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Soulmates: Reinvention of ethnic identification among higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch

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Often, it is assumed that for ‘successful integration’ of ethnic minorities it is crucial for individuals to give up their ethnic identity. Yet, those who are seen as the most successfully integrated, the social climbers, appear to strongly identify with their ethnicity and feel connected with co-ethnics. How then does social mobility, which is usually accompanied by far-reaching incorporation into society, relate to ethnic identification?

This study explores this puzzle by focusing on social climbers with ethnic minority backgrounds in the Netherlands, in particular on university-educated adult children of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. How strongly do they identify with the labels ‘Moroccan’ and ‘Turkish’? Does this reduce their identification as Dutch, as some people fear? In what situations do they articulate their ethnic identities, and why? How do their identifications develop over time? And in what ways is their ethnicity relevant to them?

Based on a mixed methods approach, this study reveals a trajectory of ‘reinvention of ethnic identification’ among ethnic minority climbers. Together with co-ethnic, higher educated peers, who appear to be real soulmates, they re-explore and re-assert their ethnicity in early adulthood. They reshape the ethnic identity in order to fit their higher education levels. The results help us understand the emergence of a more diverse Dutch middle class, which includes individuals who do not discard their ethnic identity.

Marieke Sloomman graduated in Applied Physics and in Gender Studies. She worked as a researcher at the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies. The present study was conducted at the Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research, University of Amsterdam.

Soulmates



Marieke Sloomman

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Marieke Slotman

Title in Dutch: *Soulmates. Het her-uitvinden van etnische identificatie onder hoger opgeleide tweede generatie Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders*

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Soulmates

Reinvention of ethnic identification among
higher educated second generation
Moroccan and Turkish Dutch

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For Carla and Arnold

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Acknowledgements

‘You switched from Physics to Gender Studies??’

My background in Physics and my career start as a Management Consultant often make eyebrows raise. The knowledge that one of my early (and strong!) drivers was to prove the world my worth *as a woman* often softens this surprise and makes the switch to Gender Studies more understandable. It then might come as no surprise that I am driven by the question what it is like to belong to a minority group. (Or, as I would phrase it after writing an academic book: I am intrigued by what it is like to be seen as a member of what is considered to be a minority category.)

Remarkably enough, this interest has not been primarily inspired by my ethnic background. It was not until I was explained the formal Dutch categorization system, in one of my Social Science classes, that I realized I am formally one of the ‘*allochtonen*’ (foreigners). Until then, the fact that my dad and grandparents were from Indonesia did not mean more to me than my grandma’s lovely spring rolls and the typical water bottle beneath to the toilet. It still doesn’t. I suppose that something as ‘superficial’ as my Dutch name has been an important reason that I was never brought to question my belonging in the Netherlands, contrary to many others, whose ethnic backgrounds have a large impact on their belonging. I find this an intriguing observation...

My personal interest in minority identity has resulted in this book. I greatly enjoyed the research process and feel privileged for the opportunity to conduct this study. I am not only grateful to the University of Amsterdam (AISSR and IMES), but also to the partners who contributed to the funding of my project (Platform31, the municipalities of Almere, Amsterdam, Delft, Nijmegen, The Hague and Utrecht, and housing association Mitros). I am happy that Jean Tillie asked me for a research project in 2005 at IMES, which formed the start of my research career. I loved working with him, as well as with Frank Buijs, who sadly passed away in 2007, in the middle of one of our projects.

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Miriam van de Kamp, Elif Keskiner, Manolis Pratsinakis, Annika Smits, Yannis Tzaninis, Floris Vermeulen, Ismintha Waldring, and all colleagues I don't mention here by name: I want you to know how great it is when people take the effort to carefully read and comment on your (often very unfinished) work, and how much I enjoyed our discussions on topics we are all passionate about. In fact, these discussions and your feedback were crucial in distilling and sharpening the argument laid out in this book. Also, thanks for making the research job (even) more fun. Froukje Demant, Nina ter Laan and Döske van der Wilk have been very special office roomies. Their day-to-day friendships, which contained a sharing of both our personal and our academic lives, have been very precious to me. Girls, you are real soulmates.

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Throughout my journey, I had lively people at my side. Working on a years-long project, which gets shape only verrrry slowly, can be daunting. How special it is to be with someone who is at times more enthusiastic about your research project than you are yourself... Jan-Joost, thank you for being that person at my side. Dear Lina and Timo, I am proud of you both and already enjoy your curiosity and your independent minds.

Mum and dad, I am very thankful to both of you, not only for the countless times that I dropped Lina and Timo in your welcoming arms and immediately left for the library to work, but particularly for encouraging me to follow my heart.

Last but not least, I thank the participants of my study, who all left their personal marks on this book. Thank you for your time and for trusting me with your personal stories. Without you, this book would not have been there at all. I realize it can be a tough read, but I hope you nevertheless enjoy the reading.

1. Introduction.

Winning the Golden Calf...

Why this study? What is in the book?

* * *

When actor Nasrdin Dchar is awarded the Golden Calf for Best Actor in 2011, the Dutch equivalent of the Oscars, in his short, improvised, emotion-laden speech he exclaims:

I am Dutch!
I am proud, with Moroccan blood!
I am a Muslim!
And I won a freaking Golden Calf!!ⁱ

* * *

The speech of Dchar, child of Moroccan immigrants, received much attention in the Netherlands. Many people held the opinion that with the emphasis on both his Dutchness and his Moroccan roots, he finally said what needed to be said. Others might have wearily sighed that such a statement is entirely worn out.ⁱⁱ Possibly, some social scientists listened to his exclamation with wonder, as various models on integration and assimilation trajectories predict that positions of structural integration (such as being declared best Dutch actor) are accompanied by a weakened ethnic identification and a strengthened identification with the country of residence. Other academics, however, possibly saw their ideas confirmed, as in their models, ethnicity is seen as a major resource for structural integration and social advancement.

What made Dchar make this explicit statement? And why at such an important moment, which in the first place is a celebration of Dchar as an actor? Why does he emphasize his Dutchness at the moment he is awarded a prestigious Dutch award? Why does he highlight his ethnic background and his religious affiliation? What do these expressions mean to him? And, how does his strong assertion of both his Dutch and his ethnic identity fit with views on integration? Let us look at the rest of his short speech for clues. He sees the Netherlands as full of anxieties.

'We are all injected with fear'. (This sentence leads to an explosion of applause.) He mentions Dutch Deputy Prime Minister Verhagen, who finds fear for foreigners 'understandable'.ⁱⁱⁱ Dchar goes on to explicitly address his statement (that he is both Dutch and Muslim, with Moroccan blood, and has won a Golden Calf) to Minister Verhagen and the popular anti-Islam politician Wilders and all people who support them. It seems that with his now famous words, Dchar wants to emphasize that he strongly rejects the label of the 'Other' who needs to be feared, that he belongs in the Netherlands, and that this does not lead him to disregard his religious and ethnic background. He illustrates this by briefly expressing – in the Moroccan language – his deepest love for his parents, who are seated in the audience, radiating with parental pride. It is as if winning the Golden Calf makes him the ultimate proof that in no way does his background stand in the way of being successful and constructively participating in Dutch society.

But then again, what does it mean for him on a personal level to be a child of immigrants from Morocco, who once came to the Netherlands to work in low-wage jobs? What does it mean to be socially successful in Dutch society? How does this relate to his Moroccan roots and his identification as Moroccan and Dutch? These questions underlie my study, which is laid out in this book. In this study I explore how ethnicity is experienced and how 'feeling Dutch' is experienced. In particular, I explore these experiences among people of higher education with ethnic minority backgrounds. I thereby focus on the case of second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch with high education levels, and I study how they identify in terms of feeling 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' and 'Dutch' – and, where this is related, also in terms of feeling 'Muslim'. I also explore why they do so and what it means for them, and how this develops over time.

1.1 Identification and incorporation

Why is it interesting to learn about the identifications of citizens with an immigrant background? And why would we focus on the higher educated? Ethnic identification among second generation climbers is an important theme, especially as children of the post-war immigrants have now become adults and increasingly find their way into the middle classes, both in Europe (Crul and Schneider 2009) and in the United States (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf and Waters 2002). Furthermore, the theme of ethnic identification has become increasingly topical in discussions about immigrant incorporation. Whereas discussions on integration previously primarily focused on socioeconomic aspects, their focus shifted to sociocultural identification. This is the case in countries all over the world; the Netherlands forms no exception, as I will explain later. In fact, the case of the Netherlands is specifically interesting because of the sharp turnaround from a country that was renowned for its so-called 'tolerance' of ethnic diversity

to a country where an Islamophobic political party (the Freedom Party (PVV) headed by Geert Wilders) has been very successful and where essentialist language has come to dominate the political realm. Children of immigrants and even their grandchildren are often assessed based on their identification, which is regarded as an expression of loyalty' to the Netherlands. The higher educated are by no means exempted from any of these demands and any of the criticisms that are addressed to entire ethnic minority categories. How do higher educated immigrants maneuver within this landscape? How do these criticisms and demands, in which entire ethnic categories are lumped together, apply to them and affect them? With my study, I hope to contribute to an increased understanding of the experiences of the (adult) children of immigrants and thus to an increased nuance in debates on integration and diversity.

The relevance attached to processes of 'integration' is also reflected in the large body of academic literature on immigrant incorporation. (In the literature, the terms integration and assimilation are commonly used, but these have various normative connotations, as I will explain later, so I prefer to use the term 'incorporation'). As I will argue in detail in the next chapter, the two main models of immigrant incorporation have distinct views on the relationship between ethnic identity and trajectories of incorporation. One line of thinking, inspired by the model of straight-line assimilation, is based on the assumption that the relevance of ethnicity diminishes when people become more incorporated, particularly when this means that they are upwardly mobile in socioeconomic terms. Upward mobility is assumed to go hand in hand with a decreasing ethnic identification and an increasing identification with the country of residence, which I call 'national' identification. The other line of thinking, which builds on segmented assimilation theory, underscores the relevance of ethnicity and points to the importance of ethnic identification for achieving socioeconomic advancement. These two models appear to have limited value for understanding the relevance of ethnicity for social climbers. Based on the first line of thinking, we would expect that ethnic identification among these social climbers with immigrant backgrounds is relatively weak and that their national identification is relatively strong in comparison with lower educated co-ethnics. We would expect a weakening of ethnic identification during the trajectory of incorporation and a strengthening of national identification.

Is this what really happens? It does not seem that Dchar's personal statement, with the explicit emphasis on his ethnic background, validates the assumption that ethnic identification has decreased as an effect of incorporation. The second line of thinking seems more appropriate to explain Dchar's twofold emphasis on both his Dutch and his Moroccan sides. But, how appropriate is the underlying argument that the value of ethnic orientation lies in its value for social advancement? Is this really the reason why Dchar highlights his ethnic

background? Do we not overlook possible alternative mechanisms of identification and incorporation that are at play here?

Thus, my study focuses on how ethnic identifications develop in relation to processes of incorporation, and to social mobility in particular; and on how ethnic identifications relate to national identifications. I focus on the equals of Dchar, on second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch who ‘won a Golden Calf’. Not literally, of course, but on those who achieved positions that are generally regarded as ‘incorporated’. I place this qualification between quotation marks because incorporation is a broad term, referring to a large variety of domains and attributes. I focus on those with high education levels and according jobs, those that can be considered incorporated in structural terms, but who are nevertheless unabatedly targeted by the demanding integration discourse; and those who at the same time are met with incomprehension when they ‘despite’ their mobility ‘still’ stress their ethnic background. Please note that with this choice I do *not* suggest that those who fall outside this selection are therefore automatically not incorporated. Nor do I suggest that in my view children of immigrants *should* show certain levels of socioeconomic advancement and sociocultural adaptation.

My findings are partly based on interviews that I conducted with university educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. To be precise: with Dutch men and women, born in the Netherlands (or who arrived here at very young age), with parents who were born in Morocco and Turkey and came to the Netherlands as immigrants. I refer to them as ‘second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch’, even though I consider this label to overly accentuate or even misrepresent their immigrant situation, since as *children of* immigrants, they often are not immigrants themselves. The stories told in these interviews shed light on why and how they identify in ethnic and national terms, on how their identification is shaped by the social relations in the various contexts, and on how this identification develops over time and in relation to their trajectories of social mobility. To give a feel for what will unfold in the book, in the next section, I introduce five personal stories, which are inspired by the interviews (1.2). I finish the chapter with a description of the set-up of the book (1.3).

1.2 Five voices

The experiences of the second generation that I study vary broadly. At the same time they are characterized by resemblance. To give a feel for both the broader trends as well as the personal variations, I introduce five personal stories. The stories are based on interviews with five adult children of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants. Changes have been made for reasons of anonymity. These stories are

brief sketches of personal lives, which particularly focus on the roles of ethnicity and ethnic identifications. They also focus on the social relations, particularly those relations that are partly shaped by ethnicity or in turn influence people's ethnic experiences and identifications. The stories are meant to set the scene and give a feel for the relevance of this study. They hint at the directions that will unfold in the chapters to come. They also illustrate the richness in experiences and accounts.

These five stories are not 'ideal types'. Thinking in ideal types would simplify reality too much, smoothing out the complexities and ambiguities that form part of the personal accounts in the interviews. We can think of these five people as people with university degrees, who are over 30 years old. They were either born in the Netherlands – shortly after their parents arrived here to work as 'guest workers' in low-wage jobs – or they arrived here with their parents at a very young age. They work as professionals, consultants, engineers, and as entrepreneurs. They speak Dutch fluently and most have what I would call a 'professional' appearance. Not only are they smartly dressed, but they also radiate confidence and reflexivity and formulate their thoughts with a certain ease and determination.

a) Said. 'Whenever I can, I now tell them I am Moroccan.'

Said grows up in a village in the province of Noord-Holland as the only child of Moroccan immigrants. As his family is one of the only immigrant families there, his friends at primary school are all ethnic Dutch. Said does not grow up isolated, but he is aware of his arrear in relation to his friends, even though they all come from low-class backgrounds. He feels his friends learn a lot more at home than he does. He regularly does not understand complicated words. Sometimes, he is not allowed to play at friends' houses. In hindsight, he reflects on his childhood as the period during which he discovered he was actually different, in a negative way. But he also acknowledges positive consequences of his youth, as it resulted in his extra drive to prove his worth.

His time at secondary school (*VWO*, preparatory tertiary education), another 'white' environment, is a great period. Said is eager to learn and to close the gap with his peers. A low mark at school for a Dutch language test greatly upsets him and leads him to receive high marks for Dutch from that point on. His friends, with their ambitions, provide his role models. Hanging out with them at their houses increases his cultural baggage. His ethnic background feels entirely irrelevant during this period, which is characterized by sensing and seizing opportunities, and by a growing awareness of his intellectual capabilities and that he is on the right track. When his ethnic background prompts the hairdresser to assume that he attends lower vocational education, he takes pride in disproving her stereotypical assumptions. He remembers this period as one characterized by increasing self-confidence and a decreased emphasis on ethnicity. He then learned 'not to have a negative relation with his own identity'.

When he starts at university, he is amazed to see many other Moroccan Dutch with a high education level. He always assumed he was the only one, but he suddenly meets companions who share his experiences. It feels like a revelation to meet with people who appear to be on the same wavelength, to experience such a level of mutual understanding. They all have felt like they were exceptions. They start a Moroccan Dutch student association. Suddenly, most of his interactions are with other Moroccan Dutch. Or, maybe about sixty per cent of his interactions, as he also attends a regular Dutch fraternity. Looking back on it, this was a really fantastic period.

Said describes himself as 'engaged'. He is ambitious and tries to link and connect. He is involved in many societal initiatives, which partly aim at bringing groups together. This is largely in response to widespread negativity towards the Moroccan community. But he also reaches out in his personal realm. He supports nieces and nephews in their school choices and stimulates them to aim high. He stresses that nowadays, in his professional environment, which is primarily 'white' and male, he does not feel different from his colleagues. Whenever he can, he mentions his ethnic background or that he is Muslim. He is proud that he is both successful and Moroccan and Muslim. In consciously emphasizing all of these aspects, he wants to show people that these can go together very well, contrary to general expectations. He wants to exemplify how the stereotypical images are way too simplistic and that you can be religious, visit Morocco and be oriented towards Dutch society at the same time. Sometimes, he feels singled out. It is annoying when you are singled out to give your opinion on the 9/11 attacks or when someone makes silly Moroccan-jokes. It is even somewhat awkward when someone declares you to be a success story (because of your ethnic background). After all, what is the relevance of culture here?!

b) Berkant. 'Now, I feel happy having two sides.'

Growing up in a middle-large town in the province of Utrecht is not always easy. Berkant, just like his other siblings, experiences exclusion from his early youth because of his Turkish background. He feels alienated as he enters primary school unable to speak Dutch and is bullied by white kids in the neighborhood. Thankfully he is in school with other 'Turkish' pupils, and the bullying makes him draw closer to his Turkish friends. When at *VWO* (tertiary preparatory education), he is the only 'Turkish' in his secondary school, he feels tremendously isolated. He was never limited in his personal freedom by his parents, who stimulated him to take part in all social activities. Nevertheless, he feels insecure because everything feels unfamiliar. The celebration of birthday parties, outings with school... he is in a continuous state of astonishment and feels a dire need to prove himself. His parents keep supporting his educational ambitions, and provide financial support as well, even though they do not have much money to spend.

When he enters university, it is a real peak experience. He meets other students who have a Turkish background, and this opens up an entirely new world to him. He feels an urgent need to share experiences with people who know what he is talking about.

They found a Turkish student association and later, he also becomes member of a professional Turkish organization. What makes him feel at home with people is the understanding that you have stuff to share; that you have things to talk about and have similar experiences. That is why he feels more at home in the middle-class (primarily) 'white' neighborhood where he lives with his wife and children, than in the 'black' lower-class neighborhood where they lived before. However, his friends are still mostly Turkish. They are higher educated, mostly coming from more liberal, less orthodox backgrounds. Next to his job, he is very active in organizations that are aimed at supporting and stimulating ethnic minority children. He is conscious about the importance of co-ethnic role models and about the lack thereof, and feels the need to 'give back' to the co-ethnic community and prevent others from going through the same as he has.

After his university graduation, he decides to move to Turkey for a while. Like many other Turkish children, he has been raised with the prospect of finally returning to Turkey. Returning to Turkey was the dream of his parents, and for him, Turkey had become Utopia, its mythical appeal confirmed during the frequent holidays he enjoyed there. As he grew older, he slowly began realizing that they would not return and that his future was in the Netherlands. Slowly, he became more positive and more oriented towards the Netherlands, and his aversion towards everything Dutch (instigated by his childhood bullying) gradually faded. Nevertheless, he then really looks forward to going to Turkey. The stay has a sobering effect. Turkey appears to be a normal country, with normal troubles. Despite his love for Turkish music and the Turkish football team, he realizes how strongly he has been shaped by growing up in the Netherlands. This makes him slowly accept and value his Dutchness, alongside his Turkishness, creating some sort of balance. Knowing that you have two sides – knowing that you do not have to choose and disregard one but that you can rely on *both* – gives him a feeling of peacefulness. Knowing that you have two countries where you feel at home makes him feel blessed. Upon his return to the Netherlands, he feels less bothered by the negative integration discourse and how people talk about immigrants on television, because of his increased confidence in the fact that he (also) belongs here.

Berkant highly values his relationship with his parents. He does not let the fact that he has outgrown their Turkish traditional mentality or their social class keep him from trying to uphold his ties to his family. He considers this *his* responsibility, as he is able to understand them and their world, whereas they are much less able to understand him and his world (for example with regard to the frequency of his holidays, the price of his clothes, decisions with regard to childcare, and in particular regarding religious views). He tries to avoid hurting them and does not confront them with things they will never understand. To Berkant, it's nothing special that his parents fail to understand his life-world. He grew up in an immigrant situation and has always supported his parents in finding their way in Dutch society since his early childhood.

c) Esra. 'I would say I am 60% Dutch and 40% Turkish, Kurdish'

Esra grows up in a town in Twente. Her father works hard, and he hardly spends time at home. He stresses the importance of education and envisions Esra becoming a doctor. As she needs to go to university, her father urges her follow the *MAVO* (lower secondary general education; which is way below the preparatory level for university). Thankfully, her teacher has better knowledge of the system and, recognizing her potential, he sends her to *VWO* (preparatory tertiary education). The support her parents provide is limited to this emphasis on education and to freeing her from household tasks when she needs to do homework. Neither their abilities nor their interest stretch beyond this, which is partly because her father works hard and is hardly ever at home. Esra's parents are Kurdish, but her parents downplay the Kurdish ethnicity in favor for the Turkish identity for reasons of protection.

Esra grows up with very limited personal freedom. She is not allowed to participate in social activities outside school and does not have many friends because it is difficult to maintain a friendship when you have nothing to invest in the relationship. There are the children of the Turkish (and later Kurdish) families she regularly visits with her parents, but these are not real friends. Sometimes, she is called names by children in the neighborhood, but she does not register this as active exclusion. Esra does not feel really 'different'; it is more that she feels strongly isolated and has the urgent feeling that she is missing out on important things. She longs to get to know the world outside of her narrow and oppressive family-world. In secondary school again, she is not allowed to join in social activities and school outings. When she once explicitly defies her parents and gets them to allow her to join in a one-day school outing to the museum, on that morning, her mother does not wake her up in time to go, making her miss out on yet another event. Even during university, she is only allowed to travel back and forth to university each day and is not allowed to go on trips with friends. In comparison to other Turkish fathers, however, her father is relatively permissive. He once has an argument with other fathers, who do not allow their daughters to follow higher educational tracks because they would never let them go to university – as there are boys... Esra's father challenges them and argues that they will eventually need to let their daughters go into the real world. Esra does not often choose for open conflict. She knows that there are many things she does not have to ask for (because they will never be granted), so she doesn't. Some of these things, like visiting the cinema, she secretly does during school times. There is continuous negotiation. She continuously balances her demands: what do I ask for, and what don't I? Every time she wants to do something, this involves extensive explanation, intense efforts to persuade. But Esra knows what she wants, is well prepared and determined, and she manages to get permission for the study of her choice and for the husband of her choice. Reflecting on these experiences in the interview, she describes the enormous transformations of her parents over time. Her youngest siblings grew up with totally different parents: with 'Dutch' parents. They were allowed to participate in school trips – in anything! Her youngest sister even has a Dutch boyfriend, which was entirely unthinkable fifteen years ago.

Despite the discouragement of her parents (for reasons of protection), Esra becomes very interested in Turkish-Kurdish politics, which makes her drawn towards other people with a Turkish background. However, depending on the political situation of the moment, she sometimes also feels a gap separating them from her. On the other hand, the widest gap she feels is due to the conservative views that most of the Turkish and Kurdish people hold. She prefers to mix with people who are Allevi, who are more modern. She also participates in the Turkish student association at her university, where she enjoys meeting a range of Turkish people who are all higher educated, including like-minded students who are relatively modern as well. This is also a place where she can share and develop her interest in Turkey. As an adult, living in a white village, she now has many local Dutch friends, who are all higher educated (or entrepreneurs). Even though her direct environment is primarily Dutch, she also enjoys her participation in a Turkish professional association.

As Esra sees it, the fact that she cherishes and cultivates her Kurdish side also has to do with her place in the Netherlands. The experiences in her youth prove that even though you do your utter best, you still hear 'Turky irky' in the street. It also hurts when a nice man backs away when he hears you are not Italian but Turkish, and when your (non-religious) son is made out for a Muslim terrorist, just because of his Turkish roots. But also more subtle approaches make clear that you will always be different, for example when people specifically address *you* about the 9/11 attacks. Why you?? That does not mean however that she does not belong here in the Netherlands and that she belongs in Turkey. Esra feels very Dutch when she is in Turkey, but she cannot say she feels very Turkish when she is here. So, basically, she feels more Dutch than Turkish. Let's say, with regard to attitudes and opinions, she feels 60 percent Dutch and 40 percent Turkish – or Kurdish, for that matter. Yes, her roots are Kurdish, from Turkey, but Kurdish is a label she uses only in the second instance, because it has no place in Dutch discourse, as, unlike Turkey, it is not a country. With her immigrant background, she has the best of multiple worlds, as she combines the best of her Turkish, Kurdish side, and the best of her Dutch side.

d) Nathalie. 'I never feel like a foreigner anymore!'

Early in primary school, Nathalie moves from the region of Utrecht to this 'white', small, close-knit village in a far corner of the province of Groningen where she feels terribly excluded. She is not accepted, partly because she moved from another place and does not speak the right Dutch dialect and partly because her family is the only foreign family in the village. She has a mixed ethnic background, as her father is from Morocco and her mother is from Poland (which makes her an exception among my participants). Also, in another respect she is an exception because in comparison with the other participants, Nathalie is raised extremely 'Dutch'. The lingua franca at home has always been Dutch, which her father mastered quickly. Nathalie and her siblings were not given standard Moroccan names – on purpose, to increase their chances for inclusion. They keep a certain distance to the local (regional) Moroccan community, and her father is not religious. Her parents strongly encourage education and are very involved. Her father participates in the parental board (*ouderraad*) of the school. With regard to

permissions and personal freedom, Nathalie's upbringing is on the progressive side. Studying and living in another city was not a problem, and she even took home Dutch boyfriends – which is simply unthinkable for most of the other participants, both men and women. In fact, her father even preferred her to come home with a Dutch boyfriend, as he feared that a Moroccan man will obstruct her development and independence.

This relatively 'Dutch' upbringing does not prevent Nathalie from being excluded by her classmates. She is severely bullied from the moment they arrive in the village. She is a bold, daring girl, seeking acceptance. She tries to behave as Dutch as possible – to be as 'normal' as possible and tries to downplay her ethnicity. When she is halfway into secondary school, a couple of her tormentors leave her class, and her position changes. She even becomes one of the more popular girls, but it takes a long time for her to shake off the consequences of her prior exclusion. Her self-confidence is below zero, and for a long time she tries not to stand out. Her self-confidence develops very cautiously as she builds friendships. These friendships make her feel 'normal' – or rather: accepted as normal by her surroundings. After a long while – after years – she finally dares to speak about her Moroccan background and her parental migration history with some pride. Nowadays she never feels like a foreigner anymore. Never. But then, most people do not recognize her Moroccan background by her appearance. She is Dutch. And only Dutch. The harsh discourse frustrates her greatly, but she does not feel addressed herself. She does not feel 'one of them'. Her friends are solely Dutch, and while she was at university she did not engage with people with Moroccan backgrounds. She felt more at home among the Dutch, but she also made an effort not to stand out or place herself in a particular corner.

e) Karim. 'Again, they want me to come from Morocco. I am NOT from there!'

Growing up in this working-class village in the province of North-Brabant, Karim does not really have friendships with other children, besides his siblings. Like most of his siblings, he feels like one of the loners. He does not attribute this to his Moroccan background, but to his introverted nature and contained upbringing. After all, other kids with Moroccan backgrounds who are more assertive are more popular. Karim is not one of the cool guys and feels like an outsider. This proceeds into secondary school, where his graduation from *HAVO* (higher secondary general education) with honors marks a great moment. He feels exuberant, happy that he has proven his worth and intelligence to his parents and to the entire world. This is extra important to him because of his frustrations about his low school advice because his teacher did not let him go to *VWO* (preparatory tertiary education) straight away, due to his ethnic background. The subsequent years at *VWO* mean a slight improvement in social terms, as there is slightly more acceptance for a study-mentality and for his shyness. He loves reading, and Dutch and English literature form a haven.

When he enters university, he feels totally disconnected from other students. He feels miserable and isolated. He is not familiar with habits like partying and clubbing and

feels entirely estranged. He also experiences a huge gap between himself and other Moroccans. He does not feel 'Moroccan', he is not into Morocco or any language other than Dutch, so there is no connection. There is also little connection with the colleagues in the factory where he works during his holidays. Again, this does not seem related to his ethnicity, rather to a lack of shared interests and commonalities. Karim does not share their love for cars and football, even if he tries, and they would not understand his passion for literature. From the side of his parents, he not only feels pressure to succeed in educational terms, but also – encouraged by the local Moroccan community in the mosque – they pressure him to be a 'proper' Moroccan. They express their disappointment, as his clothes and hair do not match their expectations, he does not speak their language fluently, nor does he pray or visit the mosque, and he is far from marrying someone.

His life changes when he meets an active, sociable student of Moroccan descent, Kamal, with whom he really connects. Karim finally feels understood and not judged. He feels valued and stimulated. They have endless conversations, and Karim opens up. As a higher educated Moroccan, Kamal knows what Karim goes through. He knows the weight of the expectations of the Moroccan community: the demands to succeed and, at the same time, to be like them. Karim starts participating in the newly founded Moroccan student association, where he makes friends with people from immigrant backgrounds for the first time. He starts using the label 'foreigner' (*'allochtoon'*), and as an *'allochtoon'* he becomes a spokesperson. He reaches out to the university board and even to the mayor. He enjoys the status and the positive attention, until he and Kamal realize that they have only become new stereotypes. They are still not real people, but have grown into 'model-Moroccans'. This makes them again distance themselves from the label 'foreigner'. Another sphere in which he feels at home in that period is the literature club in which he participates, along with other (ethnic Dutch) students who share his passion for literature. He is cautious not to mix both spheres – out of fear that he will place himself apart by stressing his ethnic side in the one context and his love for literature in the other.

He now describes himself as a critical Dutchman. Yes, he is also Moroccan, but much less so. Morocco is not his country; the Netherlands is. He does not feel at home in Morocco; he does not belong there. He has grown up here, in the Netherlands, and all the reading has made him feel familiar with the Dutch heritage. His way of thinking, his mentality, is Dutch. He is relatively open-minded and not very dogmatic. The words in his head are Dutch. It is not that he celebrates Carnival, Christmas or Queensday, but he is also not very attached to celebrating Ramadan. But then... it is as if society forces you to be Moroccan. Time and again people ask you where you come from, referring to some place abroad. They like to stress your being different. They ask you what you think about Moroccan criminals – as if you would sympathize with them because you share their ethnic background. It is the same on television, where they repeatedly speak about 'un-adapted Moroccans' who supposedly do not fit in. People place demands to adapt and to 'civilize' on people with Moroccan backgrounds – in silent reference to you, without even knowing you. This pushes people away. It makes

Karim feel 'in between'. It is as if he does not belong anywhere. It feels as if side does not understand him, whereas the other side does not *want* to understand him. One moment he longs to belong, and the other moment he is more rebellious and tells himself he does not care. But he hates it when others label him as Moroccan. That makes him feel he is reduced to his ethnicity! He does not even know what 'being Moroccan' means. This is also what annoys him when he visits the mosque (when he occasionally accompanies his wife): also 'Moroccan' people place him somewhere in Morocco. But he is NOT from there!

1.3 In the book...

The five, varied personal stories imply that there is not some static, uniform and predictable ethnic identification. They illustrate the variation that exists between the individual stories, while at the same time they hint at broader trends and mechanisms. Positions and identifications appear to be influenced by social contexts in certain ways. These positions and identifications furthermore depend on self-confidence and develop over time. These themes will be explored throughout the book.

In this study, I look at how ethnicity is experienced by higher educated individuals with a lower-class ethnic minority background, who I call 'social climbers'. The main questions I seek to answer are:

- How do social climbers with minority backgrounds identify in ethnic terms?
- What does it mean for them and how does this relate to identification as Dutch?
- When do they do they identify in ethnic terms and why?
- How does this develop over time?

I focus on the case of higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch and study – in quantitative and qualitative ways – how they identify in terms of 'Moroccan', 'Turkish', and 'Dutch'. I also study how these identifications relate to their trajectories of social mobility. Although religion and gender are not main foci in this study, they are mentioned when they appear relevant to the main theme. The focus on people with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds adds a comparative dimension to the study. The findings lead to reflections on the question to what extent the experiences of the people I studied correspond to current views on identity, 'integration' and social mobility.

The following three chapters set the scene of the study. In chapter 2, I present the theoretical and analytical framework. I briefly discuss the main models of incorporation and explain how I aim to contribute with my study. Furthermore, I

discuss two general, opposed scientific views on ethnicity and identification, an objectivist (essentialist) perspective and a constructivist perspective, and I show the potentials and drawbacks of both positions for understanding people's lived experiences. This leads to a description of the 'analytical toolkit' I use to study ethnic and national identifications. I also comment on my choices in terminology. Chapter 3 deals with the research design of my study. It describes the two methodological approaches that I employed, a structured survey and in-depth interviews, and explains the advantages of such a 'mixed methods' design. Chapter 4 sketches the societal and historical landscape of the study. It describes recent developments in the Dutch debate on integration, as well as the immigrant background of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch second generation and their current socioeconomic and sociocultural positions in Dutch society. I also describe to what extent the higher educated form a specific case among the Moroccan and Turkish second generation.

Chapters 5 through 7 form the empirical heart of the book. In Chapter 5, I explore the identifications among the higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. I use both quantitative and qualitative data to analyze how these second generation climbers identify and what this means for them. Do they strongly identify with their ethnic labels? Does this imply that they identify less strongly as 'Dutch'? And, what does ethnic identification mean? Does it reflect a broader ethnic orientation? Is such identification accompanied by a coherent set of specific sociocultural practices?

Chapter 6 focuses on the role of social context. Based on the in-depth interviews, it explores how the higher educated second generation participants feel and identify in specific social situations. What kind of relations do they have with social others, such as their family members or classmates? What demands are placed on them, in terms of behavior (for example by their lower educated, co-ethnic parents) or in terms of identification (for example by their higher educated ethnic Dutch colleagues)? How do they balance their own preferences with the expectations of others, particularly when they cherish and value their social bonds? Do they feel free to identify in the ways they wish? How do they balance needs for independence with needs for belonging? Is belonging among co-ethnics self-evident and among others always contested, as is often presupposed?

The theme of chapter 7 is the development of identifications over time. How do the ethnic identifications of the second generation climbers develop over time? What roles do experiences of 'difference' and 'sameness' play? Can we identify general 'stages' in the stories of the participants? And, what happens at the particular moment when they start university – a moment that spontaneously pops up in many of the interviews and is recalled in blissful terms? What is the importance of co-ethnic, co-educational peers, and why do I refer to them as

‘soulmates’? What do ‘soulmate-spaces’ and ‘minority middle-class capital’ have to offer to the second generation climbers?

