like aims can be easily organized around the country. The first civil organizations in the Netherlands founded in the bases of basic religious needs are mosque associations. The activities of the mosques show variety in women, and children. According to 2005 year numbers, 1125 Turkish civil institutions were gathered in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Turkish civil institutions, 170 of those institutions in Amsterdam, 89 in Rotterdam and 68 in The Hague and 36 in Utrecht were founded with the basic aims like the transmission of Turkish identity and values to new generations and their protection, the reviving of

the religious values, the reinforcement of the dialogue with the host community. For the religious needs, from 198 mosques, 124 of those functions dependently on the Turkish Ministry of Religious Affairs. 57 of these civil institutions functions for women and 91 for the young. The woman associations like Elele Turkish Women's Platform (Turks Vrouwenplatform) centered on Amsterdam, Elif Association (St.Voor Turkse Vrouwen), ETKB Netherlands Foundation for Turkish Women (Stiching Turkse Vromen Nederland) and AKTB Turkish Women's Union and HTKB Association of Women of Turkish Origin in the Netherlands of (HTKB Vereniging van Turkse vrouwen in Nederland) determined their aims as to develop a dialogue with the host community and to represent the profits of the women of Turkish origin.

On the other hand, Netherlands Consultative Committee for Turkish People (Inspraak Orgaan Turken, IOT) centered on Utrecht function for 25 years as a subsidiary organization that nine Turkish federations form gathering. In the Netherlands, IOT that the political, cultural and religious movements are represented by every part of Turkish community existed legally and it is the organ of meeting and debate of the Netherlands government. For Turks, the aim of IOT is to meet with the administrative and social organizations in the Netherlands, to defense the profits of the Turkish community and to regulate the social position and make cooperation in that way. In IOT, one of the nine federations is Turkish women of the Netherlands Association. In the administration council where two members of each federation are represented, three to one is woman; three to one consists of 18 peopled members

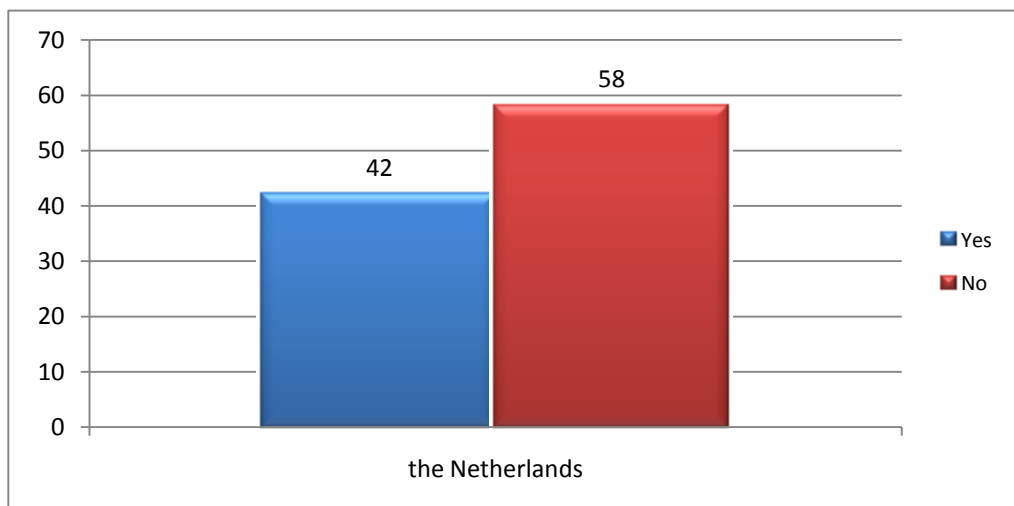
from less than 35 year-old.³⁶ IOT subsidiary organization and federations present the ground services to form the discussion places where all the social parts will join the basic problems the women face to face and do studies. In the media of the Netherlands, there are activities on the structural problems like violence in family, honor and feud, marriage in early age and the forced marriages in family by building platforms that gather the women from different parts. In addition to this, the participation of women in politics and the political rights and duties of women tried to be enlightened through panels, seminars, conferences, books, brochures for the woman branches.

The term, ‘association’ and ‘civil institution’ that represent the protest and criticism, rebellion, individualism in cultural codes of Turkish community carry different meanings. A Turk is a social individual that gives respect for public authority and knows as a debt for his own country. Additionally, political power and public authority approached to the groups that rebel against their government and individual profits (Petek, 2008: 84-85). When the shy attitude of the women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands is added in male dominated family structure, the difficulty of women in the participation into association and civil society organizations come out. Despite all those, as the social appearance of the educated and qualified woman of Turkish origin and her socialization increases, the perception of association and civil society is changing. On the issue of organized participation, the second and third generations whose civil society vision changes and who have

³⁶ The speech of Ahmet Azdural, who is the director of IOT, at “Turks Abroad: The Symposium on Migration and Integration in its 50th Year” in 21-23 May, 2009 in Ankara. For more information refer to: <http://www.iot.nl/index.php?start=3> (12.06.2009)

self-confidence back up the social, cultural and educational activities. These activities can be diverted into mutual social and cultural activities by local decision maker and authorities. Undoubtedly, these activities become institutionalized according to function a respect of the institutionalized structure and vary according to the quality of organization crew. The dialogues with the association members, who are born in the Netherlands and speak Dutch well, serve for the faster adaptation. On the other hand, the associations which do not have religious and political side become short term because they lack in a comprehensive support. Since not attracting in the specific study fields of associations and civil institution that do not bother to have a cultural, religious and political aim and the possibility of a secret danger behind them, the precaution for these institutions makes necessary.

FIGURE 3.19. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF ANY ORGANIZATION AND DO YOU HAVE A ROLE IN ANY EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES?



According to Table 3.7, 31 percent of the participants do not participate in any social and cultural activity; 11 percent of those meet with the Dutch women weekly or in certain periods. Thus, the half of all the participants adopted the aims of different institutions and joined in Turkish or Turkish oriented civil organizations. In

Figure 3.19, the women were asked whether they were a part of an organization or not and whether they joined in the activities of these organizations. 42 percent of the women participant gave positive answer to this question; 58 percent of those gave negative answer. The high rate of women participants that join in activities and become member of at least one association and foundation is an indication of the civil consciousness level. This level as the reflection of potential of educated and qualified Turkish woman will decrease the inconsistencies with the host community.

The Turks of the Netherlands founded lower groups parallel to majority community in their won ethnic boundaries. For the religious organization, in the Netherlands where Religion and National View lead, the variety in cult, ethnicity and religion of women of Turkish origin brought the internal divisions recently. The activities of these religious structures referring to women show differences. Since the Turkish Ministry of Religious Affairs (DITIB) has official aspect in its activities, the scope of activities for women can be limited and narrow. The women activities of National View are various both in context and in continuity. In the bases of these activities, although the education based on religion is aimed for every age group, especially for the girls, there are computer courses as well as the embroidery courses. On the other hand, Turkish communities of especially Amsterdam and Rotterdam, in suburban of big cities go to Turkish restaurants in their neighborhood and do shopping in middle sized and small shops in their quarters. Men, majority in the retired and the old, carry out their religious rituals in mosques in their own region. The cooperation webs in different spaces like mosque, market, restaurant, chauffeur includes internal and external equipment that is necessary for their struggle with the

inconsistencies of the modern life for the immigrants. Thus, these cooperation webs provide the immigrants with the development of surviving strategy against the loneliness and distrust in their inner world. For Kaya:

It is not a surprising development that the masses which is thrown by globalizing capitalism and do not make use of opportunities of prosperous community, are not sure about the future deal with the elements like religion, ethnicity, language and customs and define their identities with these elements (Kaya, 2005: 52).

The first feature of Turkish civil institutions and associations that show variety in itself and functions passively and actively in the Netherlands is that they reflect the ideological and political divisions in Turkey. The other feature of those is that they are influenced by the current developments in Turkey. This matter hinders the spread of the association activities and forms the similar groupings of Turkey in the Netherlands. In Turkish immigrant community in the Netherlands and Europe, some researchers tied the political break observed to the tight relation with Turkey within religion and identity. For Subaşı (2004), one of these researchers, the organization model of Turkish community in Western European countries show a serious separation and variety with the effect of the structures in Turkey. The endeavor to keep on the cultural codes with the private codes like the fidelity to hometown, religion and ethnic identity of the immigrants cause the divisions and breaks practically (Akgönül, 2008). The fear of the minorities to lose national identity is higher than that of majorities. The two important shelters that decrease and explain are religion and language. In the places where Dutch and English are spoken, Turkish has difficulty in struggling against these two languages. To make the Turkish language be the dominant one and transmit it form generation to generation are accepted today as a duty for all the European Turks. After the language, the place of

religion shows variety according to the factors like education, socio-economical status, gender, generation for Turks of the Netherlands. According to the field studies among the second generation, religion begins to be weak as a cultural possession. The dominant Dutch in school and social environment -at the risk of forgetting Turkish- has become a phenomenon.

When we look at the activity fields of social, cultural, economical, religious and political organizations that women and men of Turkish origin founded that increasing the adaptation between the two communities, we can easily say that the civil conscience and civil community values are accepted among Turkish community. In other words, in the socialization of the women, the relation with the political authorities and the relation to civil institutions that do not aim of profit, the neighborhood and friendship, family relations revealed that they want to keep on a life adaptively with the Dutch community. Another result from this empiric field study is that the women of Turkish origin try to communicate with the people of ethnic origin and Dutch origin individually and in an organizing way, with this reason they regulate their facilities for everyone. The concept of these activities sometimes individually and sometimes in an organized way shows that the women are not contented with their communities, contrary to they want to cooperate with the Dutch neighbors and friends under the mutual shares. At the same time, the civil institutions based on ethnic minorities have important functions. One of those is their contribution to the social and political integration of ethnic institutions in the Netherlands. Their members are interested in political decision making mechanisms and social processes and join. Among their own ethnic groups and the local and

political authorities, these organizations that provide the communication lay the foundation for integration in groups.

