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A Tightrope: The First Generation Turkish Politicians Navigating Migrants' Needs and Dutch Party Politics: Researching frames of political representation in Turkish and Dutch Newspapers between 1970 and 1994

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A Tightrope: The First Generation Turkish Politicians Navigating Migrants' Needs and Dutch Party Politics

Researching frames of political representation in Turkish and Dutch Newspapers
between 1970 and 1994

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Inhoudsopgave

Introduction	4
Theory.....	6
<i>The Pioneers and their Predicaments</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Foot-in-door & Talkin Back</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Discourse & Frame Theory</i>	<i>10</i>
Historiography	12
Method & Material	15
<i>Method.....</i>	<i>15</i>
<i>Material</i>	<i>17</i>
Turkish Newspapers	18
Organising the Data	20
Dutch Newspaper Articles	28
Chapter Three: Migration, Policy and Politics	32
<i>Issues, Organisation and Advocacy.....</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>The incorporation of migrants into Dutch politics</i>	<i>38</i>
Chapter Four: Turkish Newspapers, A Foot in the Door	43
<i>Deductive Frames.....</i>	<i>43</i>
Conflict/Danger: The Effect of Growing Nationalism	44
Responsibility frame	47
<i>Inductive Frames</i>	<i>49</i>
Broken promise frame	50
Foot-in-door frame	52
<i>Who's welfare: Advocacy for Migrants</i>	<i>54</i>
Chapter Five: Dutch Newspapers, Dutch Audiences	56
<i>Deductive Frames.....</i>	<i>56</i>
The Humanitarian Frame	57
Responsibility frame	58
<i>Inductive Frames</i>	<i>61</i>
Broken promise frame	61
Tokenism and Lack of Preparation	65
Foot-in-door frame	69
<i>Who's welfare: Bridging the Gap</i>	<i>71</i>
Chapter Six: The Tight Rope.....	72
<i>Migrant Advocate, Dutch Politician.....</i>	<i>72</i>
<i>Academic Relevance.....</i>	<i>75</i>
Conclusion.....	78
Bibliography.....	82

List of Articles from Turkish Newspapers	86
List of Articles from Dutch Newspapers	89

Introduction

The enfranchisement of political constituencies determines who has the right to be heard and who has the authority to represent them. Disenfranchised groups may use various strategies to gain political power. Participating in elections and joining mainstream political parties is one way for groups to become more politically incorporated. However, this strategy depends on many factors, including the openness of the political system, voting laws, party politics, and social and political discourses. Nonetheless, gaining the right to vote is a significant moment for any group as it opens new possibilities for organisation and representation.

In 1986, non-naturalized migrants in the Netherlands were granted the right to vote in local elections. This was not an immediate development, as it followed a prolonged public and political debate stemming from discourses that problematised migrant communities. Even with the attainment of local suffrage, the issue of minority and migrant representation persisted, and nearly 40 years later, it continues to be a prominent topic in political and social discourse.¹

What makes the Local Suffrage Act of 1986 interesting is that political parties such as the Partij van de Arbeid (PvdA - Labour Party) and the Christelijk Democratisch Apèl (CDA - Christian Democrats) were aware of the voter potential that lay with these migrants and therefore started incorporating representatives from these groups. One of these voter groups was Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, who had migrated to the Netherlands.² They formed organisations, enterprises, unions, and religious institutions that all dabbled in advocacy or politics. They voiced their programs and aims in Turkish newspapers that had started publishing in Europe. The Local Suffrage Act of 1986 changed their political involvement and aims.

¹ M. Sobolewska, R. McKee, and R. Campbell, 'Sobolewska,' Explaining motivation to represent: how does descriptive representation lead to substantive representation of racial and ethnic minorities?', *West European Politics*, 41:6 (2018), 1237-1261; Jaco Dagevos et al., *Is de politiek er voor iedereen? Een onderzoek naar migrantenrepresentatie, institutioneel vertrouwen en politieke participatie bij personen met een migratieachtergrond*. Netherlands Institute for Social Research (The Hague 2024).

² Ahmet Akgündüz, *Labour migration from Turkey to Western Europe, 1960-1974* (Hampshire, 2008) 1-9; Lisa Mügge, *Beyond Dutch borders: transnational politics among colonial migrants, guest workers and the second generation*, (Amsterdam 2010) 149-155.

It is well-documented what motivated Dutch political parties to incorporate migrant groups.³ However, not much is known about the motives of the migrant representatives to become politically active, especially from a historical perspective. This thesis aims to answer the question: ‘What were the dominant frames that Turkish-Dutch politicians employed to construct their political candidacy, and why did they use these frames?’

First, I will clarify the theories employed by this thesis, which methods they inspired, and which materials are analysed. After this, I will provide context about the period in which these Turkish-Dutch politicians were active. The remainder of this thesis will feature the outcomes from the frame analysis and answer why these Turkish-Dutch politicians employed the analysed frames.

³ Dirk Jacobs, *Nieuwkomers in de politiek: het parlementair debat omtrent kiesrecht voor vreemdelingen in Nederland en België (1970-1997)* (Gent 1998) 102-103.

Theory

This paragraph is divided into three sections. First, I will provide an overview of what motivated the first generation of migrant politicians according to academia. Second, I will provide an overview of possible strategies these political actors employ to effectively achieve their aims. Third, I will provide an overview of the methods and theories that inform the data analysis in this thesis.

The Pioneers and their Predicaments

When it comes to passive suffrage (right to be elected), Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga have established three phases when it comes to the Dutch political context: the starting/pioneer phase (1986-1998), the middle phase (1999-2010), and the recent phase (2010 and onwards).⁴ This thesis will focus on the starting/pioneer phase. Among the most notable arguments concerning reasons for political participation through passive suffrage by migrants in the Netherlands in the pioneer's phase is the period of mutual non-committing, bridging social capital, and electoral gains.⁵ It is well known that the migrant politicians of the pioneer phase were recruited by political parties, particularly the PvdA (Labour Party), GroenLinks (Green Left) and CDA (Christian Democrats). In the 1986 elections, 150 councillors with a migration background stood as candidates, and more than 40 were ultimately chosen.⁶ That was a fraction of the approximately 10,000 council members at the time. Some argued that this was because migrants were placed in unelectable places as a kind of 'alibi-Ali'.⁷ Jos de Beus refers to this as the

⁴ Alfons Fermin, Zeki Arslan, and Peter Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*, (Utrecht 2021).

⁵ Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie, 'Political participation and political trust in Amsterdam: Civic communities and ethnic networks', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 25 (1999), 703-726; Jos de Beus, 'Volksvertegenwoordigers van ver. Plaats en toekomst van immigranten in de Nederlandse politiek', In C. Van Baalen et al., *Jaarboek Parlementaire Geschiedenis 2002; Nieuwkomers in de politiek*, (Nijmegen 2002); Laure Michon, *Ethnic minorities in local politics. Comparing Amsterdam and Paris*. (Amsterdam 2011); Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*.

⁶ D. Carton and G. Massaro, *Leerjaren: ervaringen van de eerste buitenlandse gemeenteraadsleden in Nederland*. (Utrecht, 1990); W. Tinnemans, *Een gouden armband. Een geschiedenis van mediterrane immigranten in Nederland (1945-1994)* (Utrecht 1994); de Beus, 'Volksvertegenwoordigers van ver.'

⁷ Dirk Jacobs, *Nieuwkomers in de politiek*.

mutual non-committing phase, which entails that “the gain of new voters and members outweighed the loss of programmatic coherence and unity in the faction”.⁸

Among the individual characteristics that influenced political participation is what Fennema and Tillie call ‘bridging social capital’, which means that by participating in civil society, they came into contact with political parties and politicians and thus built up a network of relationships that stimulated them to become politically active.⁹ Various studies show that most council members with a migration background were active in civil society, often in migrant organisations or local consultation bodies, and general organisations, such as trade unions or sports organisations. Female council members appear to have been regularly active in women's organisations.¹⁰

One way this thesis understands political participation is through descriptive and substantial representation. Descriptive representation concerns the number of representatives originating from underrepresented groups in political bodies regardless of their political views and positions.¹¹ Substantial representation concerns the extent to which the wishes and attitudes of these groups are considered and influence the political decision-making process.¹² Michon, Fermin, Arslan and Zwaga, and Carton and Massaro research the motivations of these politicians by use of qualitative interviewing methods. They all argue that substantive representation and problem resolution were the key motivations.¹³ In particular, Brieuc-Yves

⁸ Jos de Beus, ‘Volksvertegenwoordigers van ver’, 53.

⁹ Fennema and Tillie, ‘Political participation and political trust, 703-726; Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*.

¹⁰ Frank Bovenkerk, Jan Rath and Loes Ruland, ‘De opkomst van een vergeten electoraat. Etnische groepen en de gemeenteraadsverkiezingen van 2 juni 1982’, *Intermediair*, 18:35 (1982), 1-7; Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*.

¹¹ Sobolewska, McKee, and Campbell, ‘Sobolewska,’ Explaining motivation to represent’, 1237-1261.

¹² Sobolewska, McKee, and Campbell, ‘Sobolewska,’ Explaining motivation to represent’, 1237-1261.

¹³ Fennema and Tillie, ‘Political participation and political trust, 703-726; Michon, *Ethnic minorities in local politics*; Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*.

Cadat and Meindert Fennema argued that the aim of Turkish politicians is to secure the right to be different and improve the position of Turks.¹⁴

An obstacle to this motivation was that these pioneers had received very little training and were often intimidated by the political environment.¹⁵ Furthermore, they operated in environments where their capabilities were often doubted and closely watched.¹⁶ All council members interviewed in the study by Carton & Massaro indicated that, in principle, they were on the council for all municipality residents, but most also indicated that they wanted to pay extra attention to topics important to migrant groups. They also clarify that a few migrant politicians chose not to profile themselves on the subject of integration and migrants because they believe that is a subject that should also concern others.¹⁷

The council members interviewed by Carton and Massaro indicated that they were seen by their 'constituents' as 'problem solvers', care providers and/or social workers. Migrant organisations approached them with the request to use their political influence to arrange something for them. The response of interviewed councillors usually consisted of clarifying to their constituents what the position of a councillor entailed. Also, there was not always room within the own fraction to influence policy on minorities.¹⁸

To sum up, there is academic consensus on the fact that the political incorporation of migrants in the Netherlands was a result of voter gains (phase of mutual non-committing), that the main characteristic that resulted in the inclusion of individual migrant politicians was their social capital and bridging abilities due to previous administrative experiences. They were motivated by substantive representation and problem-solving for the general welfare. Which, in the case of Turkish migrants, meant to secure the right to be different and improve the

¹⁴ Briec-Yves Cadat and Meindert Fennema, 'Het zelfbeeld van Amsterdamse migrantenpolitici in de jaren negentig', *Amsterdams Sociologisch tijdschrift*, 22:4 (1996) 655-681.

¹⁵ Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*.

¹⁶ Carton and Massaro, *Leerjaren* 25-32.

¹⁷ Carton and Massaro, *Leerjaren* 43-45.

¹⁸ Fermin, Arslan, and Zwaga, *Diversiteit in de gemeenteraad*, 118.

position of Turks.¹⁹ They were challenged due to the fact that they had little experience, received little training and were often closely watched.

Foot-in-door & Talkin Back

Recently, Dagevos et al. researched how experiences related to politics and institutional trust affected the political participation of migrant groups in the Netherlands.²⁰ They argued that migrants appreciated substantive representation more than descriptive representation but felt that it increased the chances for substantive representation.²¹

Politicians with migrant backgrounds engage in two representation strategies.²² First, the foot-in-the-door strategy involves politicians with migration backgrounds joining mainstream political parties to bring about change from within and act as role models for future generations. These politicians are aware of the challenges they may face, such as tokenism and lack of equality within mainstream political parties.²³ The second strategy is talking back, which entails that some politicians with migration backgrounds believe that creating minority parties and institutions is the best way to represent themselves due to feelings of exclusion and disenfranchisement with mainstream parties.

The inability to include voter groups and provide them with a means of representation can have adverse outcomes for the societal participation of minority groups and vice versa.²⁴ At the same time, we know that political parties are faced with dilemmas concerning the inclusion of migrant voter bases. Too much accommodation of these groups can lead to what is

¹⁹ Cadat and Fennema, 'Het zelfbeeld van', 655-681.

²⁰ Dagevos and Vermeulen, *Is de politiek er voor iedereen?*.

²¹ Jaco Dagevos, Jurjen Iedema, and Niels Spierings, 'Ervaren representatie, institutioneel vertrouwen en politieke participatie: bevindingen van kwantitatief onderzoek', in: Jaco Dagevos and Floris Vermeulen (ed) *Is de politiek er voor iedereen?* (The Hague 2024), 12-44.

²² Ruşen Koç and Floris Vermeulen, 'Verandering van binnenuit en 'talking back'. Strategieën, ervaren obstakels en percepties van politici, belangenbehartigers en activisten', in: Jaco Dagevos and Floris Vermeulen (ed) *Is de politiek er voor iedereen?* (The Hague 2024), 70-86.

²³ Koç and Vermeulen, 'Verandering van binnenuit en 'talking back'', 70-86.

²⁴ D. J. Hopkins et al., 'Does perceiving discrimination influence partisanship among US immigrant minorities? Evidence from five experiments', *Journal of Experimental Political Science*, 7:2 (2020) 112-136.

dubbed ‘white backlash’. Therefore, according to Raphaela Dancygier, including minority candidates is not a matter of ideological conviction for political parties but rather one of electoral calculations.²⁵

Discourse & Frame Theory

Discourse involves a process in which reality is charted, structured and censored in discursive formations.²⁶ In discourse theory, as used in this thesis, the emphasis is placed on relational identities.²⁷ Here, meaning is derived from a construct’s relation to a nodal point, which gives coherence to the discourse. For example, if the nation is the nodal point, political projects are structured and articulated according to the national interest.²⁸ It is hypothesised here that the nodal points involve either ‘the national interest’ (Netherlands) or ‘group interest’ (Turks in the Netherlands) in constructing the political candidacy of migrant politicians.

Frame analysis will help find the often-recurring claims used in constructing political candidacy, which can be analysed deductively or inductively. Within the deductive approach, we can find five prevalent approaches: (1) the responsibility frame (who is the problem, who has to offer a solution, what is the role of law), (2) an economic frame (about costs and gains), (3) a humanitarian frame (emphasis on the personal story), (4) a morality frame (referring to decency and (Christian) morals), (5) and a conflict/danger frame (referring to social cohesion, cultural differences and security).²⁹ The dominant deductive frames, as mentioned by Marlou

²⁵ Hopkins et al., ‘Does perceiving discrimination influence partisanship’, 112-136.

²⁶ Michel Foucault, *The archeology of Knowledge and the Discourse on language* (New York 1982) 21-25; Marlou Schrover and Tycho Walaardt, ‘The influence of the media on policies in practice: Hungarian refugee resettlement in the Netherlands in 1956’, *Journal of Migration History*, 3 (2017) 28.

²⁷ Claire Sutherland, ‘Nation-building through discourse theory’, *Nations and Nationalism*, 11:2 (2005) 185-202.

²⁸ E. Laclau and C. Mouffe, *Hegemony and socialist strategy*, (London: 1985) 105; Marlou Schrover and Willem Schinkel, ‘Introduction: the language and exclusion in the context of immigration and integration’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 6:7 (2013) 1124.

²⁹ Semetko and Valkenburg, ‘framing European politics’, 93-109; H. Bauder, ‘Media discourse and the new German immigration law’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 34:1 (2008) 95–112; H. Bauder, ‘Immigration debate in Canada: how newspapers reported, 1996–2004’, *International Migration & Integration* 9 (2008) 289–310.

Schrover, on migration and integration are focused on problems anticipated as a consequence of migrant presence. However, it is essential to note here that Schrover's theory on problematisation and the frames extracted from it are done so by analysing the output of the native Dutch. The understanding of problematisations and the subsequent frames might differ when analysed from the perspective of the migrants themselves, especially if these migrants are politically engaged.

In the inductive tradition, authors use a combination of the top-down and bottom-up approaches. To recognise inductive frames, one needs to be informed on the subject of analysis and be attentive to identify patterns of language or claims that might allude to the formation of a frame.

Historiography

Not much is written about the subject of this thesis. Most of the work has focused on the participation of migrant voters or specific political parties.³⁰ These publications, although crucial for the wider academic field, often draw on recent affairs.

Sociologists such as Jan Rath have been researching the political incorporation of migrants in the Netherlands since the 1970s and 80s. For example, Rath, Bovenkerk and Ruland researched the presence of migrants in local elections.³¹ They found that the migrant groups were underrepresented and that there were differences between migrant groups when it comes to political participation.³²

Marlou Schrover wrote much on the important subjects these migrant groups faced and expected the politicians to tackle.³³ Among these subjects are housing problems, riots, dependent residence status, marriage restrictions, illegality, and unemployment. Migrants have been known to protest all these issues, going as far as to hold hunger strikes.³⁴ Schrover also wrote on how frames affected the discourse on migrants and how these migrants were problematised.³⁵ However, her analysis was focused on the perspective of the native Dutch on

³⁰ Bovenkerk, Rath and Ruland, 'De opkomst van een vergeten electoraat. 1-7; Jan Rath, 'The enfranchisement of immigrants in practice. Turkish and Moroccan islands in the fairway of Dutch politics', *Netherlands Journal of Sociology*, 19:2 (1983) 151-180; Jan Rath, 'Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities in the Netherlands', *The international Migration Review*, 17:3 (1983) 445-469; Floris Vermeulen, Eelco Harteveld, Anja van Heelsum, Aad van der Veen, 'The potential of immigrant parties: insights from the Dutch case', *Acta Politica*, 55:3 (2020), 432-453.