In the final chapter, chapter 8, I discuss my conclusions. I reflect on the trajectory of ‘reinvention’ of ethnic identification among minority climbers that emerged in chapter 7. I explain the prevalence of ethnicity among the social climbers I studied, despite their ‘winning Golden Calves’ and being incorporated into the middle-class segment in their society of residence. Or, is this prevalence of ethnicity maybe not ‘despite’, but rather ‘due to’ their incorporation? I also reflect on the phenomenon of ethnic identification from a more analytical perspective, as it emerges from the empirical findings of this study, and discuss the implications on both an analytical and a practical level.

2. Models of incorporation. Ethnic and national identification considered

What does the literature say about trajectories of incorporation in relation to ethnic and national identifications? What actually is ethnicity and what is identification? Why is the common use of some key concepts problematic?

The identification of children of immigrants and other (ethnic) minorities concerns many. This interest extends beyond individuals with ethnic minority backgrounds themselves to politicians and policy makers and to scholars. Much has been written about processes of immigrant incorporation (or immigrant 'integration' or 'assimilation'), and much has been written about the concepts ethnicity and identity.

In this chapter, I discuss the main strands in the literature on immigrant incorporation, which contain different presumptions about the relationship between identification and social mobility (2.1). I also reflect on two opposing analytical perspectives: constructivism and objectivism (2.2). Why do some notice a 'constructivist, post-Barth-consensus', whereas others identify a 'science war'? Furthermore, what does this mean for the analytical use of the concepts ethnicity and identity? What *is* ethnicity? And what *is* identity? How can these terms be applied in a scientific study in a meaningful way, without automatically adopting and reinforcing dominant connotations and discourses? Near the end of the chapter, I explain my choices in terminology (2.3). I discuss the connotations and workings of some concepts as they are commonly used, which I try to avoid. In the last section, I summarize and reflect on the theoretical and conceptual discussions presented in the chapter (2.4).

2.1 Models of incorporation

The foundation of the literature on processes of immigrant incorporation, the model other theories respond to and build upon, is the idea of 'straight-line assimilation', or 'classic assimilation theory', originally stemming from Warner and Srole (1945) (Gans 1992, Alba and Nee 1997). The theory argues that there

is a common process of assimilation that unfolds over generations, by which 'each new generation represents on average a new stage of adjustment to the host society' (Alba and Nee 1997: 832). Based on cases of European settlers who immigrated into the United States in the early 20th century, straight line assimilation assumes that immigrants will increasingly adapt to their new country; they will become increasingly 'similar' and will eventually be seamlessly incorporated into mainstream society, or rather, into society's middle-class segment (ibid.: 835). Inspired by the famous scheme of Gordon (1964), different domains of assimilation can be distinguished, such as a structural and a cultural dimension. Even though assimilation in one domain can precede assimilation in another, straight-line assimilation assumes that in all domains a development towards incorporation of assimilation occurs, leading towards incorporation into and adaptation to the (middle-class) society of residence, including on the 'identificational' dimension. In other words: an increasing 'national' orientation is regarded as an unavoidable outcome of immigrant incorporation over time, which is regarded as a process in which 'ethnic' orientations (orientations towards the heritage culture of the immigrants, towards the country of origin and towards co-ethnics) gradually dissolve and are eventually lost (Alba and Nee 1997). Gans explains that every kind of social mobility leads to processes of cultural and social adaptation (2007: 158, 161). Although this classical assimilation model primarily describes long-term mechanisms on a macro level, it presents a perspective from which we would expect to see the relevance of ethnicity, and therefore ethnic identifications, wane as part of incorporation processes, and as resulting from socioeconomic advancement in particular.

I identify two lines of reactions to this classical model. The first challenges the zero-sum assumption that people's increasing sociocultural orientation towards their society of residence coincides with weakening orientation towards their sociocultural roots. The counterargument here is that processes of incorporation are not zero-sum, or one-dimensional (running from the extreme of complete 'ethnic-orientation' towards the opposite extreme of complete 'national-orientation'). Instead, it is proposed that incorporation processes are bi-dimensional, which means that ethnic orientation is seen to be independent of the orientation towards the society of residence. For example, Hutnik's model presents identification with the ethnic minority group and identification with the majority group as two independent axes (1991: 158). Berry presents a similar model and argues that the combination of an ethnic and a national orientation (the mode of incorporation that he labels 'integration') is most positive for a person's wellbeing (1997, 2005; see also Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder 2001). Nevertheless, the option for minority groups and individuals to retain their ethnic culture and identity is strongly influenced by the demands placed on them by the dominant group (Berry 1997; Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder 2001). When immigrants are not allowed to retain their

ethnic cultures and identifications, they might feel forced to choose between completely adapting to the society of residence or dissociating themselves from this society. This bi-dimensional view of identification implies that an advancing orientation towards the society of residence does not necessarily coincide with a weakening of one's ethnic orientation.

The second line of reactions challenges the idea that immigrants necessarily incorporate into the middle-class segment of the society of residence. Gans questions the idea of 'automatic immigrant success' and points to the substantial risk of 'second generation decline', particularly in times of economic recession (1992). Ogbu and Simons (1998) argue that in certain immigrant groups, the youth take a rebellious 'oppositional' stance, renouncing mainstream values that emphasize the benefits of schooling and the desirability of a professional career. From such an adversarial stance, marginalized positions are not seen as failures but rather as desired situations. Institutions, such as schools, are associated with oppressive authority (Zhou 1997). Zhou explains: 'School achievement is seen as unlikely to lead to upward mobility, and high achievers are seen as sell-outs to oppressive authority' (p. 987). Such oppositional stances have drastic, negative impacts on school performance and socioeconomic status and are likely to result in downward mobility.

Based on the two lines of reactions, Portes and Zhou developed the famous model of 'segmented assimilation' (1993) (see also Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller 2009). This model elaborates on the idea that incorporation extends beyond the middle class to more segments of society, and on the view that orientation towards to the society of residence does not preclude a co-ethnic identification. The theory argues against the 'classical' presupposition that presents only one path of incorporation for immigrants, leading towards 'upward assimilation' into the majority middle-class culture. Instead, the incorporation process is perceived as segmented, resulting in different sociocultural and socioeconomic outcomes, depending on the challenges faced and the resources available. Sociocultural adaptation to the society of residence can lead to assimilation into a middle-class mainstream ('upward assimilation') but also to assimilation into lower classes ('downward assimilation'). This last route is especially likely for people of immigrant groups with relatively low human capital (such as the children of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants in my study), and for those in more hostile integration contexts. Segmented assimilation theory argues that (partial) co-ethnic orientation, called 'selective acculturation', can protect youth from this downward trajectory, as orientation towards their parents' culture and co-ethnic community provides access to valuable forms of co-ethnic capital. This is actually an example of Berry's 'integration' mode, and – just like Berry – Portes and Rumbaut show that a partial co-ethnic orientation is associated with higher self-esteem and higher academic achievements (2001). The idea is that ethnic

networks protect from discrimination, parental guidance and family and community resources offer support for one's educational and professional career, and family aspirations and community networks help one resist the pull of adversarial subcultures (Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller 2009: 1082). This theory makes a key contribution to the models of incorporation with its acknowledgement of the (socioeconomic or structural) value of a co-ethnic orientation and by debunking the assumption that complete adaptation to the society of residence is only beneficial for the careers of the second generation. Based on this theory, it can be expected that second generation climbers with low-capital backgrounds have a strong ethnic identification, as their social mobility supposedly depended on this.

Critique to segmented assimilation theory

The value of segmented assimilation theory is disputed. Alba and Nee (2003) do not agree with the segmented view. As prominent defenders of assimilation theory, just as Waldinger and Perlman (1998), they argue that over generations, immigrant groups will be seamlessly emerged into the mainstream, in socioeconomic and sociocultural terms; although Alba and Nee point to the possibility that the mainstream is altered by this influx. Gans (1972, 1992) predicts a 'bumpy line' process, with periodic revivals of ethnic boundaries and ethnic identifications, but underscores that this process eventually results in complete assimilation. We do not know if these predictions will come true for the current migrant groups. The fact however is, as Stepick and Stepick argue (2010), that the current situation in the U.S. is characterized by diversity and different assimilation outcomes; as is also the case in the Netherlands, as we will see later.

Considering the diversity, several points of critique can be made with regard to segmented assimilation theory. The first focuses on the predication of 'downward assimilation'. The risk of downward mobility resulting from adaptation to lower-class subcultures has proven to be smaller than presented, which nuances the term 'downward assimilation' and its pessimistic sound. The large majority of the children of immigrants with low human capital *do* show socioeconomic advancement in relation to their parents (Waldinger and Feliciano 2004; Thomson and Crul 2007; Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters and Holdaway 2008; Stepick and Stepick 2010), even though they might not reach the (higher) middle classes. Children of immigrants who are regarded as downwardly mobile because they have jobs in the 'marginal working class', are often better off than their parents – albeit only modestly. Furthermore, when the children of immigrants are compared to segments of the ethnic majority with similar backgrounds instead of the majority average, it often appears that they are not lagging behind but actually have relatively high achievements (see e.g. Gracia, Vasquez, Van de Werfhorst 2014). Acknowledging this advancement recasts the phenomenon of 'downward assimilation' in a less pessimistic perspective. In reality (also in the

Netherlands), the children of immigrants are most often compared with average levels and are therefore portrayed as lagging behind.

A second critique of segmented assimilation theory argues that a focus on the group level also fails to do justice to reality. When entire immigrant groups are classified in terms of trajectory types, variations over time and between individuals are ignored. Crul and Vermeulen (2003) warn of the risk of being too deterministic with premature classification, as over time adaptation processes can change, as is illustrated by the incorporation process of Moroccan immigrants and their offspring. 'The Moroccan community (...) once seemed headed for downward assimilation, but now seems to be rising' (ibid.: 983). Additionally, the group approach does not do justice to intragroup differences. Portes and his colleagues take ethnic groups as levels of analysis and primarily use segmented assimilation theory to explain differences *between* ethnic groups. Challenges and resources are in the first place treated as group characteristics. Large differences that exist *within* ethnic groups are therefore largely neglected, and factors that possibly play a role in processes of incorporation, such as gender, class, profession, religion, and local context, are overlooked. For example, daughters of immigrants reach higher levels of education than sons – at least in the United States (Stepick and Stepick 2010: 1153), but also sometimes encounter lower parental expectations (Thomson and Crul 2007: 1034) and more stringent demands with regard to modest behavior (Song 2003: 47). As Crul and Vermeulen emphasize, 'different segments of the same group may follow different paths' (2003: 975) (see also for example Zhou and Xiong 2005). It is even possible for an individual's acculturation mode to vary per context and per life phase (Crul and Schneider 2010). The polarization between individuals who are successful and who lag behind, within ethnic groups such as Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch, illustrates that groups indeed exist of various segments (Crul and Doomernik 2003, Gijsberts and Dagevos 2009). By focusing only on Moroccan and Turkish Dutch with higher education levels, I selected a sub-segment of ethnic categories with a particular incorporation characteristic (higher education level). In other words, I build upon this intra-group variation as a given. Yet, I also look beyond the influence of education level. Throughout my study, I also remain open to other variations within the two ethnic groups, within the higher educated samples, for example in relation to gender.

Ethnic options

Besides the two main integration models, straight-line assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory, which primarily hypothesize on processes of structural, cultural and identificational incorporation on group levels, another line of literature is more applicable to understand the workings of ethnicity on the individual level. This field of literature aims to understand the persisting relevance of ethnicity to people's self-identifications, extending to third or fourth

generation migrants, in spite of evidence of far-reaching adaptation to the society of residence, both in social, cultural and economic terms. This approach is interesting because it addresses the question why individuals identify in ethnic terms. Instead of assuming that ethnic identification necessarily reflects an encompassing cultural orientation or social cohesion, it looks for other explanations and roles for ethnic identification. It shifts the focus away from ethnic groups to individuals and the interaction between personal agency and external structures.

Gans developed the idea that persisting ethnic identification does not necessarily reflect an orientation towards co-ethnics or the 'old ethnic cultures' (1979: 6). He argues that ethnic identification among the third and successive generations – such as the third generation Jews in the United States – does not require cohesive ethnic networks and practiced cultures. This kind of ethnic identification, which Gans calls 'symbolic ethnicity', is not anchored in groups and roles. It is voluntary, without consequential behavioral expectations, and primarily expressive, relying on the use of symbols. In the words of Cornell and Hartmann (1998), we can call 'symbolic ethnicity' a 'thin' identity because it 'organizes relatively little of social life and action' (p. 73). Waters (1990) further illustrated this 'symbolic ethnicity' in her book 'Ethnic Options', describing that many descendants of white European Catholic immigrants indeed have such costless, voluntary and individualistic 'symbolic ethnicity'. Many of the 'white ethnics' in her study identify in ethnic terms (only) at the moments they want to; they choose 'to turn their ethnicity on and off at will' (1996). They are not labeled by others in ethnic terms and their ethnicity only influences their lives when they want it to.

In later work, Waters (1996) argues that this 'optional ethnicity' is not available for (visible) minorities that have a socially enforced or imposed identity and that are confined to a minority status. She concludes that many ethnic (and racial) minorities do not have these 'ethnic options'. Rumbaut likewise explains that those labeled as 'non-white' confront an entirely different situation than descendants of white European immigrants, whose ethnic identifications have gradually become individualized and voluntary (2008). When ethnic differences are socially relevant, for example in the context of the prejudice and discrimination that 'non-white' minorities encounter, this makes individuals self-conscious of their ethnic backgrounds. A likely response is for them to strengthen their ethnic identifications, leading to a 'reactive ethnicity'. Like Waters, Rumbaut argues that it is unlikely that the ethnic identity of the successive generations of 'non-white' ethnic minorities will become optional, voluntary and 'symbolic'.

Song counters the proposition that stigmatized ethnic minority individuals have few or no 'ethnic options' (2001, 2003). While they do not have unlimited freedom to assert their preferred identity labels wherever or whenever they wish,

they have the ability to influence the connotations and meanings that are associated with their identities. Additionally, they can influence the cultural practices that are attributed to a certain identity. 'Code-switching', such as adapting one's dialect to a situation, is another example of exercising one's ethnic options. Song shows that even though structural aspects can be very influential, ethnic minorities are not powerless and do not lack agency in asserting their ethnic identities.

2.2 Ethnicity and identity as social constructions?

The various theories on incorporation reflect divergent views on ethnicity and identity. They are based on different assumptions about the inevitable or 'substantial' character of ethnicity and ethnic or national identification; they stem from different ontological assumptions. These assumptions are important. How we, as researchers, view ethnicity or identity shapes the lens of our studies. Whether we see ethnic identity as an inherent part of a separate culture or as a dynamic variable shapes how we define our questions and approach our research. One view could for example lead us to analyze the 'cultural distance' between Moroccan Dutch and the ethnic Dutch, measured in strength of 'ethnic identification'; whereas the other view could lead us to explore when and why people identify in certain ways. In the end, our ontological position influences how we observe the world, as well as the potential scope of our research. In this section, I reflect on two opposing perspectives with two divergent views on the character of 'ethnicity' (and identity in a broader sense). I discuss the potentials and drawbacks of a constructivist and an objectivist stance, and I describe what is considered a general constructivist consensus. Further, I discuss the conceptual toolkit that I use. First, I give a brief, more general description of identity and ethnicity.

Why do identities, and ethnic and national identities as specific kinds of identities, matter? Everybody has multiple social identities because every individual belongs to many different social categories and can therefore be categorized in many ways. These categorical characteristics, or 'social identities', such as gender, age, sexual orientation, profession, religion, nationality and ethnic background, indicate how a person is socially defined. They position people in social space (Verkuyten 2005: 43). Thinking in categories is a basic cognitive mechanism. It is something that everybody does to organize and better understand themselves and others (Jenkins 2008b: 13). By categorizing, people are lumped together – and lump themselves together – based on a certain shared trait, even if they differ in all other respects. These processes of categorization, based on similarities (or even perceived similarities), play an important role in questions of belonging such as 'who belongs with whom?' and 'with whom do I belong?' This means that

issues of identification are closely related to issues of belonging (Antonsich 2010: 649).

These social categorizations are rarely neutral. Categorization often involves a broader evaluation based on stereotypical images about people of a specific category. For example, the categories male and female are accompanied by comprehensive sets of expectations and judgments with regard to behaviors, emotions, skills, morals and roles that are regarded typical for either men or women. These expectations are then projected onto people who are classified as male or female, whether or not these sets actually (entirely) apply to the specific individuals. These evaluations, and therefore also the social relevance of the categorizations, vary with time and place. Some categorizations, such as gender and ethnicity, are more encompassing than others, such as voluntary memberships to sports clubs. This means that they have stronger links to the structural and ideological aspects of society (Verkuyten 2005: 54), and therefore they have a stronger influence on people's social experiences. They are associated with more comprehensive stereotypes and are internalized at an early age. People of the same category are then generally considered to 'belong with' other people of the same category, and they all are regarded as similar in many respects. When people are classified (or classify themselves) in a certain way, the focus is on the presumed similarities among people of the same category, which overshadow their internal differences. Categories are often called 'groups', which tend to imply a certain level of uniformity and/or cohesion and interaction (Goffman 1990 [1963], Brubaker 2002). All in all, it is clear thinking in terms of identity is indispensable for conceptualizing the relationship between the individual and society (Verkuyten 2005: 10).

In lay usage, there is often little recognition of the variable aspect of ethnic identity, and other social identities, and how meanings of ethnicity arise. It is commonly assumed that people with the same 'ethnicity' are highly similar to one another and are bound together – that they have shared behaviors, emotions, morals, skills and so forth – solely because they share a certain characteristic such as (some part of) their descent. This is also a common view in the Netherlands, as I will describe in chapter 4. Ethnic identity is often seen as an indisputable, primordial characteristic, something a person or a group 'just has' by nature that is unchangeable and undisputed. This objectivist or essentialist view is based on the assumption that all ethnic groups have static cultures that are inherently different from each other. Groups and cultures are seen as monolithic, meaning they are taken to be 'internally homogeneous and externally bounded' (Brubaker 2002: 164).

The post-Barth consensus: ethnicity as social construction

In academia, a more variable view on ethnic identity has gained ground in the last decennia. From this perspective, ethnicity, and identity in general, are seen as social constructions. The paper that Norwegian anthropologist Fredrik Barth wrote as the introduction to the book 'Ethnic groups and boundaries' (1969) is considered the major turning point in thinking about ethnicity and identity (Nagel 1994; Verkuyten 2005: 76). In 1995, this view was presented as a 'new de-essentializing consensus' (Baumann and Sunier 1995: 3) and it is still seen as the 'basic anthropological model of ethnicity' (Jenkins 2008a: 24). 'We are all constructivists now' (Bader 2001: 251). Rather than viewing ethnic identities as products of naturally existing ethnic groups with distinctive, monolithic cultures, in this constructivist view, ethnic identities are seen as emerging from boundaries that are constructed between imagined (not imaginary) social groups. These constructed boundaries make that people see themselves as members of groups and are recognized as such by others. These ethnic groups are then signified by ethnic labels and defined in cultural terms.

Everyone can trace their lineage, and people share certain parts of their descent with some people and not with others. What is constructivist about this? Constructivist thinking is based on the idea that some parts of one's descent carry more weight than others, and that this particular emphasis varies in time and place. The same holds for the social roles and meanings that are attached to these descents. In situations where ethnicity is socially relevant, ethnicity demarcates social difference (and sameness). Ethnic boundaries construct social categories for people who are associated with similar social roles and positions.

Ethnic boundaries are formed by accentuating (or even imagining) cultural sameness and difference. Sameness and difference can be expressed in terms of language, religion, customs, rituals, moralities and ideologies, or at a more concrete level, in terms of dress, food, gestures, space, gender roles, etcetera (Nagel 1994: 153 ; Jenkins 2008a: 79, 111). Thus, 'culture' (or rather: the cultural elements that are selected to demarcate ethnic boundaries) provides the meaning and content of ethnicity (Nagel 1994: 162). At the core of ethnicities are beliefs about the existence of some kind of shared culture. This cultural content of a group 'forms the basis for contestations about what is distinctive about the group vis-à-vis other groups' (Song 2003: 44). In principle, ethnicity can be organized around any marker of differentiation such as – using Jenkins' example – which end of the boiled egg is the right one to open, but in practice, some things are more 'emotable' than others (Jenkins 2008a: 172). Issues of morality are usually central to the demarcation of ethnic boundaries. Morality often centers on marriage, family and sexuality, with women as the 'extensions of ethnic group integrity and identity', and therefore as the ultimate symbolic bearers of ethnic identities (Song 2003: 47). Religion is also likely to play an important role in the

construction of ethnic identities, as the rituals that often accompany religious practices are effective ways to make identities matter (Jenkins 2008: 126).

Not only do cultural differences lead to the construction of ethnic boundaries, in turn, these social boundaries can produce cultural differences, abstract loyalties and social relations as well. In a constructivist view, the ethnic boundary is clearly not an automatic consequence of what Barth calls 'the cultural stuff that it encloses' (1969: 15), and no simple correlation exists between cultural difference and the social relevance of ethnic identity (ibid.: 32-33). Furthermore, boundaries appear to be emphasized the most when differences are relatively small, as Blok (1998) asserts in reference to other sources such as Freud's work and Bourdieu's book *Distinction* (2010 [1984]). This argument of the 'narcissism of minor differences' suggests that the largest threat to one's identity comes from what is closest, what is least distinctive. This is not to say that this is always the case or to suggest that those who are very distinct cannot be perceived as very threatening. The important point is that we do not automatically feel connected or close to what is most similar to 'us'. Our identities might be threatened most by those who are rather similar to us, which might reinforce the need to emphasize or exaggerate (and maybe even invent) differences between 'us' and 'them'.

A social constructivist perspective is used to argue that a phenomenon or concept in its present context is not 'inevitable' or 'natural' (or 'essentialist' or 'primordial') but is partly the result of people's perceptions and perspectives; it is the result of social processes in particular historical contexts (Hacking 1999: 6). A constructivist view enables us to identify variations in the meaning of a certain concept and to unravel the mechanisms that bring about these meanings, while identifying different stakeholders and power imbalances that factor into the process of meaning-making; see for example Stuart Hall's description of the evolving meaning of the category 'black' (1991). This view can be 'liberating', as it provides a tool for unmasking power inequalities that underlie the roles that are attributed to people. Societal roles and positions are often regarded as inescapable because they are based on classifications that are seen as inevitable and are accompanied by stereotypical ideas that are presented as natural. An example is the widespread stereotypical idea (at least in the Netherlands) that Muslim men are oppressive and Muslim women are docile victims. Another example is the 'natural' responsibility of 'the woman' to take care of the children, which 'inevitably' leads to underrepresentation of women in (high profile) public functions. It can be liberating to understand how such stereotypical ideas emerge, how and why these images are fed and spread, and how individuals deal with these images. In the words of Schulz: Viewing phenomena as social constructions and unmasking authority 'contributes to our understanding of social and political processes through which individuals and groups locate themselves in relation to

others, understand themselves, and define their possibilities' (1998: 336 in Song 2003: 84). A constructivist view allows us to examine how identities in general, and ethnic identities in particular, are constructed and reconstructed over time. This does not necessarily mean however that a phenomenon or concept is indefinitely or individually malleable.

Is there really a constructivist consensus? Falling into two traps

What some social scientists present as a post-Barth constructivist consensus is in reality not beyond dispute. Critique is voiced on the constructivist stance itself and for the dismissal of the relevance of objectivist perspectives. Criticism has also addressed the application of the constructivist perspective in much of the scholarly literature.

Constructivism versus objectivism

Hacking counters the idea of a comprehensive academic constructivist consensus (1999). He observes 'science wars' of accusations against social constructivists, criticizing them for their relativism. The relativist critique posits that constructivist perspectives reduce every view to mere personal interpretation, making 'truth' subjective and relative (ibid.: 4). The implication is that 'anything goes' and there are no grounds for criticizing ideas nor for any form of knowledge or scientific progress. However, the relativist critique actually criticizes the possible moral implications rather than the validity of the constructivist ontological perspective. With regard to the validity of the ontological perspective, the question is which perspective is most appropriate to describe certain phenomenon: a constructivist or objectivist perspective.

Objectivism 'asserts that social phenomena and their meanings have an existence that is independent of social actors' (Bryman 2001: 17). This implies the existence of a reality that is external to the people involved. Instead of perceiving culture and cultural meaning as shaped and reshaped by people, the objectivist view regards culture in a reified way: as existing 'repositories of widely shared values and customs into which people are socialized', existing independently of these people with an 'almost tangible reality of its own' (ibid.: 17). Perspectives like primordialism (the idea that a phenomenon is a primal given) and essentialism (the idea that a phenomenon has a real and static 'essence', independent of people and contexts) are related to objectivist thinking. In the social sciences, objectivist perspectives are often dismissed as 'essentialist', which has strong normative connotations. Nobody proudly claims to be an 'essentialist' (Phillips 2010). 'Most people who use it use it as a slur word, intended to put down the opposition' (Hacking 1999: 17). Essentialism is associated with racism and is 'increasingly employed as a term of criticism' (Verkuyten 2005: 125).

However, simply dismissing essentialism makes it easy to overlook the possible value and relevance of essentialist and objectivist thinking, and the possible downsides of a constructivist perspective. Firstly, according to some, constructivism does not lead to adequate descriptions of social phenomena. As constructivism tends to emphasize processual, unstable, instrumental and political aspects and tries to explain fluctuations in ethnicity and ethnic identification, the danger is that it falls short in accounting for the social relevance and the tangible consequences of certain phenomena, such as the 'more persistent values inherent in ethnicity' (Liebkind 1992: 154). Brubaker and Cooper suggest that a constructivist conception of 'identity' makes it hard to account for crystallized self-understandings, the sometimes coercive force of external identifications, the singular understandings, unitary groups, and the power of identity politics (2000: 1). For example, when we emphasize the fluid character of ethnicity, we risk to underestimate the inevitability of ethnic classification and its consequences for certain individuals or certain groups, as well as possible practical, social and mental benefits of ethnic identification. Bader even accuses constructivists to see phenomena as 'not "real" (...), only "abstract and purely analytical notions", "useful fictions", that have no "causal" or "normative" powers' (2001: 254). Secondly, the negative appraisal of essentialist views needs nuancing. Verkuyten criticizes the widespread idea that constructivism is characteristically emancipatory and liberating, and that essentialist views on culture are generally oppressive and (Verkuyten 2005, chapter 5). He argues that the constructivist perception of culture as varied and dynamic is not only used to challenge stereotypical representations, but can also function in oppressive ways, when it legitimizes assimilationist demands. In turn, essentialist reasoning (which presumes the inevitable incompatibility of two cultures) is not only used by ethnic majorities to oppress minorities, but is also used by ethnic minorities in emancipatory ways, when used in protests against assimilationist demands and in claims for recognition of cultural differences and identities. At times, an essentialist position is taken strategically, in pursuit of political goals, which is called 'strategic essentialism' (Spivak 1988). Thirdly, some argue that essentialist views are evident in many political, social and psychological processes. Brubaker explains that essentialism forms the base of politics: 'Reifying groups is precisely what ethnopolitical entrepreneurs are in the business of doing', as in politics, the 'political fiction of the unified groups' is important, and these unified groups are partly evoked by talking as if they exist (2002: 167). In a similar vein, Phillips (2010) argues that essentialism is a common way of thinking in many social and political contexts. Furthermore, both Phillips and Verkuyten explain that essentialist thinking is a key psychological mechanism because it helps people process complex information, as it provides a firm understanding of the world (Medin 1989 in Verkuyten 2005: 126; Phillips 2010). An essentialist perspective can also contribute to a secure sense of identity,

as people who strongly identify with a group are generally more inclined to see their group as essentially homogenous and distinctive (Verkuyten 2005: 142).

Even though Verkuyten and Phillips convincingly show the political, social and psychological importance of essentialist reasoning, their argument is not necessarily convincing from an ontological perspective. The argument that essentialist thinking is very common in practice does not prove that a social phenomenon is essentialist in its character. When a phenomenon – such as a specific ethnic group – is dynamic over time in shape and meaning, and varies per context, it is still possible for people to view it in a reified way, perceiving it to be static, with a natural essence. Brubaker emphasizes the important distinction between the realm of practice and the realm of analysis by arguing that a social phenomenon, such as a reified idea about ethnicity or an ethnic group, is ‘a key part of what we want to explain, not what we want to explain things with; it belongs to our empirical data, not to our analytical toolkit’ (2002: 165). We should carefully distinguish between a ‘category of practice’, which refers to categories as they are used in everyday social experience, developed and deployed by ‘ordinary social actors’, and a ‘category of analysis’, used by the analyst (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 4). We can say that it is up to us to study *why* ethnicity is presented as a reified given, rather than adopting this view as our own.

Constructivism implemented: traps of essentialism and ambiguity

This brings us to a discussion about how constructivism is applied or ‘implemented’ in the realm of analysis. How is a constructivist perspective applied in academic studies in our ‘categories of analysis’? Here we confront two other points of critique that stem from the inaccurate use of constructivist perspectives in academic work. It appears that constructivism is easier said than done. On the one hand, there is a risk of unintentional essentialization, while on the other hand there is a risk of ambiguity, or what I refer to as the ‘essentialist trap’ and the ‘ambiguity trap’.

In 1999, Hacking already complained that social construction was worn out. In his view, the numerous studies being tagged as the ‘social construction of...’ were more cases of ‘bandwagon-jumping’ than anything actually related to social construction (1999: 35). Correspondingly, Brubaker and Cooper argue that the academic consensus has turned into ‘clichéd constructivism’ (2000: 11), as they ‘often find an uneasy amalgam of constructivist language and essentialist argumentation’ (ibid.: 6). This is not equally the case for all categorizations. For example, in the case of class, there has been a remarked change. Nowadays, the term ‘working class’ can hardly be used without quotation marks, and ‘the working class’ is seldom regarded as a homogenous entity and an autonomous actor (Brubaker 2002). Contrastingly, the general tendency to see ethnicity in so-

called 'groupist' terms, shows that the case of ethnicity remains an explicit example of this uneasy amalgam:

'Despite the constructivist stance that has come to prevail in sophisticated studies of ethnicity, everyday talk, policy analysis, media reporting, and even much ostensibly constructivist academic writing about ethnicity remain informed by 'groupism': by the tendency to take discrete, sharply differentiated, internally homogeneous, and externally bounded groups as basic constituents of social life, chief protagonists of social conflicts and fundamental units of social analysis. Ethnic groups, races, and nations continue to be treated as things-in-the-world, as real, substantial entities with their own cultures, their own identities and their own interests. (...) the social and cultural world is represented in groupist terms as a multichrome mosaic of monochrome racial, ethnic, or cultural blocks.' (Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov 2004: 45)

The widespread use of the terms 'ingroup' and 'outgroup', and 'bonding' and 'bridging' in reference to entire ethnic categories reflects the prevalence of groupist thinking. In academic literature as well as in common integration discourses, the social context of ethnic minorities is commonly discussed in dichotomous terms. The social context of ethnic minorities is divided into a so-called ethnic 'ingroup' and a so-called ethnic 'outgroup'. These terms are derived from social identity theory, developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979). This theory postulates that the mere act of self-categorization leads to 'ingroup' favoritism (with an emphasis on sameness, belonging and consonance) and 'outgroup' derogation (with an emphasis on distinction, dis-belonging and dissonance), even if this categorization is totally arbitrary and for example is based on the toss of a coin. Connection of the terms 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' to ethnic categories ignores the condition of self-categorization and imposes the idea that ethnic minorities inevitably have a co-ethnic bias and try to distinguish themselves from people with a different ethnicity. Applying the basic idea of social identity theory, that self-categorization results in (at least some level of) groupness, to entire ethnic categories, blindly presupposes a self-categorization in solely ethnic minority terms. A similar faltering line of thought underlies the common use of the concepts 'bonding' and 'bridging' (like for example by Putnam 2000). The use of these terms to denote co-ethnic respectively interethnic relations implies that ethnic groups are necessarily cohesive, that people with the same ethnicity are naturally more similar than people with different ethnic backgrounds, and that co-ethnics are naturally drawn towards each other.

'Groupist' scholars do not deliberately take a 'groupist' (or objectivist or essentialist) stance, but it is apparently difficult to avoid such ways of thinking. The line between concepts as they are used as 'categories of practice' and as 'categories of analysis', is often blurred (Brubaker 2013: 5). This confusion of

categories of analysis and categories of practice in empirical studies leads scholars to speak as if such internally homogeneous, externally bounded groups exist (ibid.: 5). Thus, instead of studying how meanings originate and shift in practice, they often contribute to reifications of categories such as 'Moroccans', 'Turks' or Muslims. Apparently, there is what I call an 'essentialist trap'. This is primarily a problem in empirical studies, which is why there is a gap between 'the grand theoretical work that asks us to rethink everything on the basis of no serious empirical data and the empirical work that keep churning out the same banalities as it did twenty years ago' (Baumann 1999: 143). We need to be conscious of the risks of employing an 'ethnic lens', which prevails in the now common approach to take the 'ethnic group' as a unit of analysis (Glick Schiller, Çaglar and Guldebrandsen 2006; Glick Schiller 2008). Baumann explains the risk:

'(...) yet, when it comes to empirical studies of ethnicity, most students are still given topics such as "The Turks in Berlin", "The Berbers in Paris", or "The Sikhs in New York". The focus is on a national, ethnic, or religious minority as if anyone could know in advance how this minority is bounded and which processes proceed inside and which outside that assumed community. We have, in effect, created a little island; we study this island, and we usually conclude that the island is, in so many ways, an island.' (Baumann 1999: 145-146)

Focusing on 'ethnic groups' as units of analysis is likely to contribute to (further) reification of the ethnic categories because this ethnic focus becomes the lens of the observation. Apparently, this often occurs in the social sciences. Carter and Fenton (2009) even speak about a broad 'ethnicization of sociology', in which ethnic and national identities dominate our thinking. Fox and Jones argue that this preoccupation with ethnicity, particularly in the scholarly field of migration, has given ethnicity 'a fixity in both popular and scholarly imagination that is at odds with its contingent and socially constructed nature' (2013: 385). This preoccupation not only leads to an over-stating of the concreteness of ethnic groups, but also to the mobilization of an ethnic explanatory framework at the expense of alternative and possibly more relevant explanations for social phenomena, such as for example poverty (Brubaker 2013). Such an ethnic lens can obscure underlying mechanisms, such as educational values and social support (Carter and Fenton 2009). Furthermore, one risks overlooking external mechanisms, which can lead to blaming the victim. For example, social processes governing the socio-economic status of immigrant origin people often have more to do with their immigrant status, their social origins and the dynamics of labor markets, schools and families than with their culture and ethnicity (Brubaker 2013: 5). Thomson and Crul (2007) present an illustrative example in their discussion of public integration debates. They explain that the political focus on immigrants 'as Muslims' leads to religion, and Islam in particular, being generally regarded as the major barrier for integration; while in reality, the processes of

integration for Muslims are largely similar to those for non-Muslims. In a similar vein, by referring to people by their ethnicity (for example as 'Moroccans') and using ethnicity as a central analytical term, their ethnic background is emphasized, together with their supposed cultural Otherness. I have to admit that my study is yet another study that focuses on ethnic identity. However, I try to avoid the trap of essentializing ethnic identification and to examine the 'fixity' of ethnicity, ethnic identification and ethnic groups instead.