3.4. Political Participation of Turkish Second Generation Women in Various Types of Political Activities

In the regions where the immigrants of Turkish origin live densely like Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht, it is a truth that Turkish voters have a potential that will influence the results of the elections. The existence of Turkish civil institutions that will represent the Netherlands government and political parties and the representation power of Turkish community are very important in this point. Except the duty of these civil institutions to represent Turkish community, the encouragement duties that will provide the active participation into political life of the voters have an important aspect. According to the data of interview that forms the primary sources for this study, a great part of women participants want Turks to be member for the political parties, to represent themselves in local, general and regional elections as a candidate. Undoubtedly, the steps in this path will influence the statements of political parties including deputies in their regions positively. One of the preconditions of social, economical, political integration is to provide opportunities for broad participation.

3.4.1. Political Participation and Voting

In modern democracies, the relation of the individuals that is constructed with the political system is defined as political participation. These mutual relations show themselves in different shapes. The political behaviors like to get information in the determination of choices and political acts and to vote that provides the

determination of the local and national administrations are the moulds that show voters participate in decision making processes passively. On the other hand, the behaviors in different shape and dimensions that extends up to the representation in political decision mechanisms like candidacy and active party membership are the indications of active participation. In the Netherlands, the lack in dialogue or intense with the local and national political structure arouses before us as a determining factor in the determination of voter preferences. For instance, if the voters of Turkish origin do not follow the projection of the Netherlands as they are anxious about which party their own country and town municipality presidency go to in Turkey, it will be hard to mention about the political concern. In addition, the comment of a housewife and a house girl who do not speak Dutch about the local and general elections from Turkey as the residences do confirm our determination. In both occasions, it is impossible to reflect the potentiality of Turkish community to the future of the country and to be interested in the political system of the Netherlands for it. In the same way, the socialization of a woman who is not aware that to vote is a citizenship and the political participation right is an important acquirement. In other words, it impossible for a woman who does not miss the soap operas and the events in Turkey from the television channels to be aware of the social and political participation. In conclusion, although the ethnic minorities have the right to vote and to be voted; if they do not divert these rights and potentialities into representation; they will not be arbiter on any saving for the life of the country.

In the general literature, the political participation is not limited with the voting in only local and general elections. Tillie and Slijper (2003) assert that there are four

types of political participations in pluralist democracies. These political participation types are, visiting municipal hearing meetings, participation in so-called ‘interactive’ decision making processes, and participation in ‘neighborhood committees’ and participation in city referenda. In the studies of these two authors in Amsterdam, the voters of Turkish origin have the tendency to participate in the elections more intensely than the other ethnic groups. In the same way, the immigrants of Turkish origin are the group in the participation point for the decision making processes; yet, they are less interested in the participation into local organizations than the other ethnic groups are. On the other hand, these two authors become intensified on four factors that determine the political participation of the minorities. These factors are organized activities on gender, education, institutional membership and social web. According to this, in the groups of Muslim origin, the participation of women into decision making processes is lower than that of the men group members. The most basic reason is that the unequal power relations of men and women among Turkish family structure and the inequality share between the deeds and responsibilities related to family hinder the participations of the women into more comprehensive forums. On the other hand, the equal share of family responsibilities, the shape and regulation of the applications and policies of women on behalf their benefits will increase the opportunities. On the other hand, the other parameter that determines the political participation in the education matter. The theoretical approach is that the educated people are more interested in political events. Since to get the means like paper, magazines, book and internet that will provide the shape of the political thoughts of the inadequately educated people is harder. The determination in education matter as a factor that determines the political participation is valid in

employment issues. The integration of the unemployed people with the community and the possibility of their reaction to political events is lower than the others. The third factor that determines the political participation is institutional membership; when we look at this form the aspect of capital, the increase in the political participation shows parallelism with the organized membership of the person. The fourth factor, social activities are shaped according to the intensification of the relation with the members of the organization in the social web. Undoubtedly, the contact with the groups among the social web brings the interest in the social and political events. Thus, the political participation, as an inevitable part of the Netherlands citizenship become clear in the scope of the continuity and activity of the social, cultural and political activities.

In Amsterdam where 38.339 (2006) immigrants of Turkish origin live, the level of the political participation of the voters from ethnic origin of the Netherlands citizen show differences relatively. In such a study, the reason to take Amsterdam as a sample is that nearly 47 percent of 738.763 people living there are of foreign origin. With this rate, Amsterdam is one of the capitals where the people from ethnic origin live in Europe after the City of Luxemburg (59.15 percent). Generally, in Amsterdam where the political participation is high, the political participation level and the political trust of the groups of ethnic origin are completely different from each other (Europaforum Wien, 2002: 109; UCEU, 2003). The voters of Turkish immigrants illustrated a higher participation than the other ethnic groups in 1994 and 1998 elections of Amsterdam Municipality (See; Table 3.9). In 2002 elections, there was a decrease in the participation of the Turkish voters (28%). While the participation into local elections in three terms for the origin of Surinamese and Antilleans is less than

30 percent, this rate is 45 percent among the voters of Turkish origin. Turkish community is the forefront in the trust issues for the public institutions and political parties. Besides, Turkish community which deals with the local politics and follows the local new much has the highest rate in local elections. These indications related to the Turkish voters and community shows the existence of a stabilized voter mass. After Turkish community, the ones who have highest political participations are Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans.

TABLE 3.9. TURNOUT RATES OF FIVE ETHNIC GROUPS AT THE LOCAL ELECTIONS, 1994-2006

Background of Origin of Voter	Amsterdam				Rotterdam**				The Hague		Utrecht	
	1994	1998	2002	2006	1994	1998	2002	2006	1994*	1998	1994	1998
Turks	67 (%)	39	30	51	28	42	53	56	-	36	55	39
Moroccans	49	23	22	37	23	33	39	58	-	23	44	26
Surinamese/ Antilleans	30	21	26	26	24	25	27	41	--	27	-	22
Cape Verdians	-	-	-	-	34	33	33	39	--	-	-	-
Overall turnout	56,8	45,7	47,8	50,8	56,9	48,4	55	57,8	57,6	57,6	59,8	56,5

Source: Tillie, 1994; Tillie and Van Heelsum, 1999; refer also to Tillie, 1998; Michon and Tillie 2003; Michon, Tillie and Van Heelsum 2007.

* The Hague 1994: no data, ** Data from COS

The voters of Turkish origin have higher participation rate than Moroccans and Surinamese do. The majority of the votes of the ethnic minorities are for the left parties of the political circle. Generally, the half of the votes related to the minorities is for Socialist Party (SP) and 20 percent for Green Left (GroenLinks). This vote distribution related to the minorities is the political approaches in favor of immigrant

of the left parties (Martiniello, 1999: 59). In conclusion, the rate of the voters of foreign origin that have the right to vote from 1986 on became under the general average after 1994. One of the exceptions is the voters of Turkish origin. In 2006 elections, the participation level of the voters of Turkish origin approach to the voters of Dutch origin. Another reason in the high rate of the participation of the voters of Turkish origin is the Turkish civil institutions that are organized in local and national scope. In the Netherlands, the rate of political participation of the ethnic groups shows differences. In 1994, almost all the ethnic groups show decrease in participation in Rotterdam; in the same year; there is a high participation in Amsterdam (See; Table 3.9). The means to explain this matter is that the minorities are in lower socio-economical level in Rotterdam compared to Amsterdam. The participation in the two big cities in 1994 is totally reverse in 2006. The reason of that is the polarization of ethnic votes with the extreme existence of Pim Fortuyn's party that comes out in Rotterdam within its importance in the politics. On the other hand, it has come out that the ethnic votes have not been shaped much according to the voters of ethnic origin. Another factor that influences the color of ethnic votes is that all the negative regulation related to the immigrants affects the direction of the votes.