³¹ Bovenkerk, Rath and Ruland, 'De opkomst van een vergeten electoraat. 1-7; Rath, 'The enfranchisement of immigrants in practice, 151-180.

³² Bovenkerk, Rath, Ruland, 'De opkomst van een vergeten electoraat', 1.

³³ M. Fennema, J. Tillie, A. van Heelsum, M. Berger and R. Wolff, *Sociaal kapitaal en politieke participatie van etnische minderheden*, Instituut voor Migratie en Etnische Studies (Amsterdam 2000); H. Obdeijn and M. Schrover, *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam 2008); Schrover and Walaardt, 'The influence of the media', 28; Marlou Schrover, 'Rats, rooms and riots: usage of space by immigrants in the Dutch town Utrecht 1945-1970', *Journal of Migration History*, 7 (2021) 244-271.

³⁴ Marlou Schrover, 'Why Make a Difference? Migration Policy and Making Differences Between Migrant Men and Women (The Netherlands 1945-2005)', in: Marlou Schrover and Eileen Yeo, *Gender, Migration, and the Public Sphere, 1850-2005* (New York 2010) 76-96, 89-90.

³⁵ Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*; Schrover and Walaardt, 'The influence of the media', 28; Schrover, 'Rats, rooms and riots', 244-271.

migration and integration. She did not delve into the motivations or outlook of migrant politicians.

Dirk Jacobs wrote about discourses within politics between 1970 and 1997 and how these evolved by giving a chronological account of the political enfranchisement of migrants in the Netherlands.³⁶ He too focused on the vantage points of native Dutch and less on migrants. He did mention the intricacies of migrant communities and their effect on enfranchisement. Dirk Hollander wrote a historical account of the migrant council of Utrecht, which at some point also held some national allure. Hollander gives an overview of how the migrant council was set up to advise the local council, and how this idea caught on, on the national scale. Similar initiatives were organised in Delft, Dordrecht, Gouda, Leiden, Zaanstad and more places.³⁷ These councils were meant to advise the municipal councils and increase cooperation. They never took off due to the composition of the councils. Representatives were not always suited to the task, voter turnout was low, often between 20 to 50%, and they were labelled failures because the initiators or municipal councils disagreed with the advice.³⁸ Meanwhile, discussions about local voting rights for migrants progressed.³⁹

Some authors have emphasised understanding the motivational factors of migrant politicians. For example, Briec-Yves Cadat and Meindert Fennema researched the self-image of migrant politicians in Amsterdam in the 90s.⁴⁰

More recently, there has been an interest in minority or migrant parties, which have emerged all over Europe, particularly in the Netherlands.⁴¹ In this case, often, the

³⁶ Jacobs, *Nieuwkomers in de politiek*, 102-103.

³⁷ Jan Rath, 'Political Participation of Ethnic Minorities', 454; Dick Hollander, *De Verenigde Staten van Utrecht. De Geschiedenis van de Utrechtse Migrantenraad (1972-1978)* (Utrecht:2020) 203.

³⁸ Hollander, *De Verenigde Staten van Utrecht*, 203.

³⁹ Hollander, *De Verenigde Staten van Utrecht*, 203.

⁴⁰ Cadat and Fennema, 'Het zelfbeeld van Amsterdamse migrantenpolitici', 655-681.

⁴¹ Simon Otjes and André Krouwel, 'Why do newcomers vote for a newcomer? Support for an immigrant party', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 45:7, (2019) 1148-1167; Floris Vermeulen et al., 'The potential of immigrant parties', 432-453.

disappointment of migrant constituents is said to be the driving factor behind these immigrant parties.

This thesis aims to contribute to the discussion by applying sociological and political theory to analyse the motivations and expectations of migrant politicians from a historical perspective. It thus provides necessary historical context to current discussions on representation and political incorporation.

Method & Material

Method

The research data analysis can be divided into two phases: frame analysis and discourse theory analysis. In the first phase, I will analyse which inductive and deductive frames can be found in newspaper articles and extract these frames' nodal points. The best way to illustrate this method is to exemplify this approach.

In '*Amsterdam'da seçim Heyecanı*' (excitement for elections in Amsterdam), published in *Hürriyet* on 27-12-1986, an interview is conducted with Adnan Külhan of PvdA. He is a candidate for the district council for the neighbourhood De Pijp in Amsterdam. First, I document the article title, publication date, the politician's name and political affiliation. Then, I read and analysed the article in search of frames. I do this by searching and documenting citations containing the five deductive frames.

This article starts by giving an overview of Külhan's backstory. It is stated that he wants to be elected to the district council and is expected to be elected. After this, a long quote is used to clarify the views and position of Külhan to the reader.

There are many foreigners in De Pijp district where I live. I can say that it is almost the most problematic district of the capital. There are many problems. The housing problem is especially big. Most houses are old and date back to the Second World War. Foreigners often live in these houses. In addition, there is also an education problem in the district. Unemployment is as intense as it can be. These problems I have mentioned are awaiting solutions. I'm not saying that if elected, I will solve these problems completely. But I would at least bring the issue to the agenda in the district council and ensure that solutions are sought. At the beginning of February, I will go from house to house and hold meetings in cafés and neighbourhood houses to

determine the problems of foreigners. If I enter the district council, I will make sure to raise these issues.⁴² -Adnan Külhan

In this instance, I do not find any of the deductive frames convincing enough.

Second, I investigate frames I might recognise inductively. Several inductive frames have been found in the analysis of these articles, which are briefly mentioned here, but in chapter four, they will be explained in greater detail. These are the foot-in-the-door frame, the talking back frame, and the broken promise frame. One frame I come across in the above-mentioned excerpt is the ‘foot-in-the-door’ frame, which entails that voting for the candidate with descriptive similarities will ensure the substantive representation of the group. Herein, it is implied that the resemblances in personal characteristics make for better political representation. This is particularly true here due to the sentences: ‘There are many foreigners in De Pijp district where I live.’ There is an emphasis on the fact that Külhan lives in the same district as his constituency, and ‘I’m not saying that if I am elected, I will solve these problems completely. But I would at least bring the issue to the agenda in the district council and ensure that solutions are sought.’ Külhan uses the foot-in-door frame.

Next, I code the citations of the stated aims of political action, which in this case is the substantive representation of migrants. This conclusion is drawn on the citation: ‘At the beginning of February, I will go from house to house and hold meetings in cafés and neighbourhood houses to determine the problems of foreigners. If I enter the district council, I will raise these issues.’ Finally, the question of what nodal point constructs the political candidacy according to the interview. In this case, the nodal point is determined to be the migrant group. This is based on the citation: ‘Foreigners often live in these houses’. The use of

⁴² ‘Amsterdam’da seçim Heyecanı’, *Hürriyet*, 27-12-1986.

the word ‘foreigners’ is telling when compared to other articles in which other politicians may refer to ‘Turks’.

This concludes the analysis of this article. All the coding was conducted through Microsoft Office Forms and stored in the University of Leiden's Microsoft cloud.

Illustration 1: Article on Adnan Külhan’s candidacy.

The heading reads: 'Exitement over elections in Amsterdam' Our countryman, Adnan Külhan has put forth his candidacy for the city district the Pijp where many foreigners live.



Source: ‘Amsterdam'da seçim Heyecanı’, *Hürriyet*, 27-12-1986.

Material

The material under analysis in this thesis was collected in two phases. In the first phase, articles were collected using data from Turkish newspapers distributed and written for Turks in the Netherlands. The second phase consists of Dutch newspaper articles from the digital archive searches in Delpher on the main actors from the first phase.⁴³ I will explain in detail the sources

⁴³ <https://www.delpher.nl/>

under analysis in this research. The collection analysed here is unique; no study has been conducted with similar material, and no information has been readily available on these Turkish newspaper articles. Therefore, this section of the paper will be more comprehensive than otherwise usual for the material section of a research paper.

Turkish Newspapers

Marlou Schrover, professor of Economic and Social History at the University of Leiden, had several binders containing Turkish newspaper articles dated in the 1970s, '80s and '90s in her personal custody. Such a collection of newspaper articles for the Turkish migrant audience is unique. Therefore, it is of profound importance for future research to analyse and preserve these articles.

The collection comprises 21 binders with articles from Turkish newspapers *Tercüman*, *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Gunaydin*, *Aydinlik*, *Türkün sesi*, *Cumhuriyet*, and *Dunya*. Roughly speaking, half of all articles originate from *Hürriyet*, a quarter from *Tercüman*, and in the other quarter, it was either unknown from which paper they originated or from one of the other mentioned newspapers.

To understand the context in which these articles were written, an interview was conducted with Zulfikar Özdoğan. Özdoğan is the International Institute of Social History (IISH) research staff member for collection development on labour migration from Turkey to Western Europe. Until 1984, Özdoğan worked as an editor for Turkish newspapers himself and, therefore, is the right person to contextualise the genesis of Turkish newspapers in Europe.

The decision to publish Turkish newspapers in Europe was based on two main reasons. The first was economic, and the second was to organise and influence the Turkish population in Europe. Regarding the economic reasons for newspapers to publish in Europe, Özdoğan says:

They realised that this [publishing in Europe] was a gold mine. For example, in Germany, one newspaper was sold for one German Mark and later for two German Mark, but the newspaper was sold in Turkey for 25 German Pfennig, so they earned four times as much in Europe on the same newspaper as they did in Turkey. On top of that, the circulation grew through the years.

The first publications of Turkish newspapers in Europe were in Germany on February 3rd, 1969, by *Akşam Gazetesi*, after which *Hürriyet* started publishing in Munich on April 17th of the same year. *Tercüman* followed suit on the 13th of October 1970 and *Milliyet* on the 18th of August 1972.⁴⁴

These newspapers had specific characteristics and political colours. Özdoğan:

Hürriyet is a neutral newspaper, it has the nickname ‘the admiral’s ship’ meaning it is the forerunner and it was the most read newspaper; they [reporters at *Hürriyet*] are all Kemalist, meaning secular and oriented towards the West but still nationalist. *Tercüman* was different; it was very anti-communist, and the reporters at *Tercüman* had close ties with the Grey Wolfes [right-wing militants]. *Tercüman* has also played a very bad role when it comes to the leftists in Turkey and Europe. It was through *Tercüman* that the Grey Wolfes were reorganised in Europe.

Researcher: ‘Were the readers of these newspapers aware of this?’

Özdoğan: ‘Yes.’

⁴⁴ An interesting detail Özdoğan refers to is the fact that the more religious Milli Gazette also tried to get a foothold in the European market but failed to do so. Seemingly there was no interest in this paper.

All the newspapers in this collection are either neutral or right-wing. This was generally the case with Turkish newspapers in Europe. There was little to no involvement of leftist newspapers.

According to Özdoğan, the political status in Turkey influenced the tone of the newspapers. He gives an example by stating that the tone of Turkish newspapers, in general, changed after the military coup of the 1980s. Furthermore, Özdoğan claims there was little emphasis on Dutch politics because this was not interesting to the Turkish migrant readers. This only changed after the public opinion changed from ‘we will return’ to ‘we will settle’. This change happened, according to Özdoğan, after family reunification became mainstream. According to my analysis, there was less attention to politics than to other subjects, but I would not state that there was no interest in Dutch politics. I do find a significant upscaling of political articles in the 1980s compared to the ‘70s, which confirms the statement of Özdoğan.

Organising the Data

In the first phase, the objective was to organise and analyse the 21 binders. The aim was to find as many interviews with Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists as possible. After going through 15 of 21 binders on a systematic article-by-article basis and organising them according to the subjects the articles discussed, I finished the final six binders by looking for interviews with politicians, activists or representatives. This decision was taken based on time constraints. By the time I had analysed and organised 15 binders and over 3000 articles, I felt confident in my ability to recognise the interviews I sought. The outcomes are as follows in Table 1 and Table 2.

Table 1: Overview of years of publication from Turkish newspaper collection.

Year	Articles
1970	1
1971	0
1972	7
1973	37
1974	14
1975	61
1976	47
1977	279
1978	107
1979	58
1980	10
1981	0
1982	0
1983	0
1984	0
1985	1
1986	292
1987*	1392
1988	0
1989	0
1990	0
1991	523
1992	199
1993	185
1994	0
1995	0
1996	1
unkown	11
Total	3225

*The high number of articles in 1987 is explained by the commencement of the Turkish Football League in the Netherlands. *Hürriyet* and *Tercüman* had special sports issues dedicated to interviews with players in this league and scoreboard statistics.

Table 2: Newspaper titles found in Turkish newspaper collection

Newspaper	Articles
Hürriyet	1757
Tercüman	649
Unknown	591
Milliyet	143
Günaydın	40
Cumhuriyet	22
Aydınlık	13
Dunya	9
Turkun Sesi	1
Total	3225

Table 3: Codes used to organise all articles in Turkish newspapers

Code	Article
News	1483
Interview with Migrant politician/activist/representative	77
Culture	246
Crime	183
Other	226
Sports	916
Politics	94
Total	3225

The ‘news’ category covered economic events like fluctuations in oil prices, layoffs at major factories, and wars. Some topics received extensive coverage, including the Moluccan insurgencies in the mid-1970s in the Netherlands and the layoffs in the 1980s.

Under the topic of ‘culture’, I grouped newspaper reports that highlighted cultural evenings and events. Other articles include interviews with musicians who visit the Netherlands to perform for the migrants.

Under ‘crime’ were coded articles related to murder, heroin trade and articles on the mafia in the Netherlands and Turkey. Interestingly, there was a great emphasis on individual murders. Among these often were femicide or hate crimes against Turks.⁴⁵

In the category ‘other’, I included articles that did not fit into any of the other subjects, such as ads or death notices. I found many ads from business owners looking for people to take over their businesses.

About one-third of all articles were coded as ‘sports’. Interestingly, many articles covered the progress of the newly formed Turkish Migrant Football League in the Netherlands. These articles included weekend reports of all matches, interviews with players, and news about the formation of new clubs.

On politics, the newspapers aimed to inform the readers of developments in the Dutch parliaments. Articles focused on Dutch politics in general and discussion in parliament, as well as individual politicians and their points of view. Individuals such as Joop den Uyl, Wim Kok and Dries van Agt were often discussed during their tenures. The emergence of ‘nationalistic’ voices in parliament and the formation of the Centrum Partij, a party using strong anti-migrant rhetoric, was reported regularly.

Among the articles about politics were also interviews with migrant politicians or representatives. I found 77 articles in which representatives or migrant politicians were interviewed. Only one is dated before the Local Suffrage Act of 1986. Most often, the occasion for these interviews was the election of migrant politicians or representatives or a commentary on specific activities that the representative or politician had undertaken. When asked about their motivations for social or political action, 40 articles emphasised that they experienced

⁴⁵ Marlou Schrover, “Multiculturalism, Dependent Residence Status and Honour Killings: Explaining Current Dutch Intolerance towards Ethnic Minorities from a Gender Perspective (1960-2000).” *Gender, Migration and Categorisation: Making Distinctions between Migrants in Western Countries, 1945-2010*, edited by Marlou Schrover and Deirdre M. Moloney, (Amsterdam 2013), 231–254.

exclusion on a personal or group level. Three referred to a career motive, meaning they thought it fits their career, either as politicians or otherwise. Nine candidates emphasised the need to pave the way for the future generations. Six were motivated by lost confidence in current political parties and wished to provide an alternative. In 17 articles, the aim was unclear, and two articles emphasised inclusion into the political system as a motivator of political activity.

The preferred type of representation was also coded. Seven articles referred to descriptive representation.⁴⁶ And 46 articles described their aimed representation type as substantive. In 24 articles, the outcome was undecided.

After organising the articles, I conducted a frame analysis of the 77 interview articles. During the frame analysis phase of the Turkish articles, 14 articles were taken out of the data set. Reasons for omission were, for example, that the articles were too short to come to any conclusions, that the political actor was only briefly mentioned, or because the subject of the matter was not about the political engagement of the individual but rather something unrelated to the subject of analysis. This means that the analysis was conducted on 63 articles. Of these articles, 49 were published by *Hürriyet*, nine by *Tercüman*, one by *Milliyet*. Of three articles it was unknown who had published them. The years of publication were 1986 (8), 1987 (16), 1990 (14), 1991 (10), 1992 (8), 1993 (6). The list of representatives is presented in Table 4.

⁴⁶ Sobolewska, McKee, and Campbell, 'Sobolewska,' Explaining motivation to represent', 1237-1261.

Table 4: List of Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists mentioned in Turkish newspapers.