A second criticism of the work of constructivist scholars is that their concepts are often vague and ambiguous. This point of critique is roughly the opposite of the previous accusation of essentialism (even though the critics are the same). Hacking argues that social constructivist claims are often confusing because the phenomena studied are multifaceted and therefore complex (1999). This makes it hard to use concepts in clear and unambiguous ways, and leads to what I call the 'trap of ambiguity' of constructivist thinking. As an example, Hacking raises the issue of the construction of gender: Does the social construction of gender refer to the idea that gendered people exist, to the gendered people themselves, the language, the institutions, human bodies or perhaps to 'the experience' of being female?

Similarly, the analytical use of 'identity' is often characterized by ambiguity, as Brubaker and Cooper show (2000). 'Identity', just like 'ethnicity', is used in divergent ways. The terms refer to both structural characteristics and individual affiliations, and to both external labelling and self-understandings. They have contradictory connotations, as they sometimes imply stability and fundamental sameness, and sometimes seem to reject notions of basic sameness (ibid.: 10); sometimes they refer to tight 'groupness' and sometimes to loose affiliations. A term cannot be used to distinguish between different phenomena and variations if these are all captured by the same term. In other words, the language of identity and ethnicity 'blurs what needs to be kept distinct', making these concepts ill-suited to do the analytical work (ibid.: 27). Apparently, the complexity of phenomena that we label 'identity' and 'ethnicity' often leads to the overuse and dilution of these analytical concepts, which then become unfit for analytical purposes despite their important roles in everyday politics as practical concepts.

In summary, across the social sciences there is a broad preference for constructivist thinking. In response, a few scholars highlight the practical importance of objectivist and essentialist thinking, pointing to its prominence in political, social and psychological practices. However, the practical relevance of objectivism does not mean that we need to adopt this as our analytical perspective. For analytical purposes, a constructivist approach might still be preferred. Yet, adopting a constructivist approach appears to be easier said than done, particularly in empirical studies. There is the essentialist trap on the one

hand. Adopting a category of practice as the unit of analysis can provide a 'groupist' view and an 'ethnic lens', which often cause scholars to unintentionally end up reinforcing essentialist notions of ethnicity and ethnic groups. On the other hand, there is the trap of ambiguity, with the multifaceted character of social phenomena making it difficult to analyze these phenomena in unambiguous ways.

My description of my research theme exposes my ontological position. The use of phrases like 'what ethnicity means for the higher educated second generation' or 'processes of identification' show that my point of departure is constructivist. However, in reaction to the argument of some that with a constructivist perspective one risks overlooking the social relevance of a phenomenon, I argue that starting from a constructivist perspective does *not* preclude finding that a phenomenon is rather static, rigid and uniform. This perspective does not predetermine that the phenomenon as it emerges from the empirical study is entirely dynamic, malleable or social in character. At the same time, I believe that starting from an objectivist position presents the considerable risk of overlooking existing variations and dynamics, which could (then falsely) lead to the conclusion that a phenomenon is objectivist in character. As I see it, there is less of a risk of wrongly drawing conclusions about the character of a phenomenon when starting from a constructivist perspective than from an objectivist perspective.ⁱ

We have seen that the choice for a constructivist perspective entails the risk of slipping into essentialist thinking and to confusion due to ambiguous use of certain concepts. In the following section, I explain how I try to avoid these two traps and discuss how I employ (ethnic and national) identity as an analytical concept.

Studying ethnic and national identification: the analytical toolkit

One of the major challenges in studying second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, which I selected because of their ethnic background (*not* for their presumed evident ethnic identification), is avoiding an essentialist and groupist perspective and an ethnic lens. Based on a variety of suggestions made by migration and identity scholars, Fox and Jones propose a three-part remedy for avoiding this trap (2013). Two of these solutions are methodological. The first solution is to avoid sampling on an ethnic dependent variable. For example, if the study limits itself to individuals with strong ethnic identifications, we could not observe (nor understand) that a potentially broad range of ethnic identifications exists. The second suggestion is to start from 'the everyday' as a means for observing practices beyond ethnic practices. By expanding our focus beyond solely ethnic practices, we can observe the possible relevance of non-ethnic dimensions and specify rather than infer the relevance of ethnicity. In the next

chapter, I explain how my research design complies with both of these suggestions. I explain how I try to avoid selecting participants based on their ethnic identification, and to avoid centering the interviews on the theme of ethnicity through an initial focus on the participant's trajectory of social mobility and on his relationship with various social others. Their third solution is similar to Brubaker's warning about not conflating the category of analysis with the category of practice. We should not use 'ethnicity' as it is used in practice to analytically explain 'ethnicity' as it used in practice. Instead, we should try to explain how ethnicity becomes socially meaningful. This is the challenge I take up here. In order to avoid this conflation of 'ethnicity' as a category of analysis and 'ethnicity' as a category of practice, but also to avoid the trap of ambiguity, I assembled an analytical toolkit, consisting of the four conceptual tools that I present here. In addition, I reflect on the analytical relation between ethnic and national identification.

The first analytical tool I use is to think in processes. This is an oft-used way to avoid the essentialist trap (see for example Giddens 1991; Hall 1991; Baumann 1999; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Jenkins 2008b). In the line of Barth, instead of thinking in terms of fixed notions of 'identity' and 'ethnicity', the analytical focus is on *processes of identification*. Identification then, also in terms of ethnicity, is viewed as something that is not necessarily static over time and over situations, but is shaped in the various situations in which people act and interact with each other. Thinking in processes enables us to recognize that individual identifications do not simply 'exist', but come into being and are asserted in various ways. Instead of assuming that ethnic minorities identify in ethnic terms simply because they have certain ancestors and 'have' a specific 'culture', we can study what makes individuals emphasize a certain aspect of their identity, whether it be in ethnic terms or national terms or in any other way. This way of thinking enables us to study whether and how various dimensions of identification vary in salience and meaning by context and over time. It enables us to analyze how and to what extent identifications are contextual and dynamic.

Focusing on processes of identification also enables us to recognize the interactional aspect of identifications. Central to Barth's model is that ethnicity both depends on how people see themselves as groups and how others see them. Before Barth, Cooley already introduced his metaphor of the 'looking glass self' to describe the social nature of one's self-perception as an interaction between how one sees oneself and how (he thinks) others see him (1964 in Jenkins 2008b: 62). Thus, the second important tool in the toolkit is the distinction between *self-identification and external identification*, which respectively refers to the self-ascription of identity and identity-ascription by others (see for example Penninx 1988; Song 2003; Verkuyten 2005; Jenkins 2008a, 2008b). I use 'categorization' or 'labeling' as synonyms for external identification.

By focusing on the influence of external ascription on one's self-identification, we can unmask and explore power relations and the effects that external identification can have on individuals. The range of ethnic and national categories that is available to individuals – categories that are socially and politically defined and connected to varying degrees of stigma or advantage – can be quite restricted and constraining (Nagel 1994). The state is a powerful external actor. States create categorizations in formal and informal ways, formulate criteria, shape connotations and ascribe labels to citizens (and non-citizens) (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Wimmer 2008). Immigration policies, census-taking, redistribution of resources, affirmative action and rules for political access are examples of political and social practices that can contribute to a strengthening of ethnic boundaries and even to downright discrimination (Nagel 1994). External identification does not even require a specifiable actor:

But the state is not the only 'identifier' that matters. As Charles Tilly [1998] has shown, categorization does crucial "organizational work" in all kinds of social settings, including families, firms, schools, social movements, and bureaucracies of all kinds. Even the most powerful state does not monopolize the production and diffusion of identifications and categories; and those that it does produce may be contested. (...) Yet identification does not require a specifiable 'identifier'; it can be pervasive and influential without being accomplished by discrete, specified persons or institutions. Identification can be carried more or less anonymously by discourses and public narratives (...) [and] their force may depend not on any particular instantiation but on their anonymous, unnoticed permeation or our ways of thinking and talking and making sense of the social world. (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, p16)

The influence of external factors and the underlying power imbalances are easily overlooked when the sole focus is on processes of self-identification, as is often the case in the anthropological literature (Jenkins 2008a: 57-58). In studies on integration and assimilation, it is often the other way around, as – because of a focus on the group level – these often primarily focus on structural factors and thereby overlook individual self-determination or individual agency (Song 2003: 8). By distinguishing self-identification from external identification and by focusing on the interaction between both mechanisms, we can analyze to what extent (and how) self-identification is influenced by the external identification by others. We can analyze the influence of structural factors on individual agency.

The third tool in the analytical toolkit is the distinction between *category and group*. This is a way to avoid 'groupist' thinking, which is based on reifying assumptions about categories (Goffman 1990 [1963]; Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Verkuyten 2005: 56; Jenkins 2008a, 2008b). As we saw, groupist views assume that (ethnic) categories are highly homogeneous and highly cohesive. The term

'group' in itself elicits groupist thinking because even in its most minimal definition, 'group' implies a sense of affiliation with 'co-categorical' others and 'a capacity for collective action' and 'a stable and embracing pattern of mutual interaction' (Goffman 1990 [1963]: 36, see also Carter and Fenton 2009). However, people who belong to the same ethnic category not always need to show high levels of similarity, affiliation, cohesion and interaction. Belonging to a certain category does not necessarily lead to high levels of solidarity and interaction. Moreover, the existence of a category in general does not automatically lead to certain levels of groupness. Groupness is not something that we should presuppose but rather something we intend to study (Brubaker and Cooper 2000, Brubaker 2002). The analytical distinction between category and group is required for analyzing the ways in which ethnicity can exist and 'work' without the existence of ethnic groups as substantial groups or entities. The concept of category 'can help us envision ethnicity without groups' (Brubaker 2002: 170) and enable us to analyze the relations between categories and groups (and categories and identifications, and identifications and groups). The distinction enables us to study when and how categories play a socially relevant role, either because they concur with self-aware or even cohesive and mobilized groups, and/or because they are highly important to an individual's life and self-understanding. Category, as I use it, refers to someone's objective traits that determine his or her position in a system of classification (such as having immigrant parents, born in Morocco or Turkey). Having at least one parent who is born in Morocco means that one's 'ethnicity' as a category is 'Moroccan'. Based on one's mere ethnicity, I do not automatically assume anything about one's self-identification, external identification, one's social network or behavior.

The fourth analytical tool is the distinction between label and content. The last analytical distinction that is important in my study is the distinction between *label* and *content*. A few authors elaborate on this distinction. For example, Verkuyten talks about label and the 'cultural component' (2005: 46). Jenkins uses the terms 'nominal identity' and 'virtual identity' (2008a: 76).ⁱⁱ I distinguish self-identification with a nominal label from what this label means for an individual and what it reflects in terms of 'cultural stuff' (as Barth calls it) or the 'cultural component' (Verkuyten 2005). 'Cultural stuff' includes language, ritual, kinship, economic way of life, lifestyle more generally, the division of labor, but also a sense of what is proper and honorable (Ruane and Todd 2004 in Jenkins 2008a: 11). The distinction of label and content enables us to study what identification with a certain label means for an individual. It enables us to bring the 'cultural stuff' into the analysis, just as Jenkins pleads for, but as a topic of analysis and not as an aspect that is taken for granted (ibid.: 172); as a self-evident aspect of one's self-identification. The term 'identification' in my book solely refers to one's self-identification with a label, without any broader connotations or automatic assumptions. To refer to identificational content, I use 'content' or more specific

terms such as 'behavior' or 'practices'. Chapter 5 is built on this distinction and analyses the association between identification with the ethnic label and sociocultural content.

Another tool to help avoid treating ethnicity in an essentialist way is to employ the idea of *intersectionality*, which is the fourth analytical tool in the toolkit. Intersectional thinking is based on the idea that the various dimensions of a person's identity do not work separately but shape one another. So, how a female Muslim experiences her gender is not similar to the experiences of all women, and how she experiences being a Muslim is not similar to the experiences of all Muslims. Rather, her experiences as a woman are shaped by the fact that she is a Muslim, and her experiences as a Muslim are influenced by the fact that she is a woman. This idea that social divisions are interconnected has existed for a long time, but it was not labeled until Crenshaw (1989) coined the term 'intersectionality' to direct attention to the specific experiences of black women. Their experiences were misrecognized because gender inequality and racial inequality were only recognized as separate forms of oppression. The idea of intersectionality has become a central philosophy in (black) women's studies, in critique of the presentation of the experiences of white middle-class feminists as *the female experience* (McCall 2005). Apparently, it has hardly extended beyond women's studies, or beyond 'black' women (Nash 2008: 4). It has not been employed to correct essentializing tendencies in studies on ethnic groups. For example, in the comprehensive overview works on (ethnic) identity of Jenkins (2008a, 2008b) and Verkuyten (2005), and in the critical articles of Brubaker discussed above, this view is not discussed, let alone promoted for its de-essentializing merits. These authors only discuss the multifaceted (or 'hyphenated') character of identity in the context of a combination of ethnic and national dimensions. I consider this a missed opportunity. The acknowledgement of identity as a complex phenomenon and the decomposition of binary ways of thinking, make intersectional thinking highly effective to avoid groupist thinking (see also Anthias 2013). Nash places the call to broaden the application of intersectional thinking: 'If (...) intersectionality purports to provide a general tool that enables scholars to uncover the workings of identity, intersectionality scholarship must begin to broaden its reach to theorize an array of subject experience(s).' (2008: 10). However, we must be careful not to slip into new forms of essentialism by replacing larger homogenizing categories with slightly smaller homogenizing categories and by looking at an 'intersection' as two unproblematic social sections coming together, creating a new 'groupist' group (Desmond and Emirbayer 2009 in Fox and Jones 2013: 390; Anthias 2013). Rather, we should acknowledge the socially and historically constructed character of the relevant social categories. Subsequently, we should go beyond noting a co-dependency and focus on the process of intersecting. My study responds to these calls by focusing on the higher educated men and women with

an ethnic minority background, trying to disclose how their experiences in relation to their ethnic minority background is shaped by their class position.

Ethnic and national identification as one domain of analysis

It is now 'anthropological common sense to consider ethnicity and nationalism in the same analytical breath' (Jenkins 2008a: 12). I conclude this overview of analytical tools with a discussion of the analytical relation between the concepts *ethnic and national identification*. Why are they often mentioned in one breath, as is also the case in my study? As I explain here, ethnic and national identifications fall in the same analytical domain because these categorizations are employed to define and express who belongs in a particular territory or arena. Therefore, the use of 'ethnic' and national categories and the near conflation of the concepts appear to be an effect of the political workings of the nation-state.

The two terms are often conflated, or at least used on one breath. Wimmer's definition of ethnicity elucidates the conflation between the two notions, as he defines ethnicity 'as a subjectively felt sense of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry' (2008: 973), a description he derives from a tradition established by Weber (1985 [1922]: 237). This means that when national identity not only refers to belonging based on formal citizenship but is formulated in terms of a shared culture and a common ancestry as well; it is also a form of ethnicity. Brubaker, Loveman and Stamatov elaborate further why ethnicity and nationality should be regarded as one analytical domain (2004: 47-48). The distinctions between the concepts have been blurred, as in both cases boundaries are formulated in terms of 'distinctive language, religion, customs and other kinds of culture' and in terms of phenotypic and other visible markers. In both cases, the implications of these boundaries are also related to 'territorialization', to the issue of 'who belongs here'. In other words, these boundaries are related to inequalities in power and autonomy. The blurring of these analytical boundaries between ethnic and national (and other) identities is illustrated by the shifting denotations of immigrants in Northern Europe. Various labels are used over time to refer to nation-of-origin and region-of-origin, to migratory, legal and racial characteristics and increasingly in reference to religion (Allievi 2005 and Yildiz 2009 in Brubaker 2013: 2). For example, the same people have been categorized as Algerians, North Africans, guest workers, immigrants, foreigners or (especially in the UK) blacks and Muslims. The Netherlands, as I will describe in chapter 4, has seen a similar shift from foreigners ('buitenlanders'), 'guest workers', 'minorities' and 'migrants', to 'allochthonous' and 'Moroccans'/'Turks', and increasingly to 'Muslims'. So, in the Dutch discussion on who does and who does not belong, ethnic, national and also religious labels are used in comparable ways and in relation to each other. Even though someone might be born in the Netherlands and have Dutch nationality, the fact that he is ethnically 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' still makes him 'allochthonous'

instead of 'autochthonous', and thus he is still regarded as 'not-Dutch'. Because he is 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish', he is assumed to be 'Muslim'. Because he is 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' or 'Muslim', he is supposed to never really be 'Dutch', as 'the Moroccan culture', 'the Turkish culture' and 'the Islamic culture' are seen as incompatible with 'the Dutch culture'. This points to the conflation of not only ethnic and national identities, but also of religion and immigrant-background.

Thus, ethnic and national categorizations are both based on ideas about shared (and unshared) culture and origin. The centrality of culture in the political project of the nation-state explains the 'culturalization of citizenship' (Duyvendak 2011; Duyvendak and Slootman 2011), in which political belonging is increasingly framed in cultural and ethnic terms.

The entwinement of ethnic and national identity (and in some cases religion and immigrant-background) is a consequence of the politics of the nation-state. The idealized model of the nation-state presupposes the congruence of the nation and the state, which often translates into a congruence of polity and culture (Brubaker 2010: 63). This is because state-makers legitimize their authority by arguing that all state-subjects have something in common that makes them into a nation. State-makers create 'myths of homogeneity' (Verdery 2000: 45). Such project of homogenization is formulated in ethnic and cultural terms (including religious terms), resting on notions such as 'culture', 'authenticity', 'tradition', 'common', etcetera (Verdery 2000: 45; Wimmer 2008: 991). Duyvendak (2011) speaks of a 'culturalization of citizenship' to denote an even increasing tendency to frame political belonging in cultural and ethnic terms. Thus, ethnic and national categorizations are both based on ideas about shared (and unshared) culture and origin. Distinction and exclusion are crucial for creating commonality because 'us' can only be defined in opposition to 'them'. In the end, 'state-making both normalizes and renders deviant, and "culture" is one of several privileged fields within which this occurs' (Verdery 2000: 45-46). This way of state-making creates 'ethnicity' and the ethnic Other in opposition to 'us', the nation. The formulation of difference aims to create sameness among the polity of the nation. This is not only beneficial for the political authorities, but also for the population – at least for those 'who position themselves (and are recognized) as belonging without question', as this established position provides them with a more secure sense of their identity and position, and a stronger sense of agency, as Skey shows (2010). Also the population defines her belonging in relation to racialized 'others', who are considered less 'national', as they supposedly threaten previously taken-for-granted practices and spaces. These mechanisms have made ethnicity a central socio-political dimension (Wimmer 2008: 991; see also Jenkins 2008a: 197). This is also why the nation is generally presented in non-ethnic terms, as if the national 'we' does not have an ethnicity. Song illustrates this in her quote about the White Americans in the Waters' study of 1990, who have the freedom

to assert their ethnicity only when they want to, explaining: ‘most White Americans need not be “ethnic” at all – they can simply be “American”’ (2003: 145).

For the sake of the political project of defining who belongs and who does not, sameness and difference are preferably presented as immutable. One way to do this is to formulate sameness and difference in physical or phenotypical terms (Verdery 2000: 49). Another way is to present ‘autochthony’ as a basis for belonging. This explains the recent upsurge of term ‘autochthony’ all over the world to claim rights and to exclude immigrants and their offspring (Geschiere 2011). These claims are legitimized by the idea of primordiality: ‘How can one belong more than if one is born from the soil itself?’ (ibid.: 323). This claim is disputable as a political principle. In practice, autochthony is often contested and uncertain (ibid.). Nevertheless, this idea of the supremacy of autochthony is powerful and makes the population at large (in imitation of the elites) feel justified in the pursuit of ethnic boundary making and discrimination against minorities. After all, as ‘natives’, or ‘autochthonous’, they represent ‘the people’ and ‘the culture’ of the nation-state and are therefore entitled to their privileged positions (Wimmer 2008: 991), which Duyvendak calls ‘nativism’ (2011). ‘Politics of belonging’ are therefore not congruent with politics of formal citizenship, as having formal state membership does not necessarily mean that one is accepted as a full member of a putatively ‘national’ society ‘by ordinary people in the course of everyday life, using tacit understandings of who belongs and who does not, of us and them’ (Brubaker 2010: 64-65).

2.3 What’s in the name?

The concept of integration is not unproblematic, as I mentioned before. Nor are the terms ‘ethnic groups’ and ‘natives’. The term integration (and assimilation) is frequently used to denote general processes of incorporation, both in academic and practical settings, but it is hardly ever accompanied by an explicit definition. When terms such as integration or ‘ethnic group’ are used as concepts of analysis without explicit definitions, the distinction with concepts of practice is unclear. This is highly problematic because when these terms are used in daily practice, they are loaded with normative connotations and contribute to power-inequalities. When we fail to define the terms integration and assimilation as concepts of analysis and/or blindly take over their usage in the practical realm, we do not unmask these underlying mechanisms and might even contribute to power inequalities. I argue here that the terms ‘integration’, ‘assimilation’, ‘ethnic group’, and ‘natives’ are unfit as concepts of analysis, and describe how I avoid the use of these terms.

In the language of politics and daily life in the Netherlands, 'integration' is seen as something inherently 'good'. When something is framed in terms of integration, it is positive and beyond dispute (Veldboer and Duyvendak 2001: 17). Apparently, the fact that 'integration' can be oppressive for some and might reduce individual freedom or the freedom of minority groups is often ignored. Furthermore, mainstream political discussions do not consider the wide variations in the meanings of integration, which sometimes contradict each other. Nor is discussed if 'integration' need always be pursued. The uncritical use of the term 'assimilation' to neutrally denote processes of incorporation is even more problematic because of the strong normative and ideological usage that appears not only in political discourses (at least in the Netherlands), but also in (older) scholarly literature (Alba and Nee 1997: 827) that presents 'assimilation', understood as complete adaptation to the society of residence and a loss of ethnic traits, as a desired outcome.

This point leads to another argument, namely that the analytical use of 'integration' without an explicit definition contributes to existing power imbalances between ethnic minorities and the ethnic majority. In scholarship, integration and assimilation are often regarded as the blurring of the boundary between an ethnic minority group and the majority group, for example, as Alba and Nee define: 'the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences' (2003: 11). This sounds balanced, as in principle, both the minority and majority can contribute to the decline of ethnic dimensions. However, when describing such boundary decline, it is easy to overlook the fact that in the current neoliberal political climate, it is often only the minority individuals who are held accountable to their integration processes, thus for this decline. Hardly any demands are placed on natives for closing the gap (Veldboer and Duyvendak 2001; Veldboer, Duyvendak and Bouw 2007). For example, the social concentration of ethnic minorities is evaluated differently than the social concentration of 'natives'. It is frowned upon when ethnic minorities establish their own organizations, whereas the existence of completely 'white' organizations in ethnically diverse societies like the Netherlands are rarely problematized.

This focus on the minority individual is partly a consequence of the 'neutrality' of members of the ethnic majority group, of the so-called 'mainstream'. The ethnic majority is seen as 'neutral', without ethnicity. This is reflected in the use of 'ethnic groups' to refer to ethnic minority groups, which suggests that the ethnic majority group is not an ethnic group. This 'neutral' status means that the majority's ideas, beliefs and attitudes are taken as self-evident and therefore function as the undebated yardstick against which minorities are held. This also means that the majority identity is strongly normalizing and the minority is usually on the 'losing side' (Liebkind 1992: 156). The mere differentiation

between a 'minority' and a 'majority' reflects a 'normative hierarchy which combines the idea of status and legitimacy, of numbers and of deviation from the norm' (ibid.: 156). The fact that the majority group is unlabeled and unmarked implies that the majority does not form an explicit group or category, masking its position of power and contributing to the power imbalance. After all, it is hard to make the standards and power inequalities explicit when these cannot be questioned and are taken for granted (Wekker 1996: 73; Verkuyten 2005: 59). Furthermore, when a group is unmarked, individuals are judged on their individual merit. When one belongs to a marked category, suddenly (s)he is assumed to be similar to co-categorical individuals and not similar to inter-categorical individuals (Captain and Ghorashi 2001). There is much less awareness of a 'minority' individual's various sides and qualities. For example, whereas an ethnic Dutch person can strive to be a talented volleyball player, a nice neighbor or a capable mayor, a Moroccan Dutch person is often primarily judged as a 'Moroccan' volleyball player, a 'Moroccan' neighbor, a 'Moroccan' mayor and is primarily measured against stereotypical images of 'Moroccans'.

Another consequence of the 'neutrality' of the 'mainstream' is that the yardstick for integration is also undefined and unclear, and is not questioned. Lindo argues, based on Alba and Nee (2003), 'the measuring stick, the point of reference, is often indicated with vague vocabulary like "the society in general", "the mainstream" or "the middle class"' (2005: 12). In the Netherlands, with regard to sociocultural aspects in the last years, the character of 'the' Dutch identity has been strongly debated. This has not lead to unambiguous results, but nevertheless the proposition that such homogeneous Dutch identity does not exist has been loudly opposed.ⁱⁱⁱ In socioeconomic terms, there is an implicit demand to integrate into the 'middle class', whereby the integration of (children of) immigrants is evaluated against the yardstick of the Dutch average. This is also the most common usage of socioeconomic integration in the literature on ethnicity and immigrant incorporation, which is 'equated with attainment of average or above average socioeconomic standing', rather than compared with the current statuses of population segments with similar socioeconomic backgrounds (Alba and Nee 1997: 835). How appropriate is it to use the socioeconomic population average as a frame of reference to assess the 'integration' of (children of) Moroccan and Turkish immigrants who once came to the Netherlands to work in low paid jobs (as, for example, is done in the Integration Report 2009 by Gijsberts and Dagevos)? Natives of the lower classes do not have to meet such expectations, as Thomson and Crul remark (2007: 1026): 'We rarely, if ever, hear that sections of the indigenous population are not integrated despite their own experience of poverty and deprivation'. Natives of the lower classes do not have to meet such expectations, as Thomson and Crul remark (2007: 1026): 'We rarely, if ever, hear that sections of the indigenous population are not integrated despite their own experience of poverty and

deprivation'. Why then, contrastingly, are immigrants with lower socioeconomic statuses considered to be not integrated? This is a relevant matter, whereas issues of 'integration' in the Netherlands often exclusively are discussed for groups who had below-average socioeconomic statuses at their moments of arrival. These are primarily people from Morocco, Turkey, Surinam and Curacao, who are aggregated under the label 'non-western immigrants'.^{iv} As argued above, comparing the situations of children of the former 'guest workers' with the native Dutch lower classes would most likely also result in a fairer assessment of processes of incorporation and a less negative evaluation of these immigrant groups.

These problems regarding to the term 'integration' make the concept unfit for this research. Instead, I prefer to use more explicit terms like 'socioeconomic mobility', 'socioeconomic advancement' or 'sociocultural adaptation'. I use these in a descriptive rather than a normative sense. I try to describe processes and mechanisms that are at play (including discursive and normative mechanisms), but I refrain from taking such a normative stance myself; I am not suggesting that children of immigrants *should* show advancement and adaptation.

The reflection on the middle class as the implicit norm is also important because it exposes a circularity in the Dutch construction of 'ethnic minority groups' and their evaluation as not being fully integrated, at least in socioeconomic terms. This is a consequence of the selective application of 'ethnic minority group' to categories that in general have a lower socioeconomic status (Rath 1991). In the Netherlands, the term 'ethnic minority' primarily refers to people with a non-western background who have lower socioeconomic positions. Strangely enough, immigrants from the U.S., Germany or Japan are not generally labeled as 'ethnic minorities', and these groups are not central to integration debates and integration policies. And, whereas people from the (former) colonies in the Caribbean fall under this category of ethnic minorities, immigrants from the former Dutch-Indies/Indonesia are categorized as 'western-immigrants'. This shows that – at least in Dutch society – the perceived distance to the standard of the mainstream rather than a certain ethnic background leads to categorization as 'ethnic'. The fact that 'ethnic minorities' do not reach the standard, then, is not because of their ethnic and immigrant background, but is simply because of their categorization as (ethnic) minority. In my study, I do not refrain from using the term 'ethnic minority'. However, I hope to contribute to a more nuanced use of this terminology by emphasizing the intra-categorical variation and by focusing on those in higher socioeconomic positions.

Furthermore, I use labels that do not obscure the ethnicity of the ethnic majority. I use 'ethnic minority group/category' and 'ethnic minority identity' where terms like 'ethnic group' and 'ethnic identity' are commonly used. I also use 'ethnic

majority' or 'ethnic Dutch' to refer to people whose parents are born in the Netherlands. As I said, I refrain from using the term 'native' to refer to ethnic Dutch, as this term is part of the nativist discourse and incorrectly excludes the children of immigrants who are born in the Netherlands and who therefore are also 'native' to the Netherlands. It is important to note that thinking in 'majority' or 'established' in some cases is obsolete. In many major cities, young children of the second generation are often more established in the cities than ethnic Dutch (Crul and Schneider 2010). Their parents have lived there for a long time, and they themselves are born and raised there, whereas the ethnic Dutch children often have parents who moved there from other parts of the country more recently. Sometimes, the ethnic majority is not even a majority anymore, at least in numbers, as has recently become reality in Amsterdam.

2.4 Summary and reflection

In my attempt to understand the ethnic and national identifications of second generation social climbers, I first turned to the literature on processes of immigrant incorporation. I explained that the famous models of straight-line assimilation theory and segmented assimilation theory are not fully adequate to understand ethnic identification at the individual level. Literature on ethnic options provide a better angle to explore individual dynamics. In the coming chapters, I zoom in on the experiences of higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. I examine how these second generation climbers identify in ethnic terms and what this means to them (chapter 5), why they identify in certain terms in specific social contexts (chapter 6), and how these identifications develop over time (chapter 7).

In the end of my book, I will be able to reflect on the substance of ethnicity in daily life based on my empirical results. As we have seen in this theoretical chapter, phenomena such as ethnicity and identity can be viewed from different ontological perspectives. In the social sciences, there is a common consensus on the idea that ethnic and national identity are social constructs. The working of the nation-state partly relies on the creation of such categories and the (self-) labeling of people. The formulation of a contrast between 'the nation' and others, such as an 'ethnic group' or a religious group, is used by political elites and the national community to instill feelings of sameness among the 'nation' and to define who belongs and who does not belong. This close association between ethnic and national identities means that they are used in the same breath, sometimes also together with religious identities, and belong to the same domain of analysis.

So far, so good. Why would we need a contribution in thinking about the nature of ethnicity if we agree on this constructivist perspective? One of the problems

with the constructivist perspective is that we risk a misconception of the importance and substance of ethnicity in daily life. When the focus is placed on the dynamic, variable and contextual character of a phenomenon, it is easy to assume that a phenomenon is 'just' discursive and mental and that it is therefore individually malleable and escapable. This would not only lead to underestimation of the vast and tangible influence that such a phenomenon can have on an individual, but also to a failure to recognize that a phenomenon might be perceived in objectivist and essentialist terms in daily life. Nevertheless, the substantial effects of a phenomenon, such as ethnicity in daily life, in practice, do not mean we have to take objectivism as our analytical point of departure. A constructivist perspective does not necessarily preclude finding that a phenomenon is static, constant and tangible. In my view, this makes a constructivist perspective the most suitable for academic study.

However, applying a constructivist perspective appears to be easier said than done. On the one hand, there is the trap of essentialism. Often, constructivist scholars unintentionally reproduce and contribute to essentialist views because they fail to distinguish their 'categories of analysis' from 'categories of practice' and unreflectively employ reified ideas of ethnicity and ethnic groups as these are used in political and general discourses. Furthermore, they often apply an 'ethnic lens' to a study, which can contribute to groupist thinking and to the (possibly inappropriate) prevalence of ethnic explanations. On the other hand we have the trap of ambiguity. The complex character of social phenomena makes it a real challenge to employ concepts in unambiguous ways, and the use of abstract concepts (such as identity and ethnicity) often confuses or conflates aspects that need to be kept distinct.

In order to avoid falling into these two traps, I assembled an analytical toolkit containing five tools. The first is thinking in *processes of identification*, instead of thinking in terms of 'identity'. The second is the distinction between *self-identification and external identification* (being labeled or categorized by others), which enables me to expose power inequalities and to study the interaction between external structures and individual agency. It is also important to avoid the assumption that people whose parents are born in the same foreign country (e.g. in Morocco or Turkey) and therefore share the same social ethnic categories are necessarily highly similar and frequently interact. A social category does not necessarily make a group, and classification into a social category does not necessarily imply profound sameness, interaction and solidarity with co-categorical others. Levels of groupness should at least be studied rather than assumed. Therefore, the third tool is the separation of *category and group*. The fourth tool is the distinction between *label and content*. The last analytical tool is the idea of *intersectionality*. The idea that the various social dimensions of a person shape each other helps prevent groupist thinking and makes us attentive

to intracategorical variations. My focus on higher educated members of the second generation enables me to explore the intersectionality of class (education) and ethnicity. Before I turn to the empirical chapters, I explain more about the research design (chapter 3) and the context of the second generation in the Netherlands (chapter 4).

3. Research design.

Mixing Methods

How was the study conducted?

How you collect data affects which phenomena you will see, how, where, and when you will view them, and what sense you will make of them. (Charmaz 2006: 15, italics in original)

Clearly, for a researcher, is not only important to choose methods that match the purpose of your research, but also to carefully explain your methodological approach so the reader can follow how you come to draw certain conclusions. This is what this chapter is about: explaining how I researched the identifications of second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch and showing the steps that brought me to the claims I make in this book.

I first discuss the overall approach (3.1). What methods did I use and how did I combine them? Why do I use a mixed methods design, and what are the (epistemological and ontological) challenges in doing so? Then, I discuss the two methods in separate sections. First, I describe the quantitative data collection (3.2) and then I explain my qualitative approach (3.3). As the latter is less structured than the quantitative approach, the descriptions of the qualitative data collection, analysis and reporting are more detailed. The chapter concludes with a summarizing section (3.4).