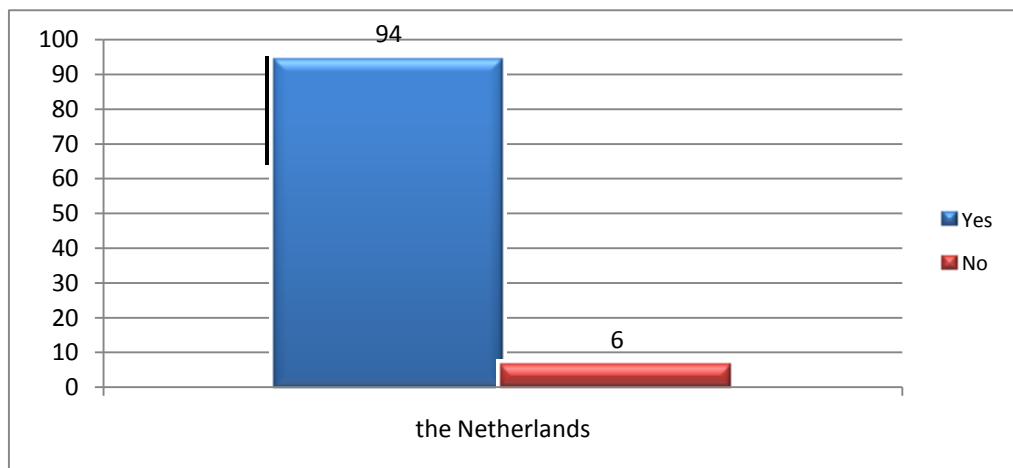
According to a study made in Amsterdam, the immigrants of Turkish origin among all the ones of ethnic origin have the lowest rate on the issue of political distrust. Only 36 percent of the population of Turkish origin do not trust in the political institutions of the Netherlands, this rate is 41 percent in the ones of Dutch origin, 60 percent in Moroccans, 61 percent in Surinamese, and 75 percent in Antilleans. Thus, in many countries including Amsterdam, Turkish voters participate

in local elections much than the other ethnic minorities and trust in local political institutions (Fennema and Tillie, 1999 3A: 7). These results show that the development of multicultural democracy and the increase in the quality are possible with the high political participation and trust field. Turkish community which makes contribution to local democracies much than the other ethnic groups do can form a more comprehensive political participation and trust field with the encouragement of the civil institutions, media and local politics' elites. The membership for the social, cultural and political organizations whether they are for ethnic minorities or not influence the political participation positively. There is an indirect relation between the volunteered organizations and political participation. The analysis of the factors that influence the political decisions and the existence of the women who are employed in different levels of political organs, the political participation level of the women of Turkish origin has been made above within the results obtained from the data sources.

The immigrants of Turkish origin can be organized among themselves facing with the troubles. While the other minority groups want the government and local authorities to help, Turkish community does not wait anything from these institutional structures. However, in democratic communities, the expectations of the public from national and local authorities are unlimited. Yet, the expectations can not be fulfilled when the public minorities emerge. In the Netherlands, generally since the expectations of the minorities do not be compensated, there is an increase in political distrust. On the other hand, Turkish community has a strong web in itself. In the generalization and continuity of this cooperation web, the share of the notable

ones of the community is high. The notable ones of the community can be a political leader as well as the leader of the civil community. These leaders have a close relationship with the socio-cultural structure and political system of the Netherlands. Consequently, the potentiality of Turkish community to be self-sufficient and the tendency to adapt to the suggestions of the notable ones of the community provide them with the forefront in the political participation, trust for the political trust among the ethnic groups.

FIGURE 3.20. DO YOU HAVE ANY VOTING RIGHTS IN THE NETHERLANDS?

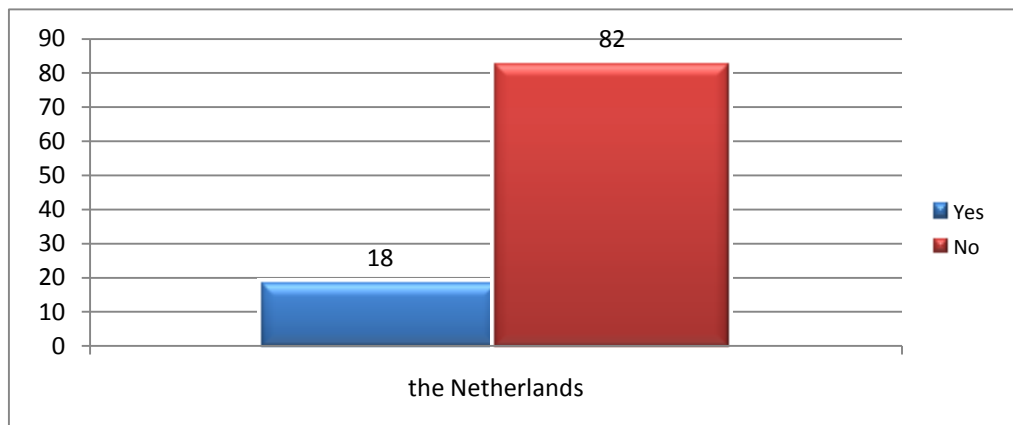


The interest of the voters of Turkish origin who gained the citizenship of the Netherlands in the political life of the Netherlands increases day by day. As the socio-economical status and education level of the women among Turkish community increase, the sensitivity on their political participation and representation also increases. 94 percent of 239 women participants mutually interviewed has the right to vote in local and national elections. 6 percent of the participants are women of Turkish origin who did not complete their fifth year in the Netherlands and are not the citizens of the Netherlands. We can easily say that the conscience level on the

representation and participation subjects of the women who have the right to vote. To our question, “What does it mean to vote in local and general elections to you?” Halime N. who works in a private cooperation as an accountant reveals the importance of the issue with these original determinations:

... I voted in both of the elections in March and November 2006. Since voting is a citizenship responsibility. Besides, this is a responsibility at the same time. Some Turkish friends around my surrounding become indifferent to vote by saying nothing happened to change for years. If we want something related for us to change, we should attract the politics by forming union and power. To get this power, it will be possible with the active participation of the ones we choose as politicians and we as voters. I should say that: some politicians we choose forget the expectations of the community and they leave the community on its own way. Our own politicians who do not protect our profits make us alienated, yet, we should go to the front of the voting box by being powerful...

FIGURE 3.21. ARE YOU A MEMBER OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY IN THE NETHERLANDS?



From the aspect of the number of voter, the high participation of Turkish community that forms the second big mass of the Netherlands in local and national elections keep on attracting the public and parties. In the Netherlands where the multicultural integration policies are laid aside, the minorities face to face with the exclusion policies that reach serious dimensions. In such kind of a place, the votes

that are used actively and the high participation in the elections are seen as an answer to the exclusion policies. The most effective example of this is that 75 percent of Turkish voters has supported the candidate from the same ethnic origin in 2002 elections after September 11 attacks. Undoubtedly, the struggle with the exclusion, discrimination in social, political, economical area is not with only voting. First of all, the construction of the civil community organizations that teach the collective motion and increases the socialization should be common and the subsidiary organizations that will be effective around the country should be founded. Thus, in the determination and introduction of the candidates that will represent Turkish community, the civil institutions will function significantly. Besides the organization of the civil institutions, another organization type that increases the conscience is the membership for parties. The membership for parties among minority groups is not common. The reason for this is that the trust for parties and politicians decreased to less than 50 percent. In the last ten years, the political discussions on minority groups and the discussions of the coalition partners have decreased this trust. While 18 percent of the women participants state that they are members of a party, 82 percent of them state that they are not members of any party. In modern democracies, the rate of the efficiency in party and the number of members in political parties are accepted as the indication of a political participation. In conclusion, the political participation is one of the important precious stones of the adaptation. Turkish community which includes municipality, province, parliamentary and the representatives in European Parliament level can increase its representatives with a more active participation than before and can get the political and legal position it deserved.

The question; “which party will you vote for in the next election?” of the participant subjects was answered differently. This question is “will you vote in the next election?” According to this, 179 of the participant subjects answered as they vote for any party. 32% of the participant women is not interested in election and voting and 28 women have not decided yet. For the participants, in next election, the rate of voting changes according to age groups. For this, 22% of 2-20 age group participants would not vote and 22% of those would not know. 56% of women participant in this age group stated that they would vote in next election. On the other hand, 12% of the participants in 20-43 age groups stated that they did not want to vote and 8% of those stated that they were indecisive and 80% of those stated that they wanted to vote. 26% of the woman participants over 43 age group said that they did not want to vote and 74% of those said that they wanted to vote in the next election. These rates show that the participants in 43 year-old group were more obvious in politics and the rate of the indecisive ones was almost never. Another result from these rates is that the woman participants in middle age group were more active in voting compared to old and young.

I stated that there is a close relation between the education level of the individuals and political participation. This is the most important hypothesis. Education supplies the active participation in political activities by developing citizenship of individuals. According to this, for the education level of women participants; the ones who have the high tendency to vote the ones graduated from secondary; 70%, those of high school 73%, the ones graduated from college 87%. These results show that as the education level of the women increases, political participation becomes much intense.

On the other hand, as the income level of the individual increases, there appears to be a political participation in every level. Thus, there is a positive relation between the income level and voting behavior of the individual, in short; as the income level increases, we can say that the tendency to vote and the advantage for political representation increase. The amounts of the salaries of the participants were not asked; but, the professions of the ones in the Netherlands have almost the same. In the labour sectors where the woman participants work, the statistical data of their monthly incomes was taken from CBS (the Netherlands Central Bureau voor de Statistiek).³⁷ As seen in Figure 2.2, the professions of women have been surveyed in four fields as the worker in service, agriculture and non-agriculture (500-1500 Euro); the officials and administrative staff in public places (1500-2500 Euro); in self-employments such as lawyer, doctor, nurse (2500-3500 Euro) and the ones who run their places in different sectors (3500,+ Euro). According to this, the rate of women participants who get between 500 and 1000 Euro is 82,5%; the rate of the ones who do not want to vote is 7,5% and the rate of ones who are indecisive is 10%. From the women participants who have between 1500 and 2500 Euro, the rate of the ones who have the tendency to vote in next election is 73%; the rate of the ones who do not want to vote is 18% and the rate of the ones who are indecisive is 9%. From the women participants who have self-employment and between 2500 and 3500 Euro income, the rate of the ones who vote is 88%, the rate of the ones who do not think to vote and are indecisive is 6%. Besides, the rate of the ones with 3500 Euro and over income who think to vote is 85% and the rate of the ones who do not think to vote is

³⁷ See for examples: Netherlands Central Bureau Voor de Statistiek, 2008 Statistical Yearbook, <http://www.cbs.nl/nl-NL/menu/home/default.htm> (05.09.2009)

15%. From the ones who do not work in anywhere, the rate of the ones who want to vote is 25% and the rate of the indecisive ones is 21%. In conclusion, it is clear that there is a close relation between incomes level related to profession and the tendency to vote. Besides, the ones who have a high income level also are the members of the parties. On the other hand, it has been seen that the participants who follow the massive communication means are interested in every level of the participation and they do not support a party long time.