Name Politician	Male/Female	Political party
Abidin Eralp	Male	Not Mentioned
Adnan Külhan	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
Ahmet Özçelik	Male	CDA (Christian Democrats)
Atilla Karaoğlu	Male	IOT (Inspiraak Orgaan Turken)
Aysel Kaplan	Female	Yabancı Kadınlar Merkezi (Centre for Foreigner Women – YKM))
Aziz Yılmaz	Male	Türk Hollanda Çalışma Grubu (Turkish-Dutch cooperation group)
Coşkun Yeğenoğlu	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
Fahri Demir	Male	Din Hizmetleri Consul (Consul of Religious matters)
Fatih Çeylan	Male	Türk Hollanda çalışma grubu (Turkish-Dutch cooperation group)
Findik Okyay	Female	PvdA (Labour Party)
Halim Şumnu	Male	Toplum Partisi (Turkish party in Rotterdam)
Haluk Bilal	Male	Not Mentioned
Hasan Kaynak	Male	GroenLinks (GreenLeft)
Hayati Akdağ	Male	Not Mentioned
Hayrullah Çevik	Male	CDA (Christian Democrats)
Hülya Topçu	Female	GroenLinks (GreenLeft)
Ibrahim Özdemir	Male	Türk Danışma Meclisi (Turkish Council)
İsmail Aykul	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
İsmail Balıkoç	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
Kadir Kılınç	Male	SP (Socialist Party), Chair Türk İşçiler Cemiyeti (Turkish Workers Union)
Kemal Coskun	Male	CDA (Christian Democrats)
Mahir Engin	Male	Not Mentioned
Maviye Karaman	Female	GroenLinks (GreenLeft)
Mehmet Akbulut	Male	Hollanda İslam Federasyonu (Netherlands İslam Federation)
Mehmet Dünder	Male	Hollanda Türk Kültür Dernekleri Federasyonu (Netherlands Turkish Culture Associations Federations – HTKDF)
Mehmet Kizilacak	Male	Not Mentioned
Mehmet Ülger	Male	Demokratik İşçi Federasyonu (Democratic Workers Union)
Meliha Ölmez	Female	Türk Kadınlar Çalışma Grubu (Turkish Women Workers group)
Mesudiye Zengin	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
Mevlüt Yücel	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
Musa Öztürk	Male	Demokratik Sosyal Dernekleri Federasyonu (Social Democratic Associations Federation – DSDF)
Mustafa Demircan	Male	Chair Hollanda Demokratik Sosyal Dernekleri Federasyonu (DSDF)
Mustafa Okçuoğlu	Male	PvdA (Labour Party)
Naci Demirbaş	Male	Not Mentioned

Nesrin Cingöz	Female	GroenLinks (GreenLeft)
Nurettin Demiral	Male	Toplum Partisi (Turkish party in Rotterdam)
Osman Bahadır	Male	Hollanda'da Türkler İçin Danışma Kurulu (Council for Turks in the Netherlands)
Papatya Nalbantoğlu	Female	Amsterdam Belediyesi Azınlıklar Politikası Geliştirme Dairesi (Office for Minority Politicis in Amsterdam)
Pervin Öcal	Female	Chair Yabancı Kadınlar Merkezi (YKM)
Ramazan Tunç	Male	Hollanda Türk İşçiler Birliği (Netherlands Turkish Workers Union – (HTIB)
Sabri Kenan Bağcı	Male	PvdA (Labour Party), HTSKF, DSDF, IOT
Sadiye Yıldırım	Female	Yabancı Kadınlar Merkezi (YMK)
Seçil Arda	Female	PvdA (Labour Party)
Şerafettin Çeliker	Male	Toplum Partisi (Turkish party in Rotterdam)
Talip Demirhan	Male	CDA (Christian Democrats)
Taner Demir	Male	Not Mentioned
Turan Köroğlu	Male	Toplum Partisi (Turkish party in Rotterdam)
Unal Sönmez	Male	Toplum Partisi (Turkish party in Rotterdam)
Yılmaz Karakaya	Male	Not Mentioned
Yılmaz Koçer	Male	Not Mentioned
Yusuf Toprak	Male	CDA (Christian Democrats)
Zeki Çelikkollun	Male	Consul General

The most prominent names among these were Maviye Karaman, Talip Demirhan, Sabri Kenan Bağcı, and Seçil Arda. I will briefly overview these individuals, their affiliations, and why they were mentioned more often.

Talip Demirhan migrated to the Netherlands in 1966 as a guestworker. In 1973, he began working for the Dutch Railway and became involved in the Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond (CNV – Christian Workers Union).⁴⁷ Through his advocacy for migrants in the CNV, he became associated with the CDA. In 1986, he became a member of the party's management.⁴⁸ He was vocal about migrant workers' rights and opposed Dutch nationalists. Interestingly, in Dutch newspapers, he was often characterised as a Muslim rather than a Turk; this was not the case in Turkish newspapers. Notable events included his knighthood and the Aruba affair. In the Aruba affair, Demirhan went to Aruba as an employee of the CNV to assess the living and working conditions of Turkish guestworkers but was subsequently deported, leading to

⁴⁷ 'İslam verrijking van de Nederlandse cultuur', *De Volkskrant*, 30-04-1987.

⁴⁸ 'İslamiet in partijbestuur CDA gekozen', *Nederlands Dagblad*, 26-11-1986.

questioning in Dutch parliament. Demirhan left the CDA in 1993 due to his misconduct of his stepdaughters, for which he was sentenced to prison.⁴⁹

Maviye Karaman studied Turkish language and literature in Istanbul, where she met her husband, Nihat Karaman. They migrated to the Netherlands in 1973 and organised leftist Turkish workers' organisations. They first established the HTIB, after which Maviye Karaman founded the Hollanda Türkiyeli Kadınlar Birliği HTKB. Nihat Karaman was the chair of HTIB, and Maviye Karaman was the chair of HTKB. Her work focused on women's and workers' emancipation.⁵⁰ She organised several protests for Turkish workers at the chicken factory in Almelo and campaigned against marriage restrictions for migrant workers in the Netherlands. In 1988, her husband was murdered in front of their house in Amsterdam.⁵¹ She became politically active with GroenLinks that same year. However, she resigned from the party in April 1993 due to a perceived lack of support.⁵² She felt that the party used her to gain the migrant vote but was unwilling to implement her suggestions.

Seçil Arda immigrated to Germany in 1970. She studied there and later travelled to the Netherlands in 1980. In 1986, she was elected to the local council for the PvdA in Enschede.⁵³ Arda was known for her work advocating for women's emancipation and her assertiveness in her political career. She was frequently featured in newspapers, radio, and television, and sometimes she was critical of her own party. In 1989 she withdrew from the local council due to disagreements with her local PvdA colleagues.⁵⁴ She was promoted to the PvdA party management.

⁴⁹ 'Wegens ontucht veroordeeld lid CDA-bestuur stapt op', *Trouw*, 21-08-1993.

⁵⁰ Saskia Bosch, 'Turkse migrantenvrouwen voor het eerst bijeen', *De Waarheid*, 06-06-1985.

⁵¹ 'Leider Turkse organisatie in Amsterdam doodgeschoten', *NRC*, 28-06-1988.

⁵² Marjon Bolwijn & Altan Erdogan, 'Groen Links vond mijn ideeën te utopisch', *Het Parool*, 15-04-1993.

⁵³ Emine Gümüş, 'Hollanda'daki güçlü sesimiz', *Hürriyet*, 17-07-1986.

⁵⁴ 'Turks PvdA-raadslid trekt zich terug', *Nieuwsblad van het Noorden*, 11-10-1998.

Sabri Kenan Bağcı arrived in the Netherlands in 1969 and was most known in Dordrecht.⁵⁵ He was very active within several Turkish migrant organisations, including the IOT, the Hollanda Türk Spor ve Kültür Federasyonu (HTSKF), and the DSDF. Politically, he was mostly active for the PvdA, where he was both a local politician and later admitted into the party management on the national level. He strongly advocated the foot-in-door frame and was known for his rebuttals of anti-migrant rhetoric.

I explicitly mention the political actors above because they are mentioned in the database under analysis in this thesis. Furthermore, they represent particular groups within Turkish-Dutch organisations of the time; Seçil Arda and Maviye Karaman were outspoken and known for their involvement in women's rights protests and movements; Sabri Kenan Bağcı was well known within more leftist circles, and Talip Demirhan within conservative circles.

That others are not mentioned, therefore, does not entail that their contributions were not relevant. Such individuals as Kadir Kılınç, Mahir Engin and Findik Okyay were also prominent politicians at some point to whom several articles were dedicated. Due to word limits, I believe that the stories of Demirhan, Karaman, Arda and Bağcı are sufficient in illustrating the political careers of this generation of Turkish-Dutch politicians.

Dutch Newspaper Articles

Migrant politicians' positions and standings are not only influenced by the wishes and views of their migrant constituents. These political actors also need to understand and navigate the political and public landscape of the Netherlands. In this sense, it is also interesting to apply the same methodology to Dutch newspaper articles.

⁵⁵ A.F. Kerbert, 'Een Turkse partij hier zal niets bereiken', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 17-11-1983.

The list of names collected from the first phase was thus used as a starting point in the search for Dutch interviews with Turkish migrant politicians, representatives, and activists. The online newspaper database Delpher was the main source of Dutch articles for the second phase.

In Delpher, I installed filters on the dates from 01-01-1970 until 31-12-1994, roughly when the Turkish newspaper articles were published. In the collection ‘newspapers’, I systematically searched for the names of Turkish migrant politicians, representatives, and activists as listed in Table 4.⁵⁶ The outcome is presented in Table 5.

Table 5: Research outcome from the Delpher database.

Name Politician	Number of Hits in Delpher	Number of interviews on Political participation in Delpher
Maviye Karaman	120	15
Talip Demirhan	130	14
Seçil Arda	57	9
Yusuf Toprak	4	4
Musa Öztürk	12	3
Mahir Engin	6	3
Sabri Kenan Bağcı	16	2
Ismail Aykul	4	2
Papatya Nalbantoğlu	58	1
Naci Demirbaş	11	1
Adnan Külhan	9	1
Taner Demir	9	1
Abidin Eralp	3	1
Aziz Yılmaz	2	1
Hülya Topçu	1	1
Mehmet Akbulut	1	1
Turan Köroğlu	1	1
Osman Bahadır	12	0
Atilla Karaoğlu	7	0
Nesrin Cingöz	6	0
Mevlüt Yücel	3	0
Yılmaz Karakaya	3	0
Meliha Ölmez	3	0
Unal Sönmez	3	0
Yılmaz Koçer	3	0
Hasan Kaynak	2	0
Ramazan Tunç	2	0
Findik Okyay	2	0

⁵⁶ I did not use any of the Turkish characters because when spelling the names of these political actors, Dutch newspapers did not use the correct Turkish characters.

Coşkun Yeğenoğlu	2	0
Ibrahim Özdemir	2	0
Sadiye Yıldırım	1	0

*Those political actors that were mentioned in the Turkish newspapers but not in the Dutch newspapers are not mentioned in this list.

Table 5 shows that certain political actors were overrepresented in Dutch newspapers, and some were not represented at all. Among the most prominent in Dutch newspapers are Talip Demirhan (CDA – 130 hits, 14 interviews on political participation), Maviye Karaman (PvdA and Groen Links – 120 hits, 15 interviews on political participation), Seçil Arda (PvdA – 57 hits, 6 interviews). Sabri Kenan Bağcı (PvdA – 14 hits, 2 interviews) was less prominent in Dutch media but very prominent in Turkish media. Due to their greater presence in Dutch newspapers, these individuals had a greater effect on the outcome of frame analysis in chapter five.

Some of the interviews and articles I found were unsuitable for my research. Some contained only a few sentences of direct quotes, while others were not focused on the political actor but were commentaries or opinion pieces on unrelated subjects. Ultimately, I used 47 articles in which the political actors were either interviewed or had written an opinion piece themselves. Table 6 lists the newspapers from which the articles were sourced.

Table 6: Dutch newspaper titles.

Newspaper	Number of articles
Algemeen Dagblad	9
De Waarheid	9
NRC Handelsblad	8
De Volkskrant	5
Het Vrije Volk	4
Trouw	4
Het Parool	4
De Telegraaf	2
Nieuwsblad van het Noorden	1
Nederlands Dagblad	1
Total	47

De Waarheid (communist) and Het Vrije Volk (social-democrat) stopped publishing in the period under study.

Table 7: Years of publication of Dutch newspaper articles.

Year of publication	
Year	Number of articles
1979	1
1980	1
1983	1
1984	1
1985	3
1986	11
1987	1
1988	5
1989	8
1990	7
1991	1
1992	1
1993	5
1994	1
Total	47

Interest in these political figures only truly began in 1986, like Turkish newspapers, with sporadic increases, mostly due to upcoming elections. A difference between Turkish newspapers and Dutch newspapers is that Dutch newspapers did not mention migrant organisations.

Chapter Three: Migration, Policy and Politics

To answer the main question, it is essential to understand in which context these representatives were active and what factors contributed to their eventual motivation to become politicians. Furthermore, it is important to understand what factors lead to the incorporation of migrants into Dutch politics.

This chapter will start of by providing an overview of the issues that were most pressing to the migrant communities, and how these lead to greater organisational capacity with Turkish migrants. Second I will provide an overview of the factors that lead to the incorporation of migrants into Dutch politics.

Issues, Organisation and Advocacy

According to Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen ‘immigrant organisations are an indication of how immigrants see differences between themselves and the rest of society, or how these differences are perceived by others’.⁵⁷ In a similar vein, I analyse the issues that shaped the organisational capacity of Turkish migrants and its subsequent political activity. In this paragraph I will first be providing an overview of the presence and migration of Turks to the Netherlands and second the main issues that plagued their existence, and motivated their organisational and political participation.

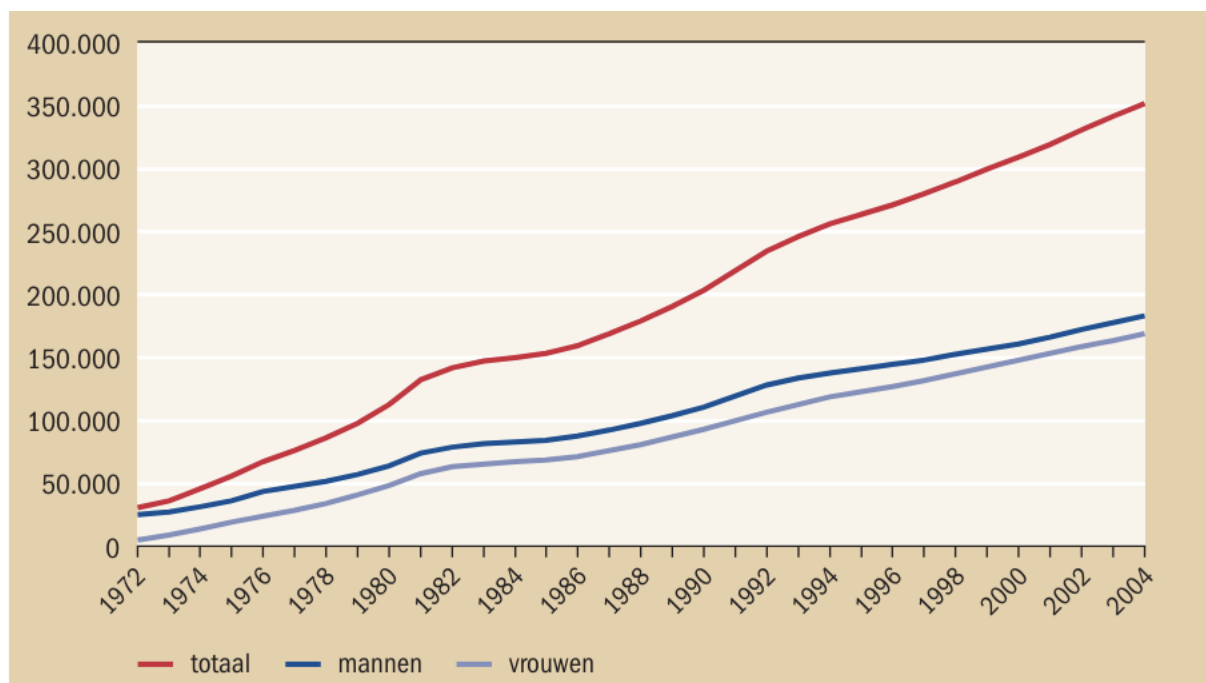
Migration from Turkey can be divided into two phases, the first being labour migration due to the Dutch-Turkish agreement to fill vacancies in the Netherlands between 1964 and 1974.⁵⁸ At the end of this phase, but more prominently in 1975 family reunification and the migration of women shaped the migrant movements of the Turks in the Netherlands.

⁵⁷ Marlou Schrover and Floris Vermeulen, ‘Immigrant Organisations’, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 31:5, 831.

⁵⁸ Sabri Sayari, ‘Migration Policies of Sending Countries: Perspectives on the Turkish Experience’, *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 485:1 (1986) 87–97; Jan Lucassen and Rinus Penninx, *Newcomers: immigrants and their descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995*, (Amsterdam 1997), 55-57.