3.1 A mixed methods research design

A research design is strongly connected to the purpose of the research. Different questions require different methodological approaches. If, for example, we want to compare education levels of various segments of the Dutch population in order to investigate whether ethnicity and gender influence education levels, we would probably choose a structured method that allows for the collection of large amounts of data. If we want to understand why and how gender influences one's educational trajectory, we might choose a less structured method to freely explore the complexities of a phenomenon and variations in experiences, which would only allow for data collection from a limited number of cases. Different methodological approaches fit different research aims.

This does not mean that a single research question cannot be answered by the use of various approaches. A research question might be researched from various angles or can be composed of sub-questions that can best be studied with diverse methods. When a design combines aspects of both quantitative and qualitative traditions, the study is called a 'mixed methods study'. When choosing a mixed methods study, obviously, one of the main considerations is whether a mixed methods approach will provide answers to the research questions. Other considerations are the resources available and the skills of the researcher. The general idea behind combining aspects from qualitative and quantitative research traditions in the same study is that these traditions have different characteristics and therefore have different strengths and weaknesses (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004).

Two incommensurable approaches?

Combining methods from both traditions, however, is not straightforward. Some scholars regard the two research traditions as incompatible because they are rooted in different paradigms and are associated with different ontological and epistemological positions (see Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Bryman 2008: chapter 25; Niglas 2010). Quantitative methods are seen as inherently connected with an objectivist ontological and positivist epistemological position¹ and with a deductive approach, while qualitative methods are associated with a constructivist and interpretive position and an inductive approach. In other words, quantitative methods are generally used to describe or explain a social reality that is imagined to objectively exist outside individuals. Related to such a perspective is the positivist view that objective knowledge can be obtained through the gathering of facts (Bryman 2001: 12). Research participants are seen as 'vessels of answers' about objective facts that are 'out there', which can be disclosed by truthful, value free, and accurate communication (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Positivist methodological approaches are modeled on the natural sciences and are characterized by standardization in order to minimize the influences of the interview context and the researcher, which are seen as 'distorting' or 'contaminating' the findings (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 8; Fontana and Frey 2005; Silverman 2006). The interpretivist epistemology is found at the other end and is associated with qualitative methods and the qualitative research tradition (Bryman 2001). Interpretivism departs from a constructivist view, in which the world is seen as continuously re-created by individuals and focuses on the ways in which individuals interpret the world. A consequence of the constructivist perspective is that the findings obtained through an interview are regarded to be (partly) the result of the interview itself, because what is said and how it is said is the result of the specific interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. This epistemological perspective seems to imply that data produced through an interview does not say anything

beyond the interview itself (Silverman 2006). I will further reflect on this theme in section 3.3 when I discuss the qualitative part of my study.

Although these 'purist' descriptions of what is seen as the quantitative and the qualitative research traditions suggest that quantitative and qualitative approaches are incompatible, I agree with those who argue that the relation between methods and these polarized paradigms is not as deterministic as the 'purists' suggest (Bryman 2001; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Niglas 2010). Firstly, using a structured survey is not necessarily based on an objectivist and positivist perspective, nor do unstructured observations always reflect a constructivist and interpretivist stance. In fact, before structured survey research came to dominate sociological empirical approaches after the Second World War, qualitative and quantitative approaches were often used in tandem in the same study (Fontana and Frey 2005). Secondly, data-analysis of qualitative data can also be approached in more structured ways, and can even involve counting the occurrence of certain words or themes. At the same time, data-analysis of quantitative data can very well be approached in more explorative ways, searching for meaning instead of merely confirming or falsifying a predefined hypothesis (Russell Bernard 2011: 337); the analysis in Chapter 5 forms an example. Structured and unstructured approaches can be mixed in various stages of the research, and apparently, structured data collection does not preclude less structured analyses and vice versa. Thirdly, the idea that quantitative methods strictly rely on numbers and statistical methods and qualitative methods only on words and interpretative methods is too simplistic. Structured surveys are based on words and language too, and the particular phrasings of survey questions and answers strongly affect the validity of the research. Furthermore, surveys sometimes contain open-ended questions. On the other hand, descriptions of findings from interpretivist, qualitative analyses, can contain 'quasi-quantitative' elements such as 'many', 'often' or 'some', which are used to (implicitly) indicate the significance of a result (Bryman 2001: 439). Apparently, both the connection between method and paradigm and the rigid distinction between quantitative and qualitative methods are somewhat overstated. My study illustrates these points by showing that the statistical use of survey data can also be used in a more explorative and interpretative way, and can contribute to deconstruction (or 'de-essentialization') of concepts such as identity and culture.

Although the distinction between qualitative and quantitative methods is less rigid than often presented, methods that are more or less structured have divergent characteristics, which make them connect with different research goals (see for example Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). More structured approaches allow for studying larger numbers of subjects, which makes these methods suitable for generalizations to whole populations. At the same time, the collected data is limited to variables that are pre-defined by the researcher and to the

researcher's formulation of the questions and answers. This entails the risk of overlooking relevant parts of the phenomena studied and makes structured approaches generally more suitable to test clearly defined hypotheses rather than to generate new ones. The standardization of procedures for data collection and analytical instruments makes reporting on structured approaches relatively straightforward. In less-structured approaches, observations are not structured by such pre-defined templates. Such approaches entail the analysis of large amounts of less-structured data for a relatively small amount of subjects. This enables exploration of novel, complex, dynamic and interpretative processes, but limits the scope of broader predictions. The less-structured nature and the absence of detailed protocols make these approaches more complex to explain and justify. Another effect is that these approaches become more dependent on the individual researcher, which I believe increases the need for a thorough explanation and justification of the methodological approach. These divergent characteristics make that more and less structured approaches have complementary value.

Contributing to the increasing body of studies with a mixed methods design (see for example Niglas 2009; Creswell and Plano Clark 2011), my study presents another illustration of how qualitative and quantitative methods can be combined. In this chapter on the methodological approach, I describe the research design, clarifying which data I used for which explorations and explaining the added value of combining the two datasets. I also describe the various analyses and the underlying perspectives.

The mixed methods design of this study

Combining two approaches does not automatically lead to a good research design. It is important to consider what is gained by combining different methods, the relationship between them, and how the design suits the purpose of the research (Niglas 2009). Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) present a useful typology of the purposes of combining different methods.ⁱⁱ These purposes for mixing are:

1. *Expansion*: increase the scope of the inquiry by using different methods for different themes;
2. *Clarification*: clarify (or illustrate or interpret) the results from one method with the results of the other method;ⁱⁱⁱ
3. *Triangulation*: seek convergence of results from different methods on the same theme;
4. *Development*: develop one method based on the results from the other method;
5. *Initiation*: discover paradoxes, contradictions and fresh perspectives that (often unexpectedly) emerge from the combination of the methods.

When drafting a mixed methods design, numerous designs are possible, with design decisions on many levels, such as on the level of paradigm, strategy, data collection or data analysis (Niglas 2009). Mixing can occur to different extents at different levels or stages of the research, and mixed methods studies can have more sub-designs and approaches than just two. The main choices with regard to the combination of research aspects from quantitative (QN) and qualitative (QL) traditions in a mixed method study include (see e.g. Creswell and Plano Clark 2011; Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009; Niglas 2009):

- Timing of different methods (parallel, sequential or embedded);
- Emphasis placed on the different methods (divided equally or with one of the approaches considered dominant);
- Focus (if they study the same or different parts of a phenomenon);
- Level of integration.

In my study, I used 'QN' data, gathered through a large-scale structured survey that was conducted among 1500 respondents with a Moroccan, Turkish and ethnic Dutch background, and 'QL' data, gathered through a small number of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with university educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Before I discuss the data collection and the analysis of these two datasets in the next sections (3.2 and 3.3), in this current section, I describe the overall research design. I start with a brief explanation of the emergence of the research topic and design.

I started my research with the analysis of the survey data, instead of the QL data, for a very practical reason: these data were already available when I started my project. In fact, I initially focused on the explanation of social mobility and its relation with the social context and identifications. The data seemed highly useful for this purpose, as they contained many details about educational trajectories, familial backgrounds, social contexts and identifications of a large numbers of second generation individuals, which enabled the exploration of associations between the various factors. Because I was not only interested in mere correlations, but also in understanding processes of social mobility as experienced by individuals, I used a less-structured approach that allowed to me learn more about the complexities of people's experiences and their trajectories. My choice to use in-depth interviews, instead of observations in more natural settings, for example, was based on my assessment of this method as a suitable way to explore my research theme, as well as the limited time available and my lack of training in ethnographic methods. Aiming for triangulation, I conducted fifteen in-depth interviews to explore the same theme from a different angle. I tried to understand what made second generation individuals socially mobile and how this trajectory related to social contexts and identifications. In the analysis phase, I became more and more triggered by the data on identification. In the survey data, I noticed that the respondents' answers to questions about ethnic

identification were not associated with cultural practices in the way I initially expected (see chapter 5). Likewise, in the in-depth interviews, what fascinated me most were topics related to identifications and the development thereof. When participants reflected on their positions in various social contexts and their ethnic and national identifications, their accounts were full of ambiguities, emotions and shifting positions (called 'narrative shifting', see Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 55), which kept intriguing me (see chapter 6). That is how my purpose shifted from explaining social mobility to understanding processes of ethnic identification.

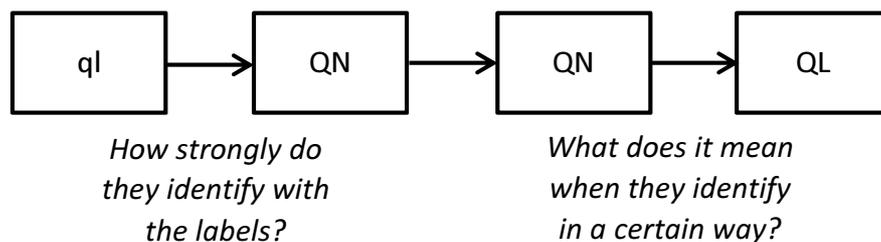
The phases of the *data collection* can be sketched as follows. (I do not use an arrow between the two parts, which would suggest a relation. Although the two data collections were conducted sequentially, they were set up as independent, parallel tracks, and the QN phase did not significantly shape or inform the subsequent QL phase).

**Data-
collection:**



This scheme does not reflect the entire set-up of the research. In the phase of the *data analysis*, the two data sources were used in various compositions, with various aims. For chapter 5, which explores how strongly the second generation identifies with the ethnic and national labels, as well as the meaning of these identifications, the datasets are used in the following way (note that the use of upper and lower case reflects the emphasis placed on the different methods):

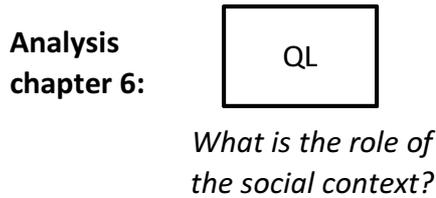
**Analysis
chapter 5:**



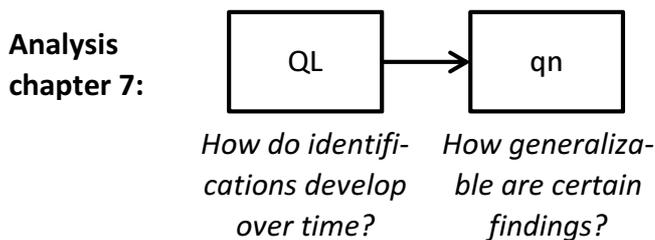
The ways that participants expressed their affiliation with the ethnic labels in the in-depth interviews triggered the analysis of the survey data. The survey data teaches us how many second generation individuals express their affiliation with the ethnic and national labels and if differences exist between various categories of respondents. Furthermore, an explorative statistical analysis of the survey data shows that the strength of identification with the ethnic labels cannot be explained by a broader co-ethnic orientation regarding certain practices and attitudes. Data from the in-depth interviews helps us understand why this is the case, as various participants describe their ethnic and Dutch identification in

various ways, referring to factors beyond the available variables of the survey data. We can say that the approach of chapter 5 consists of a chain of triangulating and clarifying steps, leading to a conclusion in which the findings of the various qualitative and quantitative steps are highly integrated.

Chapter 6, which focuses on the contextuality of identifications, is entirely based on the data of the in-depth interviews.



Chapter 7 deals with the temporal aspect of social contexts and identifications. It primarily relies on the data of the in-depth interviews. On some occasions, the findings are backed up with results from the survey data to indicate the generalizability of certain findings. The purpose of mixing is again for clarification.



3.2 Collection and use of the survey data

The survey data I used were collected in 2006 and 2007, in the context of the international TIES project. This project focused on The Integration of the European Second Generation (hence TIES) and was coordinated by the Institute of Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) of the University of Amsterdam and the Dutch Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute (NIDI). The project studied the incorporation of children of immigrants, who were born and educated in their countries of residence, in fifteen cities in eight European countries. For the Netherlands, the TIES project is the first large-scale study focusing specifically on second generation youths (Crul and Heering 2008). The Dutch part of the survey was conducted face-to-face among 1505 respondents aged between 18 and 35 years, in the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The respondents were equally spread over three ethnic categories: second generation Moroccan Dutch, second

generation Turkish Dutch (at least one parent born in Morocco or Turkey) and a control group of ethnic Dutch (both parents born in the Netherlands).

The aim of the Dutch survey was to get statistically representative information on second generation Turks and Moroccans in Amsterdam and Rotterdam (Groenewold 2008). First, from the 167 neighborhoods in the two cities, 47 were sampled, using the systematic selection method to get an optimal spread of the sample over neighborhoods with different concentrations of second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. The selection of neighborhoods included both neighborhoods with high and low percentages of second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Based on the concentration of second generation residents in the various neighborhoods, 5000 addresses were sampled from these neighborhoods using the municipal population registers. Ethnic Dutch respondents were sampled from the same neighborhoods in similar numbers as the second generation respondents. This led to a net effective sample size of 1505 persons from different addresses. The overall response rate was 30 percent; it was slightly higher for the ethnic Dutch than for the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Low response rates are common for respondents that are young and have immigrant backgrounds, and non-response bias seems slight in terms of the characteristics that were compared. (For further information on the methodology and the broader project, see: Crul and Heering 2008; Groenewold 2008; Crul, Schneider and Lelie 2012; and the webpage of the TIES project: www.tiesproject.eu).

The use of the statistical data in this book illustrates that statistical analysis of structured data is not necessarily based on an objectivist and positivist perspective, nor does it necessarily focus on testing strictly defined hypotheses. In chapter 5, statistical analyses are used to deconstruct an objectivist and groupist conception of identification by showing that identification with an ethnic label does not necessarily reflect a specific coherent cultural content. In chapter 7, quantitative data help us reveal the intersectional character of education level and ethnic background, nuancing the groupist idea that Moroccan and Turkish Dutch are more conservative than ethnic Dutch. However, the data is also used in more objectivist ways, for example in Ch4, where I present a descriptive comparison of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch's sociocultural practices, and in chapter 7, where I present the demographic characteristics of the respondents' social networks.

3.3. Conduction and analysis of the in-depth interviews

Description of the qualitative data collection and analysis is much less straightforward than the description and the justification of the quantitative

approach. Not only is the approach less structured, but there is also a lack of standard guidelines for reporting about qualitative approaches and even for evaluating the quality of a study (Guba and Lincoln 2005). Whereas the quality of quantitative findings is defined in well-formulated, commonly agreed-upon criteria of reliability and validity, and standard statistical tools are developed for the analysis of quantitative data, there is no full agreement on the criteria for evaluating research in the qualitative tradition (Bryman 2001: 270; Silverman 2006).

I agree with the view that producing valid knowledge is not about uncovering 'the truth', but obtaining and presenting findings that are credible (Silverman 2006: 281). According to Riessman, it comes down to the question: Why should we believe it? Why should we believe the story of the research participant, and why should we believe the story of the researcher? (2008: 184). We could say that the main criterion of good research is credibility, regardless of the method. Although in my experience, many researchers working with qualitative approaches reject terminology that is applied in the quantitative tradition, I agree with Silverman (2006) that we can evaluate the credibility of qualitative research using the same core criteria as in quantitative research: validity and reliability. I would say that research findings are credible when they are likely to accurately represent the social phenomena to which they refer; in other words: when they are *valid* (see Hammersley 1990 in Silverman 2006: 289). Therefore, it is important to show that these findings are not accidental results, solely shaped by the circumstances of their production. In other words: the findings need to be *reliable* (see Kirk and Miller 1986 in Silverman 2006: 282). In order to judge the reliability of the findings, it is crucial that the research process is *transparent*, that it is clear how the data were obtained and how the conclusions are developed from the data through processes of interpretation (Silverman 2006: 282). As Riessman explains: good research is credible or persuasive when the researcher demonstrates that 'the data are genuine, and analytical interpretations of them are plausible, reasonable, and convincing' and when the researcher's theoretical claims 'are supported with evidence from informants' accounts, negative cases are included, and alternative interpretations are considered' (2008: 191). This transparency is particularly important for less-structured approaches, in which findings are more strongly shaped by circumstances and by the decisions and the personality of the researcher.

Thus, a sound methodological description should provide the transparency that contributes to the credibility of the findings and help convince the reader of the validity of the claims made by the researcher. The report of a scientific study should be transparent in how the final claims are developed, based on a 'trail of evidence', consisting of data, analyses and interpretations (Riessman 2008: 188). In the empirical chapters 5 through 7, I show how the conclusions of this research

are tied to the empirical data. In this section, I discuss how I approached the collection and analysis of the qualitative data.

Data collection phase

I describe successively the selection of the participants, the interview and the processing of the interviews.

Selection of the participants

I conducted fifteen interviews with socially mobile second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch men and women. The criteria for selection were that they were born in the Netherlands from parents (at least one) who migrated from Morocco or Turkey to the Netherlands, or that they arrived here with their parents at a very young age, before they entered the educational system. In addition, they had to have graduated from university and have jobs that matched their education level at the time of the interview. As I intended for them to reflect on their trajectory of mobility, I selected people who were not at the very beginning of their professional careers and were over 30 years old. In the end, two male participants with Moroccan backgrounds did not fit these criteria, as one came to the Netherlands at a later age, and one did not attend university but graduated from higher vocational training (*HBO*); however, as they nevertheless contributed to my findings, I did not exclude them. Although my initial plan was to include participants who were 'ethnic Dutch climbers' as well, in the end I decided against this due to time constraints and because other studies provided substantial information on ethnic Dutch climbers that proved relevant for my study (see Brands 1992 and Matthys 2010).

Eleven of the in-depth interviews were conducted with Moroccan Dutch (of which four were female) and four with Turkish Dutch (two female and two male) (see table 3.1). One participant had a mixed ethnic background; one of her parents was born in Morocco, and the other parent migrated from Poland. I conducted four of the interviews in 2006, for a project I had previously started on the theme of ethnic identification, and the rest were conducted in 2011.^{iv} All participants were in their thirties and early forties at the time of the interview. This meant that they were born shortly after (or before) their families migrated to the Netherlands, which makes them what I call members of the 'early' second generation. Some were in relationships (mostly married), and others were single. Some had children. They lived all over the Netherlands and grew up all over the Netherlands, in cities as well as in villages. They went to university and had jobs that matched their education levels. Several worked as consultants in various branches, some ran companies they (co-) owned, one worked in the medical field, and others worked as researchers, technical engineers, and teachers. All participants spoke Dutch fluently. Most of the participants did not have any accent that revealed their immigrant backgrounds. As mentioned in the first chapter, nearly all

participants had a – in my view – ‘professional’ appearance. They were dressed according to standard business codes, radiated confidence and reflexivity and formulated their thoughts with a certain ease and determination. Although nearly all participants call themselves Muslims, their level of religiosity seemed to vary. It seemed to me that for three of them, their religiosity was more important emotionally and for providing practical guidelines than for the rest. To protect the anonymity of participants, I do not connect the various personal characteristics with each other and do not create detailed profiles of the individual participants. I furthermore use pseudonyms and altered some factual details.

Table 3.1 Interview participants (pseudonyms; ethnic backgrounds and gender)¹

Participants (pseudonyms)	Mor/Tur Dutch	Gender (m/f)	Participants (pseudonyms)	Mor/Tur Dutch	Gender (m/f)
1. Bouchra	M	f	9. Yunus	M	m
2. Hicham	M	m	10. Imane	M	f
3. Mustapha	M	m	11. Berkant	T	m
4. Ahmed	M	m	12. Nathalie	M ²	f
5. Said	M	m	13. Aysel	T	f
6. Masud	M	m	14. Adem	T	m
7. Hind	M	f	15. Esra	T	f
8. Karim	M	m			

1) In chronological order of the interviews

2) Mixed ethnic background (her father was born in Morocco, her mother in Poland)

To avoid selecting participants *based on* their ethnic identifications and thus selecting on the dependent variable, I did not use organizations with ethnic signatures as starting points for recruiting. I recruited most participants via my own (primarily ethnic Dutch) private network, covering various professional branches and various parts of the Netherlands. I recruited a few participants via my professional academic network. As participation was voluntary, a certain bias could not be completely avoided. In explaining their willingness to participate, most participants mentioned the importance of contributing to the Dutch debate, to have their voices heard and to challenge negative stereotypes. This implies that some bias exists towards a certain social involvement. This bias makes it hard to assess how representative the sample is for the early second generation university educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. However, the aim of this part of the study is not to present findings that are representative for all second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers, but to explore mechanisms as they occur; at least among some.

As I explained before, what we learn from less-structured methods differs from what we learn from structured methods. Again, this means that qualitative studies should not be measured against the same yardsticks as quantitative

studies; their significance should not be evaluated according to their statistical inference and the representativity of the sample (Small 2009). Flyvberg (2004: 424) argues that the aim for generalization is overrated as a source of scientific progress, and that even purely descriptive studies can equally well provide important scientific contributions. He argues that the description itself is the result of the study and it is up to the reader to draw his own conclusions – which is why most studies contain a substantial element of narrative (2004: 430). Although this sounds more open than what Small presents as an aim of qualitative studies, ‘logical inference’ (2009: 22), these two views might be rather similar after all. How I interpret ‘logical inference’, is that the findings, based on the particular sample or case of the study, are presented in such a way that the particular mechanism or process uncovered is credible, and as such forms a model or inspiration for enhancing understanding of other instances or cases. This means that bias (which cannot be avoided in any study) is not to be controlled for, but needs to be understood (2009: 14). Furthermore, this means that it is fruitful to regard unstructured approaches with relatively small amounts of participants or cases as ‘multiple-case studies’ rather than ‘small-sample studies’ (2009: 24). This formulation focuses on the richness and the complementarity of the data, rather than on limitations concerning statistical significance. Unsurprisingly, there is no recipe for determining the amount of subjects that need to be included in a qualitative study. The number of participants or cases in qualitative studies strongly varies, ranging from 1 or 2 in some narrative studies, to 20-30, or even many more, in studies based on grounded theory (Creswell 2007: 126). In trying to understand a specific phenomenon, or certain human experiences as they make sense to those who live it, 10-20 interviews, or even less, might suffice (Dukes 1984: 200; Bleienberg 2013: 10-11).

I consider the fifteen interviews that I conducted to be valuable in exposing particular mechanisms that take place among (some) ethnic minority climbers; mechanisms that are important to take notice of and further explore. As I expose the relevance of ethnicity and the articulations of ethnic and national identifications among some early second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers, I reveal mechanisms that very likely have broader social relevance and are likely to apply to others in similar situations. Throughout the book I point to parallels among the interview participants, to parallels between the survey data and the interview data, and to parallels between the results and theories or other empirical studies, which all suggest that the mechanisms that I reveal have (at least some) social importance beyond the individual cases. Apart from that, it is up to the reader to recognize parallels, to explore the broader meanings of the findings and to apply them to other cases.

The interview

The interviews lasted between one and four hours; most lasted between 1.5 and two hours. They were all in Dutch. The interviews were semi-structured, in the sense that in every interview a few selected main themes were discussed. I had an interview guide at hand, with a detailed list of possible themes and probes, which functioned as a fallback and which I did not (rigorously) follow. A translated, English version of the guide is included in Appendix A. I let parts of the interview flow freely, especially at the beginning, when they spoke about their personal and educational trajectory and the various social contexts they moved in, responding to the themes as they came up in the interaction between the participant and me, the interviewer.

Following Holstein and Gubrium (1995), I see an interview as an ‘active interview’, as something that is created in a particular setting and is the result of a situated interaction between the interviewer and the research participant. The idea of the ‘active interview’ strikes a balance between the social construction of the interview and substantial information (p. 4-5). Rather than seeing a participant like a ‘vessel of answers’ that merely need to be accessed in a neutral way (p. 7), Holstein and Gubrium regard a participant as possessing a ‘stock of knowledge’, which cannot be objectively accessed (p. 30). The knowledge is inevitably presented in selective and creative ways through the interview (p. 30). As Riessman describes it: the participant’s narrative is ‘selective and perspectival, reflecting the power of memory to remember, forget, neglect, and amplify moments in the stream of experience’, rather than a story that merely reflects a ‘pre-existing self’ (2008: 29). However, as Holstein and Gubrium contend, the situated character of the narrative does not mean that the interview does not provide substantive information about relatively enduring local conditions and ‘experiential materials’ (p. 16-17). The narrative is not created from scratch during the interview, nor is the respondent making things up (p. 28). Instead, a story is created that is ‘true to life’ – faithful to subjectively meaningful experience (p. 28). However, to interpret the meaning of the participant’s words, we should not only look at *what* is said, but also *how* it is said. We should attend to both the substantive and the processual aspects to show ‘how what is being said relates to the experiences and lives being studied’ (p. 80). Apparently, in this view, a more positivist concern with ‘obtaining information about chronology, events, settings and behaviors’ (Charmaz 2006: 32) is combined with a more interpretivist interest to elicit ‘the participant’s definitions of terms, situations, and events and try to tap his or her assumptions, implicit meanings, and tacit rules’ (ibid.). To assess what the participants’ words mean, we should consider the context of how the narrative came into being. I do this by carefully describing the interviews and the analytical steps, reflecting on my personal role as interviewer and researcher during the interviews and the interpretive process.

To avoid placing an emphasis on ethnic identity from the start of the interview (and because I was originally primarily focused on their processes of social mobility), I introduced the interview as focusing on the trajectories of social mobility among children of immigrant parents, including the personal experience of being socially mobile and how social mobility shapes and is shaped by interactions with social others. I first let the participants describe their educational trajectory chronologically, including familial background and trajectories of siblings, focusing on social environments and the role that social others played when they made important decisions (such as choosing a certain school or education level). This provided quite a detailed picture of the composition of the various social contexts they moved in (in characteristics of gender, class and ethnic background) and how they experienced their social relations and positions in these various contexts, without the participants interpreting these situations through the lens of ethnic identification. By focusing on the process of social mobility instead of ethnic and national identifications in the initial stage of the interview, I follow one of Fox and Jones' suggestions to avoid the trap of unwillingly applying an ethnic lens (see section 2.2). They propose focusing on the 'everyday' as a means to explore practices beyond ethnic practices. Focusing on trajectories of social mobility had a similar effect. When we discussed the theme of feeling 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' and 'Dutch' later in the interview, many (partly 'factual') details had already been discussed, which we could then use to reflect on expressions of ethnic identification. (Later, in the analysis, coding of experiences that had been formulated in terms of 'feeling different' and 'feeling similar' and 'feeling normal' also helped me interpret the role of ethnic, Dutch and other identifications in their experiences.) I have to admit that throughout all of the interviews, I felt uneasy about asking about their feelings of being Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch and about ethnic backgrounds and the role of ethnicity. I feared that this focus made me contribute to a discourse that presupposed the relevance of ethnicity for individuals with an ethnic minority background, and I therefore wanted to avoid the impression that I myself assume that ethnicity is always greatly relevant. However, the participants' responses to these questions were insightful. As I will show in the coming chapters, in some responses participants did not problematize these questions at all, whereas in other responses they challenged the underlying views.

I experienced high levels of rapport with most participants. In my interview reports, I described nearly all interviews as *'plezierig'* (pleasant/comfortable). In a few cases (all with Turkish Dutch participants), during the prelude and the closing of the interview, the participant's attitude was slightly more formal than I experienced in the other cases. This also contrasted with the openness during the interview itself and made me feel slightly uncomfortable. At times, participants seemed to be in a more 'defensive' mode, particularly when they (implicitly or explicitly) reacted to certain discourses they experience in their

daily lives. I hardly ever felt that the participant's criticism was directed towards me. Only in one interview, the respondent criticized my focus on people who-can-be-considered-successful and expressed her cynicism about the general impact of studies like mine. As a person, I generally feel uncomfortable with probing into themes that a participant feels uneasy or sad talking about, which I then usually evade in the rest of the conversation. However, during the interviews I slowly grew more comfortable in sympathetically expressing my interest for such 'difficult' topics (for example memories about experiencing bullying and what this meant for the participant), which frequently led to very personal and exceptional interview moments.

In many of the interviews, I felt that my own educational and professional background contributed to the mutual rapport. Depending on the participant, I more or less explicitly mentioned my background in Applied Physics or my previous experiences as a management consultant, which sometimes formed a shared characteristic and seemed to contribute to the personal connection. In only a few cases, I felt that my gender played a role and enhanced the rapport with other female participants, when we discussed the theme of being a gender minority in educational or professional settings. I did not feel that it influenced the interaction with other (male or female) participants. I do not know how the fact that I did not share their ethnic background affected the situation. I can imagine that this made the participants hold back in telling negative experiences, as they might have wanted to portray an extra positive image to challenge stereotypes that are related to their ethnic category. This effect seemed limited, as participants often did reflect in what seemed to be quite an honest way on relationships with co-ethnics and also mentioned disagreements and struggles. When I introduced myself in the beginning of the interview, I almost always mentioned my previous research projects on radicalization and added that I changed research topics because I was uncomfortable with the tendentious and negative presumptions of the theme of radicalization, and that I am convinced of the importance of a more open and unbiased attitude. In hindsight, I realized why I mentioned this. Gubruim and Holstein explain that any interview introduction shapes the direction of the interview and serves as a 'signpost to guide active respondents through the open terrain of their experience' (1995: 41). I realized that with this introduction, I tried to distance myself from the widespread, negative stereotypical ideas about Muslims, Moroccans and Turks and to show my awareness of the biased nature of certain views. With this 'signpost', I tried to avoid having the research participants feel the need to convince me of the incorrectness of these biased views, which would hopefully lead to increased rapport and a more nuanced interview.

Immediate processing of the interview

All interviews were recorded on audiotape, except for one, in which the participant objected to the recording. In that case, I took detailed notes during the interview, including literal sentences that I found intriguing. Based on my notes, I created a full transcription immediately after the interview. For all interviews, immediately after the interview, I took notes about the interview setting, about how I experienced the flow of the interview and the rapport with the participant, and my hunches about the main takeaways of the interview.

Data analysis phase

As I argued before, to enhance the credibility of the research findings, it is important to show how the claims I make in this book relate to the empirical data. Although chapter 5 to 7 are entirely devoted to the presentation of the argument based on the empirical data, in this section I describe the analytical steps I took to come to the findings and to develop the themes as discussed in this book, based on the data of the in-depth interviews. I believe that it is important to also include the more initial, explorative analytical phases, as these are crucial steps in the process of meaning-making, in the interpretation of the data. I kept a research log, in which I kept track of my analytical steps, as well as the considerations and confusions I had along the way. Such a log not only helped me to retrace my analytical steps, but, like Riessman suggested (2008: 191), it also fostered my reflexivity and awareness about how the research was done and the impact of my decisions. The challenge here is to give an overview that both elucidates the process and is concise. I start with the transcription phase, proceed to the explorative stage of open coding and memo writing, and conclude with a description of the main analyses.

Transcriptions

However straightforward it sounds to make a transcription, ‘the “same” stretch of talk can be transcribed very differently’ (Riessman 2008: 29). As we saw, in order to interpret the participants’ narratives, we need to attend to the narrative context, the ‘how’ of the interview. It is therefore valuable to have transcripts display the interaction, rhythms of speech and non-verbal aspects. In the transcripts, I included my own speech, including my questions, probes and audible reactions. As suggested by Gillham (2005), I did not include ‘paralinguistic’ features of speech unless they contributed to the understanding of the words spoken. Whenever that was case I included this in the transcription, for example, when someone hesitated (‘um... um...’), said something with EMPHASIS, paused (‘(...)’) or when we laughed (‘(both laughing)’). Contrary to Gillham’s suggestion, I did include personal speech repetitions, such as ‘you know’, because I often interpreted such phrases as expressions of certain emotions, such as unease or agitation. Once in a while I omitted small parts of the interviews that contained elaborations on themes that were not directly relevant

to my study. I transcribed all interviews myself, as I agree with the view that transcription is an interpretive practice (Gillham 2005, Riessman 2008) and because of the limited number of interviews. After the transcriptions, I listened to the interview again, checking the transcript, while taking notes on the paralinguistic aspects that seemed to reflect a certain stance or emotion that I missed during the initial transcription. I also added my interpretations, using the qualitative data analysis software MaxQDA.^v An example of a brief interpretive note, called a 'memo' in MaxQDA, is the memo I attached to Karim's words about his disappointingly low secondary school advice:

Memo: These sentences already radiate frustration. (He returns to this theme later in the interview). And that he mentions that in the end his graduation was 'with honors' sounds like a redress, illustrating how ridiculous the previous advice was. It sounds like 'I told you so!' (Memo dd. 13 August 2012, translation MS)

Several times I improved the transcriptions, every time including more details on the 'how' of the interviews. My research log reads:

Log entry: Again, I worked on improving the transcripts, including more detail on HOW things are said... hesitations, emphasis, persuasion, repetition, reformulation, to get a better feel for what the participant means with his words, to reveal the interaction with what I say, or with what (the participant seems to assume) I think, or with what others might think (discourses), etc, etc. (Log entry dd. 8 August 2012, translation MS)

Exploring the data: starting with open coding and memo writing

As I did not want to force any structure upon the data by using preconceived categories, I started with a bottom up approach, conform the principles of Grounded Theory as described by Corbin and Strauss (2008). I started with the process of 'open coding', assigning codes to text segments, reflecting the theme, the meaning or emotions of the participant's words. I also sometimes coded more processual aspects, such as instances of reflexivity. For most of the codes, I created a memo about the idea the specific code reflected. I preferred the slightly less detailed way of coding demonstrated by Corbin and Strauss to the more detailed way of coding demonstrated by Charmaz (2006). The coding resulted in 120 codes and nearly 1800 coded segments. (The same segment could be coded in more than one way).