3.4.2. Representation in Governmental Structures and Public Administration in the Netherlands

Representatives Assembly with 150 members that was made in November 22, 2006 decreased the number of seats in the assembly by losing three chairs of the part of President and the biggest party in the assembly of Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA). After CDA, the second biggest party, Labor Party (PvdA) can gain 33 deputies by losing 9 chairs in 2006 elections. Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) excluded one Turk origin candidate in Labor Party (PvdA) and two candidates of Turkish origin before November 2006 elections because they rejected the so-called Armenian genocide. After early elections in 2003, the highest voting rate is in Socialist Party and it became the biggest third party by excluding 8 chairs from 25 ones in the Netherlands Parliamentary. People's Freedom and Democracy Party (VVD) that is the party of Migration President, Verdonk who leads for the regulations about migrants including Migration Adaptation Law and known as known as extreme and harsh opposition for immigrant decreased its chair number to 22 by losing 6 chairs in the last elections. The biggest increase following Socialist

Party was provided by the extreme xenophobic and against Islam, Geert Wilders' Freedom Party (PVV) and when there was not any deputy, it gained 9 chairs. The Green Left Party (GroenLinks) decreased its chair number to 7 by losing one. Christian Union (CU) known as the harsh statements against the foreigners and immigrants increased its chair number to 6 by gaining 3 chairs. Democrats 66 (D66) that is the party of Fatma Koşer Kaya who is the deputy of Turkish origin, does not accept the allegiance of the so-called Armenian genocide and gives the only negative vote against Migration Adaptation Law decreased its chair number to 3 which is in 6. D66 which increased to only 3 chairs in the last elections and included 24 representatives in the assembly in 1994 has a voting potentiality that has been increasing recently in the leadership of Alexander Pechtold. Pim Fortuyn List (LPF) that is the party of Pim Fortuyn that was killed by a white Dutch and known as with his views of racist, xenophobia and extreme right did not arouse deputy by losing 8 chairs. Lastly, Nationalist Reformist Party (SGB) that is known with the extreme and harsh religious views gained only 2 chairs. Labour Party (PvdD) that did not arouse deputy in the previous elections could arouse 2 deputies in November 2006 elections. On the other hand, 9.854.998 of 12.264.503 voters that are enrolled in the Representatives Assembly, in November 22, 2006 voted. This participation rate is the highest one in the last fifteen years. In the Netherlands where Turkish voters made contributions from 1986 in local and national elections, there were 240 thousand 460 Turkish voters who have the right to vote and to be voted in local level in 2005. The citizen of the Netherlands who achieved to enter into National Assembly with 150 chairs by showing success in November 2006, elections consist of native and foreign 55 women deputies (The Ministry of Labor and Social Security,

2006). After these elections, Turkish community is represented by 4 deputies, consisting of 3 women and one man.

Labor Party (PvdA) who decreased its deputy number to 33 by losing 9 chairs in November 2006 elections is the party which Turkish voter gave great support in local elections. Nebahat Albayrak who is the second candidate of Labor Party from Rotterdam in November 2006 elections got 122.779 votes including Turkish voters. Nebahat Albayrak goes on her duty as a Government Secretary of the Ministry of Justice by the member of the Netherlands cabinet. Saadet Karabulut who is the third candidate from Amsterdam achieved to get 17.333 votes that Turkish voters gave in majority in November 2006 elections. Coşkun Çörüz who is the 35. candidate from Haarlem of Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) got 1.076 votes those almost all Turkish voters. Lastly, Fatma Koşer Kaya who is the sixth candidate from The Hague of Democrats 66 (D66) achieved to get 34.564 votes including Turkish voters. On the other hand, for the elections of 2004 European Parliament elections, Bozkurt who joined from the eighth turn of the list from Labor Party (PvdA) became the woman candidate of Turkish origin for European Parliament for the first time with 25.000 votes he got instead of the candidate in seventh turn. Emine Bozkurt became the spokesman of Labor Party against the discrimination by passing to Justice Commission from Social Duties and Employment Commission. At the same time, in Turkey, she worked as the member of culture and education commission, reporter on the women issues in Turkey. Bozkurt protected her place in AP by being elected again and joined as the second candidate of Labor Party for AP elections in 2009. After the Representative Assembly, another political organ where the politicians of

Turkish origin showed success in the Provincial Assemblies. From 2006 on, in Provincial Assemblies, there are 15 members of Turkish origin who take in charge. There are six ones of Turkish origin in different provinces including 3 women from Social Democrat Labor Party, the partners of coalition. There are 3 ones of Turkish origin including almost men from Christian Democrat Party, the big partner of the government in Provincial Assemblies. There are one man member from Green Left Party and Democrats 66 (D66); there are two men members from Socialist Party and Liberalist Party in Provincial Assemblies. Thus, there are 15 members of Turkish origin representing Turkish community including 3 women in 12 Provincial Assembly.

In March 7, 2006, around the Netherlands, the Municipality Assembly elections for the membership of assembly of 458 local municipalities were made. In these elections, 178 of 403 candidates of Turkish origin were successful and they were elected for the assembly membership to take charge in four years in towns, cities and districts. With a legal regulation in 1983, the minorities, the citizen of the Netherlands were given the right to vote. In 1986, the minorities who dwelled for 5 years at least in the Netherlands- they are not the citizen of the Netherlands- were given the right to vote in local elections. The voter of Turkish origin showed an increase in local, national and regional political mechanisms from 1986 elections they joined for the first time just after this regulation. In 1986, while 10 of 60 candidates of Turkish origin were elected, this number increased to 37 in 1994; to 108 in 1998 and to 140 in 2002. In addition to the national parties, after the Municipality Assembly elections that were made in March, 2006 which the local

parties joined, 180 municipality assembly members that took charge represented Turkish community in their regions successfully. In Amsterdam where Turkish population is dense, from 1990 to our day there are 19 councilors of Turkish origin including 11 men and 5 women. On the other hand, in 2002 and 2006 elections, there were 48 councilors of Turkish origin, consisting of 11 women and 37 men related to 9 sub-municipalities dependent on Amsterdam. Before 2006, there are 61 councilors of Turkish origin of sub-municipalities and Amsterdam city whose 31 are also the members of Turkish civil community institutions (Michon and Vermeulen, 2009). These results show that the interest in politics and the socialization with the civil organization increase.

In March 2006 elections, around the country, Labor Party (PvdA) got the great part of the votes from the voting box forms the first party form the votes that were obtained from Turkish voters. 111 candidates of Turkish origin that take part in Labor Party achieved to be elected in local elections. 22 candidates from Green Left Party (Groen Links) lists and 19 ones from Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) lists achieved to be elected as a candidate. On the other hand, in these elections, 10 candidates of Turkish origin from local parties, 8 ones from Socialist Party, 7 ones from People's Freedom and Democracy Party (VVD) and one from Stabilized Netherlands Party (DN) became successful in the elections.

3.4.3. Voting Behavior

To come to power and lose the power of the political authorities through parties change according to the choices of the parties for the voters. With this reason, the first question is "what are the factors that influence voting?" first of all the

discussions (Lipset, 1973). With the historical development, the studies about the voter behavior by politics scientist are handled within three basic titles. These are sociological approach, psychological approach and economical approach (Akgün, 2002: 25). Sociological approach that is known also as the approach to vote in class alleges that the voter behavior is determined by the social division within the community. Yet, in community; the thesis where the class differences form the vote bases of the parties and the social identities determine political choices has lost its validity as a result of the empiric studies (Dalton, 1996). Contrary to the sociological approach which bases on social groups and classes; socio-psychological approach accepts political attitudes and ideological methods as reference that consist with the socialization. According to this, voters get in touch within the party and they get the identity of this party. By this way, voters give importance to ideological acquirements they obtain as a result of political socialization process in party choices (Norris, 1998). Yet, form 1970s on, with the development of massive communication means, we see that the party identity and ideological approaches begin to change.

On the other hand, one of the reasons on parties the voters prefer for different tendencies is the features of the party leaders, party policies and economical developments (Dalton et al., 1984). Thus, the most important parameters that influence voter behaviors are economical approach; it foresees they, the citizens, prefer the party from the aspect of their own aims in every election. According to this, the voters determine their votes according to social, political and economical application of the party in power and general performance. Within the economical developments, the ignorance of the symbolic behaviors in this approach that

influence the voter behavior brings the discussions with it (Dalton and Wettenberg, 1993).