Simultaneously, the second phase of migration from Turkey because of political unrest started gaining pace. Already during the coup of 1971, Turks migrated to the Netherlands for political reasons, although they were not registered as such.⁵⁹ Also, there were differences in ethnicity; in the first wave, there were few Kurds, as recruitment was centred in the West of Turkey, but the second wave saw more Kurds from the East.⁶⁰ Furthermore, the number of Turks in the Netherlands grew through the years. It started at around 30.000 in the early 1970s and had already grown to 200.000 by the 1990s as is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1: Growth of absolute number of Turks according to place of birth between 1972-2004.



Source: Dagevos et al., 'Turken in Nederland en Duitsland', *sociaal cultureel planbureau*, (Den Haag, 2006), 30.

The Turks were well organised into federations, unions, associations and even political parties. A few notable organisations were the HTDF (Hollanda Türk Dernekleri Federasyonu), HTIB, Milli Görüş, HDF (Sosyal Demokrat Halk Dernekleri Federasyonu) and IOT. Organisations such as HTIB and HTKB were more often representative of the left.

⁵⁹ Mügge, *Beyond Dutch borders*, 43.

⁶⁰ Martin Bruinessen, "The Kurds in movement: migrations, mobilisations, communications and the globalisation of the Kurdish question", *Working Paper* 14 (1999).

Organisations such as Mili Görüş represented the right and organisations such as the IOT specifically aimed to partake in dialogue with the Dutch government.

These organisations often aimed at bettering the social and living circumstances of Turks in the Netherlands through advocacy. Over the years, several issues have been particularly important to the Turks in the Netherlands. Among the most pressing issues for Turkish migrants were the lack of adequate housing, lack of job opportunities, and discrimination in the job market, as well as restrictions on family reunification and illegal residency and the rise of anti-immigrant sentiments in Dutch society.

The housing circumstances of Turkish migrants were often below par.⁶¹ Migrants had little choice in their housing accommodations; their options were limited and influenced by affordability, employers, and where they were allowed to live.⁶² Furthermore, their complaints were often not voiced because migrant organisations were sidelined by organisations that were set up for migrants by native Dutch. Both the municipality and the employers tried shedding the housing issue, often leaving migrants to their own resources.⁶³ The subject of housing was also closely related to restrictive legislation on family reunification. Because of this, suitable housing and an income bar, among other things, became requirements for legal family reunification.⁶⁴

The income bar meant that migrants who wanted to bring their marriage partner to the Netherlands had to prove that they were earning 1445 guilders per month.⁶⁵ Additionally, this could not be accumulated through several jobs. This meant that young migrants were greatly hindered in marrying and bringing their marriages to the Netherlands. Second, they had to have

⁶¹ Schrover, 'Rats, Rooms, and Riots', 244-271.

⁶² Schrover, 'Rats, Rooms, and Riots', 244.

⁶³ Schrover, 'Rats, Rooms, and Riots', 270.

⁶⁴ Schrover, 'Multiculturalism, dependent residence', 231-254; Massimo Jonker and Marlou Schrover, 'I want to Marry Her, But I won't: Civil Society Protest Against a Migrant Marriage Income Bar in the Netherlands (1984)', *Journal of Migration History* 10 (2024) 224-246.

⁶⁵ Jonker and Schrover, 'I want to Marry Her', 224.

suitable accommodation in order to bring their partners to the Netherlands. This was particularly hard due to the housing crises in the Netherlands. Because of this, many Turks resorted to buying houses, often in bad neighbourhoods with old houses. This situation led to much unrest and became a vocal point of protest. It went so far that housing and ownership of housing became the central subject of so-called race riots in Rotterdam, where in 1972, for seven days, Dutch mobs, flamed by anti-immigrant rhetoric, attacked Turkish property in the Afrikaanderwijk.⁶⁶ The predicaments of Turks concerning housing and family reunification became a hot topic for Turkish migrant leaders and organisations.

Dependent residency meant that individuals (most often women) could be deported if the partner divorced them within three years of arrival in the Netherlands. Dutch women's organisations, in collaboration with migrant women organisations, raised concerns about this issue. The concern is that such a regulation would make women dependent on their husbands and create unsafe housing situations. One such organisation that advocated for migrant women was the HTKB, under the leadership of Maviye Karaman.⁶⁷ She organised protests and rallies and gave interviews on the matter.

Another subject often discussed was that of unemployment. In the late 1970s, many guest workers lost their jobs due to economic recessions as industries moved to low-wage countries.⁶⁸ This led to increasingly negative public opinion towards migrants, perceiving them as unskilled, unemployed, and uninvolved in society. At the same time, migrants faced discrimination by employers, especially during the recession of the 1980s. The available jobs were first given to native Dutch, which meant that the unemployment rate was much higher for

⁶⁶ Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 301-303

⁶⁷ Schrover, 'Multiculturalism, dependent residence', 237.

⁶⁸ Wiljan van de Berge, Hugo Erken, Marloes de Graaf-Zijl and Eric van Loon, 'The Dutch labour market during the Great Recession', *CPB Background Document* (Den Haag 2014) 42.

migrants than for native.⁶⁹ Turks active at worker unions such as Talip Demirhan and Sabri Kenan Bağcı were known to advocate against this mechanism.

The enactment of the Linkage Act in 1995 entailed that illegals who wanted to be eligible for a residence permit had to be able to prove, prior to the application, that he or she had lived in the Netherlands continuously for at least six years and had obtained an income from work during that period on which premiums and taxes had been paid.⁷⁰ Due to this act two thousand migrants were classified as "white illegals" (which referred to their semi-legal status).⁷¹ By personification of the Gümüş affair, this act became the subject of many protests from migrants and natives.⁷² Gümüş, a tailor from Amsterdam, was unable to account for a few days in his application and was ordered to leave the country. The teacher of his children promptly set up a protest, which garnered much attention from the media. To no avail, the family was ordered to leave the Netherlands, but the Linkage Act was revised.⁷³

The last subject that motivated the political participation of migrants was the rise of racist sentiments and subsequent hate crimes. During this time, there were several incidents involving bombings of mosques or migrant workplaces.

⁶⁹ Ünal Öztürk, 'İşpazarında ayrımcılık', *Hürriyet*, 17-01-1987; Abdullah Şennel, 'Yüzümüze Kapanan Kapılar açılacak mı?', *Hürriyet*, 31-01-1987.

⁷⁰ Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 293.

⁷¹ Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 293.

⁷² Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 294.

⁷³ Obdeijn and Schrover, *Komen en gaan*, 294.

Illustration 2: Prison demanded for those who threw bombs into Mosque.



Source: 'Camiye bomba atanlar için hapis istendi', *Hürriyet*, 28-11-1986.

These were not isolated cases and attested to the growth of anti-immigrant sentiments in the Netherlands. In the 1970s, the extreme right was represented by the Nederlandse Volks-Unie (Dutch Peoples' Union – NVU). A national socialist party with remnants of wartime

collaborators who also wanted the Netherlands to be 'white'.⁷⁴ In 1980, the Centrumpartij (Centre Party – CP) was prominent. Hans Janmaat soon became its leader and became the face of anti-immigrant sentiments in the Netherlands. Janmaat's message was that the Netherlands was full and that migrants were to blame for the so-called disintegration of Dutch society.⁷⁵ The party grew, despite great resistance in Dutch society. They were not welcomed at conference areas; meetings were sabotaged by protesters, and political parties completely ignored the party. Migrants too organised their efforts against the growth of Janmaat and his party. The presence of Janmaat and attacks on mosques and migrant workplaces were used to mobilise migrant constituents.

The issues mentioned above are far more complex than I have space to elaborate on. The main point is that migrants faced a broad range of problems. These issues resulted from political decision-making, but they had no real say in politics, which led to a democratic deficit. Arguments were made that they were good enough to pay the taxes but not good enough to have a say in politics.⁷⁶ Leaders from migrant organisations were interviewed and partook in dialogue with local officials. They gained migrants' trust as advocates and had legitimacy as spokespersons in the eyes of local governments. When local political parties wanted to incorporate migrants into their ranks, it was often these leaders they invited.

The incorporation of migrants into Dutch politics

This paragraph endeavours to provide an overview of factors that influenced the incorporation of migrants into Dutch politics. Throughout the 70s and 80s, Dutch politics was occupied with questions of migration. First, it was unable to come up with a coherent minority policy; all the while, Dutch society went through social and economic turmoil.

⁷⁴ Jaap van Donselaar, *Fout na de oorlog: Fascistische en Racistische organisaties in Nederland (1950-1990)* (Amsterdam 1991), 142-160.

⁷⁵ Donselaar, *Fout na de oorlog*, 175.

⁷⁶ Turan Gül, 'Bu ne ilgisizlik', *Hürriyet*, 02-05-1987.

The period between 1970 and 1990 was turbulent in the Netherlands' social, economic and political context. Think of the arrival of immigrants, post-war economic growth, the oil crisis in the 70s, the recession in the 80s, social unrest as a consequence of terrorist attacks by Moluccans, and a growing nationalist and xenophobe sentiment towards the end of the 80s. On all levels, much happened, but from a social perspective, the most relevant to this paper is the arrival of migrants and the realisation that these migrants would not return to their countries of origin. This realisation had long been coming but was formalised in the Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid (WRR - Scientific Council for Government Policy) report 1979.

Economics also played a significant role in the lives of migrants. In the 1970s, when these migrants were recruited, the economic predictions were very prosperous. There was a lot of work, especially in the low-skilled sectors. This changed during the recession of the 80s, when many low-skilled labour jobs were relocated to lower-wage countries. The sector where the guestworker migrants had been active disappeared, and the loss of job opportunities was not filled again. This resulted in higher levels of joblessness with this demographic, as jobs were not abundant anymore; these migrants also were confronted with discrimination in application procedures, and crime rose in the already outdated neighbourhoods in which these migrants resided. The 80s, therefore, changed much and more on an economic level for these migrants.

We could divide migrants who arrived in the Netherlands as subjects of the Netherlands due to colonial relations and those who were not subjects of the Netherlands. These groups held different legal statuses in the Netherlands. Out of all these groups, the Moluccans hold significant importance in this story.⁷⁷ The influence of the Moluccans on the political enfranchisement of other migrant groups is large due to the fact that, between 1970 and 1979, several terrorist attacks were conducted by Moluccans. This was done to influence the internal

⁷⁷ For a total overview of Dutch migration see H. Obdeijn and M. Schrover, *Komen en gaan. Immigratie en emigratie in Nederland vanaf 1550* (Amsterdam 2008).

and external affairs of the Dutch state. Several scholars have argued that the terrorist actions of Moluccan groups in the Netherlands during the 70s influenced the willingness of the Dutch political operations to include non-citizen residents.⁷⁸ Dutch politicians believed that by giving migrants political representation, such insurgencies could be prevented in the future. This opened the discussion to Local Suffrage for migrants. Before the enactment much and more needed to change in Dutch minority policy.

At throughout the '60s and '70s, the doctrine of the Dutch government was that the Netherlands was not an immigration country.⁷⁹ This was not attainable with the influx and settlement of different groups of migrants. The first contours of minority policy became visible in what was called 'tweesporenbeleid', which translates into a two-way policy. It aimed to integrate and facilitate the migrants where necessary but kept facilitating the option to remigrate.⁸⁰ A good illustration of this was the government's primary reaction not to enfranchise the migrants but to have them represented in government by advisory committees such as the Migrantenraad.

The WRR report 1979 recommended that the government give up the idea of temporary residence for migrants and develop a coherent, intensified policy aimed at equal participation of minorities in Dutch society. In March 1980, the government responded to the report, adopting many of the WRR's conclusions and recommendations.⁸¹ It recognised the continued presence of migrants and the need to implement a coherent policy for minorities. This was summarised in a primary goal: 'the creation of a society in which members of minority groups residing in the Netherlands, individually and as a group, have an equal place and full development

⁷⁸ Jan Rath, 'Political Participation', 447-452; Jacobs, *Nieuwkomers in de politiek*, 105.

⁷⁹ Alfonso Fermin, *Nederlandse Politieke Partijen over Minderhedenbeleid 1977-1995*, (Amsterdam, 1997); Jan Rath, 'The Netherlands. A reluctant country of immigration', *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 100:5 (2009), 665-672.

⁸⁰ Fermin, *Nederlandse Politieke Partijen*.

⁸¹ Fermin, *Nederlandse Politieke Partijen*.

opportunities.’⁸² This main objective was elaborated into three main elements: (1) promoting emancipation and participation, (2) reducing social and economic disadvantages, and (3) preventing and combating discrimination and - where necessary - improving the legal position. Put more simply, integration became the main point of focus. This shift meant the legitimisation of minority policy in the Netherlands. The Liberals (VVD), in light of this minority policy, changed their stance on voting rights. Where before, they believed that only citizens should have voting rights, they now believed that gaining them could aid the integration of groups.

Although a shift from assimilationist exclusionary discourse into assimilationist inclusionary discourse had begun, politicians remained reluctant and cautious. The general feeling was that one needed to deserve the right to participate in the democratic processes. Therefore, the migrant had to have resided in the Netherlands for a minimum of five years. The point being that gaining a right to vote would thus help integrate the migrant into Dutch society. Van der Sanden (CDA) illustrated this argument when he stated that:

We do not want the right to vote because of the problems that our foreign workers face in their living and working situations, but we want the right to vote because they are part of the local community and want to participate on an equal basis with Dutch residents.⁸³

In this manner, parties such as the CDA and VVD solidified their shift from an assimilationist exclusionary discourse to an assimilationist inclusionary discourse and paved the way for the Local Suffrage Act of 1986.

The remaining opposition to the plan came from the CPN (Communists), who feared that gaining voting rights would mean foreign political problems would be introduced into the

⁸² Rinus Penninx, *Etnische Minderheden*, Bureau Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (The Hague 1979) 35.

⁸³ Hand. TK. 78-79: 3685; Jacobs, *Nieuwkomers in de politiek*, 111.

Dutch political landscape. And the far-Right Centrum Democraten (Nationalists) who argued that this would not lead to integration but to replacement of Dutch natives. The party leader Janmaat stated that ‘soon we will not need to take any decisions, the foreigners will do that for us.’⁸⁴

By the start of 1986, political parties started looking for migrant representatives to recruit them as candidates for the local elections of 1986. They were found through migrant organisations, workers’ unions, and welfare organisations. Parties such as the PvdA and CDA placed greater emphasis on recruiting these migrants to cultivate the votes of the migrant constituents and have migrants represented. The leaders from these migrant communities were incorporated but not always in a manner that would otherwise grant them a seat on the council. When the PvdA won the elections, and migrant politicians’ campaigns led to them entering the local councils because of preferential votes, both the political parties and the migrant politicians were unprepared for the substantive incorporation of these migrants. The expectations were set high on all sides, and the migrant politicians were caught amidst the expectations of their constituents and political parties.

⁸⁴ Jacobs, *Nieuwkomers in de politiek*, 129.

Chapter Four: Turkish Newspapers, A Foot in the Door

Before the introduction of the Local Suffrage Act of 1986, no interviews with political representatives were found, indicating that they were not given much importance. After 1986, there was a notable increase in interest in political participation, enfranchisement, and political promises. Politicians began giving interviews to explain their candidacy, political discussions were closely watched, and political narratives became essential in mobilising voter groups.

Little is known about how Turkish migrant politicians, representatives, and activists constructed their political actions and candidacies. What moved them to become politically active, and how did they justify their actions?

To answer the central question of this thesis, this chapter will first present the results from the deductive frame analysis, in which it is researched whether or not the five aforementioned deductive frames on migration and integration hold any standing in the interviews of Turkish politicians, representatives and activists in Turkish newspapers. Second, it will present the frames found inductively in these interviews. In the concluding remarks, this chapter will clarify according to which nodal point these frames are best interpreted.

Deductive Frames

Out of 63 articles, a mere 31 citations related to the five deductive frames mentioned. Of these frames, the most popular were the conflict/danger frame (16 citations) and the responsibility frame (7 citations). The humanitarian frame (5 citations), economic frame (1 citation), and morality frame (1) were less frequent.