How to make sense of these codes? I divided the codes into four main categories: a category that related to the theme of 'Arrear and success' (with codes such as 'incapability of parents to give practical support', 'intrinsic drive and ambition', 'definitions of successful'), one that related to 'identification, ethnicity and social relations' ('being Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish', 'internalization of prejudice', 'being addressed as...'), one that related coded segments to different life phases

(‘description of family background’, ‘description of university period’), and a category with ‘other’ codes, such as codes about the interview process. Within the four main themes, I organized the codes into two levels, grouping codes that were related to the same theme. The next step was to try and come up with a broader description, framework or theory. How did the codes ‘work together’? What are the relationships between the codes? Inspired by one of the creative approaches for ‘making meaning’ presented by Hunter et al., the ‘quilt’, described by Jacelon (Hunter et al. 2002: 395), I printed out the second level of the codes, and I physically moved them around on a large sheet. I grouped the codes that were similar in meaning or theme and explored how the various themes connected to each other, trying to piece together a diagram that reflected a coherent argument. This sorting exercise invited me to play with the data but did not lead to an unambiguous, coherent, innovative diagram and argument. (While searching for coherent arguments and trends in the data, I tried to be open for variations and negative examples, as suggested by Charmaz (2006: 102) and Corbin and Strauss (2008: 84)).

What turned out to be most useful in furthering the meaning making process were the numerous memos I wrote. In the total project, I wrote 521 memos, which were attached to a certain code or specific text segment, or both. I followed the approach of Corbin, who leads the reader through a detailed example of qualitative data analysis based on the memos she took, rather than on the code structure she developed (Corbin and Strauss 2008) (see also Charmaz: Chapter 4 on memo writing). Corbin shows that the process of qualitative analysis lies in the process of memo writing, which ‘forces the analyst to think about the data’ (Corbin and Strauss 2008: 118). I found that extensive memo writing indeed not only served to store and order my thoughts and considerations, but also strongly enhanced my insight by helping me to disentangle complexities in the data and to further my thinking on issues I did not understand right away. The following memo, assigned to a specific interview segment and connected to the codes ‘reluctant to use ethnicity/ethnic explanations’ and ‘being Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish’, illustrates how I used the writing of a memo when I was confused:

Memo: Suddenly, here she seems very resistant to categorization in ethnic categories. Why? I feel it fits her cynical outlook on the world. Why then does her resistance surprise me? That is because earlier in the interview she did talk about not-being-Dutch, and being-Turkish herself. So, she does employ such categorizing language herself. But now it suddenly frustrates her. I think she might be afraid that such approaches are not constructive – that they too strongly reflect the exclusivist thinking of the dominant discourse. Either way, she is critical every time – in reaction to nearly everything happening in the Netherlands, and to nearly everything I say. (Memo dd. 28 September 2012, translation MS)

I used memos to record my thoughts during the reading of the interviews. I used them not only for describing the ideas behind the codes I was developing, but also for explaining why I found certain expressions intriguing, what I found surprising and what confirmed my hunches, and how participants' experiences or interpretations paralleled or contradicted each other. For another example of a reflection, see the following memo, which is connected to a segment of another interview and to the code 'being Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish':

Memo: I find this an intriguing anecdote....: She says she feels Dutch, but also that she 'knows' that she is 'darker' [note that she is *not* noticeably darker skinned than most ethnic Dutch], even though she is 'not aware' of this (in other words: she does not primarily feel Moroccan herself). She illustrates this with the example that when she is abroad she 'accidentally' refers to herself as Dutch. When people react surprised when they hear she is Dutch, she corrects herself and tells them she is 'actually Moroccan'. She does not problematize this anecdote or her interpretation.

I find this remarkable because nearly all participants, and most other Moroccan and Turkish Dutch I know, emphasize they 'are Dutch' (often in combination with being Moroccan or Turkish), although they are often not seen as Dutch. What accounts for this difference? As I see it, this respondent seems to have internalized the exclusivist discourse in a way that she seems to agree with the view that she is not Dutch. (...) Another participant mentions a contrasting experience: that particularly when she is abroad she can present herself as Dutch without being continuously questioned. . (Memo dd. 31 July 2012, translation MS)

Advancing the analysis

Three analytical steps advanced my thinking on the themes and arguments in the data. The first was combining all memos that were connected to the codes within the main theme 'identification, ethnicity and social relations'; seventy at that stage. This collection of reflections formed the basis for a document in which I described various mechanisms and concepts that emerged from the interviews (using labels such as 'practices of in- and exclusion', 'process of developing pride', 'the role of social others' and 'classification resistance'), which I discussed in various phases with various colleagues.

The second step was an analysis of the social contexts, inspired by Corbin and Strauss (2008: chapter 10 'Analyzing data for Context'). Per interview, I created an overview of the various contexts that were mentioned in the interview (such as family (parents and siblings), neighborhood, local co-ethnic community, primary school, secondary school, university, work, partner, peers) and how the participant spoke about these contexts. How were these social contexts described? How did the participant feel in these contexts? How were the relationships with the various people? How did the participant position him or herself? Obviously, social contexts differed per life phase, but how participants seemed to position

themselves also showed development. This overview further advanced the document with themes and mechanisms emerging from the data.

This approach shows why I got stuck when making the diagram to develop my themes, using the grounded theory approach in the way that I did. Grounded theory approaches invite the use of text segments in decontextualized ways (Mishler 1999: 23). By treating text segments as separate entities, it is easy to lose narrative aspects of the interview. The sequence and patterning of various parts in the interview are lost, including suggestions of stability and variety over time and between contexts within an individual's narrative (ibid.). Narrative analysis seems more appropriate – or at least a valuable complementary method. Rather than (solely) thematically coding segments and fracturing the data, narrative analysis focuses on larger segments to attempt to keep the 'story' intact, to interpret sequences, and to attend to the interaction at the interview setting (Riessman 2008). The idea of narrative analysis led me to pay more attention to developments and mechanisms, as well as arguments constructed by the participant, looking for words that indicated a specific relation between two parts of a narrative (since, due, when, because, results in) and for words that were indicative of temporality and change (initially, gradually, current, 'now I feel...', 'this has become...', 'I have learnt'), as proposed by Corbin and Strauss (2008: 83). It also opened up the possibility to focus on the ambiguities within interviews. When do participants (seem to) contradict themselves, and why might they have done so? As chapter 6 and 7 show, this attention to ambiguities and temporal aspects appeared very valuable for the further crystallization of my findings.

The third analysis, in which I employed the ideas of narrative analysis, focused on 'processes'. Again, I was particularly inspired by the ideas of Corbin and Strauss, who present 'the paradigm': a perspective to help the researcher identify the role of context and link context to process and outcome (2008: 89). The paradigm identifies three components of a process: conditions, interactions and emotions, and consequences. In the transcripts, I tried to identify such narrative chains (again by particularly paying attention to words such as since, due, when, and because), which I coded 'response'. I wrote a memo on every such process/chain, outlining the specific conditions (triggers, context, causes) and the responses (emotions, actions, reactions, results or aimed results) for every separate chain. I focused on processes that related to issues of identification and social interaction with others. These chains consisted of at least two steps, but they could also contain up to five steps. Per interview, I coded between 12 and 51 text segments, which I finally categorized (and re-categorized) into three categories that emerged from the data:

1. 'Netherlands': 181 segments, relating to interactions with ethnic Dutch and to the Dutch discourses,

2. 'Co-ethnics': 102 segments, relating to parents, the local co-ethnic community, the abstract co-ethnic community,
3. 'Friends': 29 segments that I identified as processes relating to people who are considered friends, regardless of their ethnicity, and to partners.

Per category I considered the various actors, triggers, effects and reactions. This led to detailed descriptions about the range of interactions and responses in different interactional contexts, which formed the basis for chapter 6.

A more structured approach for chapter 5

The analysis of the qualitative data for chapter 5 was more straightforward. Based on the outcomes of the statistical analyses, I analyzed how the participants described their identification as Moroccan or Turkish or Dutch. I retrieved the 48 text segments that were coded 'being Dutch, Moroccan, Turkish' and as such were related to descriptions of 'feeling Dutch, Moroccan or Turkish'. Based on the phrasings of these descriptions, I developed thematic subcodes, such as 'language', 'attitudes' or 'bond with the country'. Next, I analyzed when these themes were mentioned: to describe feeling more Dutch, less Dutch, more Moroccan, less Moroccan, more Turkish, or less Turkish. I furthermore looked into the combinations of these themes per participant, and I considered if the use of these themes noticeably varied between the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch and between men and women.

Reporting phase

Because the data used for the analyses not only contained the substantive 'whats' of the interview, but also the processual 'hows', the credibility of the research is enhanced by providing precise, verbatim quotes and extensive information on the setting and the broader context in the interview (see also Bryman 2001: 272-278). However, it appeared that in practice such elaborate presentation of the underlying data needs to be balanced with the aim of conciseness and readability. Therefore, in the end, I have stripped many quotes of the dialogical interaction and I somewhat shortened the translated quotes to make them more readable. I have only done so when I thought this would not distort their meaning in a relevant way. In the instances that I felt that my questions or reactions significantly contributed to the phrasing of the participants and are relevant for interpreting the quotes, I included them. Hence, throughout the book, two kinds of quotes are used, with and without the dialogical interaction. I translated the quotes myself and these have been checked by a native-speaking English editor. In an attempt to preserve the original character of the quotes, phrases that were rather uncommon or not very smooth in Dutch have been translated into phrases that are also rather uncommon or not very smooth in English. Out of respect for the participants and because I thought this would not affect the meaning of the quotes, I corrected the occasional language mistakes that occurred during the interviews. I connected nearly all quotes to the pseudonyms, except for a few

quotes that I deemed relatively sensitive and that did not need the personal context to be understood.

3.4 Summary

The combination of large-scale survey data and a limited number of in-depth interviews made me benefit from the complementary advantages of more structured and less structured methods. Contrary to the purist view that such 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' methods are essentially connected to incompatible ontological and epistemological perspectives, I argued that these methods are not rigidly determined by these perspectives, nor are they fundamentally incompatible. Instead, as my mixed methods research design illustrates, methods and perspectives can be mixed and combined in various ways. Both the data from the survey and the in-depth interviews were used within the constructivist perspective that I adopted. The exploration of ethnic and national identifications – including, as we will see, the deconstruction of essentialist notions of ethnic identity – relies on a combination of statistical analyses of the survey data and less structured analyses of the interview data. Nevertheless, I described the quantitative data collection according to the standards that are common in positivist research traditions; for example I did not reflect on the how the context of the data collection might influence the findings. The reason is that I was not involved in the collection of the survey data and that I based my description on the reports of others.

Whereas I described the data collection and the analysis of the structured data in a rather straightforward way, my description of the less-structured method was less straightforward. Less-structured, or 'qualitative', approaches by definition lack high levels of standardization. The entire approach is less straightforward, due to the complexity of the data, the dependency on the context and on the decisions and perspectives of the researcher (more so than in structured approaches), and because of the lack of agreed-on guidelines for a sound data collection, analysis and reporting. As the credibility of a study strongly depends on its transparency, this complexity increases the need for a detailed presentation of the 'chain of evidence' by the researcher, showing how the research findings follow from the data. This is why the description of the qualitative approach is much more elaborate than that of the quantitative approach and includes discussions of the interview setting, my role as an interviewer, my perspective on the interview-data as empirical evidence, the processes of making sense of the data, and my decisions regarding the reporting.

In my approach regarding the in-depth interviews, I attend both to the *what* and the *how*. Following Holstein and Gubrium, I see a participant's narrative as the

result of the interaction between the interviewer and the participant in a particular context. At the same time, I believe that the narrative has meaning beyond the interview and reflects a subjectively meaningful experience. However, if we want to understand the meaning (the *what*), we need to look at the circumstances of the production (the *how*). With this balance between the content and the process, I occupy a middle ground between a positivist and interpretivist perspective.

4. The Dutch integration landscape

What does the setting of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch immigrants and their children look like? What is the discursive landscape? What are their socioeconomic and sociocultural positions? How did these develop over time?

Like in many other countries, since the start of this millennium, Dutch integration politics has seen a significant turn from a relative tolerance of diversity to an ‘assimilationist’ or ‘culturalist’ intolerance of cultural diversity. This evolving political landscape forms the backdrop of the lives of the second generation that I studied. Their identifications are hard to apprehend without knowing about the culturalist turn and the change in the tone of voice that have affected the early second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch since early adulthood. I discuss the changing political landscape in the first section of this chapter (4.1). Additionally, to understand the second generation’s social relations and struggles, it is essential to know about their immigration background and their evolving socioeconomic and sociocultural positions in the Netherlands, which I describe in the second section (4.2). The chapter concludes with a summary (4.3).

4.1 The Dutch integration context: voices and policies over time

In this section, I will describe how a strongly exclusivist ‘culturalism’ has ascended, claiming that ‘the Dutch culture and identity’ – defined in terms of progressiveness – should be defended against immigrants and their presumed illiberal, intolerant, traditional and non-secular cultures and religions (Uitermark 2012, Uitermark, Mepschen and Duyvendak 2014). The Turkish and particularly the Moroccan Dutch, both with their Muslim backgrounds, have been the primary targets. In the Netherlands, this culturalism is accompanied by a new-realist discursive style, characterized by a bold ‘frankness’ and ‘the nerve to break taboos’ (Prins 2002). To elucidate the significance of the change, I describe this emerging discourse and its resonance in a relatively detailed way, including the changing themes that the integration politics center on, the shifting demands placed on immigrants and their offspring, and the monumental change in tone. Before discussing the figureheads of the emerging culturalist discourse, and the culturalist resonance with mainstream actors and integration policies, I first briefly describe the recent history of Dutch politics.

A history of pragmatism rather than multiculturalism (1970s and '80s)

Roughly until the second half of the 1980s, the Netherlands was relatively tolerant of ethnic and religious diversity. As a result, the Netherlands was renowned for its multiculturalism, but this view predominantly misperceives the underlying reasons for this tolerance (Duyvendak and Scholten 2011, 2012). Rather than expressing a multicultural ideology, which values and nurtures cultural diversity, this tolerance was based on widespread pragmatism. This pragmatism was a legacy of the Dutch system of pillarization, in which various ideological segments were institutionally and socially separated (Uitermark 2012). Pillarization started to decline in the late 1960s, but the Dutch 'poldermodel' remained, characterized by compromise, consultation and accommodation, rather than confrontation. This 'poldermodel' had become ingrained in the Dutch civil sphere (2012). This model was reflected in an approach to integration that did not emerge from ideological bases but was driven by finding solutions that were practical and efficient (Scholten 2011; Uitermark 2012). When workers from Morocco and Turkey arrived in the Netherlands in the late sixties and seventies, and when their families arrived ten years later, it was generally assumed that their migration would be temporary, so immigrant policies were directed towards facilitating their return. In view of the prospected return to Morocco and Turkey, the retention of their cultural identities and group structures was promoted and supported.

When in the 1980s it appeared that many of the immigrants would stay permanently, the goal of the integration policy shifted from facilitating return to socioeconomic participation and the prevention of sociocultural segregation (Scholten 2011). This did not lead to an adaptation of the integration instruments. Group-specific facilities were maintained or supported, as the cultivation of minority language skills and identities were seen as means for simultaneously preventing social insulation and promoting socioeconomic integration. The underlying idea was that knowledge of the 'own' language and culture would contribute to a positive self-image, facilitate acquisition of the Dutch language, and reduce the gap between children and their parents (Bouras 2012: 90). Combatting discrimination and inequality was seen as the mutual responsibility of both the minority and the majority; *mutual* adaptation was emphasized and combating discrimination was one of the policy aims (Scholten 2011).

Thus, the institutionalization of ethnic and religious differences were not engrained in a multiculturalist ideology, but were promoted for instrumental reasons. The accommodation of sociocultural differences does not express an appreciation of cultural diversity, but rather, it is the pragmatic consequence of the aim to facilitate return and socioeconomic integration. Yet, the Dutch pragmatic approach resembles multiculturalism in the view that (a certain level of) cultural and religious diversity is acceptable and does not necessarily threaten integration and national cohesion. It is a groupist way of thinking that is not

necessarily exclusivist. This changed sharply in 2001, foreshadowed by developments in the integration debate in the preceding decennium.

Culturalism on the rise

In the early nineties, a more exclusivist way of thinking emerged, which, particularly after the turn of the millennium, severely challenged the tolerance for cultural diversity. Whereas cultural diversity was previously tolerated for pragmatic reasons, it became increasingly formulated as a social problem that needed to be resolved urgently, and those who were presented as cultural Others were increasingly regarded as outsiders. This move away from the accommodation of cultural diversity is observed in many other European countries (see e.g. Joppke 2004; see also the literature mentioned by Duyvendak, Hurenkamp and Tonkens 2011: 233). As I describe in this section, in the Netherlands, a discourse of 'culturalism' ascended and gradually became one of the most dominant voices in the Dutch integration debate. It was voiced in a style of 'new realism' or even 'hyperrealism' (Prins 2002). Dutch culturalism can be described as 'as discourse organized around the idea that the world is divided into cultures and that our enlightened, liberal culture should be defended against the claims of minorities committed to illiberal religions and ideologies' (Uitermark 2012: 15). The ascent of the culturalist discourse strongly relied on particular discursive leaders, who left clear marks on the integration debate in the Netherlands in the last two decennia (ibid.). This description is largely based on the detailed analyses of Prins (2002, 2004) and Uitermark (2012) of the Dutch integration debate.

In 1991, culturalism was freed from its association with the extreme right by Bolkestein, the leader of the rightwing liberals and the appointed 'Godfather' of culturalism in the Netherlands (by Uitermark 2012: 85). Bolkestein argued that Islam is fundamentally different from the 'Enlightened' Western cultures, which need to be protected against Islamic influences (Bolkestein 1991). He presented himself as voicing the concerns of the 'ordinary people', the lower-class ethnic Dutch, whom he portrayed as the real victims of immigration. After 2000, the support for culturalist ideas also increased among more leftist people following an opinion article in which Scheffer, a member of the Labor Party, sketched Dutch society as a 'multicultural drama' (2000). Scheffer blamed the Dutch elites for being relativist and consensual, and holds them accountable for a large number of socioeconomic problems among ethnic minorities, such as unemployment, poverty, school drop-outs and criminality. Scheffer envisions a strong national identity that articulates what holds society together, as a sociocultural solution for these socioeconomic problems.

The discourse that took hold was not only culturalist, but can also be described as what Prins refers to as a 'new realist' (2002). According to Prins, a new realist 'dares' to say the 'facts' that have supposedly been covered up by the elites, thereby 'unmasking' a formerly hidden truth and 'frankly' addressing social

issues that should not be 'smothered' but 'solved'. A new realist presents him or herself as a spokesperson of the 'ordinary people' (lower-class ethnic Dutch) and blames the (leftist) establishment, whose evasive 'political correctness' has caused the social 'problems' that we are now supposedly facing. In this new realist discourse, being frank, straightforward and realistic are presented as characteristic features of Dutch national identity. According to Tillie, the new-realist 'frankness' led to violations of the basic principles of a democratic debate, which are non-violence, non-exclusion, and the respect of human dignity (Tillie 2008).

In the period after the September 11 attacks on the American World Trade Center, politician Fortuyn emerged in the political arena and dominated Dutch national politics prior to the national elections in May 2002. Fortuyn, who was very explicit with his homosexuality, outshone his political opponents with his controversial and flamboyant appearance. He caused 'political correctness' to become suspect and he passionately fulminated against what he called the 'retarded' Islam, the 'imminent' 'Islamization' of Dutch society, and the 'paternalizing' 'left church' (Prins 2002). He argued that the progressive Dutch achievements were under threat and that he did not feel like 'doing the emancipation of women and homosexuals all over again' (Fortuyn in Poorthuis and Wansink 2002). Prins explains that frankness is no longer a means for unmasking the truth, but that the unrestrained venting of one's feelings is now valued for its own sake, and she calls this 'hyperrealism' (2002). Fortuyn was shot dead a week prior to the elections by an ethnic Dutch environmental activist. Many people blamed the Left, as the Left had (supposedly) demonized Fortuyn. Fortuyn's political party (List Pim Fortuyn, *Lijst Pim Fortuyn*) became the second largest party in the successive elections and was a member of the cabinet, which fell after only 87 days in office (Prins 2002).

Hirsi Ali, a novice politician, also challenged both the Islam for its orthodoxy and the Dutch politicians for their inert politics. She was confident, eloquent, determined, and above all, she was raised as a Muslim in Somalia. She experienced genital mutilation and fled to the Netherlands to escape arranged marriage. This all contributed to her legitimacy as a culturalist spokesperson and even made her into an 'icon that cultural elites, too, could support or even adore' (Uitermark 2012: 148). In 2002, she was allotted a seat in Parliament for the right-wing Liberals, which led her to break with the Labor party. Hirsi Ali advocated a confrontational style, which she saw as the only way to achieve the social change that she deemed urgent. Numerous death threats against her meant that she had to live with constant security. In her fight for the emancipation of Muslim women, she called the prophet Mohammed a pervert and a pedophile. The short film *Submission*, which she made with the controversial columnist and filmmaker Van Gogh (who consistently referred to Muslims as 'goatfuckers', *geitenneukers*), embodied her confrontational style. Many Muslims found the film offensive (Van Tilborgh 2006). It portrayed Muslim women suffering abuse and

showed a naked woman with a semi-transparent veil and Quranic verses painted on her body that can be interpreted as justifications of the subjugation of women. Hirsi Ali not only had supporters among the 'ordinary people' like Fortuyn, but also among the cultural and political elite. Although her approach led many Muslims in the Netherlands, particularly women, to speak up, they primarily reacted in opposition to Hirsi Ali's stereotypical presentation of Islam and Muslims (Van Tilborgh 2006). In November 2004, Van Gogh was publicly murdered by an extremist in the name of Islam. In those years, the theme of 'Islamic' extremism was prominent in the media. The media extensively covered an extremist Dutch network of young Muslims, *de Hofstadgroup*, the 'Capital City group', the ideological home of Van Gogh's murderer. Several of the youth were arrested and sentenced for being members of a criminal and terrorist organization. Those were the years of the Madrid train bombings in 2004 and the attacks in London in 2005, which were carried out in name of Islam. In 2005, Time Magazine ranked Hirsi Ali among the 100 world's most influential people. In 2006, she moved to the United States.

Although the attention for 'Islamic' extremism in the media gradually subsided, the success of yet another culturalist figurehead cannot be ignored. In recent years, the politician Wilders has managed to draw a lot of media attention (although he was not included in Uitermark's analysis, I assume he has high resonance). His success is also visible in political terms. Wilders broke away from the right-wing Liberals and participated in the 2006 elections with his newly founded Freedom Party (*Partij Voor de Vrijheid*). In the 2010 elections he managed to expand the presence of the PVV in Dutch parliament from 9 to 24 of the 150 seats, making PVV the third biggest party, giving them a strong say in the course of the new cabinet. Wilders fiercely opposes Islam and presents Islam as a totalitarian and fascist ideology, lacking any shades and nuances (PVV 2010a). In the 2010 election program, the PVV advocated a 'combat against Islam' (*islambestrijding*) and a stop to the current (presumed) 'mass-migration' (ibid.). Wilders explained:

The second choice the PVV makes is less immigration and less Islam in the Netherlands. Mass-immigration needs to be halted. (...). We need to rid ourselves from cultural relativism. Cultures are not equal, and our culture is better than the Islamic culture. (...) Islam is a violent, totalitarian ideology, which squarely opposes freedom, democracy and tolerance. The Netherlands should not further Islamize. (PVV 2010b: 3; translation MS)

In the short film he produced in 2006, *Fitna*, which led to international commotion even before its broadcast, he connected atrocities all over the world with Islam and sketched a looming future, in which Europe is overwhelmed by Muslim immigrants. Like others, such as Van Gogh and Hirsi Ali, he received many threats that have resulted in his necessity for continuous protection. His style is highly confrontational and not only serves to depreciate Islam but to dissociate

himself from the elites and to seek connections with the 'ordinary people'. He employs crude sound bites, presents himself as the ultimate advocate of free speech and presents those who oppose him as threats to free speech. In 2010, he was charged with inciting hatred against Muslims but was cleared by the court, which Wilders celebrated as a 'victory for free speech'. He proposed a tax for headscarves, which he referred to as a 'head-rag tax' (*kopvoddentaks*); he wanted to halt the 'tsunami of islamization'; and recently, he introduced stickers, looking like the Saudi flag, with the virulent anti-Islam statements 'Islam is a lie, Mohammed is a criminal, the Quran is poison' (in Arabic). In the spring of 2014, he made a room of supporters chant that they wanted 'less Moroccans'.

Culturalism gained ground

The ascent of these loud, culturalist voices does not mean that a uniform 'Dutch discourse' or a uniform 'Dutch climate' exists. Uitermark shows, based on an analysis of the Dutch integration politics between 1980 and 2006, that multiple voices and discourses resound in the integration debate. He identifies three alternative discourses: pragmatism, civil Islam and anti-racism. Pragmatism has always been the discourse with the most followers (2012: 57). An example of a well-known pragmatist is former Amsterdam major Cohen, who was committed to 'keeping things together' (*de boel bij elkaar houden*). Another discourse is the emerging 'Civil Islam'. In reaction to culturalist thinking, people such as the Rotterdam major Aboutaleb, who has a Moroccan background, assert the compatibility of Islam and civic virtues (p. 138). This discourse shares with the culturalists the idea of norm-enforcement and adaptation to civic norms. The third alternative discourse, anti-racism, highlights the dangers of racism, discrimination and prejudice. As also described by Vasta (2007), anti-racism has been weak in the Netherlands, particularly compared to countries such as the United Kingdom and the United States and has become only weaker over time (Uitermark 2012: 123). Anti-racists are accused of smothering criticism of cultures and religion (p. 127). Uitermark shows that anti-racism is more often identified as a problem than racism itself (p. 126). He concludes that the denial of racism is commonplace among the Dutch elite (p. 129). Anti-racism is a marginalized discourse, which encounters strong opposition and has great difficulty accessing the central stages in the public sphere.ⁱ

Despite the variety of existing discourses, the culturalist discourse has come to dominate the public sphere. Although Uitermark does not use this exact qualification, he describes other discourses, including the pragmatist discourse, as discursively subordinate to that of the culturalists (2012: 137). Pragmatists are highly fragmented, while culturalists band together around discursive leaders and gripping icons (p.113). The culturalists have the most power to attract attention and to stir debate (p.117), and, more than their discursive opponents, they have agenda-setting power (p.148).

The influence of the ascended discourse stretches beyond the culturalist discursive leaders. Culturalist thinking and new-realist rhetoric also has gained ground with more mainstream politicians and parties, both in their discourses as well as in (proposed) policies and measures. Views on integration as projected by the various political parties clearly show culturalist influences, as Slegers demonstrates based on an analysis of election programs (2007). She shows that, since 2000, most political parties have adopted the language of 'multicultural drama' and have increasingly formulated immigration in terms of problems, which the parties attribute to cultural differences and which supposedly can be solved through clarity about the Dutch identity and the broad adoption of 'our' (presumably undisputed) norms and values.ⁱⁱ They argue that immigrants should be loyal to 'western key norms' of the 'modern society', such as gender equality, freedom of speech and individual autonomy, which are inherent aspects of the national identity (Spijkerboer 2007: 24 in Slegers 2007: 49, translation MS). There was a telling case in which a parliamentary investigation committee, led by politician Blok, concluded that immigrants had advanced relatively well in socioeconomic terms, and the assessment of a 'failed' integration process was unjust (Blok 2004). The fact that this report did not support the impressions of the members of the parliament did not lead to an adjustment of their opinions but to a broad rejection of the committee's results (Dutch Parliament 2004). In 2007, at the presentation of the report 'Identification with the Netherlands' by the Dutch Scientific Council, the speech of then Crown Princess Máxima Zorreguieta, who immigrated to the Netherlands from Argentina seven years earlier, led to commotion. She prided the Netherlands for its rich diversity and explained that in her introduction to Dutch society, she had not encountered 'the' Dutch identity and 'the' Dutchman.ⁱⁱⁱ She was severely criticized for this statement.

The fact that cultural differences were increasingly formulated as problematic cultural distances (Scholten 2011: 79), led the integration policy to shift from the 'cultivation of one's own cultural identities' to a one-sided bridging of differences. Whereas ethnic minority group formation previously was tolerated to facilitation the expected return and for emancipatory purposes, group formation was increasingly regarded as undesirable, as it supposedly hampered integration and social cohesion (Koopmans et al. 2005; Veldboer, Duyvendak and Bouw 2007). This led, for example in Amsterdam, to abolishment of structural subsidies for organizations with minority signatures, in favor of the support of incidental, small-scale initiatives (Uitermark and Steenbergen 2006: 268). That higher educated are not exempted, is illustrated by the fact that many feel the need to counter the idea that ethnic minority student associations are examples of self-segregation and reflect estrangement (see for example Van Riel 2006; Algemeen Dagblad 2007; Trouw 2007; Brouwer 2010). In reference to the policy shift, Scholten describes: '[c]ommon citizenship means that people speak Dutch, and that one abides to basic Dutch norms' (2011: 78). The aim of the current integration policy is that those 'who choose to build their future in the

Netherlands, should be oriented towards Dutch society. Newcomers are in the first instance responsible for their own successful integration' (Asscher 2013). In terms of measures, this led to the implementation of compulsory 'civic integration programs' for permanent immigrants from outside the European Union, including those who have lived in the Netherlands for decennia. This also led to another measure: the Participation Declaration, which attempts to morally bind new immigrants to Dutch society, which is in its pilot-phase in 2014. Immigrants are requested to sign a declaration to affirm their intention to be self-sustaining, embrace the existing values and actively participate in society (Asscher 2013). Although signing the declaration is presented as a moral obligation, it is formally voluntary. It is hard to say whether immigrants feel pressured to sign.

Also the new-realist tone of voice has affected the public arena. Politicians and media refer to the overrepresentation of citizens with Moroccan backgrounds in problem areas such as school dropout rates, public nuisance and criminality, using the terms 'Moroccan issue' (*Marokkanenprobleem*) and 'Moroccan drama' (*Marokkanendrama*).^{iv} Another term that became a slur with broad resonance was '*kut-Marokkanen*', which literally translates as 'cunt-Moroccans'. This term was accidentally introduced in 2002 by Amsterdam alderman Oudkerk at (what he thought was) an unguarded moment (Uitermark 2010: 175). In 2011, then Deputy Prime Minister Verhagen emphasized that concerns about 'foreigners' (*buitenlanders*) changing society and threatening people's positions are 'understandable' and 'justified' (*begrijpelijk* and *terecht*).^v This did not escape the attention of many, including Golden Calf winner Nasrdin Dchar.

Culturalized thinking not only permeated the political and governmental arena but is also present among the population, which increasingly tends to fear the political influence of Islam (EUMC 2002; Scheepers, Gijsberts and Hello 2002; Entzinger and Dourleijn 2008). Among ethnic Dutch as well as among Moroccan and Turkish Dutch youth, have the impression that cultural differences have increased over time (Entzinger 2009). Ethnic Dutch do not have warm feelings towards the immigrant Other. On a temperature scale between 0 and 100 degrees, they evaluate Turkish, Moroccan and Muslim citizens with scores of 57, 38 and 47, whereas they rate their feelings towards ethnic Dutch with a score of 68 (Entzinger and Dourleijn 2008: 104). A large majority of the ethnic Dutch do not subscribe to the opinion that most Muslims in the Netherlands respect Dutch culture (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012: 45). This might explain why support for the cultural assimilation of immigrants among ethnic Dutch has increased between 1999 and 2006 (Entzinger and Dourleijn 2008: 101). Various ethnic minority groups share the negative evaluation, particularly of the Moroccan Dutch, as they nearly all rate the Moroccan Dutch with lower temperatures than the Turkish, Surinamese, Antillean and ethnic Dutch (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012: 50).

The culturalist demands

Although the Dutch political integration arena includes diverse players and discourses, it is clear that culturalist voices have become louder, and other voices have become more culturalist. As I explain here, this means that very intrinsic demands are currently placed on immigrants and their offspring. Following Duyvendak, I argue that there are also emotive and nativist demands. Not only are immigrants required to adapt to highly progressive norms, they are also required to feel at home in the Netherlands in emotional terms. Furthermore, even if they comply with these demands, their belonging is not self-evident because of 'nativist' conceptions of citizenship.

Along culturalist lines, successful integration and good citizenship are increasingly defined as adherence to norms and values that are considered inherently and undisputedly Dutch. The discussion of the culturalist voices clearly showed that progressive values such as secularism, sexual freedom and gender equality are presented as the core values of 'Dutch culture', which is supposedly under threat by non-western, Muslim immigrants (see also Uitermark, Mepschen and Duyvendak 2014). In the Netherlands, a broad progressive consensus has formed among the Dutch since the 1960s. More than among other Europeans, let alone Americans, they adhere to progressive norms (see SCP 1998; Uitterhoeve 2000; Arts, Hagenaaars, and Halman 2003; Duyvendak 2004; Halman, Luijkx and Van Zundert 2005). However, the idea of an all-encompassing, undisputed consensus ignores the recent homophobic past in the Netherlands and the continuous moral diversity in Dutch society, also among ethnic Dutch (Uitermark, Mepschen and Duyvendak 2014). These progressive standards are used by politicians of various backgrounds to demand cultural assimilation, particularly of Muslim immigrants and their offspring, who are portrayed as outsiders because of their presumed moral distance (ibid.). As Ghorashi formulates: the right to be different is under threat (2010). Clearly, the demands placed on immigrants go beyond the procedural commitment to liberal-democratic principles outlined by Joppke. In describing the European move away from multiculturalism, he states: 'With the exception of language, the only explicit impositions on newcomers are liberal impositions, most notably a procedural commitment to liberal-democratic principles' (2004: 254). In the Netherlands however, immigrants – more so than non-immigrants – are not only expected to respect liberty and equality, but also to have internalized progressive norms as their own personal principles.