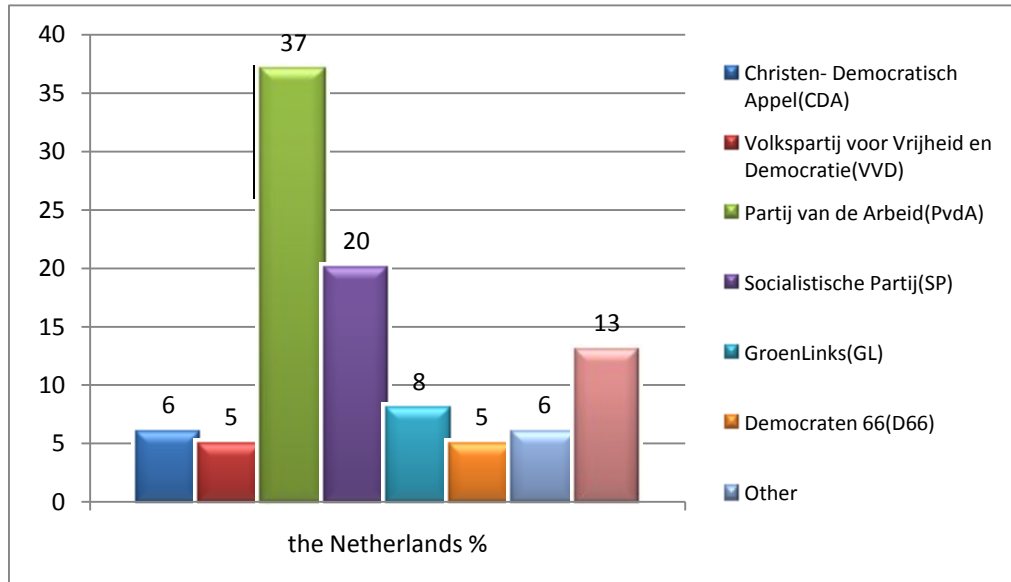
Besides, for a part of politics theoreticians, most of voters determine their political choices according to their close surrounding and group ideology where they join. Particularly, in patriarchal communities, it has been defended that the women who are married adopt their political choices according to their husbands in general. Within the same way, the common beliefs of the social and political groups determine the political choices of the individuals (Kapani, 2003: 138).

After all these general evaluations that influence the voter behaviors, we will try to survey the factors that influence the behavior to vote of the voters of Turkish origin in the Netherlands in these three basic approaches. First of all, the economical expectations among Turkish communities in the Netherlands influence the votes significantly; this has been shown in many empiric studies. The findings we get in this study support our thesis. The party programs of the big parties in the Netherlands political system and the minority policies have been discussed specifically. The answers for the question “which party will you vote for in the next election?” have been given just after the party programs. Thus, the discussion matter which factors women of Turkish origin in privacy and Turkish community in general determine their party choices has been tried to work out.

The fourth coalition government of Prime Minister Balkenende was founded by Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), Labor Party (PvdA) and Christian Union (CU), the partners of coalition government in duty is the one which they came to the power by founding coalition though the central right and left parties lost votes. At the same

time, two rivals Christian Democrats Union and Labor Party lost votes; yet, they protected their places and they increased their chair number from 8 to 25 than expected and they acted against Socialist Party (SP). The fourth Balkenende government followed a soft policy on the integration of the minorities and gave importance to poverty, the application fields of the social state principle. The policies of the parties that were successful in November 22, 2006 elections and the behaviors of the women of Turkish origin for these policies show variety. Labor Party (PvdA) defends that the price that was demanded for the adaptation course for the foreigner coming through the family unification violate the human rights. On the other hand, it defends that all the schools based on religion must accept all the native and foreign students. Labor Party (PvdA), the partners of the government is against European Constitution. On the other hand, it demands that the retirement law and the subvention business opportunities be modernized. For its policies, subvention should be provided of the salary outcome by the employers that will recruit the unemployed for a long time. It defends the limitation of mortgage interest of the ones of high income and the provision of the subvention for the ones who will buy house for the first time. On the other hand, it defends that the young who have tendency to commit a crime should be regained for the community and in some occasions, the young should be punished with the ones that include a stay in prison only for the nights. According to the result of the interview, the primary sources of this study, 37 percent of 239 participants said that they would vote for Labor Party (PvdA) that was told in the programs for the minorities in the next elections (See; Figure 3.22).

FIGURE 3.22. IF YOU HAVE THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN THE NEXT ELECTIONS FOR WHICH PARTY WILL YOU VOTE FOR?



The party of President Balkanende and Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) defense that the trainees that will come through family unification should enter the exam at the end of the adaptation course and after a successful exam, they should be permitted to stay in the country. Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) that suggests the adaptation process for the foreigners that will come through family unification in their countries want the adaptation courses to regulate for the first and second generations. Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA) wants the retirement due to disability, unemployment fund, the regular salaries, corporations to be hindered. It defends that the increase in police number and the ending of the policy to tolerance for the corporations and harsh measures for the ones who commit crimes. According to the interview results, 6 percent of 239 women participants will vote for Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA). It defends the harsh policies for the minorities and it is not supported by the minorities. According to a study, 7,5 percent rate of participants in local elections supported Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA), the party got 13

percent of the votes (Fennema and Tillie, 1999). On the other hand, in 1994 Amsterdam municipality elections, 37 percent of Turkish origin, in 1998 18 percent, in 2002 2 percent and in 2006 1 percent supported Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA). While the votes that Turkish voters gave decrease, Labor Party (PvdA) is stable (Tillie, 2000; Michon and Tillie, 2003; van Heelsum and Tillie, 2006).

Democrats 66 (D66), the partners of the 2nd Balkenende government, defends the protection of the workers' rights. It wants all the foreigners to learn Dutch. In family unification, the contribution money should be given including the course prices if the adaptation exam is successful. It defends that the opportunities of kindergartens should be increased and the new entrepreneurs should be supported. Besides, it follows that the mortgage interest should be given back and the rules should be softened in the housing, the help for the employers. The spread of the alternative punishes, the development of control with camera and the increase in guards' numbers are required by Democrats 66 (D66). For this part, the refugees in the Netherlands should be forgiven once. 5 percent of 239 women participants that consist of the sample group of this study will vote for Democrats 66 (D66).

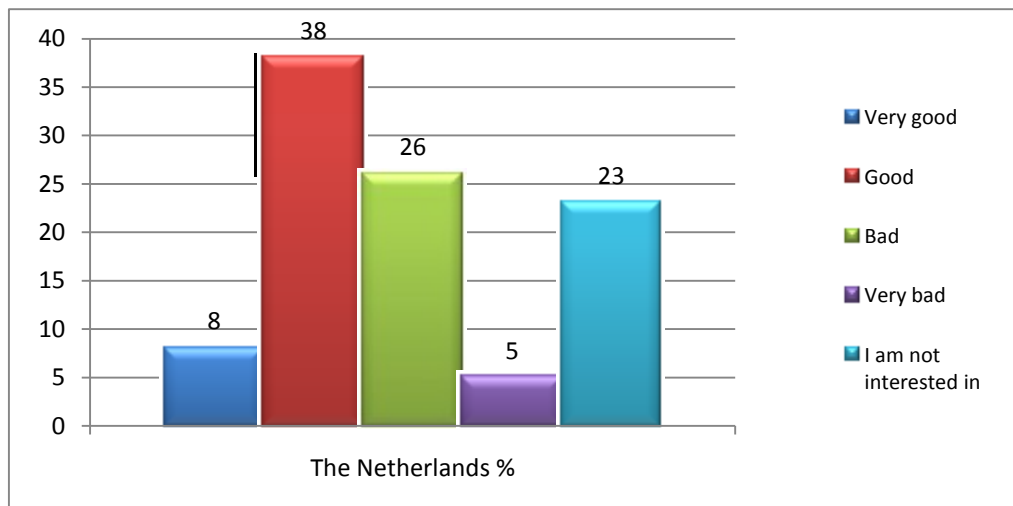
People's Freedom and Democratic Party (VVD) defends that the migration and family unification should be stopped especially for the ones who come from non-western countries. It wants everybody to know Dutch and to enter an exam that will show their acceptance of norm and rules of the Netherlands. For this party, the salaries should be low and taxes should be increased. For the part policies, there must be harsh control and there must be cheap kindergartens. The punishments should be increased and the luxury should be stooped in prisons and there must not be prisoners

in cells more than one. For Green Left Party, there should be a general amnesty for the refugees who do not commit any crime, living in the Netherlands for five years and they should be given the right of citizenship for the foreigners. For the part policies, the ones who do not get the income condition should take their families if they have not committed any crimes. For the foreign students, there must be dormitories in big cities. For Green Left Party, the ones obtained low income should be helped and the ones who obtain high incomes should be given high taxes. The subvention business opportunities should go on and these works should be diverted to permanent ones. Instead of mortgage interest should be provided and the housing opportunities of the students should be made easier. For Socialist Party, the Netherlands citizenship should be made easier and free. The foreigners should participate in municipality elections in 3 years instead of 5 years and this right should be given in the provincial elections. The obstacles should be removed for the ones who return and the current return application should be expanded. The participation into course should be compulsory and the continuity should be followed. For Socialist Party (SP), 100.000 retired should return to business market and the incomes should be balanced and the social funds should be increased. The soft drugs should be legal, yet hard drug commerce should be banned.³⁸ The participant group of this study, 8 percent of 239 women for Green Left Party and 20 percent of those for Socialist Party will vote. On the other hand, 5 percent of the women participants will vote for People's Freedom and Democracy. Two parties Labor Party and Socialist Party that are supported by Turkish voters achieved to defense the

³⁸ 'Hollanda'da seçim macerası başlıyor', *Gurbetport İnternet Gazetesi*, www.turkiye-avrupa.net (21.05.2009)

democratic rights and remove the minority votes due to the support of social state applications.