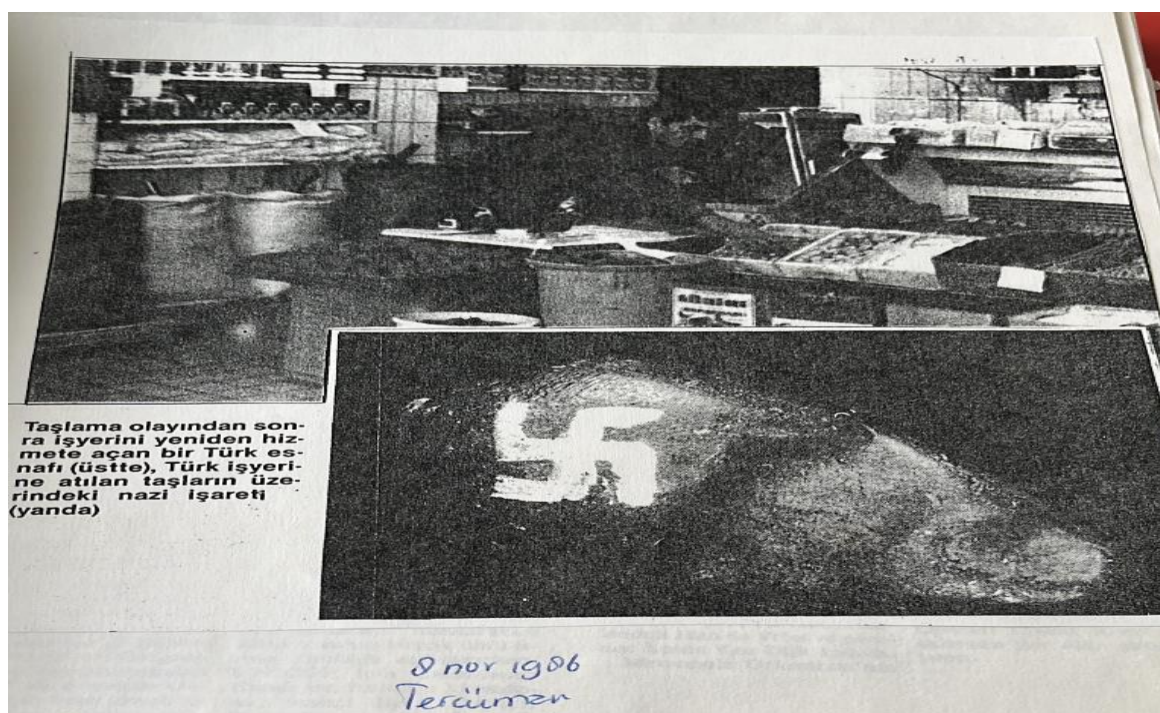
Both the conflict/danger frame and responsibility frame were relevant in shaping the motivation of our leading actors. Politicians, representatives, and activists knew how these frames were commonly used in Dutch media. The use of these frames by migrant politicians came as a response to their popular usage. In their use of the responsibility frame, for instance,

these political figures sought to demonstrate their own group's (Turks and/or foreigners) readiness to take responsibility and the unwillingness of the out-group (Dutch politicians or government) to do so. Similarly, the conflict/danger frame was utilised to counter claims of inability to integrate on the part of migrants.

Conflict/Danger: The Effect of Growing Nationalism

By the middle of the 1980s, political parties with nationalist agendas entered the political arena, influencing general discussions. At the same time, in Germany, fascist organisations start targeting migrants in protests, mobs and even attacks. The Turkish migrant community and its political actors are quick to condemn and signal these nationalist winds. Mehmet Ülger makes this case when he states that: 'In the past year, nationalism, racism, and hate crimes towards foreigners have been a daily matter.'⁸⁵

Illustration 3: A Turkish merchant started working again after his shop was stoned (above), the stones that were thrown at the Turkish workplace were marked with Nazi symbols (right).



Source: *Tercüman*, 08-11-1986.

⁸⁵'ırkçı saldırılara Karşı elele', *Hürriyet*, 19-09-1992.

This leads to much distress among migrants and their representatives. The newly formed Geerdink Turkish Workers Group's board states in its inaugural interview with *Hürriyet* that 'There has been some distress within the community due to the growth of nationalism and xenophobia.'⁸⁶ The rise of nationalism receives much resistance but is not only geared towards outspoken nationalists such as Janmaat. More mainstream politicians such as Bolkestein, the leader of the VVD in 1992, were also known for their critique and problematisation of integration and minority policy. Bolkestein for one was very vocal and argued that Islam was a threat to Dutch democracy.

Subsequently, these Turkish politicians, representatives, and activists respond by advising the constituents to use their votes. Sabri Kenan Bağcı advises 'to vote for parties that are more tolerant of foreigners. [...] We need to be attentive, especially in the larger cities where we have to limit the political space given to the nationalists'.⁸⁷

⁸⁶ 'Amaç, bağları güçlendirmek', *Hürriyet*, 24-05-1993

⁸⁷ 'Hollanda'daki seçimler için birlik çağrısı', 20-03-1990

Furthermore, this discourse of problematisation is used as a way to motivate voter turnout: 'In a context where nationalism is fast gaining pace, the elections of 1994 are crucial.'⁸⁸

These representatives and politicians were aware of the negative frames used against them and their constituencies. This appears to have become a motivating factor from the beginning.

Maviye Karaman (GroenLinks) gives an analysis of the frames Turks are faced with and the effort it takes to counter these:

What do they say? That the Turks pollute the living area, that they do not know how to dress, that they are unable to integrate? Do they not see that it is they who have a narrow-minded mentality to the world? Go to

⁸⁸ ‘Seçimlere ilgisiz kalmayalım’, *Hürriyet*, 13-06-1993.

houses are filled with trash, and what do they say about their attire? To this day, we have done all we could to teach them about our culture and lifestyle and to harmonise with them. How much effort have they put in until today? Integration only works with one direction. Both communities have much to learn from each other.⁸⁹

Similarly, Hayati Akdağ asks whether ‘the factories closed when the Turks came to the Netherlands? Has the economy been disrupted? They cannot answer these questions. Because it is obvious that what they defend is incompatible with reality.’⁹⁰

Politicians' problematisation of migrants becomes a rallying point for migrant politicians, representatives, and activists. These political actors do not deliberately use the conflict/danger frame; rather, they refute it. This response is often motivated by personal political views and aims to mobilise the constituencies.

Responsibility frame

The responsibility frame emphasises who is responsible for the problem, who can provide a solution, and the legal implications.⁹¹ In the context of this paragraph, this frame is expressed in two separate ways. The frame is used to either show that Dutch politicians and the government are not taking responsibility for the challenges faced by migrant communities or to demonstrate a candidate or migrant community's willingness to take responsibility for these issues. In this sense, it is also argued that adopting this frame is best understood to respond to dominant frames on migrants in the Netherlands.

In the article, ‘*Dialogsuz uyum olmaz*’ (‘no integration without dialogue’), the Hollanda Türk İşçiler ve Gençler Derneği (Turkish workers and student association) and the Arnhem

⁸⁹ ‘İrkçılığa taviz yok’, *Hürriyet*, 06-04-1990.

⁹⁰ ‘Başarı için eğitim olanaklarından yararlanmalıyız’, *Hürriyet*, 07-04-1990.

⁹¹ Schrover and Schinkel, ‘Introduction: the language’, 1127.

Kültür ve Dayanışma Derneği (Arnhem Culture and Solidarity Association) respond to discussion on integration by stating that 'It is wrong to always point to foreigners as the ones that don't put effort into integration. Like with all other subjects, all responsibility is placed with foreigners.'⁹²

The Turkish migrant politicians endeavour to respond and counter this claim by strongly pointing the finger at the government and Dutch politicians.

We have personnel and experts and strong federations. Why are politicians and civil servants not interested in our growing issues? Turks and Moroccans hold the lowest position in the job market; 40% of our community is jobless, and all the regulations by the government only lower the joblessness of the Dutch, Surinamese and Antilleans. The government is not sincere in its endeavour to solve our problems, and its minority policy has failed. In no way or form are the interests of foreigners taken into consideration. For as long as this mentality does not change, no equality, nor righteousness can be attained.'⁹³ - Maviye Karaman (GroenLinks) & Naci Demirbaş (First local council MP for the PvdA)

However, responsibility is also claimed. The possibility to vote, it is argued, brings with it a crucial responsibility to become politically engaged.

Our silence has not contributed to our community. Rather, it has cost us a lot. We should not be spectators of the indifference of the authorities. Instead, we need to claim our issues and prepare for new actions. As we organise new meetings with our women,

⁹² 'Dialogsuz uyum olmaz', *Hürriyet*, 24-12-1992.

⁹³ 'Önce eşitlik, Sonra uyum', *Hürriyet*, 01-07-1992.

we will keep these issues on the agenda and facilitate our unity.⁹⁴ Aysel Kaplan & Sadiye Yildirim from the Foreigners Women Centre.

The responsibility frame is also used to show the relation between descriptive and substantive representation and also refers to the foot-in-door frame as Maviye Karaman (GroenLinks) does in the quote below:

Since we settled in this country, we will not return. Then, we also need to have a say in the decision-making process. Until now, decisions and judgements have been made for us, and we have had to comply. And because I was against this, I decided to apply for candidacy.⁹⁵

The responsibility frame plays a distinctive role in legitimising the political engagement of the group and the individual actor. It is used to mobilise the Turkish migrant group and counter the problematisation that Turks and foreigners face.

Inductive Frames

Due to the rise of nationalist voices and subsequent hostility and xenophobia towards migrants, the need for advocacy grew within the Turkish migrant communities. Advocacy and representation play a significant role in the frames found inductively. The main frames that these Turkish political actors employed were – what I label - the ‘broken promise’ frame and the ‘foot in door frame’. In the newspaper articles under analysis here, I have found ample proof (17 out of 40 citations of inductive frames) of what I would call the foot-in-door frame, but a lack of citations that might refer to talking back frames. Preceding these frames, however, I

⁹⁴ ‘Sorunlara karşı sesimizi duyurmalıyız’, 23-06-1993.

⁹⁵ ‘Amsterdam Belediye Meclisi’nde Bir Türk’, *Hürriyet*, 30-07-1992.

have found what I call the broken promise frames, which emphasize the inability of non-migrant politicians to keep promises towards migrant communities and their lack of interest in these communities. I will begin by providing an overview of the broken promise frame and then illustrate how it leads to the prevalence of the foot-in-door frame.

Broken promise frame

The Turkish politicians, representatives and activists are primarily motivated by the issues and problems of their constituencies. These issues, and in particular the inability of Dutch politics to address them, became a rallying point for Turkish migrant political actors. These political actors emphasise descriptive representation due to perceived broken promise by the Dutch government and politicians. They refer to promises made in election time, the threat of tokenism, and the lack of substantive representation. The broken promise frame channels the constituents' displeasure and mobilises them as voters.

It is saddening to see that we have only one representative of the VVD, one of the PvdA, one of the CP [I expect the CPN, which is the Communist Party, is mentioned here and not the nationalist anti-migrant party, the Centrum Party] and one of the FNV. We have organised an event that addresses the most important problems of the foreigners. The fact that no other representatives have come is saddening.⁹⁶ – Yilmaz Deveçioğlu, Chairman of Zaandam Housing Problem Committee.

The indifference of Dutch politicians is particularly problematic as representatives and politicians feel that promises made during election time should be kept. Yilmaz Deveçioğlu continues to state: 'Before the elections, we were given several promises, but today, none of

⁹⁶ 'Bu ne ilgisizlik', *Hürriyet*, 02-05-1987.

them are present.’⁹⁷ At the same time, this frame is used to mobilise the voter potential of their perceived constituencies. This is done strategically, first to distance oneself from the responsibility of the broken promise and second to gain legitimacy.

We must undertake these tasks to solve the problems and give something to the citizens. [...] As I said in the pre-election meetings, I will always be in touch with the citizens. Politics is a part of our daily life. We can't stay away from it anymore. Therefore, we must now protect and defend our rights. Now we need more support from citizens.⁹⁸ – Taner Demir (affiliation not mentioned)

However, voting was not seen as a cure-all. The migrants were aware that election time would bring attention, but that this did not guarantee solutions.

Let them give us the right to vote. For years, our problems have yet to be given any attention. Before the elections, they came with promises, but today, they have nothing; these were all false promises. We learned that we will be remembered once in four years, from election to election. We need to be given the general voting right. If we had had the general voting right, the minister of Justice Korte van Hemel would not have dared to withhold our rights out of fear that he would lose our vote.⁹⁹ – Group of activists from Enschede

Another disappointment comes from the position given to Turkish migrant political actors. They are very much aware that they are included due to the voter potential they represent and

⁹⁷ ‘Bu ne ilgisizlik’, *Hürriyet*, 02-05-1987.

⁹⁸ ‘Halkla iç içe olan kazanır’, *Hürriyet*, 07-04-1990.

⁹⁹ ‘Oy hakkı ne oldu?’, *Hürriyet*, 13-12-1986.

hint at tokenism as one of the broken promise. This does not mean these candidates back down; rather, they portray a realistic picture to their constituents and aim to mobilise the preferential vote. Kemal Çoşkun (CDA) states that ‘With false promises, this boat will not sail.’ He proceeds: ‘The most important thing is not to push the real issues off the agenda just because we want to be tolerated at [political] parties.’¹⁰⁰

Mahir Engin (PvdA) states that ‘leaving Turkish candidates to the preferential vote is a mistake.’ And that ‘They [the political parties] are playing games with us; we need to be hand in hand and united (...). The parties want to use us. Look at the lists; there were more than 100 Turkish candidates. Today, only 19 of them can make it to the local councils throughout the country. We are not here to decorate the candidacy lists. We are the real voices of the foreigners, and that’s why we chose to be candidates.’¹⁰¹

The broken promise frame is strongly represented in the interviews of Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists. It is a strong motivating factor for political action and informs their strategies. Although from a negative experience (exclusion), it makes for a strong political advocacy motivator.

Foot-in-door frame

As advocacy became more important, so did the question of who needed to advocate for the Turkish migrant groups and how. The foot-in-door frame seems to have answered these questions. The Turkish migrant political actors started placing greater emphasis on descriptive representation with the aim of increasing substantive representation. Candidates like Ahmet Özçelik (CDA) made statements like ‘I will be the advocate of all solutions to the issues that

¹⁰⁰ ‘Bizler misafir değiliz’, *Hürriyet*, 04-04-1990.

¹⁰¹ ‘Birlik içinde olmalıyız’, *Hürriyet*, 05-04-1990.

our community is faced with in our local council.’¹⁰² Hasan Kaynak (GroenLinks) said he ‘want[s] to become the voice of our community in the local council.’¹⁰³

The emphasis on advocacy was often translated as ‘bridging’ the representational gap between Dutch parties and Turkish/foreign communities. Sabri Kenan Bağcı addresses this when stating that ‘Those problems that need addressing, I will voice with the higher ranks within the party and thus becoming a bridge between the two.’¹⁰⁴ Talip Demirhan (CDA) made a similar statement: ‘As someone who knows the foreigners well, I will be informing the higher organs in our party of their needs.’¹⁰⁵ Entering these parties was crucial. The political actors endeavoured to ally their constituents in this endeavour and aimed to mobilise the migrant vote.

The Turkish community must work to enter the Dutch political parties. Our problems can only be addressed if we enter the higher ranks of these parties and are able to voice our concerns to the representatives there. That is why my main advice to my countrymen is to enter the Dutch political parties.’¹⁰⁶ Kadir Kılınç (PvdA)

Turkish newspapers, therefore, often celebrated the election of Turkish representatives in any election.

It is an important step that two Turks are chosen to be in the decision-making organ of the oldest district of Amsterdam (...) Until now, others made decisions for us, and we had to adapt. Now we are here to stay in this country, and because of this, we need to

¹⁰² ‘Bir Türk daha belediye meclisinde’, *Hürriyet*, 31-05-1991.

¹⁰³ ‘İrkıçılğa karşı etkin mücadele’, *Hürriyet*, 09-02-1994.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Bağcı, işçi Partisi il yönetim kurulunda’, *Hürriyet* 13-12-1986.

¹⁰⁵ ‘Hollanda İşçi Partisi, Yeni yabancılar politikasını belirliyor’, *Hürriyet*, 26-10-1986.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Meselelerimiz partilerin yönetim kuruluna girerek anlatabiliriz’, *Tercüman*, 03-01-1987.

be present in all this country's governing bodies.¹⁰⁷ - Yilmaz Koçer and Haluk Bilal (affiliations not mentioned).

The descriptive characteristics of the representatives became important due to the lack of substantive representation experienced by native Dutch politicians and subsequent broken promise. Findik Okyay (PvdA) stated that she 'will hold all parties that showered the foreigners with promises responsible.'¹⁰⁸

The motivations to become politically active were not a consequence of optimism or trust in Dutch politics. Instead, the Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists were realistic about their position in the Dutch political landscape. The lack of substantive representation and shortage of descriptive representation motivated these political actors. Getting elected to the mainstream political parties was thus not seen as the end goal but as a first step towards substantive representation and the eventual betterment of societal issues often faced by their constituents. The foot-in-door frame was used to mobilise the Turkish voters and increase the ability of this voter group to advocate for their rights and those of foreigners. The betterment of descriptive representation thus became the first goal these political actors aimed for. Some did not agree with this stance and founded their own political parties and organisations, but in the dataset under analysis here, these were too few to mention.

Who's welfare: Advocacy for Migrants

The question that remains is what the nodal point has been that gave consistency to the frames employed by these Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists. Simply put, to whose benefit did they endeavour to contribute? It was hypothesised that the nodal point could be the nation-state, which in this case would be the Dutch nation-state and its welfare, or the

¹⁰⁷ 'İki Türk semt yönetiminde', *Hürriyet*, 11-04-1993.

¹⁰⁸ 'Vaadler yağdırıldı ama sorunlar çözüm bekliyor', *Hürriyet*, 05-09-1991.

Turks in the Netherlands. The analysis endeavoured to extract the nodal point of every interview. Out of 63 articles, 34 emphasised the welfare of the Turkish migrant group, 20 were on foreigners or migrants in general, one was on general welfare, and eight were inconclusive.

The combined percentage of the codes ‘welfare of Turkish migrant groups’ and ‘foreigners or migrants in general’ is 86%. Therefore, this thesis concludes that in Turkish newspaper articles, the nodal point of the above-mentioned frames is the welfare of Turks and migrants, not the nation-state. This strengthens the earlier made arguments that the political actions of Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists were geared towards advocacy and representation of migrant groups in general and the Turkish migrant group in specific.