The demands placed on immigrants and their offspring go even further: citizens are increasingly expected to be 'loyal' and to 'feel at home' in the Netherlands, as Duyvendak argues (2007, 2011) (see also Duyvendak and Slootman 2011). The Dutch Scientific Council concludes that 'integration has increasingly become an issue of identification and loyalty' (Meurs 2007: 28). This is illustrated by the quotes of the Dutch politicians Verhagen and Marijnissen. 'People must feel connected to our society if they want to be naturalized, they have to feel at home

in it. It is necessary to feel Dutch' (Dutch Parliament 2000: 363 in Duyvendak 2011: 93). 'If one is not prepared to conform to our values and obey our laws, the pressing advice is: seek a country where you feel at home' (Marijnissen 2004 in Duyvendak 2011: 92). Clearly, cultural assimilation in the Netherlands includes emotional and identificational aspects. Feeling at home and feeling Dutch have become central requirements for citizenship. Because these feelings cannot easily be observed, certain actions become their symbolic stand-ins (Verkaaik 2010 in Duyvendak 2011: 92). For example, in the eyes of various Dutch politicians, having dual nationality expresses a lack of loyalty to Dutch culture (Meurs 2007; Driouichi 2007). Belonging and identification is regarded as zero-sum, as singular in nature, which is why loyalty to other countries and cultures are regarded as threats to an emotional attachment to the Netherlands. This explains the demand that immigrants who want to stay in the Netherlands adapt to 'Dutch' norms, values *and* emotions, which supposedly requires the abandonment of any other norms, values and attachments. Having positive emotional bonds with Dutch society is not articulated as a national aspiration but rather as a demand that is placed on individuals (on immigrants) and that is formulated as a condition for belonging. In other words: the personal, intimate side of belonging (feeling at home) is set as a condition for the political side of belonging (being accepted as an insider); see Antonsich (2010) for a reflection on these two dimensions of belonging). This demand ignores how personal feelings of belonging are influenced by the politics of inclusion and exclusion. It ignores the responsibility of society in processes of belonging. After all, it is hard to feel at home when one feels rejected or unwelcome, as Jayaweera and Choudhury note (2008 in Antonsich 2010: 649).

However, even when immigrant citizens have adapted to the progressive norms and meet the demands to 'feel at home' in the Netherlands and to 'feel Dutch', this does not guarantee their belonging as accepted citizens. The discourse contains yet another exclusivist layer; it is also *nativist* (Duyvendak 2011, Duyvendak and Sloodman 2011). The nativist discourse argues that 'original' inhabitants own the place, the nation, because they were there first. This nativist conception is reflected in the consistent and persistent use of the terms 'autochthonous' and 'allochthonous' to refer to ethnic Dutch respectively non-western immigrants (*and* their children and *even* sometimes their grandchildren^{vi}). These are originally geological terms, meaning respectively: originating and not originating from the soil where it is found (Geschier 2009). Using this terminology renders the distinction between those who belong and those who do not belong immutable and creates a 'common-sense' justification for asking newcomers to adapt and also creates a hierarchy of belonging. Fortuyn used this argument when he stated that 'Christian inhabitants, like those living in the Veluwe [a relatively religious and conservative area in the Netherlands], morally have more rights than Islamic newcomers, as Christians have contributed to the construction of our country for decennia'.^{vii}

The shift from integration politics that were relatively tolerant of cultural and identificational diversity to politics that are relatively intolerant of diversity and contain culturalist, emotive and nativist layers is characterized by Entzinger (2006) as a 'change of the rules while the game is on'.

4.2. The Moroccan and Turkish immigrants and their offspring

The Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have occupied central positions in the debates on integration over the last two decennia of the culturalist turn, but this is not the only reason why they offer interesting focal points for research. Numerically, they comprise the largest ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands and have second generations that are currently coming of age. Around five percent (4.5%) of the 16.7 million Dutch citizens are Moroccan and Turkish Dutch (636,000 respectively 696,000), of which roughly half belong to the second generation (CBS 2012). The eldest of the second generation are now reaching their forties. The share of first and second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch is much higher in the larger cities. In some Amsterdam and Rotterdam neighborhoods Moroccan and Turkish Dutch comprise between forty and fifty percent of the population,^{viii} making them the largest and often most established groups in these neighborhoods, particularly among the younger cohorts (Crul and Schneider 2010). In this section, I describe the current situation of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch in the Netherlands in socioeconomic and sociocultural terms. I show that both in structural as well as in sociocultural respects, on average, the situation of both Moroccan and Turkish Dutch is characterized by a distance from the average ethnic Dutch; and, in many respects, this distance decreases over time. But first, I sketch the immigration background, which helps us further understand how the positions have developed.

Background: the first generation Moroccan and Turkish immigrants

In the second half of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, many Turkish and Moroccan migrants arrived in the Netherlands as labor migrants to fill shortages of low-skilled labor. These were mainly men. Many were married and left their wives and children behind. Although the Dutch government had recruitment agreements with Turkey and Morocco, as well as with other Southern European countries, many of the immigrants migrated via informal channels (Bouras 2012). The large majority of the Moroccan immigrants came from the rural areas of the Rif region in northern Morocco (Nelissen and Buijs 2000; Bouras 2012). In Morocco, the interests of the Amazigh, or Berber, peoples in the Rif were put behind those of the rest of the country (Van Amersfoort and Van Heelsum 2007), and to alleviate economic suffering and reduce political pressures, the Moroccan government directed the recruitment to the Rif (Bouras 2012: 55). The Moroccan men who arrived generally had extremely low formal educational levels, partly due to the inadequacy of the Moroccan education system at that time (Nelissen and Buijs 2000). Around a quarter had (slightly) more than primary school

education and over a third had not attended any school at all (CBS 1986 in Nelissen and Buijs 2000: 179). The background of most of the Turkish laborers is largely comparable. The majority came from villages and provincial cities and had low formal education levels (Böcker 2000). Three quarters had only attended primary school. The first oil crisis halted the immigration of workers. Although most workers arrived with the intention of returning to Morocco and Turkey (hence the label 'guest workers'), in the second half of the seventies they had their families come to the Netherlands.

The Moroccan and Turkish Dutch present an interesting comparison, as these ethnic groups are roughly similar in many respects, while they differ in others. Both groups are predominantly Muslim and originally came to the Netherlands around the same period as temporary labor migrants to work in low-skilled jobs. As we have seen in the previous section, this temporary stay was one of the main reasons that both the Dutch government and the individual immigrants themselves cultivated their Moroccan and Turkish identities. This was also strongly stimulated by (governmental) institutions in Morocco and Turkey, which did not want to lose control over their citizens abroad (Bouras 2012; Sunier 1996). In the end, many immigrants stayed in the Netherlands longer than they originally intended and had their families join them. Later, the economic crisis and the fact that their children attended Dutch schools prevented many of them from returning to Morocco and Turkey. Most of these immigrants from both groups came from rural areas and had low levels of formal education. Most of the first generation remained in the lower socioeconomic strata. Furthermore, what is generally seen as typically Moroccan or Turkish cultural elements is described in very similar terms.

Although many individual differences exist, and it is disputed if 'the Moroccan culture' exists (De Jong 2012: 88), the broad literature study of Pels and De Haan on socialization practices among Moroccans and Moroccan Dutch (2003) reveals dispositions and trends that are shared by many Moroccan Dutch. This concerns family structures and gender roles in particular. The literature reviewed by De Jong in her description of cultural patterns among Moroccan families in the Netherlands reveals a similar picture (2012: 88-90). Pels and De Haan describe norms and practices that were common among families in Morocco and formed the background of many Moroccan families that migrated to the Netherlands. They also describe patterns of socialization practices as observed among Moroccan families after migration. In the more traditional Moroccan family life, age and gender were important social markers and expressed hierarchical relations (p. 24). The adult members represented authority, and there was a strict division between the sexes. Women were primarily confined to the private sphere and the home, while men dominated the public sphere (p. 25). Core values were based on conformity with Islamic law and living in accordance with the community, although actual social practices often had 'agonistic and individualistic' aspects (p. 16, 28). The control of passion and desire was

important, and impulsive, thoughtless, irresponsible behavior was to be avoided, especially with regards to matters of sexuality, and this was particularly applicable to women (p. 28-30). De Jong also points to the value attached to honor, which refers to the importance of upholding an impeccable public image (Van de Meer 1984 in De Jong 2012: 88-89). Particularly the Moroccan families that came from rural areas and had no formal schooling were relatively traditional and experienced a large gap with the Dutch context in which they arrived (Pels and De Haan 2003: 51). However, these traditions were already under change before the moment of migration, only to change more since then. Tensions between Moroccan communities that originated from different regions fragmented social networks and weakened social control (p. 48). The number of children per family sharply decreased (p. 49). The father's authority declined, partly due to 'role reversal', as children became mediators between their parents and outside institutions (p. 53). Girls have obtained an increasing amount of freedom to study and enter the labor market, provided that they uphold the key values of respect, chastity and family honor (p. 52). However, the shift in balance between the young and the old and between women and men that took place in practice has not been accompanied by a parallel shift in ideology (p. 54). Contrary to many ethnic Dutch parents, most Moroccan parents do not value the idea of a 'hedonist' youth phase, and they fear the 'permissiveness' of the Dutch (p. 61).

Often, in literature on sociocultural positions of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, these groups are taken together (see for example Douwes, De Koning and Boender 2005; Nabben, Yeşilgös and Korf 2006; Pels and De Gruijter 2006). Although Turkey is a more modern and secular society than Morocco (Van Amersfoort 1986), the cultural characteristics of the Turkish immigrants, particularly those with rural backgrounds, are described in roughly similar terms (see Böcker 2000; De Vries 1995). Like among the Moroccan Dutch, many Turkish Dutch hold relatively traditional views on gender roles and family structures. Turkish family structures are often characterized by a great interdependency between the generations. Women in general have limited freedom and are subjected to high social control. Chastity and modesty are considered highly important, and many dislike the Dutch liberal attitude towards the interaction between the sexes.

Beyond these similarities, there are significant differences. Since their arrival in the Netherlands, the Turkish Dutch in general have been more strongly oriented towards their ethnic group – or rather: ethnic subgroups. Despite differences of opinion among the Turks, and despite rigid ethnic, political and religious dividing lines (Böcker 2000), for the Turkish immigrants, their country of origin and national identity have been stronger sources of bonding and pride than for their Moroccan counterparts (Nelissen and Buijs 2000). Most Moroccan immigrants had a troubled history with the Moroccan state because as Amazigh from the Rif area they were second-class citizens. Furthermore, the Moroccan immigrants were a more fragmented group than the Turkish Dutch, as Moroccan immigrants

often reconstructed the social units that existed before migration, which were based on patrilineal and regional lines, and tensions between these social units frequently occurred (Van den Berg-Eldering 1978 in Pels and De Haan 2003: 48). Whereas most Turkish immigrants shared the same Turkish language, Moroccan immigrants with different sub-ethnicities spoke different languages. This difference in cohesion is also reflected in the level of organization. The Turkish immigrants maintained cohesive communities, strong organizations that were organized along ethnic, political and religious divides, which were closely connected to the Turkish state (Böcker 2000). In the Netherlands, twice as many organizations and mosques with Turkish signatures exist as with Moroccan signatures (Van Heelsum, Fennema and Tillie 2004: 3). Furthermore, the Turkish organizations form a much more cohesive network than the Moroccan organizations (Fennema et al 2000: 17). The landscape of Turkish organizations in the Netherlands largely reflects the organizational and ideological landscape in Turkey, and many Turkish organizations are closely affiliated with the Turkish state (Sunier 1996; Yükleyn 2009), while for the organizations of Moroccans in the Netherlands, this is much less the case (Van Heelsum, Fennema and Tillie 2004; Bouras 2012). This weaker co-ethnic cohesion among the Moroccan Dutch is often seen as an explanation for a stronger orientation towards the Netherlands. This weaker cohesion is also seen as one of the causes for the relatively high rates of criminality among Moroccan Dutch (Vermeulen and Penninx 2000: 219).

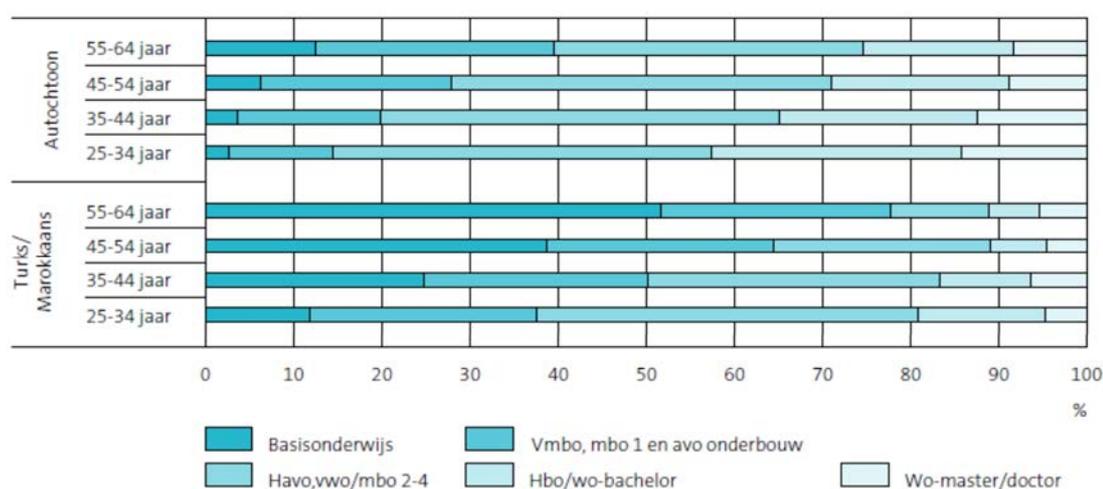
Socioeconomic position of the second generation

While most of the first generation remained in the lower socioeconomic strata, the second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch show considerable advancement, although their averages still lag behind the averages of the ethnic Dutch. When the entire Moroccan and Turkish Dutch population are compared with the entire ethnic Dutch populations (which, as I explained in chapter 2, does not do justice to differences in class background)^{ix}, they show considerable arrear (see figure 4.1). For example, Turkish and Moroccan Dutch between 18 and 25 lack a 'starter qualification' (a diploma of middle to higher education levels; levels that are considered to have good employment perspectives) nearly twice as often as ethnic Dutch,^x and men nearly twice as often as women. 23% of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch young men that left school lack a starter qualification; compared with 12% of the ethnic Dutch young men. For the women these percentages are 14% and 7%) (CBS 2012: 82).

Yet, many of the younger generations of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch show strong upward mobility and are closing the gap with the ethnic Dutch. Besides those who lack a starter qualification, there is a sharp increase in the number of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch that enter higher education, which leads Crul and Doornik to speak of a 'polarization' among the second generation (2003). In 2011, nearly four out of ten young adult Moroccan and Turkish Dutch men and nearly five out of ten women entered higher education (HBO or university) (see table 4.1). Only eight years earlier, in 2003/2004, among this was still roughly

three out of ten men and women (CBS 2012: 85). Roughly ten percent start at university. Although the percentages lag behind those of the ethnic Dutch, among whom nearly six out of ten enter higher education, and two out of then enter university, it is still an amount (and an increase) that cannot be ignored in assessments of 'integration'. The idea that the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch second generation has unambiguously 'failed' is unjust when we look at their educational achievements at the high end of the spectrum. These figures furthermore nuance the idea of the lesser position of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch women, as in all groups, women achieve higher education levels more than men.

Figure 4.1 Education levels



Source: CBS, Jaarrapport Integratie 2012: 88

Table 4.1 Inflow into higher education (in average percentages of population groups at the age of entering higher education)

	Moroccan Dutch		Turkish Dutch		Ethnic Dutch	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
Entering HBO or university						
2003/'04	34	31	26	28	49	56
2011/'12	37	48	39	49	55	60
Entering university						
2011/'12	8	12	9	11	19	22

Source: CBS, Jaarrapport Integratie 2012: 85

The position of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch in the job-market is precarious, which has become particularly apparent in the current economic crisis, both for

the higher and lower educated (Huijnk, Gijsberts and Dagevos 2014: 43; see also Vasta 2007). Around 10% of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch with an *HBO* or university diploma are unemployed, versus the 5% of the higher educated ethnic Dutch. Among the lower educated the difference is even larger. Unemployment among the lower educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch is over 20% and 15%, respectively, while only over 5% of the lower educated ethnic Dutch are unemployed.

Sociocultural dimensions among the second generation

As the incorporation of immigrants is not only assessed in socioeconomic terms, but also – and as we saw, even more so – in sociocultural terms, I discuss various aspects of the sociocultural position of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, focusing on social interactions, language and specific practices, as well as aspects that are central to the culturalist discourse and relate to normative demands placed on immigrants: religiosity and progressive norms. I compare the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch and consider developments over time. I also analyze if the higher educated differ from the lower educated. The description is partly based on the TIES data, which focuses specifically on the second generation and enables me to compare the lower and higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. The description is furthermore based on data from the national research body SCP (Netherlands Institute for Social Research), as published in the report written by Huijnk and Dagevos (2012). This data contain longitudinal information about the first and second generations combined and some information about the differences between the first and second generations. The data of TIES and the SCP are partly complementary and partly overlapping and reveal rather similar pictures.

Social interactions

Moroccan and Turkish Dutch appear to have a strong social orientation towards both co-ethnics and people with other ethnic minority backgrounds, such as ethnic Dutch. This refutes the idea that a strong co-ethnic orientation precludes a strong orientation towards ethnic Dutch. When asked about the ethnicity of their three best friends, over half of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch second generation TIES respondents indicate that the majority of these three best friends are co-ethnic: 63% of the Turkish Dutch and 55% of the Moroccan Dutch respondents have two or even three best friends who are co-ethnic. 92% of the Turkish Dutch and 85% of the Moroccan Dutch who are in a relationship have a partner with a co-ethnic background. When we zoom in on their broader networks of friends, the picture is more diverse. For both categories, only 18% indicate that ‘most’ of their current friends are co-ethnic. The SCP data are rather similar. They reveal a co-ethnic focus for people who are close, such as best friends and partners (p. 60, 62), but at the same time, 74% of the second generation Moroccan Dutch and 82% of the Turkish Dutch indicate that they have a lot of contact with ethnic Dutch in their leisure time (p. 59). The majority of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch respondents indicate that they also have leisure

time contacts with people from other ethnic minority backgrounds (p. 61). The ethnic Dutch appear to lead the most segregated lives; 38% of the ethnic Dutch SCP respondents in the four largest cities (where most ethnic minorities live) hardly ever have contact with ethnic minorities (p. 63).

The Turkish Dutch second generation TIES respondents are slightly more oriented towards co-ethnic others than the Moroccan Dutch, although this difference is only significant with regards to their best friends (see values for gamma and levels of probability in Appendix B). Education level significantly influences the ethnic composition of the social network. Lower educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch TIES respondents more often have co-ethnic friendships and a co-ethnic partner than higher educated respondents. Whereas 43% of the lower educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch (taken together) have three best friends who are all co-ethnic, this percentage is 27% among those who attended or graduated from higher vocational education (*HBO*) or university. Regarding their broader network of friends, 22% of the lower educated have friends who are 'mostly' co-ethnic, against 10% of the higher educated. Offering an explanation, Entzinger and Dourleijn point to the different compositions of the student populations at higher education levels (with relatively few ethnic minority students) and lower education levels (with relatively many ethnic minority students). The SCP data show that social contact with ethnic Dutch has not increased over the years, contrary to what we would have expected based on straight-line ideas of incorporation. The various indicators reveal that this has remained roughly the same or has (slightly) decreased (p. 53, 54, 56).

Language

Regarding language, we observe a development towards adaptation. The SCP data shows that the use of the Dutch language at home has steadily increased among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch since the end of the nineties, and that their language proficiency has improved (p. 65-72). This is the case both among Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, although the Moroccan Dutch speak Dutch at home more often and report a higher proficiency (*ibid.*). The TIES data confirms this difference between the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Whereas two thirds of the Moroccan Dutch second generation respondents mostly speak Dutch with their friends (68%) and siblings (66%), this is the case for only one third of the Turkish Dutch (33% and 29%). Consequently, this difference in language use is reflected in a significant difference in proficiency: more Moroccan Dutch respondents than Turkish Dutch respondents report that they speak Dutch excellently (57% and 45% respectively). Turkish Dutch are more fluent in their parents' language than the Moroccan Dutch; 47% of the Turkish Dutch indicate they speak their parents' language very good or excellent, compared to 37% of the Moroccan Dutch respondents who feel this way.

Higher educated second generation TIES respondents speak Dutch more often with their friends than those who are lower educated, which is not surprising

considering the composition of their social networks. With their friends, 63% of the higher educated speak mostly Dutch, whereas among the lower educated, this percentage is 42%. This is also the case for their communication with siblings. This difference in language use is reflected in their proficiency. Higher educated respondents more positively report about their Dutch language skills than lower educated, whereas the lower educated report slightly higher proficiency in their parents' language than the higher educated.

Other practices

When we look at other aspects, again we see that the Turkish Dutch second generation have a stronger co-ethnic orientation than the Moroccan Dutch. Second generation Turkish Dutch TIES respondents watch co-ethnic television channels more often than Moroccan Dutch respondents, they go out to places where second generation youth gathers more often, they visit the country of their parents more often, and they participate in organizations with a co-ethnic signature more often. Differences between the lower and higher educated are less pronounced. The lower educated watch co-ethnic television channels significantly more often and also participate in organizations with a co-ethnic signature significantly more.

Religiosity

Over the last decennia, the Netherlands changed from one of the worlds' most religious societies to one of the most secular (Van Rooden 2004 in Uitermark, Mepschen and Duyvendak 2014: 246). In such a secular society, the religiosity of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch stands out. While, according to the SCP data, less than half of the ethnic Dutch (45%) see themselves as belonging to a religion (nearly all are Christian), among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, 98% and 95% respectively see themselves as religious, nearly all Islamic (p. 78). The TIES data reveal that the difference between the ethnic categories is even larger among the younger generation. 90% of the Moroccan and 88% of the Turkish Dutch TIES respondents have a religion, whereas this is only 20% among the ethnic Dutch TIES respondents. Nearly all religious second generation TIES respondents are Muslim (98% and 97%), while most of the religious ethnic Dutch respondents are Christian (82%; 11% choose the category 'Other'). Although equal shares of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch respondents call themselves religious, the level of religiosity appears higher among the Moroccan than the Turkish Dutch. More often, Moroccan Dutch respondents totally agree with the statement that they see their religion as an important part of themselves (56% versus 48%); more often, they indicate that they pray more than once a day more often (49% versus 13%); and (slightly) more often, they agree with the view that religion should be represented in politics and society (28% versus 24%). Moroccan Dutch respondents do not visit the mosque more often. Slightly more Moroccan women wear a headscarf (42% versus 37%), but this difference is not significant. In short, on average, Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch are much more religious than ethnic Dutch, and Moroccan Dutch even more so than Turkish Dutch. This is

supported by the SCP data (p. 78-81). There is no evidence that religiosity among Moroccan and Turkish Dutch is decreasing; religious attendance has even increased in the last decennium for both ethnic categories (ibid: 80).

The higher educated hardly differ from the lower educated in their religiosity. 93% of the higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch second generation TIES respondents have a religion versus 89% of the lower educated. They do not significantly differ from the lower educated in the personal significance they attach to their religion, how often they pray or how often they visit the mosque. However, the lower educated want religion to be represented in politics and society more often than the higher educated, and the lower educated second generation women wear headscarves (46%) more often than the higher educated (29%).

Progressive norms

Moroccan and Turkish Dutch are not only more religious, but they are also more traditional than the ethnic Dutch, specifically in their attitudes regarding gender roles, homosexuality, ethical issues such as abortion and euthanasia, and 'traditional' values such as respect for parents, obedience, courtesy, and conservatism. The SCP data show that around a quarter of both ethnic categories agree with traditional gender statements, compared with around 10% of the ethnic Dutch (Huijnk and Dagevos 2012: 72). 28% of both ethnic minority categories approve of same-sex marriage, whereas among the ethnic Dutch respondents this is 80% (p. 76). Regarding abortion and euthanasia, Moroccan and Turkish Dutch are also more traditional than ethnic Dutch (p. 74). Another study shows that Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have much more appreciation for traditional values such as respect and obedience than ethnic Dutch (Entzinger and Dourleijn 2008: 47).

Regarding these various norms, Moroccan Dutch are not clearly more traditional than Turkish Dutch or vice versa. It is only with regard to traditional values such as respect and obedience that the Turkish Dutch are more traditional than the Moroccan Dutch (Entzinger and Dourleijn 2008: 47). According to the SCP data, there is no notable difference in progressiveness between the first and second generations except regarding euthanasia and abortion (ibid.: 73, 75, 76). This does not mean, however, that there are no developments over time. Measured between 1998 and 2011, the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have become (slightly) more progressive (ibid.: 73). Entzinger and Dourleijn's data also indicate that Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have become (slightly) more progressive over time, with regards to partner choice and 'traditional' values such as respect and obedience. Furthermore, the data of the Integration Report 2009 (Gijsberts and Dagevos 2009) show that (children of) Turkish and Moroccan immigrants had more progressive values in 2006 than in 1998, for example with regard to 'modern values' such as individualization, emancipation and secularization.

Zooming in on the second generation, the TIES data show that the Moroccan and Turkish second generation respondents are more traditional than the ethnic Dutch, but the gap varies for different norms. The differences are smaller regarding gender roles than abortion and female sex before marriage (see table 4.2). It is possible that their religious interpretations leave more room for emancipation for women than for issues like abortion and sexuality. Furthermore, in all ethnic groups, the higher educated are more progressive than the lower educated. For the norms regarding gender roles, it appears that the higher educated second generation Turkish and Moroccan Dutch are at least as progressive as the lower educated ethnic Dutch, sometimes even as progressive as the higher educated ethnic Dutch. This is also the case among the SCP respondents (p. 73).

Table 4.2 Answers to normative progressive statements (in % of the category)

	Mor	Tur	CG	Mor & Tur		CG	
	Total	Total	Total	Lower	Higher	Lower	Higher
Women having sex before marriage ('always acceptable')	27	22	90	24	27	85	93
Abortion for medical reasons ('always acceptable')	35	33	78	28	45	70	83
Women with small children can work outside the house ('(totally) agree')	53	51	70	48	57	56	79
It is okay if women in leading positions have authority over men ('(totally) agree')	85	80	94	77	92	90	97
Study and higher education are equally important for women and men ('(totally) agree')	91	91	95	87	98	93	97

Source: TIES data for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

4.3 Summary

The Netherlands has experienced a turnaround in integration politics in the last two decennia. The Dutch landscape has become increasingly culturalist. This means that integration and citizenship – not in juridical terms but in defining who belongs and who does not – are framed in terms of the incompatibility of cultures and the defense of a 'Dutch culture'. Increasingly, assimilative demands are placed on non-western immigrants and have become conditions for belonging. Immigrants (and their offspring) are not only required to internalize progressive cultural norms, but also to express an emotional and identificational attachment to Dutch society. The demand for moral and emotional assimilation coincides with an essentialized view that presents Islam as intrinsically incompatible with being a Dutch citizen and equates 'Moroccan' with being Muslim. (Although Turkish Dutch are also predominantly Muslim, they are less explicitly targeted in the political debates.) The culturalist demands have been accompanied by an increasingly exclusivist language and with a nativist conception of citizenship,

which reduces immigrants and their (grand-) children to second-class citizens. Remembering the reflections in Chapter 2 on national identities and the creation of the ethnic Other as part of the politics of the nation-state, we see that the Dutch culturalist discourse fits these political mechanisms. The national identity takes shape through defining who does *not* belong to the nation, the cultural Other. In the Dutch case, the divide is formulated in terms of progressiveness, contrasted with 'the cultures' of ethnic and religious Others, who are portrayed as backwards and intolerant and hence incompatible with European secular modernity. In other countries, similar framings have emerged, which center on the supposed incongruity of national citizenship with Islam; as Uitermark, Mepschen and Duyvendak show based on a range of international literature (2014: 236).

The changing landscape of integration politics formed the backdrop of the lives of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants and their children in the Netherlands. How are they faring in terms of their structural and sociocultural positions? In the structural domain, we see that considerable numbers of second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch overcome their lower-class backgrounds and reach high levels of education. However, due to a large percentage that remains in the lower strata, the second generation still lags behind the average of the ethnic Dutch.

Also in the sociocultural domain, the picture is characterized by variation. In some respects, we see that the differences between the ethnic Dutch and the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have slowly decreased over time. The use of the Dutch language and the levels of proficiency among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have increased in the last decennium. Furthermore, the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have become slightly more progressive over time, although they are still substantially less progressive than the average ethnic Dutch. This is also the case when we focus solely on the second generation. With regard to religiosity and social relations, the figures show no developments. Religion plays an important role in the lives of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, also for the second generation. This strongly contrasts with the ethnic Dutch, who are relatively secular. The Moroccan and Turkish Dutch combine a strong social orientation towards co-ethnics with friendships and frequent leisure time contact with people from other ethnic backgrounds, such as ethnic Dutch.

We should be careful with generalizations. Despite the commonalities between the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, Turkish Dutch on average show a stronger co-ethnic sociocultural orientation than the Moroccan Dutch. On the other hand, Moroccan Dutch appear to be more religious; however, they are not notably more or less progressive. These pictures also apply when we solely focus on the second generation. Next to ethnic background, education level also makes a difference. For example, the higher educated have more friendships with ethnic Dutch, report a higher usage of the Dutch language and better Dutch language skills. In all ethnic groups, including the ethnic Dutch, the higher educated are more

progressive than the lower educated. Among the second generation, this particularly applies to gender roles and traditional values such as respect and obedience. The higher educated second generation sometimes even equals (or surpasses) the average levels of progressiveness among the ethnic Dutch.

In my view, the assumption that a country really needs attitudinal uniformity among all its citizens needs serious reconsideration. Nevertheless, those who propagate cultural assimilation out of fear that an incongruence of different cultures impedes the incorporation of people with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds, can feel somewhat reassured. Conceptions of 'the' Moroccan and Turkish cultures as static and incongruent are contradicted by the differences between the Turkish and Moroccan Dutch (the latter are more negatively portrayed but actually show a smaller sociocultural distance), the shifts over time, and the differences between the lower and higher educated. These observations refute the idea that a 'cultural distance' is an inherent reality for all Muslims, and that 'Muslims' form a homogeneously traditional group. In the next chapters, I further explore the affiliations and orientations of the higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch.

5. 'Am I Dutch? Yes. Am I Moroccan? Yes.' Two dimensions of self- identification explored

How do second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers identify in terms of ethnic and national labels? And what does feeling 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' and 'Dutch' mean to them?

In the previous chapter we read that in the Netherlands an integration discourse gained ground that increasingly demanded immigrants to assimilate in sociocultural terms. This included an emotional identification with the Netherlands, which is often formulated to be in opposition to identification as 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish'. In chapter 2, we have read that such groupist views also occasionally slip into academic studies, often unintentionally. As I explained, in these groupist views, identification with someone's ethnicity is 'assumed to be an automatic instance of retention' (Gans 1997: 881), or even seen as an automatic consequence of 'cultural stuff' and a cohesive ethnic community. Therefore, like in the Dutch integration discourse, ethnic identification is often assumed to threaten one's incorporation into the society of residence. As an illustration, I mentioned the Dutch discussion about double nationalities in 2012, which was rooted in the fear that having a double nationality suppresses 'loyalty' to Dutch society and hampers 'integration'. This fear is based on 'thick' and comprehensive notions of identification and culture, and on the view that ethnic and national orientations are mutually exclusive. How accurate is this assumption that ethnic and national identifications reflect a broader sociocultural orientation? In other words, how accurate is the assumption that identification with a specific label reflects a certain content?

In this chapter I analyze to what extent this is the case among the higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. I first focus on their identifications. Do the second generation climbers that I study identify with the ethnic labels at all, or did their ethnic identification wane throughout their climbs? How accurate is the assumption that ethnic identification threatens their national identification? I then study what it means when they identify as 'Moroccan' or

‘Turkish’, or as ‘Dutch’. To what extent does identification with a label reflect a broader sociocultural content?

Let us look at some expressions of ethnic and national identifications in the in-depth interviews:

Am I Dutch: Yes. Am I Moroccan: Yes. I think I’m even more Dutch than Moroccan. But I have elements of both. (Imane)

(...) whereas inside, I feel like a Dutch Moroccan, both. (Ahmed)

Marieke: Do you think of yourself as – do you feel ‘Dutch’?

Karim: Yes.

Marieke: Are you ‘Dutch’?

Karim: Yes.

Marieke: AND ‘Moroccan’?

Karim: Yes.

Marieke: More... or less...?

Karim: Less. Less. Less Moroccan. I am ALSO Moroccan. But less. Uh... I don’t want to be called Moroccan anymore, actually. Let’s just say I’m a critical Dutchman.

I think I’m, well... (coughs) – in my way of thinking, I’m sixty percent Dutch, and I can’t let go of that forty percent (...) Because when I am in Turkey I feel REALLY Dutch. But when I am here, I CANNOT say I feel REALLY Turkish. (...) So, I think that is why I make the Turkish part smaller. (Esra)

All participants expressed, either spontaneously or in response to explicit questions, that they feel Moroccan or Turkish. Also, they said they feel Dutch. Some described these identifications in hierarchical terms, while others did not. Only Nathalie stated that she solely identifies with the Dutch label, which is partly related to her mixed ethnic background:

Marieke: And earlier, you said – uh...: ‘I am Dutch’. You are – When I ask you about your ethnicity: then you say you are Dutch?

Nathalie: Yes. Yes, absolutely. I have a Moroccan father and a Dutch – um – Polish mother.

Marieke: And you would never consider calling yourself Moroccan?

Nathalie: No.

Marieke: Or Polish?

Nathalie: No – yes, exactly! That’s also another thing... What are you then? Moroccan or Polish? No.

It is hard to compare the participants’ identifications with each other because no absolute measures were used in the in-depth interviews to assess the strength of

these identifications. The TIES data offers this possibility. Based on the TIES data, we can study how larger selections of higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch report on their ethnic and national identifications in a structured survey. We can analyze for a larger group to what extent ethnic and national identifications are combined, and test the assumption that the two dimensions are zero-sum. We can also study whether differences exist between the higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, and between men and women, and if higher educated differ from lower educated. This will be discussed in the first part of the chapter, which focuses on the levels of identification among the TIES respondents (5.1).

In the second and third part of the chapter, I explore the relation between label and content. I explore what it means if people identify as Moroccan or Turkish, based on the TIES data (5.2) and on the in-depth interviews (5.3). I explore to what extent it is true that identification with the ethnic label reflects a broader sociocultural co-ethnic orientation, or even reflects an orientation towards an internally coherent, bounded 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' culture. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the findings, reflecting on the adequacy of objectivist views, as they dominate in the Dutch discourse and occur in scholastic literature, to capture phenomena such as ethnic and national identifications (5.4).