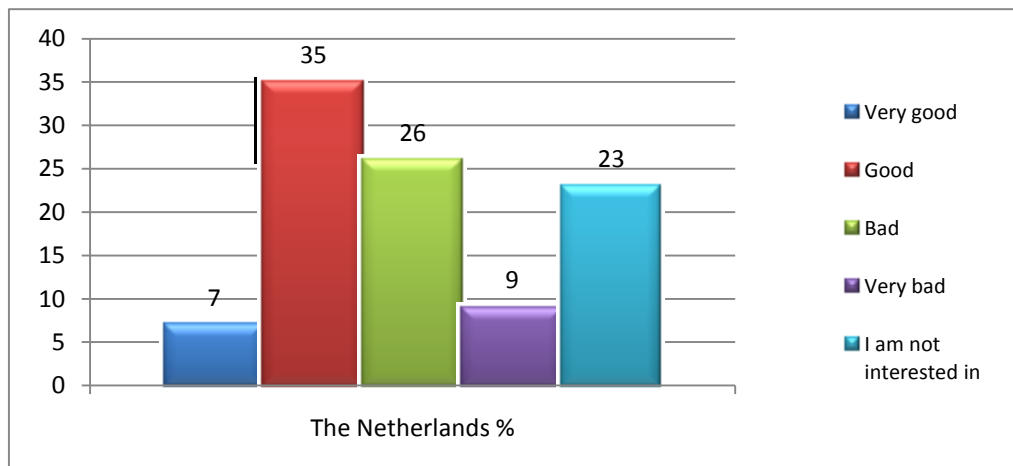
FIGURE 3.23. IN GENERAL, HOW DO YOU FIND THE CURRENT GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES?



Christian Democratic Appeal, Labor Party and Christian Union were met positively by the participants with their three year-old policies. 38 percent of 239 women participants evaluates the policies of the state well, 26 percent evaluated worse. The rate of the ones who see the government policies well is much than the ones who see worse. The attitude of the policies in favor of minorities and discrimination issues is the reason of the positivism of the policies. Secondly, the support of the steps in housing sector and struggle with the unemployment is the reason. The policies of the coalition government for the minorities are less appreciated by women participants. On the other hand, the rate of the ones who evaluate the general policies and minority policies of the government is almost same. The rate of the ones who see the policies of government for the minorities worse is much than the rate of the ones who see the general policies worse. Here, the reason

that this range is against the minorities that Christian Democratic Appeal does not defend the minority rights and develops harsh policies against them.

FIGURE 3.24. HOW DO YOU FIND GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES TOWARDS MINORITIES?



According to a study that was made by Fennema and Tillie (1999) in Amsterdam where 173 countries indifferent nations live, 35 percent of 420 participants of Turkish origin will vote for Labor Party, 37 percent for Christian Democrat Union and 13 percent for Democrats 66, 12 percent for Green Left Party. 50 percent of Moroccans will vote for Green Left Party and 39 percent for Labor Party. Labor Party is the favorite party in the Netherlands. Another party that the minorities support is Green Left Party. On the other hand, 67 percent of the voters of Turkish origin said that they supported the candidates from the same ethnic origin in 1998 elections. In 2002, this rate increased to 75 percent; in 2006 it decreased to 50 percent. After the Turkish voters the minority groups that support the candidates from the same ethnic origin are Moroccans and Surinamese (Tillie, 2000; Michon and Tillie, 2003; van Heelsum and Tillie, 2006).

There are two factors that influence the elections. These are ideological choice and the choice that shapes according to the party's position in the coalition. In the first occasion, the ideological choice is forefront in the right and left parties. The left parties are the middle-left parties and liberal parties (Tillie, 1995). The parties in the right are the middle-right parties, right parties. The ideological position of a party changes according to its position in the coalition. In short, a voter determines its permanent choice for the ideological reason and their voting changes according to the factors in current politics of the country. The strategically choice can be much determining than the ideological choice (van Heelsum, 2006). The variety in the Netherlands politics increases the success of the coalition governments. The voters do not want to use their votes in vain. The behaviors of the minorities in the Netherlands are determined according to ideological and strategically choices. In the determination of the choices of the minorities are influenced by the policies of the parties that protect the socio-economical rights and profits. The strategically choices are determined by the existence of the candidates of the same ethnic origin in the cities. The most vivid example for this is the candidacy of Albayrak and Çörüz by their parties in several terms. In 2006 elections, four deputies including three women achieved to be elected by the votes of Turkish. Turks also support Labor Party. The Moroccans approach much ideologically and they prefer the parties of left. The voting choice of Surinamese and Turkish is not determined by the ideological attitudes. The party policies of central parties in Turkish and Surinamese origin and the current political developments are the determining factors. Thus, as around the country, the strategically and ideological attitudes determine the voting color of the

women of Turkish origin. Afterwards, whether there is a candidate from the same ethnic origin or not is also a determining factor.

Finally, the political organization of the women of Turkish origin began to solve the external and internal obstacles. The study data show that the women of Turkish origin begin to close the gaps between itself and the host community and gained very important roles in this way. Turkish community that leaves 45 years behind in the Netherlands is good at the economical, social and political positions. This recovery shows itself in employment area and in the numbers of the employers. In the globalizing world, the political representation and participation is a phenomenon beyond to voting. In conclusion, Turkish community which tries to be a part of the Netherlands for half century with its women has a modern role that changes and develops parallel to the upheaval in the education. This makes contribution to adaptation process. The women, the actors of the socialization process, look for the ways to join in political decision authorities.

CONCLUSION

According to the data of this study, the Turkish community in the Netherlands is the most active group among the other ethnic minorities on the political and civil organization participation. The interest of the women of Turkish origin in local and national elections is a good indication of political participation. In 2006 general elections, the rate of the participation of the women of Turkish origin approaches to that of the Netherlands. This shows that Turkish community is a group that defends the democratic rights and joins in the decision making processes. From the aspect of political participation, the women of Turkish origin is the group mostly trusted by the governmental organs and the political system of the Netherlands, among the ethnic minority groups. As a matter of fact, the political participation and trust of the minorities of the Netherlands is an indication of the socialization level. The most important indicators of this level are the common organization networks in the host country and the number of civil institutions. Today, the number and prevailing situation of Turkish civil organizations around the Netherlands is the most common among the ethnic groups.

First of all, the participation of women into political decision making and city administrations are one of the most important elements of the democracy. Thus, the equal participation of women in local and national political life is a condition for them to develop their status. The equality between men and women in political life is one of the fields where the problems, troubles and needs of the women gather. The data of this study revealed that the general education level determines the participation of the women into local and national political life. The decreases in

graduates' rate of second and third generations influence the low participation into political life of the women. The other factors are: the position of the women at home and their responsibility of household. On the other hand, Turkish and Moroccan women do not participate in political life actively since in the Muslim countries the male dominates the family.

According to the survey results, the education level of the second generation Turks is lower than that of the Netherlands. Most of second generations young are exposed to the unemployment in business market. Recently, the rate of Turks who get works among the young has increased and the unemployment rates decreased in the Netherlands. Besides, the second generation women in Turkish community have tendency for the cultural, religious identity norms compared to the other ethnic women. The social control in Turkish family structure limits the behaviors of the girls. The education careers of the women are limited with the traditional gender roles and the marriages at an early age. The women have less opportunity for education and business market. In this respect, the civil associations are necessary for the families to make them gain sensitivity towards the social gender. All the authorities are informed for an education opportunity for the girls. The women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands are kept away from the old moulds that they are used to in their countries. The political position of Turkish woman is open with the effect of Turkish civil institutions. The results of the survey show that Turkish civil institutions are more comprehensive and organized compared to other ethnic groups. The participation of women into civil organizations among Turkish community influences the women positively. Today, the political participation of women of

Turkish origin in public and national political arena and their existence in political decision making processes provides them with very important opportunities, making them very important in politics.

In the Western European countries, Turkish women try to get a place in half a century migration history. The Turkish woman rejects to be assimilated and she criticizes her own cultural elements. Culture, as a dynamic and changing phenomenon, experiences a revolution. Surely, the traditional cultural elements are also criticized.

Recently, the representation and political participation of the women show themselves in every part of the community. In democratic communities, the status of the women is a symbol of development and improvement. The data of the survey show that the women of Turkish origin in the Netherlands do not reach the desired level of participation in economical and social life, but their participation in political life and representation shows that they are all successful. As a matter of fact, the political and representation of the women is a new event for Turkish community. The political representation of women is higher in the Netherlands, yet, their perception of politics as a duty of men decreased their existence in politics. To show many candidates in the regions in limited numbers is not an easy path for the women to participate in the elections as a candidate. The discrimination, political concept, ethnic participation and political organization influence the women negatively in their participation in the city administration. In conclusion, Turkish civil institutions and the governmental organs in the Netherlands should take measures to remove the obstacles and to focus on the structural obstacles.

It is possible to make women participate in politics in the male dominated and traditional structure. The politicians of Turkish origin and the position of women in socio-economical status show that the numbers of the women should be increased within political decision making mechanisms. Thus, the participation of the women into municipality, province and representative assemblies is a good step for them in the decision making processes. On the other hand, the participation of Turkish women in the Dutch politics and their expansion within the boundaries of political life is a good aspect of the women.

From a demographical point of view, half of the Turkish community of the Netherlands is active in politics. The political system of the Netherlands and the external dynamics contribute to the internal political democratic structures and provokes the political participation of women. Thus, this solution is not valid for Turkish community; Turkish community shelters the solution in its own dynamics. Consequently, the limited participation of women is seen as a deficiency for democracies.

The precondition that the women of Turkish origin in governmental organs are employed is the increase in the economical and social life participation. In pluralist democracies, the solution of this is the compensation of the economical and social in equalities. The civil institutions and the families should lend support to their women who leave their education. More women should be employed in more areas and meeting regarding this issue should be called. In the Dutch community, in social, political and economical areas of life, in order for Turkish women to maintain the

struggle for their existence and fair well in politics is only possible through perseverance and preservation of willpower.