Chapter Five: Dutch Newspapers, Dutch Audiences

In the previous chapter, I presented the outcomes from the frame analysis in Turkish newspapers. In this chapter, I examine the frames used by the same politicians but aimed at different audiences, specifically Dutch native readers of Dutch national newspapers. While some elements of the foot-in-the-door and broken promise frames are present in Dutch newspapers, this analysis's findings differ in their explanation from those of Chapter Four. The Turkish migrant politicians, representatives, and activists appear more cautious and less critical in this chapter.

Deductive Frames

The deductive frames most prevalent in Dutch newspapers were the responsibility and humanitarian frames. Out of 47 articles, I have coded 11 as responsibility frame and nine as humanitarian. There seems to have been an emphasis on personal stories of migration, and the implication of integration in Dutch newspapers. Turkish migrant politicians are often introduced as examples of integration, successful pioneers, or bridge builders between Dutch politics and migrant communities. Turkish migrant politicians emphasise taking responsibility for their problems and issues. They are often found to give explanations of their standing within the political party or local community and/or political party. The humanitarian frame and responsibility framework go hand in hand in this sense. Responsibility also played a large role in Turkish newspapers, but it was often directed towards Dutch politics and government in the negative sense; and towards the Turkish community in a positive sense. This nuance seems to shift in Dutch newspapers.

The Humanitarian Frame

The humanitarian perspective influenced how Turkish migrant politicians were depicted in Dutch newspapers. This approach had two main purposes: first, to highlight the uniqueness of the individuals being interviewed, and second, to either confirm or debunk certain stereotypes about the groups these Turkish migrant politicians belonged to.

The Turkish migrant politicians researched in this thesis were often the first in certain positions. Such as Talip Demirhan who was the first migrant worker in a workers council, the first Muslim admitted into the local council at the CDA and the first Muslim admitted into the national party management at the CDA.¹⁰⁹

They were often highly skilled, educated individuals capable of learning Dutch and speaking other languages such as German or English. Such as Seçil Arda who had studies in Germany and was known for her assertiveness, and Osman Iskender who had studied political science at Tilburg University.¹¹⁰

Dutch newspapers endeavoured to introduce these individuals to their audiences. Topics such as marriage and religion were frequently discussed, examining certain prejudices.

[Reporter:] For Demirhan, Christmas means just participating. [Demirhan:] I live here, so I'm in. I celebrate Christmas out of the respect I have for this society. My friends are having a party, so I celebrate with them out of friendship.¹¹¹ -Talip Demirhan (CDA)

The success of the individual was often contrasted with the perceived failure of others in the group. When introducing these individuals, the focus was on their efforts to learn the language and actively participate in Dutch society.

¹⁰⁹ Peter Schumacher, 'Illegale buitenlanders ontslaan is diefstal', *NRC Handelsblad*, 12-06-1979.

¹¹⁰ Geke van der Wal, 'Minste Stemmen tellen', *NRC Handelsblad*, 15-04-1989; Bob Witman et al., 'Etnische groepen vorderen op weg naar de Kamer', *De Volkskrant*, 31-08-1989.

¹¹¹ 'Kerst op zes manieren', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 24-12-1986.

Returning to my country is not an option for the time being. Moreover, I can make myself more useful here because I will soon be able to do even more for the minorities than is currently the case.¹¹² - Yusuf Toprak (CDA)

It's difficult to say whether migrant politicians had any real influence on these perspectives. Especially because Dutch newspapers used paraphrases more frequently than Turkish newspapers.

Responsibility frame

Because the Turkish migrant politicians were often the first, they were the central point of attention. Within the migrant communities, they became central figures, expected to represent and provide solutions to the problems of their constituents and within the political parties, they were expected to bridge the gap between the party and migrant constituents, eventually leading to voter gains. This placed a lot of responsibility on these migrant politicians. The responsibility frame can be divided into three categories: appeals to constituents to be politically proactive, Turkish migrant politicians taking responsibility, and political parties being held responsible for lack of interest.

Central to the story of these migrant politicians was the appeal to constituents to organise and vote, much like in chapter four. However, a greater emphasis was placed on integration, and therefore, participation also entailed integration in responses of Turkish migrant politicians in Dutch newspaper interviews.

¹¹² 'Turk hoog op de lijst CDA Eindhoven', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 05-12-1985.

[Reporter:] According to her, foreigners should stand up for their interests. [Arda:] We shouldn't be passive and expect everything from the municipality or other authorities. Instead, we should be strong among each other and organise ourselves. We shouldn't just be talked about; we must participate in the discussion ourselves. Those who want to stay here should integrate into Dutch society. Only through the cooperation of all those involved is there a chance for society to progress."¹¹³ - Seçil Arda (PvdA)

Also similar to Chapter four was the aim to mobilize constituents. This was done here by framing 'voting' as a responsibility. Hulya Topcu-Elmas (GroenLinks) states that 'Migrants have been given the right to vote and must also use it.'¹¹⁴

Second, the responsibility frame was deployed to illustrate how these political actors took responsibility for their lives and social standing and to illustrate that their success is a matter of their meritocratic effort. This was also pointed to by juxtaposing good immigrant behaviour with bad immigrant behaviour.

[Reporter:] Why did Talip Demirhan 'make it' and so many other foreigners with a similar starting point did not? [Demirhan:] "I came to the Netherlands, in 1967. Got a job in the port of Rotterdam. Lived in a boarding house with 45 other Turks. None of us spoke Dutch. I thought I had to learn the language if I wanted to succeed. I placed an advertisement for someone who wants to teach this Turkish guest worker Dutch. After a few weeks, my boss noticed I understood his words and could say something back. I promptly became a foreman, but I don't think the others in our boarding house followed my example; after all, they went back, and they couldn't learn such a difficult language.

¹¹³ Annemiek Veelenturf, 'Zwarte vrouwelijke raadsleden houden stug vol', *Het Vrije Volk*, 26-08-1989.

¹¹⁴ Ronald Albers, 'Mensen moeten op partijen stemmen, niet op personen', *De Waarheid*, 20-03-1990

That mentality, that acceptance that you will never be able to function on an equal footing in this society, that still prevails.¹¹⁵ – Talip Demirhan (CDA)

Besides taking responsibility from an integrational perspective, these migrant politicians were also aware of their responsibility towards their constituents and also answered in ways to satisfy this need, as is illustrated by this quote by Mahir Engin (PvdA): ‘In any case, I will do everything I can to help my fellow countrymen. If I sit on the council like a puppet, it will only be counterproductive.’¹¹⁶

These migrant politicians viewed it as their responsibility to be in close contact with their constituents to represent them effectively. Adnan Kulhan's first action was to provide Turkish migrants with consultation hours. Every Friday, individuals could visit his office and voice their problems.

In September, I informed the 1,468 Turks in De Pijp in a letter that I would hold consultation hours. Soon, I also received people from outside this part of the city. They had heard through the grapevine that I could help; any news spreads quickly in the Turkish community.¹¹⁷ -Adnan Kulhan (PvdA)

The third and final form in which the responsibility frame was implemented is by holding political parties and politicians responsible for actions or the lack thereof. Especially when it comes to countering hostile frames. One politician who received backlash due to the hostile frames he employed was Frits Bolkestein, political leader of the VVD and known for his problematisation of migrants and critique of minority policy in the Netherlands. In one such

¹¹⁵ Peter Schumacher, ‘Welzijnswerk doodde initiatieven migrantengroepen’, *NRC Handelsblad*, 28-12-1986.

¹¹⁶ John le Noble, ‘De twijfels van een Turkse kandidaat’, *Algemeen Dagblad*, 06-01-1986.

¹¹⁷ Rita van Veen, ‘Deelraadslid en praatpaal’, *Trouw*, 21-01-1988.

instance, Bolkestein referred to Muslims and Islam as the main threat to freedom of speech and tolerance.¹¹⁸ Sabri Kenan Bağcı responded to Bolkestein's statements stating that 'the political principles that Bolkestein — and, with him, many Muslims — hold dear are enshrined in Dutch law. The law applies to all residents of this country. This is not challenged at all by Muslims.'¹¹⁹

Talip Demirhan connects the words of Bolkestein to a series of bombings that were directed towards mosques at the time and therefore holds the narrative of Bolkestein responsible. 'According to Talip Demirhan, CNV director and CDA activist, Frits Bolkestein has provided an 'alibi' and 'national legitimacy' for the petrol bomb attacks with his talk about minorities.'¹²⁰

Once migrant politicians join political parties, they also refer to the responsibilities of the political parties. For example, Maviye Karaman states that 'GroenLinks can be the party that appeals to migrants if it has an alternative policy for women and migrants.'¹²¹

Whereas the humanitarian frame introduced the political actors, the responsibility frame was employed to set the stage for substantive candidacy.

Inductive Frames

Here, Turkish migrant politicians address tokenism, broken promise, the political mentality of Turkish migrants, and the hardships they encountered during their political activities, all of which contribute to the eventual disappointment and reproach about broken promise and the decision to employ the foot-in-door frame.

Broken promise frame

¹¹⁸ Frits Bolkestein, 'Open Forum', *De Volkskrant*, 12-09-1991.

¹¹⁹ Sabri Kenan Bağcı, 'Bolkestein bespeelt onzuivere gevoelens', *De Volkskrant*, 14-09-1991.

¹²⁰ 'Zilver Koord', *Het Parool*, 28-04-1992.

¹²¹ 'Als Groen Links maar een Democratische structuur krijgt', *De Waarheid*, 09-01-1990.

The political activities of migrant politicians differed from those of their native Dutch colleagues.¹²² This is evident in how Turkish migrant politicians portray the political mindset of Turkish migrants, using tropes such as patrimonialism, perceived incomprehension of the Dutch political system, and (national) loyalty. Advocacy played a significant role in how Turkish migrant constituents evaluated their representatives. The Dutch political system was not as supportive of this, which created expectations and internal pressure on Turkish migrant politicians, which they had to navigate. The broken promise frame, in this sense, refers to the promises the Turkish migrant politicians could not uphold towards their constituents and the explanations they give to justify this gap.

One common idea that I encountered frequently was the migrant's political mentality. Suggesting that they were patrimonial and unable to comprehend the Dutch political system.

It is also true that the political situation in the Netherlands is complicated and incomprehensible for many foreigners. (...) In Turkey, elections are governed by pure advocacy and tradition. The workers vote for the workers' party because it stands up for their interests, others vote for the party that promises the most, and yet another category votes out of pure tradition; people give their vote to a party because their father and grandfather did so, without consulting the party program. Very few people in Turkey are aware of political problems. This is not the case here in the Netherlands; almost all Dutch people are aware [of the pressing political issues], except for the Centrum Partij voters, of course.¹²³ – Sabri Kenan Bağcı (PvdA)

The Turkish migrant politicians experience a lot of challenges due to the perceived imbalance between what they can offer and what is demanded from them by their constituents.

¹²² Bovenkerk, Rath and Ruland, 'De opkomst van een vergeten electoraat', 1-7.

¹²³ A.F. Kerbert, 'Een Turkse Partij hier zal niets bereiken', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 17-11-1983.

It takes a lot of effort to clarify how politics works here. Out of ignorance, they often come to you with problems you can do nothing about. They believe that politics operates here similarly to how it does in Turkey. If you know a politician there, it is a key that can open all doors.¹²⁴ - Osman Iskender (PvdA)

Dutch newspapers caught up on this fact. In a report on the minority vote, the reporter Geke van der Wal states that there is a 'fear of the stigma that 'the foreigner is there for the foreigner' and fear of the excessive expectations of the constituents regarding the problem-solving ability of 'their man' in the council.'¹²⁵ In Dutch newspapers, Turkish migrant politicians are clear that their affiliations are not exclusive to Turks or migrants. Some even outright reject this label after being elected, such as Ismail Aykul (PvdA), who states that he is 'not there for the interests of foreigners. I don't want to be the man of the minorities.'¹²⁶ These depictions were less prominent in Turkish newspaper articles.

I would argue that it had to do with the representatives not wanting to owe their success to the fact that they are migrants. Owing their legitimacy to the migrant constituency would reduce their accomplishment and legitimacy in the eyes of non-migrant constituents and party members. One such instance is the following quote by Mahir Engin, who states: 'I am firmly convinced that I owe my high position on the list to my qualities. I do not have the impression that I am only there to attract votes from foreigners. I would not have liked that.'¹²⁷

These migrant politicians had to gain legitimacy in the eyes of migrants and natives. Therefore, they walked a tightrope in Dutch newspaper articles.

¹²⁴ Van der Wal, 'Minste stemmen tellen'.

¹²⁵ Van der Wal, 'Minste stemmen tellen'.

¹²⁶ Van der Wal, 'Minste stemmen tellen'.

¹²⁷ Bart van Leeuwen, 'Hoe leer je 'n vreemde stemmen op z'n Hollands?', *Het Vrije Volk*, 18-01-1986.

I will also make every effort to find solutions to the housing shortage. Not primarily for Turks, although the need for housing there can sometimes be great. Ten of us in a three-room house is nothing special for us. I will also try to change something about the language barrier. But, in general, you should see me as an ordinary PvdA councillor who perhaps pays more attention to the problems of foreigners than the other members.¹²⁸ -Musa Öztürk (PvdA)

Turkish migrant politicians had to carefully balance advocating for migrants while maintaining good relations within their political parties to advance in the party hierarchy. Seçil Arda was one of those migrant politicians who was known for her political ambition. “Some Turkish people expect me, as a Turkish person, to blindly stand up for their interests. When I don't do that, they ask if I am on the Turkish or Dutch side.”¹²⁹ She also shows an awareness of the reality of colleagues within the PvdA and city council. She explains: “The constitution was changed; migrants were elected, and then everyone went about business as usual. Things had changed for the migrants. For the other council members, nothing changed.”.¹³⁰ The voter base of these migrant politicians was made up of migrants, so they had to be careful not to alienate them. If the local migrant community perceived them as being over-ambitious and achieving success at the expense of migrants, it could lead to a loss of voter legitimacy, as was the case with Taner Demir (PvdA).

[Reporter:] Both the mosque and the SOBD [Stedelijke Organisatie Buitenlanders Deventer] say they are disappointed in what they saw as their councillor. [Zafer] Aydoğdu of the SOBD: 'We expect help from a fellow countryman who enters the city

¹²⁸ ‘Kandidaat voor Charlois' deelraad Musa Öztürk verwacht grote opkomst Turken’, *Het Vrije Volk*, 20-03-1983.

¹²⁹ Marjan Lucas, ‘Voorkeursbehandeling is slechts een begin. Feminisering en 'ontwitting' moet integraal onderdeel zijn van Groen Linkse politiek’, *De Waarheid*, 03-03-1990.

¹³⁰ Ronald Albers, ‘Verandering op lokaal niveau blijkt moeilijk’, *De Waarheid*, 03-10-1990.

council. We thought Demir represented the Turks. But Demir doesn't solve our problems either. You see him isolating himself from our community. That is not possible. We will not allow ourselves to be used as a springboard for ambitious compatriots.' [Reporter:] Demir reacts slightly irritated to the question of who his supporters are: 'Why don't you ask me what I have done for the city instead of for the immigrants? I'm here for the city. I do not sit on the council for a single target group, but also try to serve other interests. I don't think differently than an average council member.'

Demir proceeds to claim that he deliberately did not sit on the council's minorities committee: 'By allowing others to deal with these issues, I create broader support for tackling problems encountered by immigrants. And then again, I cannot deliver on everything that immigrants expect. Solutions must fit within the existing rules.'¹³¹

In the Dutch newspaper articles this dilemma is placed at the forefront of Turkish migrant politicians' contributions. This was not the case in the Turkish newspaper articles.

Tokenism and Lack of Preparation

In order to redirect some of the responsibility and subsequent disappointment, Turkish migrant politicians started referring to lack of preparation and tokenism as reasons for the broken promise. They explain how they were treated as outsiders, were shunned by colleagues, and felt pressured by friends.

[Reporter:] He continued to feel like an outsider. He does not want to talk about discrimination but still believes that many council members think: 'What is that

¹³¹ Rob Gollin en Bas Mesters, 'Raadslid Demir moet er voor de Turken zijn', *De Volkskrant*, 08-02-1994.

foreigner doing here?' When he speaks, a deathly silence falls over the council. That makes me nervous. He feels lonely. 'During break time, people walk past me, don't say anything to me or greet me. There are people I serve with on the same committees but who have never returned my greeting.'¹³² -Türker Atabek (VVD)

The first year and the learning phase were particularly challenging for the Turkish migrant politicians due to a lack of preparation.

The first year was terribly difficult. You receive no guidance; you must figure everything out yourself. You are being criticised by long-serving party members who feel their fundamental rights are being violated. Having the same ambitions as others sometimes creates tension.¹³³ – Seçil Arda (PvdA)

The fact that they are migrants and their proficiency in the Dutch language is not as developed as that of their Dutch counterparts also plays a significant role in their diminished efficiency.