5.1 Identification with the ethnic and national labels

As we have read in chapter 2, theories on immigrant incorporation vary in the relevance and role they attach to ethnic identification. Classical models depart from the idea that ethnic identification becomes less relevant throughout processes of incorporation. Segmented assimilation argues that upwards mobility does not preclude ethnic identification, as for many, a co-ethnic orientation provides crucial resources for their mobility. I start the exploration of my empirical data with an analysis of the strength of ethnic identification among higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. I also analyze to what extent ethnic identification is combined with identification with the national label 'Dutch'. Are these two dimensions zero-sum? In the quotes above, we already saw that in the in-depth interviews, nearly all participants identified in ethnic terms. We also saw that in these cases, this was always combined with them 'feeling Dutch'. Is this indicative for a larger group? How do ethnic background, gender and education levels influence the levels of ethnic and national identification?

Although the participants of the in-depth interviews are university educated, the selection for the statistical analyses also contains TIES respondents with higher vocational education (*HBO*) (see table 5.1) to ensure a large enough selection.

This is also why the selection of higher educated ('HE') respondents includes both respondents who have completed their degrees at these levels of education and respondents who are currently enrolled in higher education. Considering the composition of the TIES data, the TIES respondents are generally younger than the participants of the in-depth interviews, who are all over 30 years old. The statistical analyses only include respondents whose parents are *both* born in Morocco or Turkey, to avoid discussions on the effect of having a mixed ethnic background. It turns out that having a mixed ethnic background significantly influences one's ethnic identification (see Appendix C, tables 1 and 2). This is not surprising because for people with mixed ethnic backgrounds, their Moroccan or Turkish origins are only half of their ethnic stories, as Nathalie's quote illustrated. The effect of a mixed ethnic background is not a theme of this study.

**Table 5.1 Composition of sample higher educated respondents¹
(in % of the total ethnic category)**

	Mor	Tur	CG
Total Higher Educated (N) (=100%)	123	125	308
Male (%)	46	54	47
Female (%)	54	46	53
Higher vocational (HBO) (%)	75	72	47
University (%)	25	28	53
Still in school (%)	76	65	41
Finished (with diploma) (%)	24	35	59
Age <30 (%)	92	81	61
Age 30+ (%)	8	19	39
Average age	23.4	24.9	27.8

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds; excluded are 13 Moroccan and 7 Turkish Dutch higher educated respondents with mixed ethnic backgrounds.

'CG' = Control group, consisting of ethnic Dutch respondents. Higher educated = HBO+.

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

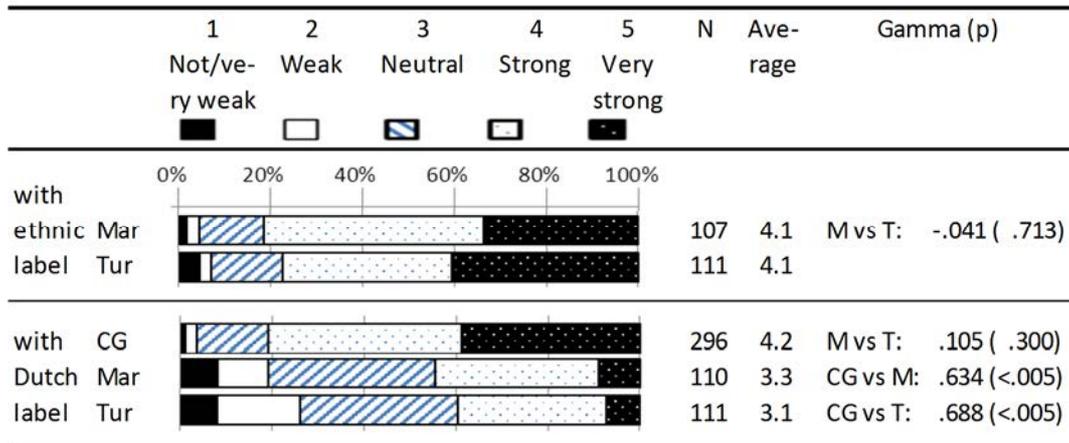
Levels of ethnic and national identification

The TIES questionnaire contained several questions about one's affiliation with certain labels. The questions that relate to ethnic and national identification are: 'To what extent do you feel Moroccan/ Turkish?' and 'To what extent do you feel Dutch?' The answering options ranged from not at all/very weak (value: 1) to very strong (value: 5). The results for the three ethnic categories in the survey are displayed in table 5.2. As we do not know what the answers meant to the individual respondents, I do not attach broader meanings to the answers given to

'Am I Dutch? Yes. Am I Moroccan? Yes.'
Two dimensions of self-identification explored

these questions on identification. The answers are solely seen as expressions of affiliations with a certain label.

Table 5.2 Strength of identification with ethnic and national labels (HE, per ethnic category)¹



1) Only HE respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)
Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

The first observation is that the higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch more strongly identify with their ethnic labels than with the Dutch label. Among both groups, around eighty percent have a strong affiliation with the ethnic label, whereas around forty percent feel strongly Dutch. The respondents' affiliations with the ethnic label do not differ between the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch ($\gamma = -.041$; $p = .713$).ⁱ The strength of ethnic identification among the second generation respondents is nearly equal to the control group's identification as Dutch. As for the latter, the label Dutch does not only refer to their country of residence but also to their ethnicity, we can say that ethnic identifications are roughly equally strong for all three ethnic groups.

The second observation is that the higher educated second generation respondents identify relatively weakly with the label Dutch. Not only is their affiliation with the Dutch label weaker than their ethnic identification, but their affiliation with the label Dutch is also much weaker than the affiliation of the ethnic Dutch respondents. This applies to both the Moroccan Dutch respondents ($\gamma = .634$, $p < .005$) and the Turkish Dutch respondents ($\gamma = .688$, $p < .005$). Moroccans identify slightly stronger as Dutch than Turkish Dutch, but this difference is not significant ($\gamma = .105$, $p = .300$). This does not mean that their identifications as Dutch overall are weak, as around 40% of the Moroccan and Turkish participants indicated that they feel Dutch to a strong extent and roughly three-quarters feel Dutch in a neutral or strong way.

In addition, the data shows that these identifications among the higher educated do not significantly differ from the lower educated. That means that the difference in sociocultural orientation between lower and higher educated individuals as described in the previous chapter is not reflected in the identifications with the ethnic and national label. Although the higher educated participants (HBO+) identify slightly weaker with their ethnic labels than the lower educated TIES respondents, these differences are only small and are not significant (see table 5.3). Among both the lower and higher educated Moroccan Dutch, 82% have strong ethnic identifications. For the Turkish Dutch, these percentages among the lower and higher educated are 81% and 78%. In their identifications with the Dutch label, the differences are even smaller.

Table 5.3 Differences between higher (HBO+) and lower educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch (per ethnic category)¹

Ident. with	Edu (HBO+ or lower)	1 Not/very weak	2 Weak	3 Neutral	4 Strong	5 Very strong	N (=100%)	Mean	Gamma (p)	
Mor	Ethnic label	lower	2%	2%	13%	37%	45%	231	4.2	-.163 (.085)
		HBO+	2%	3%	14%	48%	34%	107	4.1	
	NL label	lower	11%	10%	39%	26%	14%	237	3.2	.029 (.731)
		HBO+	8%	11%	36%	35%	9%	110	3.3	
Tur	Ethnic label	lower	2%	3%	15%	31%	50%	255	4.2	-.143 (.121)
		HBO+	5%	3%	15%	37%	41%	111	4.1	
	NL label	lower	11%	13%	39%	28%	9%	247	3.1	.015 (.864)
		HBO+	8%	18%	34%	32%	7%	111	3.1	
CG	NL label	lower	2%	2%	15%	39%	42%	168	4.2	.035 (.661)
	HBO+	1%	3%	16%	42%	39%	296	4.1		

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

**Table 5.4 Combinations of ethnic and national identification¹
(in % of the total higher educated ethnic selection)**

	Mor (N=104)	... with Dutch label			Tur (N=109)	... with Dutch label		
		Weak	Neutral	Strong		Weak	Neutral	Strong
... with ethnic label	Weak ²	2%	0%	3%	Weak	5%	0%	2%
	Neutral	0%	10%	4%	Neutral	4%	7%	5%
	Strong	17%	26%	38%	Strong	17%	27%	34%

1) Only HE respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

2) 'Weak' includes 'not at all', 'very weak' and 'weak'; 'Strong' includes 'strong' and 'very strong'

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

Furthermore, a strong identification as Moroccan or Turkish does not preclude identification as Dutch (see table 5.4). Roughly 75% of the higher educated second generation combine a neutral to strong ethnic and a neutral to strong

national identification. Around a third of the second generation higher educated respondents even combined a strong ethnic identification with a strong identification as Dutch. There is no significant correlation between ethnic and national identifications, either among Moroccan Dutch ($r = -.067$, $p = .497$) or Turkish Dutch higher educated respondents ($r = .153$, $p = .113$).

Gender and education

Regarding the identification with the ethnic label, the large majority of the higher educated second generation is in unison. Over two thirds of both ethnic categories (very) strongly identify with the ethnic label. However, this still means that one third identifies with the ethnic label less strongly. Around five percent do not identify with their ethnicity at all or only identify with it weakly. Regarding identification as 'Dutch', both groups show even more variation. In both groups, around forty percent identify as Dutch (very) strongly, around a third take a neutral position. 19% of the higher educated Moroccan Dutch and 26% of the higher educated Turkish Dutch feel weakly or not at all Dutch. Do gender and education level explain these variations within the two ethnic categories of higher educated respondents?

Gender and the difference between HBO and university do not explain these variations. Male respondents, again focusing on the higher educated with mono-ethnic backgrounds, identify similarly to female respondents, in all ethnic categories (see Appendix C, table 3). Differences between men and women in their levels of identification with the ethnic and national labels are small and not significant. Furthermore, no significant differences exist between the identifications of the HBO-educated and the university educated respondents (see Appendix C, table 4).

Summary: identification with the ethnic and national labels

This section explored the identifications of higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch TIES respondents, focusing on how strongly these respondents affiliate with the labels 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' and 'Dutch'. Respondents with a mixed ethnic background were excluded from the analysis. The answers to the questions "To what extent do you feel Moroccan/Turkish?" and "To what extent do you feel Dutch?" lead to several conclusions:

1. The higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch identify relatively strongly with the ethnic labels. Their ethnic identifications are stronger than their identifications as Dutch. All three ethnic groups have similar levels of ethnic identification; which for the ethnic Dutch is identification as 'Dutch'. The ethnic identification among the higher educated is not significantly lower than for lower educated respondents.

2. The higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch identify relatively weakly with the label 'Dutch'; this identification is much weaker than how they identify in ethnic terms and much weaker than the control group's identification as Dutch. However, for a large majority, their identification as Dutch is not weak. The higher educated respondents do not significantly stronger identify as Dutch than the lower educated respondents.
3. Ethnic and national identifications are not zero-sum in character. Many of the higher educated second generation respondents combine a neutral or even (very) strong identification on one dimension with a neutral or (very) strong identification on the other dimension.
4. Variations among the higher educated second generation respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds cannot be explained by ethnicity (Moroccan versus Turkish), gender or education level (HBO versus university).

The findings that are based on the TIES data match the participants' expressions in the in-depth interviews. All participants mentioned that they feel Moroccan or Turkish; except for Nathalie, who has a mixed ethnic background. In addition, all participants indicated that they also feel Dutch.

The results of this section raise some questions. Apparently, that higher educated on average have a weaker sociocultural co-ethnic orientation, as shown in the previous chapter, does not mean that they also identify weaker with the ethnic label. The same applies to the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Apparently, that the Turkish Dutch have a stronger co-ethnic orientation and the Moroccan Dutch are more strongly oriented towards the broader Dutch society is not reflected in a stronger ethnic identification for the higher educated Turkish Dutch, nor for a stronger identification as Dutch for the higher educated Moroccan Dutch. (Elsewhere, I have shown this also applies to larger selections of TIES respondents, which include lower educated) (Slootman 2012). In the two next sections, I explore what it means when individuals identify with the ethnic labels, based on the TIES data (5.2) and the data of the in-depth interviews (5.3).

5.2 Label and content among the TIES respondents

What does it mean when individuals identify with the labels 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish'? Does identification as 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' reflect a broader sociocultural orientation, an embedding in an internally homogeneous, externally bounded culture, what Barth calls 'cultural stuff'? In the light of these questions, it is interesting to compare the higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Given the stronger co-ethnic sociocultural orientation of the higher educated

Turkish Dutch, based on the idea that identification reflects sociocultural content, it would stand to reason that higher educated members of its second generation identify *more strongly* with their ethnic label than the Moroccan Dutch. However, as we saw above, the TIES data reveal *no difference* between higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch ($\gamma = -.041, p = .713$). When asked about their self-identification with the ethnic labels, higher educated members of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch second generations respond similarly, whereas in the realm of sociocultural practices, Moroccan Dutch are less oriented towards their ethnic group. Can this difference teach us more about the meaning(s) of ethnic identification?

Before I analyze the relationship between the identification with ethnic labels and sociocultural 'stuff' among the higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, I first describe the variables that are used as indicators of these sociocultural orientations. I selected variables from the TIES database that can be seen as indications of a co-ethnic orientation: an orientation towards co-ethnics, towards practices that are associated with the 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' culture and towards Morocco or Turkey. These variables resemble most of the indicators that Phinney identified as the most widely used indicators of ethnic identity, which are language, friendship, social organizations, religion, cultural traditions and politics; all express some sort of 'involvement in the social life and cultural practices of one's ethnic group' (1990: 505). Based on the in-depth interviews, I added three variables on morality to this selection. As we will see in section 5.3, some participants described their identifications in terms of mentality. The additional variables are an attempt to include the component of mentality in the quantitative analysis. These three variables reflect three aspects of a 'progressive' attitude. In line with the definition of Dutch identity in terms of progressive standards (described in chapter 4), many of the participants see more progressive norms as central to 'the' Dutch culture and as antipodal to 'the' Moroccan/Turkish culture. In total, 17 variables were selected for this analysis, organized into four themes (see table 5.5).

Analysis on these selected variables shows that, in support of the data presented in chapter 4, also for most of these variables, the higher educated Turkish Dutch TIES respondents on average have a stronger sociocultural co-ethnic orientation than the higher educated Moroccan Dutch respondents, which is reversed for religious variables (see Appendix C, tables 5a and 5b). Also, the higher educated have a less strong co-ethnic orientation than the lower educated second generation respondents, for both ethnic categories (Appendix C, tables 6a, 6b, 7a and 7b). Among the higher educated, gender does not significantly influence the co-ethnic orientations. In both ethnic categories, the differences between men and women are small and for most variables not significant (Appendix C, tables 8a, 8b, 9a and 9b). Again, the respondents with a mixed ethnic background were

excluded from these analyses, as this dimension affects one's co-ethnic social and cultural orientation but falls outside the scope of this book (see Appendix C, tables 10a and 10b).

Table 5.5 Variables selected as indicators of a sociocultural co-ethnic orientation

a. General co-ethnic practices

- Watching co-ethnic television channels
- Going out to places where second generation youths gather
- Number of visits to Morocco or Turkey in the last five years
- Participation in activities of co-ethnic oriented organizations

b. Language and social network

- Dutch language skills¹ (speaking, writing and reading)
- Skills in the language of parents¹ (speaking, writing and reading)
- Frequency of use of parental language (versus Dutch) with siblings, friends & partners
- Ethnicity of one's three best friends. Are they co-ethnic?
- Ethnicity of one's partner. Is he/she co-ethnic?

c. Religiosity

- Religious identification. 'To what extent do you feel Muslim?'
- The role that religion plays for someone as a person¹ (personal importance of religion, thinking about religion, and seeing oneself as a 'real' Muslim)
- Religious behavior¹ (fasting, eating halal, visiting the mosque)
- Wearing a headscarf (only for female respondents)
- Political religious norms¹ (the idea that religion should be represented in politics and society, and religion should be the ultimate political authority)
- Religious identification. 'To what extent do you feel Muslim?'

d. Progressive norms (are negatively associated with a co-ethnic orientation)

- Premarital sex for women is accepted
- Abortion for medical reasons is accepted
- Gender equality¹ (importance of education for women, appreciation of women working outside of the house when raising little children and valuing women in leadership positions).

1) Latent variable, composited of manifest variables using principal components analysis (PCA).

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

Ethnic identification reflecting 'cultural stuff'?

The following section unravels the associations between identification-with-ethnic-labels and sociocultural practices. The findings are discussed per theme: (a) general co-ethnic practices, (b) language and social network, (c) religiosity, and (d) progressive norms. For each theme, I first assess how the various sociocultural practices correlate with each other and form coherent wholes and successively examine the correlations between these variables and the identification with the ethnic labels.

a. General co-ethnic practices

Analyzing the coherence between the four variables included in this theme reveals that three of the six correlations are significant for the higher educated Turkish Dutch (see table 5.6). For example, those who watch Turkish channels more often also slightly more often attend parties frequented by second generation youths and take part in activities organized by Turkish-oriented organizations more frequently. Note that even though these associations are significant, the correlations are only weak, as the coefficients are all below .30. ⁱⁱ This means that those who watch Turkish television channels very frequently do not always also visit Turkey very frequently. At most, there is a slight tendency for those who watch Turkish television more often to also visit Turkey slightly more frequently. Among the higher educated Moroccan Dutch, these four practices show no significant inter-correlations.

An examination of the association between the co-ethnic practices and ethnic identification reveals that among the higher educated Turkish Dutch, two of the four practices are significantly correlated with ethnic identification. For the Moroccan Dutch, this correlation is significant for only one of the practices. Again, these correlations are not strong, with coefficients all below .30.

Table 5.6 Intercorrelations between general co-ethnic practices and ethnic identification (HE)¹

	TV	Out	Visit	Org
Moroccan Dutch				
Watching co-ethnic television	–			
Going-out with 2 nd gen	ns	–		
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	ns	ns	–	
Co-ethnic organizations	ns	ns	ns	–
Identification with ethnic label	ns	.25***	ns	Ns
Turkish Dutch				
Watching co-ethnic television	–			
Going-out with 2 nd gen	.20**	–		
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	ns	.26***	–	
Co-ethnic organizations	.27**	ns	ns	–
Identification with ethnic label	.22***	.28***	ns	ns

* p < 0.10 (2-tailed); ** p < 0.05 (2-tailed); *** p < 0.01 level (2-tailed) (all shaded gray)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

b. Language and social network

Looking at the inter-correlations between the variables on language and social network, we see that the variables show more coherence among higher educated Turkish Dutch than among higher educated Moroccan Dutch (see table 5.7). Also, for the Turkish Dutch, more variables correlate with ethnic identification. For example, those who have more best friends with Turkish backgrounds are more likely to speak Turkish more often, have slightly better Turkish language skills and slightly worse Dutch skills, and feel slightly more 'Turkish'. These correlations are weak to moderate. Among the Moroccan Dutch, ethnic identification is not significantly associated with these variables. Feeling Moroccan is only significantly correlated to Dutch language skills, surprisingly in a positive way – albeit only weakly.

Table 5.7 Intercorrelations between language, social network and ethnic identification (HE)¹

	Skills NL	Skills T/M	Use T/M	Coethn friends	Coethn partner
Moroccan Dutch					
Skills Dutch language	–				
Skills language parents	ns	–			
Use of language parents	ns	.63***	–		
Co-ethnic best friends	ns	ns	ns	–	
Co-ethnic partner	ns	.47**	.45**	ns	–
Identification with ethnic label	.18*	ns	ns	ns	ns
Turkish Dutch					
Skills Dutch language	–				
Skills language parents	.21**	–			
Use of language parents	-.23*	.45***	–		
Co-ethnic best friends	-.17*	.19**	.49***	–	
Co-ethnic partner	ns	ns	.32*	ns	–
Identification with ethnic label	ns	.35***	.25*	.19**	ns

* p < 0.10 (2-tailed); ** p < 0.05 (2-tailed); *** p < 0.01 level (2-tailed) (all shaded gray)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

c. Religiosity

Among both the higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, the religiosity variables show strong coherence which each other, having correlation coefficients exceeding .50 (see table 5.8). For the Turkish Dutch, religiosity in all respects – except for wearing a headscarf – significantly correlates with feeling Turkish. Among the Moroccan Dutch, the correlation between religious aspects and ethnic identification is slightly weaker. For them, ethnic identification is also

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positively correlated with stronger religiosity, but this relates more to emotional than behavioral aspects.

Table 5.8 Intercorrelations between religiosity variables and ethnic identification (HE)¹

	Muslim label	Personal role	Behavior	Headscarf	Political norms
Moroccan Dutch					
Identification with Muslim label	–				
Personal role of religion	.55***	–			
Religious behavior	.58***	.70***	–		
Headscarf (women)	.35***	.32**	.48***	–	
Political religious norms	.19**	.34***	.37**	ns	–
Identification with ethnic label	.41***	.29***	ns	ns	ns
Turkish Dutch					
Identification with Muslim label	–				
Personal role of religion	.66***	–			
Religious behavior	.63***	.63***	–		
Headscarf (women)	.37**	.46***	.61***	–	
Political religious norms	.42***	.44***	.40***	.35**	–
Identification with ethnic label	.61***	.48***	.33**	ns	.18*

* p < 0.10 (2-tailed); ** p < 0.05 (2-tailed); *** p < 0.01 level (2-tailed) (all shaded gray)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

Table 5.9 Intercorrelations between norms and ethnic identification (HE)¹

	Premari- tal sex	Abor- tion	Gender equality
Moroccan Dutch			
Premarital sex for women	–		
Abortion (medical reasons)	.43***	–	
Gender equality	ns	ns	–
Identification with ethnic label	ns	ns	ns
Turkish Dutch			
Premarital sex for women	–		
Abortion (medical reasons)	.42***	–	
Gender equality	.26***	.39***	–
Identification with ethnic label	-.18*	-.20**	ns

* p < 0.10 (2-tailed); ** p < 0.05 (2-tailed); *** p < 0.01 level (2-tailed) (all shaded gray)

1) Only respondents with a mono-ethnic background. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

d. Progressive norms

The analysis of the three progressive norms reveals a similar picture (see table 5.9). Again, for the higher educated Turkish Dutch, the three variables form a moderately coherent whole, whereas among the higher educated Moroccan Dutch, this coherence is largely absent. For the Turkish Dutch, ethnic identification is negatively correlated with a permissive attitude regarding premarital sex for women and regarding abortion, but for the higher educated Moroccan Dutch, ethnic identification is not associated with these norms.

Synthesis

Among the higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch TIES respondents, no strong correlation exists between identifications with the labels 'Turkish' and 'Moroccan' and sociocultural 'stuff'. When someone identifies more strongly with the ethnic label than someone else, this does not automatically mean he also has a stronger co-ethnic orientation with regard to specific practices and attitudes. This particularly applies to the Moroccan Dutch respondents. A stronger identification with the Moroccan label hardly correlates with the variables included in the analysis. Religious identification is the only variable that at least moderately correlates with the identification as Moroccan. The observation that identification with an ethnic label does not always reflect sociocultural content supports the findings of studies on other groups in other contexts, such as ethnic minority groups in Britain (Modood 1997) and Chinese Dutch in the Netherlands (Verkuyten and Kwa 1996).

The lack of strong associations among most sociocultural variables indicates that there is no such thing as an entirely shared and homogeneous culture. Of the four sub-themes, only religious 'stuff' can be said to form a relatively strongly coherent whole. Language and social network correlate moderately at most, while there is little coherence among the other co-ethnic practices and the progressive norms. This means that there is much more sociocultural diversity among the (higher educated) second generation than is generally assumed in the integration debate. The ideas, prominent in the Dutch integration discourse and implicit in some scholastic literature, that socio-cultural practices form coherent sets, that there is 'a Moroccan culture' and 'a Turkish culture' and that people are either totally oriented towards their ethnic culture or 'Dutch' culture, thus do not reflect reality; these ideas appeared particularly inaccurate among the Moroccan Dutch.

For the higher educated Turkish Dutch, the picture is somewhat different than for the higher educated Moroccan Dutch. The Turkish Dutch have a stronger co-ethnic orientation, and feeling Turkish does reflect a set of (moderately) cohesive sociocultural practices. A stronger identification with the Turkish label tends to correspond with (slightly) stronger co-ethnic and religious orientations and (slightly) less progressive norms. The meaning of ethnic identification differs

between the Turkish and Moroccan Dutch. Identification with the Turkish label, more than the identification with the Moroccan label, is an indication of a broader co-ethnic orientation. In other words: identification as Turkish is relatively 'thick', whereas identification as Moroccan is relatively 'thin'. I have shown elsewhere that these conclusions do not only apply to the higher educated but also apply to a larger selection of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch TIES respondents, including the lower educated (Slotman 2012).

The findings show that a groupist perspective is inaccurate to describe people's identifications and their broader sociocultural orientations. Identification with an ethnic label does not necessarily reflect a broader sociocultural orientation, let alone a coherent, bounded culture. Differences between the ethnic categories exist, but do not convey the full story. Large variations exist within certain categories, both between subsections (such as education level and having a mixed ethnic background), and between individuals. These analyses exemplify a more explorative use of statistical methods.

5.3 Label and content among the interview participants

We have seen that ethnic identification does not necessarily reflect a broader sociocultural orientation, at least with regard to the chosen indicators in the TIES database. The question remains: What does it mean when individuals identify in ethnic terms? Let us now turn to the in-depth interviews. How did the higher educated participants describe what it means to them to feel Moroccan or Turkish? What elements did they mention in their descriptions?

Whereas in the case of the quantitative, structured data, identification with the ethnic labels is easy to separate from identification with the label Dutch, these two dimensions are difficult to disentangle in the in-depth interviews. Accounts of feeling Moroccan or Turkish are interwoven with narratives of feeling Dutch. Descriptions of feeling Dutch are important for understanding what it means for someone to feel (more or less) Moroccan or Turkish – and vice versa. Leaving out these reflections on feeling Dutch would distort the descriptions of feeling Turkish or Moroccan. In this section, I explore what participants mean when they say they feel Moroccan, Turkish or Dutch.

The participants gave varying descriptions of their identifications (partly in response to explicit questions about what feeling Moroccan or Turkish means for them), with different levels of substantiveness. For example, let us compare the (somewhat condensed) self-descriptions of Karim, Imane, Berkant and Adem. We first look at Karim, who described what being Dutch means for him, explaining

why he does not feel strongly Moroccan. He mainly referred to some basic 'Dutch' mentality:

Marieke: What does it mean for you, being Dutch...? As far as this can be described...

Karim: Umm... I... – Let's say: it is a way of thinking. I somehow THINK Dutch, do you know what I mean? In my head, my thoughts have Dutch words. (...) I DID read large amounts of Dutch books, you know. That sort of becomes your 'heritage'. Um... Umm.... It is not that I celebrate Queensday, you know, but it is just the fact that I am Dutch... Yes, I feel I grew up Dutch – It is hard to explain. It is just that I THINK in Dutch; speak in Dutch. I also feel I have a very Dutch way of thinking. Quite... let's say... rational.

Marieke: In contrast with 'Moroccan'?

Karim: Yes. I think – less dogmas or something. In my view, everybody has to make his own choices, you know. So... well, I also have that 'phony tolerance' in me, you know. (...) So, I don't have these... dogmas. I'm more like: why would you, people in the mosques, be bothered about others?? Others that do not even visit the mosque, you know (laughs). Those people are no threat at all! Why judge them...? (...) I've always told my wife: 'Morocco is not my country', you know. The Netherlands is my country.

Imane listed her 'Dutch' and 'Moroccan' attributes. Like Karim, she referred to mentality, but she also discussed more tangible practices and the lack of a practical and emotional connection with Morocco.

But I have elements of both. My Dutch elements are for example: I can be pretty blunt; I am down to earth. In general, I feel I understand the Dutch quite well. My Moroccan elements are: I am a Muslim, although I have shaped this my own, personal way. And I love Moroccan food.

(...) Look, I was born here, and I haven't been to Morocco very often, and I don't even have really good memories about it. Although... I haven't been there for three years now, and I have started to miss things a bit. Although 'missing' might be too strong a word. Like the colors and smells, and a specific feeling... But I could never live and work there. Furthermore, well... obviously I speak Dutch; and Berber; and Moroccan Arabic. (Imane)

In describing his double affiliation, Berkant also referred to the emotional relation with the countries. Furthermore, he distinguished particular domains in which he feels more Turkish and in which he feels more Dutch.

The thing is... I've also lived in Turkey... I find – Every time when I arrive in Turkey, I think: 'Great!' The first days are always great. And every time I come back, here in the Netherlands, that feels great as well.

(...) There are separate 'domains'. For example music; Turkish music REALLY moves me; it makes me feel really good. My emotional domain is very Turkish, just as the more personal domain. I have been raised like that. I am not a distant person: when someone

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is at the door at six o'clock, I don't say: 'I am watching the news or I am having dinner, can you return later?'. We are inclusionary, I am very Turkish in this way, and I feel good about it. Regarding the business element, I am very Dutch. I am very formal, I can easily separate work and private life. I am the boss here. Look, the Turkish are really – the emotional side – it is hard for them to separate.

(...) Obviously, in some respects, I'm really more Turkish. That is, with emotions, sensitivity, passion. It is like that with – uh – soccer-teams... I love wearing orange to a Dutch soccer game as much as I enjoy watching Turkish matches. But the funny thing is, when Turkey wins, this affects me more. Maybe because the emotions are deeper; the Dutch side is always somewhat more formal. The emotions are just slightly different. But that's also – maybe I stretch it too far now... It also has to do with your family, with your roots... How can I say this... – The older you get, the more important your family becomes. It is just this feeling, because your parents – because when I visit my parents, this is my Turkish family; with Turkish traditions. (Berkant)

In emphasizing his Dutchness, Adem primarily referred to his practical involvement in Dutch society.

Marieke: And you for yourself? Do you feel Dutch?

Adem: I feel, I do MORE than enough for THIS country, more than the average Dutch person. And I would defend this country MORE than enough. And I DO. So, when THIS is the condition for being Dutch, I am Dutch for one thousand percent. When you refer to the situation of the Netherlands, or the neighborhood where you live, or the Dutch economy... – then I find it really important that the Netherlands is doing well. Because THAT's where I live. THAT's where my children will live. (...) I find it much more IMPORTANT that the Netherlands flourishes than Turkey. My own surroundings are most important. Clearly... Dutch in the sense of interests... community... um... atmosphere, and quality of life... in THAT sense I am Dutch. But when you talk about Dutch culture, then I'm not.

Marieke: In your... way of living... you feel Turkish...?

Adem: Well, that depends on what you call Turkish... Or Islamic... Or Islamic-Turkish or Turkish-Islamic... (...) Well, you don't need to ADAPT to the Dutch culture. But you should be informed about society, and you should participate, and understand what happens around here, and why. You don't have to deny or hide your own identity. No, you should stand up for it, that's my opinion!... But when you say: Dutch culture... No, that's not who I am. I – umm... What IS Dutch culture?? Wooden shoes? I could easily wear wooden shoes, if you like. I have no problems with that. Um..., but when you say: partying and drinking and that kind of stuff, when that's Dutch, then I am definitely not Dutch. But I do go out once and a while, I do go on holidays, I do attend parties, etcetera. I also have barbecues. If THAT is Dutch...: Yes, I DO that.

These accounts show that self-descriptions somewhat vary between participants. The participants referred to various components to describe what 'feeling Moroccan', 'feeling Turkish' and 'feeling Dutch' means for them. However, a

limited number of themes emerge from the participants' self-descriptions, of which some themes pop up frequently, whereas others are mentioned less often.

One of the themes mentioned most often is the theme of *mentality*. In describing their Dutch side, Karim and Imane both referred to ways of thinking, to a deep level of understanding. They mentioned their down-to-earth mentality and directness, even the 'phony tolerance' (or indifference), which they identify as truly 'Dutch' inclinations. In many interviews, individuality and independence were mentioned as attributes that participants really valued, which for them marked their Dutchness. For many, having liberal values and being accustomed to the (relative) absence of bureaucracy makes them realize how Dutch they feel, which they became particularly aware of when they were in Morocco or Turkey. Several participants brought up their appreciation of social cohesion, emotions, warmth and hospitality as typical expressions of their ethnic sides.

The theme of mentality frequently emerged in the interviews, among all categories of participants (Moroccan- and Turkish-Dutch, male and female). It was most often mentioned in descriptions of feeling Dutch and feeling Turkish; only once did a participant mention it when describing feeling Moroccan. It is also frequently used to describe why one *less* strongly identifies as Moroccan or Turkish. Berkant's account shows that aspects of mentality can be used simultaneously to explain feeling more and less Dutch and more and less Turkish. He used aspects of mentality to describe how he feels more Dutch (his formal business attitude) and more Turkish (his hospitality and emotionality), and also how he does not feel fully Turkish (he is not 'emotional' in the professional sphere). The emergence of this theme as a central component of identification-content led to my inclusion of the 'progressive norms' variables in the quantitative analyses.

Language was also repeatedly mentioned in the in-depth interviews. Apparently, not only one's fluency accounts for its importance, but also the instrumental role of language. In the interviews with the Moroccan Dutch respondents, language was mostly mentioned as an illustration of Dutchness or as an example that one does not feel fully Moroccan. For example, Nathalie's inability to speak the language of her Moroccan father is one of the reasons that she does not feel at home in Morocco, and this makes her feel less Moroccan. Like most of the other participants, Ahmed dreams and thinks in Dutch. His limited knowledge of the language of his parents means that he cannot express his deepest feelings in the Moroccan language, and this constrained his access to information about his Moroccan background. Karim not only explained that he thinks in the Dutch language but also suggested that thinking-in-Dutch for him is related to Dutch-ways-of-thinking. Furthermore, he feels closely connected to the Dutch heritage because he has always read Dutch books. This shows how language can strongly

relate to mentality. When Turkish Dutch participants mentioned language, it always referred to Turkish and was used to describe Turkish affiliations. The difference between the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants is that the Moroccan Dutch were more familiar with the Dutch language. In line with the results of the statistical analyses, the Moroccan Dutch interview participants generally spoke Dutch with their siblings and their co-ethnic peers, while this was not the case for the Turkish Dutch participants. The broad usage of Dutch among the Moroccan Dutch might explain the distinct role of language in the accounts of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Additionally, it could clarify why in the TIES data feeling Moroccan only correlates with the parental language, whereas feeling Turkish (moderate) correlates with both the parental language and the Dutch language.