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How much did the women of Turkish origin supply the adaptation to the Dutch community?
2. What are the inevitable conditions for the both sides in the supply of a successful adaptation?
3. How is the share of the roles in family of Turkish community in the Netherlands? Does this general share of roles belonging to working and family life change in time?
4. What are the education matters of the women immigrants of Turkish origin?
5. Do the women of Turkish origin living in the Netherlands have an endeavor to learn the Dutch language? If they did, how much could they achieve it?
6. In which level are the matters of education, language and adaptation of Turkish children in school age?
7. What does determine the marriage choices of young girls getting married in the Netherlands? How much are they free in the choice of a partner?
8. In which fields do the Turkish and the Dutch women resemble to each other or not?
9. In which vocation group do the women immigrants of Turkish origin take part in the Netherlands in general?
10. How much salary do the working women of Turkish origin get monthly in average?
11. What determines the working choices of the Turkish women immigrants?
12. What are the relations of the Turkish women immigrants with the religion? How much are they dependent on the ritual determined in religious relations?
13. In which level are the ties of the immigrant families of Turkish origin with Turkey? With which aim do they visit Turkey?
14. In which level is the tendency to return to Turkey among Turkish families living in the Netherlands?

15. How do the women make use of the social and political systems and rights of the Netherlands?
16. What kind of social and cultural activities do the women immigrants of Turkish origin join in?
17. In which level are the relations of the women immigrants of Turkish origin with local and national civil organizations?
18. In which level do the women immigrants of Turkish origin watch the Dutch channels? In which level do they pursue the Dutch news and magazines that are published weekly and daily?
19. How is the relation between the socio-economical conditions and political points of women immigrants of Turkish origin?
20. What is the relation between the education matters and political choices of women immigrants of Turkish origin?
21. How much are the women immigrants of Turkish origin interested in the local and national policies in the Netherlands?
22. How much do the women immigrants of Turkish origin trust the Dutch government and political parties?
23. How are the general and minority policies of the Dutch government found by the women?
24. Which political parties have been supported by the Turkish women immigrants especially in the last local and general elections? Why?

APPENDIX B

SURVEY QUESTIONS*

* This questionnaire the questions of which were directed to Turkish women consists of 47 questions. 3 of the questions were omitted while the thesis was being written. As a result, the questions shown below consist of the 44 questions used in our study.

Soru 1. Yaşınız aşağıdaki aralıklardan hangisine uymaktadır?	
Question 1. Which option is the suitable most for you between these ages?	
16 Yaşından küçük	Less than 16 age
16-20 Yas	16-20 age
21-26 Yas	21-26 age
27-34 Yas	27-34 age
35-43 Yas	35-43 age
44-55 Yas	44-55 age
56 Yas Üzeri	Over 56 age
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 2. Kaç yıldır Hollanda'da yaşıyorsunuz?	Question 2. How long have you been living in the Netherlands?
1 Yıldan az	Less than one year
1-3 Yıl	1-3 years
3-5 Yıl	3-5 years
5-10 Yıl	5-10 years
10-20 Yıl	10-20 years
20-30 Yıl	20-30 years
30 Yıldan çok	More than 30 years
Hollanda'da doğdum	I was born in the Netherlands
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 3. Medeni durumunuz nedir?	Question 3. What is your marital status?
Evli	Married
Bekâr	Single
Nişanlı	Engaged
Boşanmış	Divorced
Dul	Widow
Diğer	Others
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 4. Eşinizle hangi yolla evlendiniz? (6,7,8,9,10. ve 11. soruları hiç evlenmemiş olanlar cevaplamayacaktır)	
Question 4. How did you get married to your husband? (The ones who do not get married do not answer 6,7,8,9,10 and 11.questions)	
Hollanda'ya yerleşmeden önce Türkiye'de evlendim	I got married in Turkey before I settled in the Netherlands
Hollanda'da yaşayan bir Türk ile evlendim	I got married to a Turk who lives in the Netherlands
Türk olmayan bir erkekle Hollanda'da evlendim	I married to man who is not Turk in the Netherlands
Türkiye'den ithal gelin olarak geldim	I came from Turkey as an imported bride
Eşim Türkiye'den ithal damat olarak geldi	My husband came from Turkey as an imported groom
Diğer	Others
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 5. Kaç yıldır evlisiniz?		Question 5. How long have you been married?	
1 Yıldan az		Less than one year	
1-3 Yıl		1-3 years	
3-5 Yıl		3-5 years	
5-10 Yıl		5-10 years	
10-20 Yıl		10-20 years	
20-30 Yıl		20-30 years	
30 Yılden çok		More than 30 years	
Yanıt yok		No answer	

Soru 6. Kaç çocuk sahibisiniz?		Question 6. How much children have you got?	
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	
4 Çocuktan fazla		More than 4 children	
Çocuğum yok		I do not have a child	
Yanıt yok		No answer	

Soru 7. Çocuklarınızın kaç tanesi Hollanda'da doğdu?		Question 7. How many children were born in the Netherlands?	
Hiçbiri		None of them	
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	
4'ten fazlası		More than 4	
Yanıt yok		No answer	

Soru 8. Çocuklarınızın kaç tanesi Hollanda'da yaşıyor?		Question 8. How many children do live in the Netherlands?	
Hiçbiri		None of them	
1		1	
2		2	
3		3	
4		4	
4'ten fazlası		More than 4	
No answer		No answer	

Soru 9. Çocuğunuz veya çocuklarınız ana dilini hangi seviyede konuşabiliyor?	
Question 9. In which level does/do your child or children speak his/her/their native tongues?	
İleri Seviye	Advanced level
Orta Seviye	Pre-intermediate level
Başlangıç Seviyesi	Beginner level
Hiç bilmiyor	No native tongue
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 10. Siz, eşiniz veya çocuklarınız Hollanda dilini öğrenmek için dil kursuna gittiniz mi?	
Question 10. Have you/your children or does your husband gone to a course to learn the Dutch language?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 11. Ev içerisinde devamlı hangi dil konuşulmaktadır?	
Question 11. Which language is spoken continuously at home?	
Yalnız Türkçe veya Kürtçe	Only Turkish or Kurdish
Yalnız Hollanda dili	Only Dutch Language
Türkçe/Kürtçe ve Hollandaca	Turkish/Kurdish and Dutch Language
İngilizce ve Almanca	English and German
Diğer	Others
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 12. Hollanda dilini hangi seviyede konuşabiliyorsunuz?	
Question 12. In which level do you speak the Dutch language?	
İleri Seviye	Advanced level
Orta Seviye	Pre-intermediate level
Başlangıç Seviyesi	Beginner level
Hiç bilmiyorum	I do not know
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 13. Aile içinde çocukların bakım sorumluluğu kime aittir?	
Question 13. Who is the responsible for the child care at home?	
Genel olarak anne	Generally, the mother
Anne ve baba eşit şekilde	The mother and father equally
Genel olarak baba	Generally the father
Bakıcı	Babysitter
Diğer kişiler (Büyükanne, teyze/hala, kız kardeş vb.)	The other people (grandmother, aunt, sister e.t.c.)
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 14. Eğitim durumunuz nedir? Hangi ülkede eğitiminizi tamamladınız veya sürdürüyorsunuz?	
Question 14. What is your education matter? In which country have you completed your education or have you continued your education?	
İlkokul	Primary school
Ortaokul	Secondary school
Lise	High school
Meslek okulu	Technical high school
Lisans veya Onlisans	Undergraduate/College
Yüksek Lisans veya Doktora	Master or Doctorate
Diğer	Others
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 15. Hollanda’da kalma veya göçmenlik statünüz aşağıdakilerden hangisidir?	
Question 15. Which one is your immigration status and your stay in the Netherlands?	
Hollanda vatandaşı	The Dutch citizenship
Çalışma izni	The permission to work
Eğitim izni	The permission for education
Mülteci	Refugee
Kaçak	Illegal
Diğer	Others
No answer	No answer

Soru 16. Oturduğunuz ev kime aittir?	Question 16. Who is the owner of the house you stay?
Kendimize	Ours
Belediyeye	The municipality
Çalıştığımız kuruma veya şirkete	The institution or corporation in which we work
Özel kiralık konut	The private rented house
Diğer	Others
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 17. Kendinizi aşağıdaki kimliklerden hangisiyle tarif ediyorsunuz? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)	
Question 17. Which identity below is the most convenient for you? (You can mark more than one choice)	
Türk	Turkish
Kürt	Kurdish
Alevi	Alawi
Müslüman	Muslim
Türkiyeli	From Turkey
Hollandalı	The Dutch
Diğer	Other
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 18. Kendinizi siyasi görüş olarak nasıl tanımlarsınız?		Question 18. How do you define yourself as a political notion?	
Muhafazakâr		Conservative	
Sosyal demokrat		Social democrat	
Liberal		Liberal	
Milliyetçi		Nationalist	
Diğer		Other	
No answer		No answer	

Soru 19. Hollanda'ya hangi amaçla geldiniz?		Question 19. What is your aim in coming to the Netherlands?	
Hollanda'da doğdum		I was born in the Netherlands	
Evlilik		Marriage	
Doğrudan çalışma amacıyla		With the aim of working	
Anne ve babamın işi dolayısıyla		Because of the job of my father and mother	
Eğitim için		For education	
Diğer		Other	
Yanıt yok		No answer	