Language is so important here, everything is measured against that. If you don't express yourself well, people think you are stupid, even though I have the most education of all my council members. And of course, compared to me, every Dutch person is a language professor.¹³⁴ – Osman Iskender (PvdA)

The migrant politicians become disillusioned about their chances and their influence on bettering the lives of their constituents. Maviye Karaman states that 'Four years ago, separate

¹³² Van der Wal, 'Minste stemmen tellen'.

¹³³ Van der Wal, 'Minste stemmen tellen'.

¹³⁴ Van der Wal, 'Minste stemmen tellen'.

paragraphs were devoted to the position of migrants. We have learned that beautiful words alone are not enough'.¹³⁵ Due to the disappointment, they feel used and refer to tokenism. This also has to do with their constituents' voter behaviour, which they state is more nationalistic and descriptive.

If you nominate someone for the city council because he is a foreigner, you use him as a lure [token]. He must also be suitable; otherwise, it will have no effect. They [Turkish migrants] think decisions are no longer made about them but decided with them. Whether that is true remains to be seen, but in any case, I will do everything I can to help my fellow countrymen. If I sit on the council like a puppet, it will only be counterproductive.¹³⁶ – Mahir Engin (PvdA)

One striking testimony was that of Maviye Karaman, who, due to her prominence, garnered a lot of attention when she resigned from the local council and cancelled her membership with GroenLinks due to perceived tokenism.

Since 1990, I have continuously tried to work with my party members. Everything was new, including the faction and the Dutch political system. I wanted to convince others of my political views. That did not work. Most party members rejected my ideas as utopian.¹³⁷

She was disappointed in the fact that her party members did not take her seriously and that she was not able to turn racism and discrimination into important talking points.

¹³⁵ Ronald Albers, 'Verandering op lokaal niveau'.

¹³⁶ John le Noble, 'De twijfels van een Turkse kandidaat', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 06-01-1986.

¹³⁷ Marjon Bolwijn and Altan Erdogan, 'Groen Links vond mijn ideeën te utopisch', *Het Parool*, 15-04-1993.

In the past three years, not once has there been any real discussion about discrimination or racism. While I think that politics should be about those kinds of topics. I am tired of the shouting within the council and the faction. That verbal violence is too often at the expense of the political content.¹³⁸

Ultimately, she feels used as a token and resigns.

I don't want to spend another year in the shop window of GroenLinks as a woman and migrant. I was only put high on the list for the votes of foreigners, which I think other parties also do with migrants.¹³⁹

Karaman was not the only one who was confronted with this conclusion. At one point, Aziz Yilmaz (CDA) started campaigning for his fellow countryman who was a candidate for the PvdA. He wanted at least one Turk to be in the city council, and the CDA had deliberately placed him lower on the candidacy list.¹⁴⁰

Disappointment and broken promise became a leading subject in the years after 1986. The goal of representing and improving the living circumstances of Turkish migrants and other foreigners did not really seem to have taken off. Turkish migrant politicians used the broken promise frame to explain why this was the case. Considering that Dutch newspapers were read by native Dutch constituents and fellow politicians, I would also argue that they employed this frame to hold them responsible for their inability to facilitate the substantive representation of migrant communities.

¹³⁸ Marjon Bolwijn and Altan Erdogan, 'Groen Links vond mijn ideeën te utopisch', *Het Parool*, 15-04-1993.

¹³⁹ Wilco boom, 'Teleurgesteld uit de etalage van GroenLinks', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 17-04-1993.

¹⁴⁰ 'Turkse CDA'er raadt stemmen op PvdA', *De Telegraaf*, 01-12-1993.

Foot-in-door frame

The contributions and justification of political candidacy were frequently more contradictory in Dutch newspapers. It is interesting to note that in Dutch newspapers, Turkish migrant politicians sought to downplay their role as migrant representatives while at the same time emphasising the importance of migrant politicians. Justifications for the importance of migrant politicians were their ability to represent migrants substantively, and as bridging gaps between migrant communities and Dutch society.

This allows foreigners in Rotterdam to increase their local political knowledge and influence the public administration of the neighbourhood in which they live. That can only benefit mutual tolerance.¹⁴¹ - Ziyattin Kömürcü (PvdA)

The representatives also emphasise their exemplary role for coming generations and their own role as guinea pigs. For example, when Yusuf Toprak (CDA) was sent to a local council meeting about housing. He stated that 'the residents' association did not like that the CDA "only" sent a foreigner to the meeting. It was dripping from the faces. The second time, they were already used to it.'¹⁴² Thus, it refers to bridging the gap and normalising the presence of migrants. The Turkish migrant politicians believed their presence could increase tolerance in the Netherlands.

Striking was also the opposition of migrant politicians towards the talking-back strategy. Migrant politicians' disillusionment, as illustrated in the broken promise frame, is shared by all, but considering starting their own political parties is framed as counterproductive. Turan Köroğlu the party leader of the Rotterdamse Partij van de Migranten Arbeiders (Rotterdam

¹⁴¹ Henny de Lange, 'Hogere opkomst belemmerde grote winst van ultra-rechts', *Trouw*, 17-05-1984.

¹⁴² Henk Muller en Marcel Weltak, 'Knooppunt', *De Volkskrant*, 17-02-1990.

Party for Migrant Workers) stated that the party was founded due to the low places given to migrant political candidates at the PvdA.¹⁴³ However, none of these candidates joined his party.

There was a collective rejection of migrant parties. Talip Demirhan, for example, states that ‘we have to get rid of that [migrant parties]’.¹⁴⁴ Mahir Engin goes even further and connects the existence of migrant parties to the political unrest in Turkey.¹⁴⁵

It's possible that this rejection was prompted by Dutch political parties, especially those that were gaining voters from migrant constituents, such as the PvdA. Officials from these mainstream parties also got involved in discussions in Dutch newspapers.

[Reporter:] However, the PvdA in Vlaardingen suddenly faced competition around the turn of the year. A Turkish party named *Elele Demokrasi '86* appeared to have registered at the polling station. Although the party has not yet come into the public and its points of contention are unknown, the reaction in PvdA circles has been fierce and negative. We regret this development, said PvdA councillor and minority specialist Bep Nachtegaal. ‘No one benefits from having more parties than there are already. This leads to fragmentation of voting behaviour. ‘Let the foreigners speak out for an existing party,’ preferably the PvdA, of course.’ Leny van Halteren (VVD) gives an opposing opinion on this subject: ‘I think a Turkish party is an excellent thing. That is a democratic right - I have no problem with that. What can the PvdA do about that?’¹⁴⁶

Whatever the case, the Turkish migrant politicians were clear about their preferred strategy, which is the foot-in-door strategy. The aim was and remained to gain a foothold in Dutch political parties to represent the migrant constituents from within. However, in explaining this

¹⁴³ ‘Kieslijsten voor de raad staan vast’, *Het Vrije Volk*, 17-02-1990.

¹⁴⁴ Hubert Smeets, ‘Het CDA heeft alles mee om onder migranten door te breken’, *NRC Handelsblad*, 08-12-1986.

¹⁴⁵ Smeets, ‘Het CDA heeft alles mee’.

¹⁴⁶ Bart van Leeuwen, ‘Hoe leer je 'n vreemde stemmen op z'n Hollands?’, *Het Vrije Volk*, 18-01-1986.

strategy, they were more cautious towards Dutch audiences than they were towards Turkish migrant audiences.

Who's welfare: Bridging the Gap

The main theme in this chapter is the delicate balance that Turkish migrant politicians had to maintain when speaking to Dutch audiences. They had to be true to the constituents of the migrant community while also not being solely identified as migrant politicians.

Out of 47 articles, in 14, the politicians did not refer to a nodal point. In seven, the nodal point was stated to be the general welfare, which I interpret as the welfare of Dutch society and the Dutch nation-state. In six, the nodal point was the welfare of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands, and in 20, the nodal point was the welfare of foreigners/migrants as a group. Therefore, the combined percentage of the welfare of Turks (13%) and the welfare of foreigners (43%) was 56% which is significantly lower than in Turkish newspapers.

I argue that this is related to the delicate position these Turkish migrant politicians were in. It may have been more strategic for them not to be as overt about representing and improving the living conditions of foreigners and Turks due to the potential negative perceptions that native Dutch audiences may have. The opposite is true for Turkish newspapers.

Chapter Six: The Tight Rope

As we reach the culmination of this thesis, this final chapter serves as a platform to further develop the argument based on the outcomes from Chapters Four and Five. It also sheds light on the prevalent discourses in Turkish and Dutch newspapers, thereby providing a contextual understanding of the predicament of Turkish migrant politicians. Lastly, this chapter identifies the coherent and incoherent results with academic consensus on the political incorporation of migrant politicians in the pioneers phase. Here two will be discussed the gaps in the data and recommendations for future research, ensuring the continuity and progression of this important academic discourse.

Migrant Advocate, Dutch Politician

The Turkish migrant politicians found themselves in a unique and complex position, straddling two worlds. They were migrants and intimately familiar with the struggles, concerns, and aspirations of their migrant voter bases. Yet, they were also politically active Dutch residents, well-versed in the Dutch discourses on migrants and integration. Their political success was not solely dependent on the preferential votes of migrant voters but also on their ability to prove their worth to their political colleagues post-election. In Turkish newspapers, these political actors sought to mobilise their migrant constituents to legitimise their candidacy through the ballot. In Dutch newspapers, they had to stay true to their words while maintaining legitimacy with non-migrant voters and political party colleagues by proofing their substantive worth.

Dutch discourses on migration and integration were, and still are, dominated by problematisation.¹⁴⁷ Politicians and reporters define a situation as a problem and will attach issues and solutions to the problem.¹⁴⁸ This is done by use of frames that determine who is to

¹⁴⁷Teun A. van Dijk, 'Discourse and the denial of racism', *Discourse & Society*, 3:1(1992), 87-118.

¹⁴⁸ Foucault, *The archeology of*, 21-25.

be included and who is to be excluded. These mechanisms were prevalent in the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, and migrant politicians were constantly threatened to either be excluded or included.

I would argue that the subject that offered the most threat was, paradoxically, migrant representation. For example, several migrant parties were active in the years under analysis here. These parties are almost invisible in the dataset of this paper, both in the searches in Turkish newspapers and in Dutch newspapers. Those few instances where they were named, or the possibility of migrant parties being brought up, were always accompanied by frames of problematisation. Arguments differed; according to some, such parties would never get enough voters, while others maintained that such parties would be isolated and could never bring about any real change or that these parties were not to the benefit of migrants due to the threat of fragmentation, but all agreed that they were problematic.¹⁴⁹ First, the political parties employed a strategy of mutual non-committing; the gain of new voters and members outweighed the loss of programmatic incoherence. However, this tolerance was short-lived and did not endure post-elections. expectations of voter turnout determined the initial incorporation of migrant politicians as migrant advocates. However, post-election, placing too much emphasis on migrant constituents and subsequent alienation of white constituents was problematised.

The migrant politicians had to be aware of this, as prominent migrant politicians such as Talip Demirhan (CDA) and Seçil Arda (PvdA) were confronted by certain factions within their parties who disagreed with the (high) positions given to these migrant politicians.¹⁵⁰

Because of this mechanism, these migrant politicians walked a tightrope. Most of the burden also fell on individuals new to the political game and had little to no training on dealing

¹⁴⁹ A.F. Kerbert, 'Een Turkse Partij hier zal niets bereiken', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 17-11-1983; John le Noble, 'De twijfels van een Turkse kandidaat', *Algemeen Dagblad*, 06-01-1986; Bart van Leeuwen, 'Hoe leer je 'n vreemde stemmen op z'n Hollands?', *Het Vrije Volk*, 18-01-1986.

¹⁵⁰ 'Islamiet in partijbestuur CDA gekozen', *Nederlands Dagblad*, 26-11-1986; Ronald Albers, 'Verandering op lokaal niveau blijkt moeilijk', *De Waarheid*, 03-10-1990.

with frames and discourses that aimed to problematise them, let alone how to deal with such frames.

This is visible in how certain frames, such as the foot-in-door frame, contain different connotations in Dutch newspapers as opposed to Turkish newspapers. In the Turkish newspapers, the foot-in-door frame is meant to signal to the constituents that the migrant politicians will be working for them to solve their problems and to hold Dutch political parties accountable if need be. But in Dutch newspapers, the foot-in-door frame aims to signal that these migrants will work to bridge the gap between backward migrants who have little understanding of Dutch democracy and Dutch politics, which is ideologically driven to serve the migrant populations just as well as it serves the native residents. The foot-in-door frame is maintained in both instances. Namely, the aim is to gain descriptive representation to provide better chances at substantive representation. However, the tone is vastly different, and the potential outcome that is presented is vastly different.

Therefore, it is no wonder that the broken promise frame plays such a significant role in Turkish and Dutch newspapers. These migrant politicians seem to have participated in representing migrant constituents against all knowledge. They hoped to increase the political capacity of the migrant constituents but were often held back due to party politics. Consequently, their voter bases felt neglected, diminishing trust in Dutch politics and migrant politicians.

In summary, this chapter answers the central question of this thesis, namely, ‘What have been the dominant frames that Turkish-Dutch politicians employed to construct their political candidacy, and why has this been the case?’ It is argued that the dominant frames employed by Turkish migrant politicians to construct their political candidacy involved the foot-in-door frame and emphasised the importance of gaining a foothold in politics. This strategic approach was adopted to achieve greater descriptive representation, leading to greater substantive

representation and the eventual welfare of migrant communities in the Netherlands. However, the overt aim and its nodal point shifted depending on the audience. In their challenging role, migrant politicians demonstrated remarkable resilience as they walked a tightrope between migrant constituents and native Dutch party officials. Gaining voter legitimacy and consolidating it within the political party were two different things that these migrant politicians experienced.

Academic Relevance

Current academic consensus on the political incorporation of migrant states that it resulted from voter gains made possible by a phase of mutual non-committing. The main characteristic that resulted in the inclusion of individual migrant politicians was their social capital and bridging abilities and that these individuals were mainly motivated by the general welfare. It is stated that they aimed for substantive representation and were challenged because they had little experience, received little training and were often closely watched, both internally and externally. Much of the academic consensus is also visible in the results of this thesis. However, a few important notes are necessary here.

Indeed, the incorporation of migrant politicians resulted from voter gains and the phase of mutual non-committing. However, I would argue that the political parties quickly abandoned this phase of committing. Testimony to this argument is that migrant politicians were quickly disappointed in the party mechanisms and the lack of support they received. Furthermore, this thesis would argue that these migrant politicians were mainly motivated by migrant/foreigners' welfare rather than the general welfare. Testimony to this argument is the fact that 86% of all articles analysed in Turkish newspapers placed greater emphasis on the welfare of migrants or Turks, and the same goes for 56% of the articles in Dutch newspapers. Indeed, whether or not

these migrant politicians stated their true aims remains a question of debate. They tailored their message according to the audience.

Last, the consensus proclaims that the aim of these migrant politicians was substantive representation. Although not wrong, this statement is neither right, for it does not give a complete picture of the strategies of these migrant politicians. The main strategy employed by migrant politicians was the foot-in-door frame which entails the gaining of descriptive representation to ensure substantive representation. The analysis shows that substantive representation was essential to migrant politicians, but they were realistic about their substantive chances within political parties. Realistically, they knew their role would be to bridge the gap between their constituents and party leaders.

The historical material under analysis here has been brought into the academic fold for the first time. It provides recent academic theories on the perceived political representation of historical backing and consolidates the theories of foot-in-door and talking-back in history. The foot-in-door frame, although hypothesised, was a consequence of inductive methods. It was also hypothesised that the talking back frame would be present in these newspapers, but no convincing evidence was found for this reason.

Additionally, not all Turkish migrant politicians were present in the Delpher database articles, meaning that the migrant politicians affected the eventual outcome of the frame analysis more significantly than perhaps ideal. Furthermore, the theories mentioned above on perceived political representation do not focus solely on Turkish-Dutch politicians, representatives and activists but on all politicians, representatives and activists with migrational backgrounds. Therefore, this thesis provides insight into the historical context and factors of perceived representation. Still, to further align it with current academia on political representation, it would be favourable to include migrant politicians from the Moluccan, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean groups. This would help to illustrate whether the

mechanism explained in this thesis was exclusive to Turkish migrant politicians or all migrant politicians.

In any case, this thesis has highlighted influential individuals in Dutch political history, namely migrant politicians who were pioneers, as is befitting of migrants. With the best intentions, they endeavoured to advocate for their fellow migrants and better understand these migrants in the political arena. This thesis aligns with their aim and endeavours to be interpreted as a continuation of their works.

Conclusion

This thesis examined the question, ‘What have been the dominant frames that Turkish-Dutch politicians employed to construct their political candidacy, and why has this been the case?’. The study argued that these politicians primarily used the "foot-in-door" frame and emphasised the importance of establishing a political presence. This approach aimed to achieve better descriptive representation, leading to substantive representation and benefiting migrant communities in the Netherlands. However, Turkish migrant politicians, representatives, and activists tweaked their approach depending on the audience. This resulted in differences in tone in Turkish newspapers and Dutch newspapers. This difference had much to do with the tightrope these migrant politicians walked between their constituents and their Dutch political affiliations.