Soru 20. Hollanda'nın kendine has aile ve sosyo-kültürel yapısı sizde kendi ailenizden farklı olarak hangi değişiklikleri meydana getirdi? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)		Question 20. How have the family and socio-cultural structure of the Netherlands influenced you differently from your family? (You can sign more than one choice.)	
Daha muhafazakâr oldum		I have become more conservative	
Daha milliyetçi oldum		I have become more nationalist	
Daha dindar oldum		I have become more pious	
Daha liberal/özgürlükçü oldum		I have become more liberal	
Daha sosyalist oldum		I have become more socialist	
Ailemden daha çok asimile oldum		I have becomes more assimilated than my family does	
Ailemden daha çok uyum sağladım		I have got much adaptation than my family does	
Diğer		Other	
Yanıt yok		No answer	

Soru 21. Türklerin Hollanda toplumuna uyum sağlamasını destekliyor musunuz?		Question 21. Do you support the adaptation of Turks to the Netherlands community?	
Evet		Yes	
Hayır		No	
Yanıt yok		No answer	

Soru 22. Size göre Hollanda'daki Türk kadınının en önemli sorunu nedir?	
Question 22. For you, what is the important problem of Turkish woman in the Netherlands?	
İşsizlik	Unemployment
Eğitimsizlik	Lack of education
Aile içi şiddet ve zorla evlendirmeler	The violence in family and the forced marriages
Ayrımcılık ve önyargılar	The discrimination and prejudices
Hollanda toplumuna uyum sağlayamama	The failure in providing the adaptation to the Dutch community
Fırsat eşitsizliği	The inequality in opportunity
Diğer	Other
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 23. Türk kadınının yaşam koşullarına ait aşağıdaki tespitlerin hangileri size göre doğrudur? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)	
Question 23. Of all the determinations below related to the living conditions of Turkish woman, which are the right for you?(You can mark more than one choice)	
Politik alanlarda kadının rolü güçlendirilmeli ve desteklenmelidir	The role of woman in political areas should be empowered and supported
Aile içi ilişkilerde ve kararlarda kadının rolü artırılmalıdır	The role of woman in family affairs and decisions should be increased
Çalışan kadınların eşleri ev işlerinde görev paylaşımı yapmalıdır	The husbands of the working women should share the house works
Kadınların kendi yaşamlarını belirleyecek bir meslek edinmeleri sağlanmalıdır	The women should be provided with a job to determine their lives
Kadınların kendi gelirlerine sahip olmaları engellenmemelidir	The women should not be prevented from having their own incomes
Kadınlar öncelikli olarak ev ve aile işleriyle ilgilenmelidir	The women should be firstly interested in their home and family works
Aile içi şiddete karşı kadın ve çocuklar kanunlarla korunmalıdır	The woman and children should be protected against the violence in family
Eş seçiminde kadınlar özgür olmalıdır	The women should be free in the choice of the partner
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 24. Ne tür sosyal ve kültürel aktivitelere katılıyorsunuz? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)	
Question 24. What kind of social and cultural activities do you attend to?(You can mark more than one choice)	
Türk kültür ve sanatını tanıtan dernek faaliyetlerine katılıyorum	I attend to the association activities that define Turkish culture and art
Spor, eğitim, entegrasyon ve hobi amaçlı dernek faaliyetlerine katılıyorum	I attend to association activities with the aim of sport, education, integration and hobby.
Türk ve Hollandalı kadınlarla haftalık kaynaşma toplantılarına katılıyorum	I attend to the weekly fusion meetings with Turkish and Dutch women
Dini amaçlı dernek faaliyetlerine katılıyorum	I attend to association activities related to the religious aims
Türkiye'nin AB üyeliği gibi siyasi amaçlı faaliyetlere katılıyorum	I attend to the activities with political aims as the EU membership
Herhangi bir etkinliğe katılmıyorum	I do not attend to any activity

Soru 25. Boş zamanlarınızı genellikle nasıl değerlendirirsiniz? (Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)	
Question 25. How do you evaluate your spare times in general? (You can mark more than one choice)	
Hollandalı arkadaş ve komsularına giderim	I go to my Dutch friends and neighbors
Türk komşularına, arkadaşlarıma veya akrabalarıma giderim	I go to my Turkish neighbors, friends or relatives
Parti, dernek veya kulüp toplantılarına katılırım	I attend to party, association and club meetings
Spor/Egzersiz salonuna, sinema veya tiyatroya giderim	I go to fitness center, the cinema or the theatre
Diğer	Other
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 26. Hollanda'da olmaktan ve yaşamaktan memnun musunuz?	
Question 26. Are satisfied in being and living in the Netherlands?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 27. Herhangi bir sivil toplum kuruluşuna veya sendikaya üye misiniz?	
Question 27. Are you member of any civil community foundation or syndicate?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 28. Hollanda'da hangi meslek dallarında çalıştınız veya çalışıyorsunuz?	
Question 28. In which branches of business have you worked or do you in the Netherlands?	
Memur veya idari kadro	Client or official staff
İşveren veya esnaf	Employer or craftsmen
İşçi (Hizmet, tarım ve tarımsal olmayan sektörler)	Employee(service, agriculture or the non-agricultural sectors)
Serbest meslek sahibi (Avukat, doktor vb.)	Self-employment (lawyer, doctor, e.t.c.)
Diğer	Other
Herhangi bir işte çalışmıyorum	I do not work in anywhere
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 29. Çalıştığınız iş tam zamanlı ve yarı zamanlı işlerden hangisidir? Question 29. Is your business full time or part time?	
Tam zamanlı	Full time
Yarı zamanlı	Part time
No answer	No answer

Soru 30. Çalıştığınız işten memnun musunuz? Question 30. Are you satisfied with your business?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 31. Neden herhangi bir işte çalışmıyorsunuz?	Question 31. Why do not you work in any business?
Ev hanımıyım	I am a housewife
Doğum izindeyim	I am off because of giving birth
İşsizim	I am unemployed
Öğrenciyim	I am a student
Emekliyim	I am retired
Diğer	Other
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 32. Devletten işsizlik veya iş göremezlik ücreti adı altında yardım alıyor musunuz?	Question 32. Do you get a support from the goverment under the name of unemployment or disability to work?
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 33. Tasarruflarınızı hangi ülkede tutuyorsunuz?	Question 33. In which country do you keep your savings?
Türkiye	Turkey
Hollanda	The Netherlands
Her iki ülkede	In both of these countries
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 34. Türkiye'yi hangi sıklıkta ziyaret ediyorsunuz?	Question 34. How often do you visit Turkey?
Her yıl	Every year
2 yılda bir	Twice a year
3 yılda bir	Three times a year
4 yılda bir	Four times a year
4 yıldan fazla	More than 4 years
Hiç gitmiyorum	I never go
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 35. Türkiye'ye kesin dönüş düşünüyor musunuz?	Question 35. Do you think a certain return to Turkey?
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 36. Türkiye hakkındaki bilgileri nereden alıyorsunuz?(Birden çok şık işaretleyebilirsiniz)	
Question 36. Where do you get the information about Turkey?(You can mark more than one choice)	
Televizyon	Television
Radyo	Radio
Günlük Gazeteler	Daily news
Dergi	Magazines
İnternet	İnternet
Telefon	Phone
Tatil Ziyareti	Holiday visit
İlgilenmiyorum	I am not interested in
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 37. Hollanda TV kanallarını seyredersiniz?	Question 37. Do you watch the Dutch channels?
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 38. Hollanda gazete ve dergilerini okur musunuz?	Question 38. Do you read the Dutch news and magazines?
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 39. 15 Mart 2006 tarihinden itibaren zorunlu hale getirilen 'Yerleşim Temel Bilgi Sınavı (Uyum Sınavı)' sizce doğru bir uygulama mıdır?	
Question 39. Do you think The Exam to Settle (Adaptation Exam) that was compulsory after March 15, 2006) is a true application?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 40. Hollanda'da herhangi bir siyasi partiye üye misiniz?	
Question 40. Are you a member for any political party in the Netherlands?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 41. Şu andaki hükümet politikalarını genel olarak nasıl buluyorsunuz?	
Question 41. What do you think about the current govermental policies in general?	
Çok iyi	Very good
İyi	Good
Kötü	Bad
Çok kötü	Very bad
İlgilenmiyorum	I am not interested in
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 42. Azınlıklara karşı hükümet politikalarını nasıl buluyorsunuz?	
Question 42. What do you think about the governmental policies against the minorities?	
Çok iyi	Very good
İyi	Good
Kötü	Bad
Çok kötü	Very bad
İlgilenmiyorum	I am not interested in
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 43. Hollanda’da oy kullanma hakkınız var mı?	
Question 43. Do you have a right to vote in the Netherlands?	
Evet	Yes
Hayır	No
Yanıt yok	No answer

Soru 44. Oy kullanma hakkınız varsa gelecek seçimde hangi partiye oy vermeyi düşünüyorsunuz?	
Question 44. If you have a right to vote, to which party will you give a vote in the next election?	
Hristiyan Demokrat Parti (CDA)	Christian Democratic Appeal (CDA)
Özgürlük ve Demokrasi Partisi (VVD)	People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD)
İşçi Partisi (PvdA)	Labour Party (PvdA)
Sosyalist Parti (SP)	Socialist Party (SP)
Yeşil Yol Partisi (GL)	GreenLeft (GL)
Demokratlar 66 Partisi (D66)	Democrats 66 (D66)
Yukarıdakilerin hiçbirine	None of them above
İlgilenmiyorum	I am not interested in

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