Historically, the political engagement of these migrant political actors was linked to issues such as the rise of nationalism, joblessness, xenophobia, housing, and legal rights. There is much academic consensus on how these migrant politicians were motivated by substantive representation and problem-solving. Although this claim is confirmed in this thesis, it provides the important caveat that the construction of their candidacy was aimed at gaining descriptive representation to, on the long run, secure substantive representation. The perceived lack of action and interest from Dutch politicians on these subjects increased the need for a greater political presence with migrants in the Netherlands.

After enacting the Local Suffrage Act of 1986, the stage was set for Turkish migrant politicians, representatives and activists to enter the (local) political playing field and provide the much-demanded advocacy to these migrant groups. The migrant politicians were recruited, invited, and enlisted by mainstream political parties, often due to their social capital and earlier experiences. The migrant voters did not disappoint and voted for their migrant candidates.

Turkish newspapers, which published European appendixes for the European diaspora, and Dutch newspapers, which intended to introduce this new group of politicians to the wider public, interviewed the Turkish migrant politicians. In other academic works on the subject, it was often argued that these migrant politicians of the pioneer phase were motivated by the general welfare and viewed themselves as representatives of all constituents. By analysing the newspaper articles in Dutch and Turkish newspapers, I argue that the construction of candidacy by migrant politicians was tailored to the audience.

The deductive frame analysis in Turkish newspapers revealed that the conflict/danger and responsibility frames were particularly significant. Turkish migrant politicians often utilised these frames as a reaction to their prevalence in Dutch media. The conflict/danger frame countered claims about migrants' inability to integrate. In contrast, the responsibility frame emphasised the Turkish community's readiness to address issues and criticised the Dutch government's reluctance to do the same.

The inductive frames from Turkish newspapers included the "broken promise" frame and the "foot-in-door" frame. The "broken promise" frame was potent in mobilising constituents by highlighting unmet promises by Dutch politicians, concerns about tokenism, and the lack of substantive representation. It explained the use of the foot-in-door frame. The "foot-in-door" frame emphasised the need for Turkish politicians to gain initial entry into mainstream political parties to advocate effectively for their communities. In its presentation in Turkish media, this frame was often expressed in unapologetic terms and with a union-like conviction.

When addressing Dutch media, Turkish migrant politicians adopted a more cautious tone. From the deductive frames, the responsibility and humanitarian frames were most prevalent in Dutch newspapers, showcasing personal migration stories and the integration efforts of Turkish migrant politicians. These frames portrayed them as successful pioneers and bridge builders between Dutch politics and migrant communities while (sometimes) portraying

other migrants as less successful or backward. The inductive frames in Dutch media were similar to the ones used in Turkish media, namely the "broken promise" and "foot-in-door" frames. However, here two, differences in tone were notable. The broken promise frame was simultaneously used to point the finger at Dutch politics and to point to migrant advocacy expectations. Both were done to shield the migrant politicians from the accumulated internal (from the migrant constituents) and external (from the political parties) pressure. Similarly, in Dutch media, the foot-in-door frame did not connote advocacy of migrant groups but rather the bridging of divisions between political parties, and migrants. The union-like tone of advocacy was not used in conversations with Dutch media.

Although the representation of migrant communities was the core business of these migrant politicians, it was also the core issue that posed significant challenges to them. This precarious situation required Turkish-Dutch politicians to balance their advocacy for migrant communities with broader party goals to avoid a "white backlash" and alienation of native Dutch voters. This balancing act often placed them on a tightrope as they navigated the expectations and frames presented by both their migrant constituents and their political parties.

To satisfy both expectations, Turkish-Dutch politicians employed distinct strategies when addressing Turkish and Dutch audiences. In Turkish newspapers, they mobilised their constituents by highlighting their commitment to solving community issues and holding Dutch political parties accountable. The foot-in-door frame signalled that they would work for the Turkish community, aiming for descriptive representation to achieve substantive representation eventually.

In contrast, in Dutch newspapers, the same politicians emphasised their roles as bridge-builders who worked to integrate migrant communities into Dutch society. They had to prove their worth beyond their ethnic voter base to maintain legitimacy with non-migrant voters and political party colleagues. The mutual non-committing phase was thus short lived and only

employed during the elections. This meant that these migrating politicians had to diminish themselves their loyalty to the migrant groups in order to appear less alien. The foot-in-door frame in this context readapted to connote that they would help migrants integrate into Dutch democracy and politics, which was better aligned with Dutch minority policy.

Turkish migrant politicians in the Netherlands face the dual challenge of representing their communities while gaining acceptance in the broader Dutch political arena. Their strategies in different media reflect the need to balance these roles carefully. This thesis offers a unique contribution by integrating historical materials with contemporary political theories, though further research is needed to expand its applicability to other migrant groups. Earlier academic work on the subject was conducted by use of qualitative interviewing methods. This thesis sets itself apart by using primary historical sources. The delicate position of Turkish migrant politicians underscores the complexities of political representation in a multicultural society, highlighting the ongoing negotiation between advocacy and integration.

Overall, this thesis demonstrates the importance of understanding the historical context, media strategies, and theoretical frameworks that shape the political participation and representation of migrant politicians. By exploring the frames and strategies used by Turkish-Dutch politicians, this research contributes to the broader discourse on political representation, integration, and advocacy in multicultural societies. The findings underscore the need for further research to include diverse migrant groups, providing a more comprehensive understanding of the mechanisms and challenges of political representation in contemporary political systems.

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List of Articles from Turkish Newspapers

Author	Title	Newspaper	Date of publication
Ünal Öztürk	Tebrikler Demirhan	Hürriyet	26-04-1986
Unknown	Hedefi, Hollanda parlamentosu	Milliyet	30-06-1986
Emine Gümüş	Hollanda'daki güçlü sesimiz	Hürriyet	17-07-1986
Unknown	Demirhan'la övünüyoruz!	Hürriyet	28-11-1986
Ayhan Bayram	Vatandaşlarımızın derdine çözüm bulmaya çalışacağız	Tercüman	29-11-1986
Mehmet Tatlı	Eşit haktan yanayız	Tercüman	29-11-1986
Unknown	Bağcı, işçi Partisi il yönetim kurulunda	Hürriyet	13-12-1986
Unknown	Oy hakkı ne oldu?	Hürriyet	13-12-1986
Unknown	Amsterdam'da seçim Heyecanı	Hürriyet	27-12-1986
Mehmet Tatlı	Meselelerimiz partilerin yönetim kuruluna girerek anlatabiliriz	Tercüman	03-01-1987
Ekrem Ataç	Hollanda'da etkinliğimiz siyasetle artar	Tercüman	10-01-1987
Selamet Gündoğan	Hoogezand Türk Cemiyeti belediyede destek bekliyor	Hürriyet	12-01-1987
Erdoğan Çadırıcı	Meselelerin halli için canla başla çalışacağız	Tercüman	17-01-1987
Unknown	1987'de daha başarılı hizmet vermeye çalışacağız	Tercüman	30-01-1987
Davut Kundakçı	Sorunları çözmek için çalışıyoruz	Hürriyet	07-02-1987
Adil Araci	Yabancılar platformu başkanlığına bir Türk getirildi	Hürriyet	14-02-1987
Ekrem Ataç	İki toplum arasında köprü görevi yapacağız	Tercüman	06-03-1987
Mehmet Tatlı	Seçme ve seçilme hakkı için yürüdük	Tercüman	20-03-1987
Unknown	Adnan Kulhan İlçe Meclisinde	Hürriyet	20-03-1987
Unknown	Hanımlara önem verin		17-04-1987
Mehmet Altan	Gençler sorunlarına çözüm bekliyor	Hürriyet	18-04-1987
Turan Gül	Bu ne ilgisizlik	Hürriyet	02-05-1987
Ünal Öztürk	Lafla işsizlik sorunu çözülmez	Hürriyet	09-05-1987
Ünal Öztürk	Hollanda'daki seçimler için birlik çağrısı		20-03-1990
Ünal Öztürk	Türk'ün sesi olacağım	Hürriyet	30-03-1990
Ünal Öztürk	Etkinliğimizi artımalıyız	Hürriyet	31-03-1990
Unknown	Haklarımızı savunalım	Hürriyet	01-04-1990
Ünal Öztürk	Toplimumuzla iç içe olmalıyız	Hürriyet	01-04-1990

Unknown	Çocuklara önem verelim	Hürriyet	02-04-1990
Ünal Öztürk	Politik lobileri oluşturmaliyiz	Hürriyet	03-04-1990
Ünal Öztürk	Bizler misafir değiliz	Hürriyet	04-04-1990
Unknown	Birlik içinde olmalıyız	Hürriyet	05-04-1990
Ünal Öztürk	İrkçılığa taviz yok	Hürriyet	06-04-1990
Unknown	Halkla iç içe olan kazanır	Hürriyet	07-04-1990
Unknown	Mücadelemiz yabancıya omuz silkenlerle	Hürriyet	07-04-1990
Unknown	Başarı için eğitim olanaklarından yararlanmalıyız	Hürriyet	07-04-1990
Yasemin Öztürk	Yabancılar eşit hak sağlanmalı	Hürriyet	08-11-1990
Coşkun Yahşi	Bir Türk daha belediye meclisinde	Hürriyet	31-05-1991
Ali Esin	Hollanda'da geçim sıkıntısı büyüyor	Hürriyet	14-06-1991
Turan Gül	Findik Okyay çalışmalarını anlattı	Hürriyet	09-07-1991
Turan Gül	Vaadler yağdırıldı ama sorunlar çözüm bekliyor	Hürriyet	05-09-1991
Ünal Öztürk	Masa başında çözüm üretmeyeceğiz	Hürriyet	21-10-1991
Ünal Öztürk	Siyasal etkinliğimiz artıyor	Hürriyet	06-11-1991
Ünal Öztürk	Bulunduğunuz ülkelerin şartlarına uyun	Hürriyet	25-11-1991
Ünal Öztürk	İnançlar Tartışılmaz	Hürriyet	20-dec-91
Unknown	Elçilerden sevgile	Hürriyet	31-12-1991
Turan Gül	Sorunlarımız için biraraya gelelim	Hürriyet	17-04-1992
Ünal Öztürk	Önce eşitlik, Sonra uyum	Hürriyet	01-07-1992
	Amsterdam Belediye Meclisi'nde Bir Türk	Hürriyet	30-07-1992
Ünal Öztürk	İrkçı saldırılara Karşı elele	Hürriyet	19-09-1992
Ergun Kula	Hatanı düzelt, özür dile	Hürriyet	04-12-1992
Ünal Öztürk	İrkçılığa Karşı etkili önlem şart	Hürriyet	18-12-1992
Turan Gül	İrkçılığa karşı önlem alınsın	Hürriyet	23-12-1992
Mustafa Koyuncu	Dialogsuz uyum olmaz	Hürriyet	24-12-1992
Ünal Öztürk	İki Türk semt yönetiminde	Hürriyet	11-04-1993
Ünal Öztürk	Türk danışma maclisi iki yaşında	Hürriyet	22-04-1993
Murat Arslan	Amaç, bağları güçlendirmek	Hürriyet	24-05-1993
Ergun Kula	Hollanda'da Türk partisi	Unkown	05-06-1993
Ergun Kula	Seçimlere ilgisiz kalmayalım	Hürriyet	13-06-1993
Coşkun Yahşi	Sorunlara karşı sesimizi duyurmalıyız	Unkown	23-06-1993
Mustafa Koyuncu	İrkçılığa karşı etkin mücadele	Hürriyet	09-02-1994
Ünal Öztürk	Sorunlar karşında tek vücut, tek ses olmalıyız	Hürriyet	

Azmin Zaferi	Sıvaslı şövalye Talip Demirhan	Unkown	
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List of Articles from Dutch Newspapers

Author	Title	Newspaper	Date
Peter Schumacher	'Illegale buitenlanders ontslaan is diefstal'	NRC Handelsblad	06-12-1979
Unkown	Kieslijsten voor de raad staan vast	Het Vrije Volk	20-03-1980
Unkown	'Voor migranten-vrouwen valt er weinig te vieren'	De Waarheid	17-11-1983
Bart van Leeuwen	Hoe leer je 'n vreemde stemmen op z'n Hollands?	Het Vrije Volk	17-05-1984
Steven Adolf	Groen Links mist duidelijkheid' Allochtoon raadslid stapt op uit onvrede over eigen partij	NRC Handelsblad	06-06-1985
Rita van Veen	Deelraadslid en praatpaal: Adnan Kulhan houdt spreekuur voor zijn Amsterdamse landgenoten	Trouw	05-12-1985
Unkown	Kandidaat voor Charlois' deelraad Musa Oztürk verwacht grote opkomst Turken	Het Vrije Volk	05-12-1985
Unkown	Zilver Koord	Het Parool	06-01-1986
Henk Muller	Migrantenvrouwen in de raad hebben lange adem	De Volkskrant	18-01-1986
Unkown	Buitenlandse werknemer ridder	Algemeen Dagblad	20-03-1986
Remco de Jong	Raadswerk stelt allochtoon teleur	Het Parool	20-03-1986
Unkown	Turks PvdA-raadslid trekt zich terug	Nieuwsblad van het Noorden	28-10-1986
Peter Schumacher	Welzijnswerk doodde initiatieven migrantengroepen	NRC Handelsblad	24-11-1986
Rob Gollin en Bas Mesters	Raadslid Demir moet er voor de Turken zijn	De Volkskrant	25-11-1986
A.F. Kerbert	Een Turkse Partij hier zal niets bereiken	Algemeen Dagblad	25-11-1986
Unkown	CDA kiest islamiet in bestuur	NRC Handelsblad	26-11-1986
Unkown	ISLAMIET IN CDA-BESTUUR	Algemeen Dagblad	08-12-1986
Red Theo Koelé, aut. Lex Oomkes	Uit het Parlement	Trouw	24-12-1986

Herman van Amsterdam	Migranten raadslid krijgt het voor de kiezen	Algemeen Dagblad	16-03-1987
Henny de Lange	Hogere opkomst belemmerde grote winst van ultra-rechts	Trouw	20-01-1988
John le Noble	De twijfels van een Turkse kandidaat	Algemeen Dagblad	30-03-1988
Gerda Telgenhof	Werk aan de winkel voor Ismail Aykul in de gemeenteraad van Amersfoort	NRC Handelsblad	30-04-1988
Saskia Bosch	Turkse migrantenvrouwen voor het eerst bijeen	De Waarheid	12-05-1988
Unkown	Kijk op Islam vaak te zwart	Trouw	10-10-1988
Unkown	Turkse in raad van Enschede	Algemeen Dagblad	09-03-1989
Unkown	Als Groen Links maar een Democratische structuur krijgt	De Waarheid	15-04-1989
Bob Witman, Ernst Clowting, Lidy Nicolassen, Karin Schagen en Theo Stielstra	Etnische groepen vorderen op weg naar de Kamer	De Volkskrant	15-04-1989
Ronald Albers	Mensen moeten op partijen stemmen, niet op personen	De Waarheid	29-04-1989
Hubert Smeets	'Het CDA heeft alles mee om onder migranten door te breken'	NRC Handelsblad	26-08-1989
Unkown	Groei Groen Links afgeremd door geringe winst in grote steden	De Waarheid	31-08-1989
Unkown	Islamiet in partijbestuur CDA gekozen	Nederlands Dagblad	10-11-1989
Unkown	Kerst op zes manieren	Algemeen Dagblad	09-12-1989
Unkown	Turk Toprak in slag voor zetel	De Telegraaf	09-01-1990
Talip Demirhan	Korting op bijslag buitenlands kind: gebrek aan solidariteit	Het Parool	07-02-1990
Unkown	Turkse CDAer raadt stemmen op PvdA	De Telegraaf	17-02-1990
Sabri Kenan Bagci	Bolkestein bespeelt onzuivere gevoelens	De Volkskrant	03-03-1990

Unkown	Turk hoog op de lijst CDA Eindhoven	Algemeen Dagblad	20-03-1990
Geke van der Wal	Minste Stemmen tellen	NRC Handelsblad	22-03-1990
Henk Muller en Marcel Weltak	Knooppunt	De Volkskrant	03-10-1990
Unkown	Vakbondsmanifestatie met 150.000 deelnemers toont grote strijdbaarheid tegen kabinetsbeleid	De Waarheid	14-09-1991
Unkown	Ook witte collega's moeten zich in migrantenvraagstuk verdiepen	De Waarheid	28-04-1992
Geke van der Wal	MINSTE STEMMEN TELLEN	NRC Handelsblad	15-04-1993
MARJON BOLWIJN en ALTAN ERDOGAN	'Groen Links vond mijn ideeën te utopisch'	Het Parool	17-04-1993
Wilco boom	TELEURGESTELD UIT DE ETALAGE VAN GROENLINKS	Algemeen Dagblad	17-04-1993
Ronald Albers	Verandering op lokaal niveau blijkt moeilijk	De Waarheid	15-05-1993
Annemiek Veelenturf	Zwarte vrouwelijke raadsleden houden stug vol	Het Vrije Volk	01-12-1993
Marjan Lucas	Voorkeursbehandeling is slechts een begin Feminisering en 'ontwitting' moet integraal onderdeel zijn van Groen Linkse politiek	De Waarheid	08-02-1994