When participants described their 'Dutch' and 'ethnic' sides, they occasionally mentioned the *bond with the countries*, both in emotional and practical respects; this was the case for Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, and for men and women. The quotes of Imane, Karim and Berkant show that they reflected on their relations to Morocco and Turkey. In reflecting on her ethnic side, Imane pondered about not visiting Morocco frequently and considered how she could never live and work there. Karim stated that Morocco 'is not my country'. Nathalie explained that the countries of her parents, Morocco and Poland, are not where she feels at home.

Nathalie: (...) I'm just Dutch. I feel REALLY Dutch!

Marieke: What does that mean? Can you describe it?

Nathalie: Well... It means that this is my home.. I would not KNOW how to behave... – look, there is one country – no, there are two countries where my family lives. And... yes... I occasionally go there on holiday... But it is not my home. – I don't understand the language...

In describing his Dutchness, Hicham reflected on the emotional bond he feels with the Netherlands.

Look at me: I am very loyal to the Netherlands. It is even that I somewhat feel like a sissy – I don't go on a transfer for a year or do a project abroad, because of the risk that I'll miss the Netherlands. Not only family, but that I'll just miss the Netherlands. It's also loyalty to small things, things you value in the Netherlands – (Hicham)

References to Morocco are made in a negative sense, to describe that one does not feel fully Moroccan. References to Turkey are generally more positive. Berkant explained that he feels at home both in Turkey and in the Netherlands, affirming his double identification. Adem's quote illustrated that the attachment with the Netherlands can also be rather practical. The Netherlands is important to him because it is the country where he lives, the society he contributes to and the place where his children's future lies. The lack of a (strong) correlation

between ethnic identification and the frequency of visits to Morocco or Turkey in the quantitative data might indicate that emotional bonds are not necessarily related to visiting the country in practice.

Like the quantitative analyses, the interviews reveal a strong association between feeling *Muslim* and feeling Moroccan and Turkish. Religion was never mentioned in relation to Dutchness, in either a positive or negative way. While some participants explicitly separate the religious and ethnic dimension and emphasize the prominence of their Muslim identification over their identification as Moroccan or Turkish, most participants describe religion as an aspect of their ethnicity and mention ethnicity and religiosity in one breath. Even those who do not feel (strongly) religious identify as Muslim because of their Moroccan or Turkish backgrounds. They would never feel (or say) they are not Muslim. The entwinement of religion with their parental culture makes them participate in some religious traditions, like Mustapha explains:

Later, I came to see religion as part of your culture again, like – it's just part of Moroccan culture. Some aspects are simply inescapable. You can't really say: I'm not a Muslim, I don't do Islam; because then you actually lose part of your identity. Because some things, like for example the Ramadan, or certain holidays – these are Islamic, but closely bound to culture. (Mustapha)

Specific *cultural practices* were mentioned in descriptions of feeling more or less Dutch, Turkish or Moroccan on only several occasions. The low frequency is surprising, considering the emphasis on 'ethnic involvement' in much of the research that Phinney evaluated (1990). This explains the qualitative findings that show that the 'general co-ethnic practices' are not – or are only weakly – correlated with ethnic identification. When such practices are mentioned in their self-descriptions, participants do not stress participation as much as emotional attachment. When participants describe feeling Turkish or Moroccan, they mention a love of Moroccan food, feeling deeply touched by Turkish music, or becoming (extra) fanatic when a Turkish football team plays. Many of the participants do not drink alcohol. This makes some feel 'less Dutch', whereas for others this not a relevant issue.

Occasionally, the theme of *birth and descent* popped up. The fact that one is born in the Netherlands is mentioned once or twice to describe that one feels Dutch. In describing her Dutchness, Imane referred to the fact that she was born here. Karim hates being addressed as Moroccan considering the fact that he was not born and raised in Morocco. Contrastingly, that his parents are from Turkey makes Berkant say he feels Turkish.

In the literature, *knowledge* is presented as another component of ethnic identification (Verkuyten 2005: 198-199). This theme pops up only sporadically in the interviews, most explicitly in the interview with Ahmed. Ahmed explains that his prior lack of knowledge about Morocco used to contribute to his relatively weak identification as Moroccan. For Esra, knowledge about the Turkish and Kurdish political situation heightened her orientation towards Turkey and the Kurdish people. When knowledge is mentioned, it is mentioned as *cause for* increasing ethnic identification rather than as a *component of* identification.

What did not pop up in participants' descriptions of their self-identifications is the *social network* (besides the family). According to Phinney, 'friendship' is regarded as a component of identification in many studies, which is why it is included in the quantitative analyses. However, in the in-depth interviews, friends are not mentioned in the descriptions of ethnic or Dutch identifications. The social environment is not absent from the interviews, but it is brought up as a reason why someone identifies in a certain way rather than as a component of identification. Ahmed mentions that his rather strong 'white' identification is the result of the primarily 'white' social environment of his childhood, youth and student time.

Synthesis

This section has shown how descriptions of feeling Moroccan, Turkish and Dutch vary between participants. Their descriptions not only vary in the components mentioned but also in thickness or substantiveness. It is clear that self-identification with the ethnic and national labels means different things for different people. Nevertheless, from the descriptions also various patterns can be distilled. The identifications were described in terms of mentality, language, bonds with the countries, religiosity, certain practices, birth and descent. The first three themes are most central in the participants' descriptions, as they were most frequently mentioned and emphasized and discussed more emotionally with the most detail. Religiosity was not always explicitly mentioned, but for many it is an inherent component of being Moroccan or Turkish. I will also briefly reflect on the relationship between ethnicity and religiosity in the next chapter. Knowledge and social network were mentioned as causes of certain identifications rather than aspects of identification. The descriptions vary in 'depth' or 'thickness'. Some describe their identifications in deeper and 'thicker' terms, in terms of mentality and emotions. Others describe their identifications primarily in more superficial, more instrumental and factual terms, such as residence, descent or holiday visits.

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The descriptions clarify why the combination of ethnic identification and identification as Dutch does not pose any problems for the participants; why

these dimensions of identification are not essentially zero-sum for them. For example, it is possible to describe both one's Dutch side in 'thick' terms of mentality (for example one's down to earth character and directness) as well as one's ethnic side (for example the level of interpersonal warmth and emotions). Even though the participants label most individual behaviors, attitudes and inclinations as cultural traits and describe these as either inherently 'Dutch' or inherently 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish', this does not apply to them as a person. As individuals, they are not one-or-the-other. Most of them combine traits that they associate with both sides. They do so in two ways: First, they combine non-conflicting traits ('Dutch' directness, 'Turkish' hospitality, or a love for 'Moroccan' food). Second, they combine traits in different domains (in the professional domain, one can feel really Dutch and value a certain personal distance whereas in the emotional domain or in raising one's children, one can feel really Turkish and value interpersonal involvement). The fact that traits are defined in oppositional ways, as being either inherently 'Dutch' or 'Moroccan/Turkish', explains why descriptions of feeling Moroccan or Turkish and feeling Dutch cannot be easily disentangled. Remarks about 'Dutch' traits feature in descriptions of feeling more or less 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' and vice versa.

Despite the differences between individuals, these findings seem to support the idea that Moroccan and Turkish Dutch identify with their ethnicity in different ways. Even though both Moroccan Dutch and Turkish Dutch participants describe feeling Dutch in terms of mentality and positive emotions relating to living in the Netherlands, the descriptions of their ethnic identifications differ. Turkish Dutch participants describe feeling Turkish in more intrinsic terms of mentality and emotions, whereas Moroccan Dutch hardly mention these intrinsic components when they describe feeling Moroccan. For Turkish-Dutch participants, Turkey and the Turkish language play a larger and more positive role than Morocco and Moroccan languages do for the Moroccan-Dutch participants.^{iv} This suggests that identification as Turkish is more substantive for the Turkish Dutch participants than identification as Moroccan is for the Moroccan Dutch. Although the large variation and small sample make these findings tentative, they are interesting because of their resonance with the quantitative findings.

Considering the gendered ideas on being a 'typical' or 'good' Moroccan or Turk, it is surprising that no clear differences appear in how men and women describe their identifications. For example, both men and women give attitudinal and emotional descriptions, and within both categories, varying significance is attached to their parental country. This echoes the quantitative findings, which also reveal hardly any differences between men and women.

5.4 Summary and reflection

Neither the TIES data nor the in-depth interviews support the idea that ethnic identification is weak for the higher educated second generation. Higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch do not differ from the lower educated second generation categories in how strongly they identify with the labels 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish'. Their ethnic identifications are relatively strong, surpassing the level of their identification with the label 'Dutch'. This does not mean that their identification as Dutch is weak. Only a small minority of the selected TIES respondents identify as Dutch weakly or not at all, and the descriptions of feeling Dutch in the in-depth interviews are relatively 'thick'. A great majority, of both the TIES respondents and the interview participants, combine a neutral or strong identification on both the ethnic and national dimensions.

Yet, it remains ambivalent what a strong ethnic identification means for these individuals. The TIES data show that ethnic identification does not necessarily reflect coherent sociocultural content. Whereas ethnic identification reflects a moderately cohesive set of sociocultural orientations and is relatively 'thick' among the higher educated Turkish Dutch, this is not the case among the Moroccan Dutch. This suggests that identification as Moroccan is relatively 'thin'. The descriptions in the in-depth interviews reveal a similar difference, since overall the descriptions of feeling Turkish are 'thicker' than the descriptions of feeling Moroccan. However, this does not mean that Moroccan Dutch consider their ethnic identity to be less relevant. 'Thin' and 'thick', as I use them here, refer to the volume and depth of the content, and we have seen they do not necessarily coincide with the association with the ethnic label. It appears that generic assumptions about the content of identification – as might be implicitly suggested by the use of 'ethnic' identification and 'national' identification – are inaccurate. A strong 'ethnic' identification does not always imply a strong orientation towards the birth country of parents, and strong 'national' identification does not always imply a strong bond with the nation of residence.

Based on these findings, we can conclude that an objectivist view is inadequate to capture the phenomena of ethnic and national identification. The essentialist idea that certain identifications in essence are mutually exclusive, or zero sum in character, is proven wrong. Furthermore, the essentialist idea that a strong affiliation with an ethnic label necessarily reflects coherent content, a predestined coherent set of sociocultural practices, is greatly nuanced. Large variations exist, both on the level of (ethnic) categories, as well as on the level of (educational) subsections, and on the level of the individuals. In particular, the case of the Moroccan Dutch shows that identification with the ethnic label does not necessarily reflect sociocultural content. Obviously, besides a strong, broader

co-ethnic sociocultural orientation, there are other reasons for ethnic identification, which will be explored in the next chapters.

Analytical and methodological reflection

This chapter demonstrates the relevance of a consistent distinction between self-identification-with-a-label and identification-content. It shows that identification with a certain label (for example calling oneself a Moroccan, feeling Turkish, or saying one is Dutch) does not always reflect a certain content (which may be watching Turkish television, praying, or speaking Dutch language with one's friends). A systematic distinction between label and content enables us to problematize and analyze affiliation with a mere label in relation to possible content.

This chapter illustrates how quantitative and qualitative methods can complement each other. While the quantitative analyses helped us to assess the breadth of a phenomenon and to compare categories and subsets, the descriptions from the in-depth interviews helped us to interpret the quantitative findings. The unstructured descriptions of the identification content help us understand why the statistical findings hardly (in the case of the Moroccan Dutch) or only moderately (in the case of the Turkish Dutch) explain what ethnic identifications mean to the respondents. Part of the reason is that many aspects that were brought forward by the interview participants, particularly emotional and evaluative aspects, are not included in the statistical analyses. The personal descriptions focused more on how one *values* certain habits whereas the selected variables of the TIES survey focused on the *occurrence* of practices and attitudes.

The findings of this chapter warn us to not take expressions of ethnic or national identification, as straightforward indications of broader sociocultural orientations, whether in more-structured or less-structured approaches. The findings also warn against framing identifications, for example in questionnaires but also in reporting, in a way that implies a zero-sum character; for example, when answering-categories to the question 'Do you feel more Moroccan or Dutch inside?' range from 'completely Dutch' to 'completely Moroccan', without providing an option for indicating that one feels both completely Dutch and Moroccan.^v

The static and contextual character of identification

How identification is discussed in this chapter suggests that individuals have stable ethnic and national orientations. Questions such as 'To what extent do you feel...?' appear to reflect the notion that identifications are stable and constant. This makes that results based on structured surveys often seem to imply that people's identifications are autonomous and static. At the same time, in many of the in-depth interviews (despite my own reluctance, as I explained in chapter 3),

I asked the respondents similar questions. From these interviews, it appeared that also when people are asked in less-structured ways how they feel in ethnic and national terms, they respond as if they have a stable identification that applies to them in general. Most participants answered the questions using straightforward terms to describe their feeling 'Moroccan, 'Turkish', or 'Dutch', and did not challenge the question.

This suggests that they experience their ethnic and national identifications as static and unproblematic givens – after all, if identifications are experienced as variable and contextual, we would expect the participants to be unable or unwilling to talk about their identifications in static terms. In the following chapters, I show this is only partly the case. In their reflections on their affiliations with the ethnic and national labels, participants often mentioned the influence of the context and developments over time. In chapter 6 and 7, I will explore the contextual and temporal aspects of identification, and the relationship between more stable and more contextual views of ethnic identification.

6. 'I am... who I am...'. Identifications in social contexts

Why do second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers identify as they do in various situations? How do social contexts and feelings of belonging affect their ethnic and national self-identifications, both in co-ethnic as well as in interethnic contexts?

The discussion in the previous chapter about the ethnic (and national) identifications of the higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch seemed to imply that identifications are autonomous and static. However, as I show in this current chapter, when participants tell their life stories – when they tell anecdotes and recall situations – how they identify and how they behave in relation to these identifications does not appear static or autonomous but seems to be related to the context. This chapter explores *why* the participants identify in certain ways in specific situations. Based on the in-depth interviews, this chapter explores the positioning of the second generation climbers in various contexts. What relations do they have with social others? How do external demands and ascriptions influence feelings of belonging? How are these feelings of belonging related to their self-identification in specific contexts?

Social contexts of ethnic minorities are often divided into 'ingroup' and 'outgroup'. As I explained in chapter 2, 'ingroup' is associated with belonging, sameness and agreement (with consonance)ⁱ and 'outgroup' with non-belonging, difference and disagreement (with dissonance). When these terms are applied to entire social categories, such as ethnic categories, this suggests that every member of the ethnic category is automatically part of the ethnic 'ingroup'. Relations with co-ethnics are taken to be strong and characterized by agreement and consonance. Interethnic relations with people of the ethnic 'outgroup' are taken to be weak and characterized by difference and dissonance. Although I do not adopt the assumptions that co-ethnic relations are necessarily consonant and interethnic relations are necessarily dissonant, the structure of the chapter reflects the divide between ethnic 'ingroup' (co-ethnic contexts) and ethnic 'outgroup' (interethnic contexts). One of the goals of the chapter is to explore if this dichotomous thinking is applicable to the participants' experiences.

The empirical data suggest another relevant divide: the divide between one's childhood and one's adulthood. I discuss these contexts and phases separately, starting with the co-ethnic spheres in the participants' youth, in which parents appear to play the largest role (6.1). The second section focuses on the interethnic spheres in their youth: their school and neighborhood (6.2). I proceed to consider the relations with co-ethnics in their adult lives (6.3). The fourth and largest section shows how the participants move in interethnic settings in their adult lives (6.4). I discuss how the participants perceive the 'Dutch' climate in general and how they position themselves in concrete social interactions at their daily work places.

In every of the four sections, I first describe the participants' social relations, followed by a reflection on their experiences and a discussion of the most common individual responses to situations of dissonance. When the stance of the individual and the social other diverge, the individual needs to deal with this dissonance; for example when the other has divergent behavioral standards or when the other applies a certain label against one's will. Based on the empirical data, I identify four responses that vary in balance between meeting one's independent wishes and meeting one's need for belonging and acceptance. These responses or strategies are: conforming, convincing, concealing and confronting.

The chapter has two concluding sections. One contains a reflection on the impact of various dimensions, such as social mobility, ethnicity, gender, generation and religion (6.5). I show how social mobility, ethnicity, gender, generation and religion influence one's positioning and identification in social contexts. The last section discusses the results and their implications (6.6). I show the relevance of acknowledging both external pressures and individual agency. I furthermore argue that thinking in ethnic 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' is misleading and that the analytical toolkit commonly used, as described in chapter 2, lacks a valuable conceptual tool.

6.1 Co-ethnic sphere in youth. Parents and others

Based on the interviews, I identified three groups of co-ethnic actors, which emerged from the stories about the participants' childhoods: parents, a local co-ethnic community, and co-ethnic peers, including their siblings. I will first discuss how the participants describe their relationships with these various actors. In the second half of this section, I reflect on these descriptions and consider to what extent the relationships are characterized by consonance or dissonance. I also explain the four strategies that the participants used to deal with disagreement. These four responses to disagreement are: to conform, convince, conceal and confront.

Parents

As we have seen in Esra's story in the first chapter, Esra's parents placed a high priority on education and were very strict. The development of their children was important to them, which is why they moved to another neighborhood when the children entered primary school. Homework was prioritized over household tasks. Her father stood up for her education and challenged other Turkish fathers, who were more protective of their daughters and did not allow them to pursue higher education. At the same time, her parents were not involved in school and school choice in more practical ways. Her father envisioned her to be a doctor, but also would not allow her to live by herself or attend a university of her choosing. This was so much out of the question that she knew better than to ask. Esra's alternative preference was a university that allowed her to stay at home. This university was not the one that her father had in mind, which was the nearest one, so this still formed a challenge. She took up this challenge, and after endless attempts to make him understand the benefits of her choice, she finally got her father on board. She also convinced him to allow her to marry the partner of her choice.

Looking back, Esra experienced her youth as nauseating because she was not allowed to participate in social events. This forced her to grow up in relative isolation. When she asked for permission to go out on a visit or trip, this was denied. She once took up the fight and really confronted her mother. She was finally allowed to go on this school trip – but ultimately her mother's lack of support made Esra miss the event. Sometimes, Esra's actions were clandestine, such as visiting the cinema during school times. Her marriage formed a means to escape this strict control.

Most participants accounted of a relatively strict upbringing, even though not all parents were as strict as Esra's. There is a spectrum, ranging from Esra's and Imane's nauseating childhoods, to the more permissive upbringings of Hind (who was allowed to go to school parties), Berkant (who was stimulated by his parents to take part in all kinds of social events) and Nathalie (who was brought up in an extremely permissive way in comparison with the other participants). None of the parents were indifferent, withdrawing all kinds of control (which might have been crucial for the achieved social mobility, as suggested by Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller 2009).ⁱⁱ Most parents were relatively strict and had stringent ideas about how their children should behave. Often, this was framed in terms of being a 'good' 'Moroccan', 'Turk' or 'Muslim'.

The parental demands to behave as a good 'Moroccan', 'Turk' or 'Muslim', concurred with high expectations of their children's educational and professional careers. With a few exceptions, the participants' parents stimulated their children

– including their daughters – to reach high education levels. Parents valued education and had (extremely) high expectations regarding the future professions of their children. They had migrated to the Netherlands primarily for the futures of their children. Many parents envisioned their children to become doctors or lawyers. Parents provided finances to buy books, and many relieved them of household chores or paid work that interfered with homework. However, most parents did not offer additional support. Their knowledge of the education system was inadequate to guide their children. Their meager Dutch language abilities discouraged many parents from meeting teachers for the standard regular updates about their children. Other parents, particularly fathers – whose language skills often surpassed those of the mothers – were too busy working to be involved in school issues. Many parents prevented their children from attending universities that required leaving the house and living somewhere else. This restriction applied to many (but not all) female participants but also to some of the male participants.

Parental strictness was not only about explicit permission and prohibition. Karim experienced pressure from his parents in a more indirect, but no less influential way. He did not comply with their norms for behaving in a certain way, as a ‘good Muslim’ and ‘good Moroccan’, referring to regular praying, visiting the mosque, abstaining from having intimate relationships and participating in social events outside the family or school setting. His behavior led to parental disappointment and to rejection:

Like I just said, many Moroccans did not see me as Moroccan. They think I’m TOO alternative. They think I’m totally lost, ‘satanic’ (...). So, my father urged me: ‘You need to visit the mosque more frequently, you should cut your hair, you should wear neat clothes, etcetera, etcetera’. Well... I didn’t do that. The reaction I got was: ‘If you don’t do that, you are not a real Moroccan’, you know. And you’re not a good Muslim. So, that made me think: Why would I even try being a good Muslim and a good Moroccan? I cannot... kind of... live up to it ANYWAY... (Karim)

Not all participants experienced stringent rules as dissonant and oppressive. Aysel was taken out of school as a teenager to help her mother at home, but she never experienced this as limiting or coercive. In those days, this was simply ‘self-evident’. Even in hindsight, Aysel did not perceive it as a constraint on her development or as social pressure. Instead, she rather saw it as something that you just did, as the oldest daughter who was going to marry and have children either way. Aysel internalized her parents’ views on her future as a housewife. Similar to Aysel, Bouchra, raised in a rather orthodox religious family, did not experience the strict rules in her youth as oppressive. Reflecting on her youth, she explained that she did not have any wishes that conflicted with the group norms, so she did not experience any social pressure. For example, she never felt the

interest to go to a discotheque. However, Bouchra did not fully internalize the rules, as she mentions that this conformism was partly a 'coping strategy'. Her use of this term implies that there is a less intrinsic and more instrumental side to her conformism – the desire for warmth and acceptance from her parents and other co-ethnics.

We should not overlook the emotional bonds between parents and children. Most participants felt strongly connected to their parents, even though their life-worlds were miles apart. Many participants sensed the hardships their parents had endured through their migration trajectory. They were close, as they had always helped their parents navigate the unfamiliar Dutch society they had entered. All participants witnessed their parents' diligence and sacrifices – all for the futures of their children. This made them feel a responsibility to succeed and not to fail in return. The participants wanted to make their parents proud and not disappoint them. Agius Vallejo and Lee, who observe a similar attitude among Latino Americans, call this the 'immigrant narrative of struggle and sacrifice' (2009: 19). Bouchra concisely illustrates this point:

My parents made so many sacrifices for us that I kept thinking: I don't want it to be in vain. (Bouchra)

Co-ethnic community

The broader co-ethnic community was not assigned a prominent role in the interviews. Co-ethnic adults were mentioned occasionally, mostly in an indirect and negative way. Karim's parents transmitted the norms and pressures of acquaintances they met at the mosque. Esra recalled that her father's friends disapproved of the fact that she was allowed to study. Ahmed's parents endured fierce pressure from co-ethnics when Ahmed left town to study in another city. Some participants had experienced the local co-ethnic community as a supportive home. For Bouchra, the co-ethnic community felt like a 'stable bastion', consisting of people who shared her norms and habits, providing warmth and trust. For Adem, 'Turkish' people simply had always comprised his direct social environment. More than other participants, Bouchra and Adem, like Aysel, spoke of their ethnicity (mentioned in the same breath with religion) as the self-evident core of their being, as something that had always been stable and undoubted.

Siblings and co-ethnic peers

Childhood relations with co-ethnic peers and siblings were recounted in more positive terms than the relations with parents and the co-ethnic community. Many participants assigned their siblings an important role, both in practical and emotional terms. They mentioned their siblings as friends and role models, offering support and friendly competition. A few participants grew up in families whose primary social environment was the co-ethnic community. For them, co-

ethnic children were their closest friends (only Esra mentioned she did not feel closely connected to them). This was generally the case in Turkish-Dutch families. Moroccan-Dutch families apparently were not part of equally cohesive communities. For the Moroccan Dutch participants, co-ethnic peers were either absent in their youth (as their neighborhoods and schools were then still largely dominated by the ethnic majority) or co-ethnic peers were part of the general group of classmates and neighbors. Most Moroccan Dutch participants did not feel a special connection to them. On only a few occasions, they mentioned co-ethnic peers as special friends who understood the ethnic minority situation and formed a buffer from discrimination.

Reflection and responses (to parental expectations)

Contrary to the connotation of 'ethnic ingroup', participants' relations with co-ethnics in their childhood and youth appear far from only consonant. Relations with parents and co-ethnics were not described solely in terms of agreement and belonging, but in a mix of consonant and dissonant terms. This ambiguity parallels other studies on second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, such as Buitelaar (2009) and De Jong (2012). Even though all participants' stories radiated love and respect for parents, disagreement was a major theme. Participants sometimes felt some sort of struggle to belong, to be accepted by parents and other co-ethnics. They felt the (sometimes pressing) demand to succeed in educational and professional terms, which needed balancing with being a good 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' or 'Muslim'. Parents shaped the possibilities for their children by explicitly promoting or prohibiting certain behaviors, but also by granting or withholding esteem and appreciation. Parental influence was also more indirect when children, out of love or respect, adapted their behaviors to protect their parents from disappointment or scorn of other co-ethnics.

Probably, these tensions and ambiguities are partly intrinsic to parent-child relationships in general and also occur in non-immigrant families. Social climbers with majority backgrounds are confronted with the comparable, ambiguous demand to succeed and avoid alienation at the same time (Matthys 2010: 85). Just like minority parents, parents of ethnic Dutch climbers stimulate their children and simultaneously hope their children do not climb too high. Alienation, then, is formulated in terms of class instead of ethnicity. Lower-class ethnic Dutch parents emphasize the value of working class skills and morals and warn their children against 'unrealistic' expectations. As a parent of one of Matthys' respondents put it – 'you can't make a silk purse out of a sow's ear' (*'als je voor een dubbeltje geboren wordt, dan word je nooit een kwartje'*) (ibid.: 98). Despite these resemblances, the interviews with the second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch imply that parent-child contrasts are particularly sharp in immigrant families. In immigrant families, extra-large gaps exist between parental norms and the norms that are common in the outside world, and

between parental wishes and parental resources. In addition, the responsibility the participants feel to succeed for their parents seems larger because of the immigration experience and the immigrant narrative of struggle and sacrifice.

When divergent behavioral preferences exist between children and parents and other co-ethnics, this situation of dissonance requires a response. Children have various ways of dealing with their personal preferences and the diverging parental expectations. They have various approaches for dealing with the mix of parental encouragements, demands and prohibitions in combination with their own feelings of respect, responsibility and love. The stories show that how individuals act in situations of dissonance not only depends on their own preference and the preferences of the social other, but also on feelings of belonging and the appreciation of the social bond. From the interviews, four kinds of responses emerge, which I label 'conform', 'convince', 'conceal' and 'confront'. These are characterized by varying balances between one's own independent preferences and the wish to preserve social bonds. These strategies are very similar to the strategies Van der Hoek identifies among adolescent second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch women: acceptance, communication, deceit and rebellion (2006: 78).

(1) Conform. One way to react to dissonance is to conform to the stance of the other. Conformism is a way to avoid conflict, which can threaten the social relation. One can fully internalize the other's stance, resolving the entire disagreement,ⁱⁱⁱ but conformism can also entail one's obedience in terms of behavior. An example is when Esra decided that she would not even ask if she could study at a university that would require her to live by herself, because this seemed futile. Bouchra also referred to a strategy of conformism, when she referred to sharing the norms of her co-ethnics as partly a 'coping strategy'. Apparently, in these cases, feelings of belonging are more important than the participants' independent wishes. When one wants to protect social relations and avoid threats to one's acceptance and belonging, conformism is the safest response.

(2) Convince. Here people try and convince the other by explanation. This was Esra's approach when she kept explaining her preferences for a specific university and for a specific husband to her father. Convincing was Aysel's main approach in a later stage of her life, when she already had children, she started pursuing a professional career. The bond with her family was important to Aysel, and her main aim during her path of social mobility was to keep her family close and to prevent alienation. This wish made her continuously try to make them understand and to 'take them along' in her trajectory of personal development. As other studies, with a stronger focus on the adolescent period show, the fear among parents and others that social mobility leads to alienation or immoral

behavior can be eased by explicit ethnic or religious identifications (De Koning 2008, Ketner 2010, De Jong 2012). Such identifications, both in terms of label and behavior, can convince parents and other co-ethnics that the child is a good 'Moroccan', 'Turk' or 'Muslim'. This reassurance that the child is doing fine can increase trust and expand the child's freedom. The strategy of convincing is another approach to avoid confrontations and to protect social relations and belonging.

(3) *Conceal*. Another way to pursue one's independent wishes is to hide the behavior that the other does not appreciate. This happened when Esra pretended to go to school and secretly visited the cinema and when Hind did not tell her parents that she was seeing a boyfriend. According to De Jong, Moroccan Dutch students often use this strategy, which is based on the apparently broadly accepted principle among Moroccan Dutch families that 'what you don't know does not exist' (2012: 107). In this approach, one does not comply with the wishes of the other, but nonetheless tries to avoid conflict. However, the risk of being exposed forms a possible threat to one's belonging.

(4) *Confront*. One can choose for open conflict and confront the other by assertively pressing one's point or by openly choosing one's own path. This approach is most risky in terms of belonging. One runs the risk of disapproval and rejection, as we saw in Karim's quote above. Another example is Ahmed, who decided to go and live in another city against the wishes of his parents, who actually got used to this situation quite quickly. A participant in Buitelaar's study illustrates the possible consequences of this approach. After this participant finished her studies, she went to live by herself to enhance her job prospects – apparently against the will of her father: 'I had to hand in my keys. From then on, I was simply a visitor who had to ring the doorbell. He emphasized that he didn't want to see me again' (2009: 208-209, translation MS).

These four strategies to deal with dissonance vary in levels of independence and belonging. The strategies are characterized by varying balances between fulfillment of one's independent ambitions on the one hand and the protection of one's social bonds on the other hand. Pektaş-Weber (2006) and Buitelaar (2009) observe searches for a similar balance among Muslim and Moroccan Dutch women. This range of strategies shows that behavioral expectations of others, even when these others are parents, do not necessarily deprive individuals of personal agency. Even in the face of authoritative parents or a cohesive community, individuals often still have various responses at their disposal. This means that even when people conform to the stance of the other, this does not necessarily reflect a complete lack of agency. Conformism can involve the careful deliberation of various choices. Individuals can deliberately *choose to conform* and to refrain from pursuing one's independent ambitions in order to protect

social bonds, for example out of love or respect. However, the acknowledgement of individual agency should not lead to an underestimation of external pressures. When environments have strict social norms and severe sanctions for deviance, individual agency is very limited.

6.2 Interethnic sphere in youth. School and neighborhood

School and neighborhood were the main interethnic spheres the participants moved in during their childhoods. We will see that, just like in the co-ethnic sphere, the social relations in these environments cannot be solely characterized by either dissonance or consonance. We will also see that in situations of dissonance, of exclusion, one response seemed to dominate among the participants: try and conceal the dimension of difference.

As we read in the first chapter, Nathalie was bullied during her entire childhood. Her story compellingly illustrates how intense experiences of active exclusion can be. That Nathalie is raised in an extremely 'Dutch' way, compared to other co-ethnics, makes her story particularly interesting. Apparently, active exclusion is not necessarily based on 'objective' cultural differences. Let us listen to Nathalie's account:

Well... this bullying, at primary school, well, that was a daily reality. It was very 'white' there. Let's say: very 'Groningen'. I came from Rotterdam and therefore had a different Dutch accent. We were also – well – among the only foreigners in our village. That works...so, well, then you feel extra isolated, indeed. This lasted a VERY long time. It easily lasted... the entire primary school phase. It even continued for two or three years into my secondary school. I even – at primary school, at some moment, I started to speak with the same Dutch dialect, just to be part of THEM.

Yes, yes, I think I felt different because they saw me as different. Not because of my upbringing or the language, because I really TRIED to be the same. I am not the person that hides herself. I think I tried to compensate by being a really naughty kid. I tried to change that situation, I guess. But yes... well... then once – It's not that you ARE very aware that you are – WHY you are 'different'. But... well... discrimination certainly happened. Even in the most obvious ways... I remember I was in school, maybe in fourth or fifth grade, when we passed around secret notes. Once, such a note said 'silly African' [*Afrikaantje*]. That felt like a real – that was really – I really found that – that was really – let's say, the last straw... Let's say – I just started crying... because it said 'African'. Not 'Idiot' or whatever, but it really said 'silly African'. That explicit – the really discriminatory... That was... that was – this felt – this REALLY felt terrible, yes. Yes. And maybe, indeed, maybe that's what makes you behave as-Dutch-as-you-can, as-normal-as-you-can..., as some sort of compensation.

When you realize that THAT's a reason to be excluded, you try to fix it and minimize it as much as you can, in order to be as NORMAL as possible. You also don't want to – you avoid doing anything crazy and over the top. You try to be as NORMAL as possible. It wasn't until after quite a while... before I could... could be proud of it. Like – At first, you want to downplay it as much as possible – the fact that you are different because your parents come from foreign countries. And now I even ENJOY telling about it (...), the story of how my parents rebuilt their lives here. (Nathalie)

Even though not all participants accounted in similarly intense ways about their experiences of exclusion, the impact of feeling like an outsider among ethnic majority peers was a striking theme in nearly all interviews. When the participants grew up, their schools and neighborhoods were still dominated by the ethnic majority. Their ethnic minority backgrounds made most participants feel somewhat 'different' from their ethnic Dutch peers in a negative way. For most, feeling like an outsider led to shame and a lack of self-confidence. For some, this experience made them extra ambitious.

In many cases, participants felt different as a result of active exclusion. Some were severely bullied like Nathalie. Others were occasionally labeled as the Other, for example when neighborhood children sang 'Turky irky'. Many participants voiced their frustration about differential treatment at the end of primary school. Children of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants often received a lower secondary school placement advising than equal-performing ethnic majority peers. Even though this did not apply to the majority of the participants, it was frequently mentioned in an agitated way, suggesting that these practices had a big impact.

Feeling different was not always (only) the result of active exclusion. Some participants felt different and isolated because their parents did not allow them to join in social events such as school outings or because they were not allowed to invite friends to their houses. Some felt different because their ethnic Dutch peers did not share their life-worlds. Imane explained that every year when she had to introduce herself at the start of the new school year, she felt utterly ashamed to tell that she had no less than eight siblings. In addition, she felt an unbridgeable gap because of her aberrant clothes, bags and books, and because she did not share her classmates' experiences of going out and having dates. Feeling different also related to differences in personal development, like for Said, who as a child was very conscious of his arrear in the knowledge and cultural capital that was relevant at school. Some had internalized negative images about Moroccans and Turks, as the following (completely anonymized) quotes show:

At primary school, I somehow understood that, well... yes, that Moroccan and Turkish parents were illiterate, etcetera. So, I remember being VERY surprised to find out that my mother actually was able to read! Because I thought: 'What -?! You can't read, can

you?!' How silly that was! Just because I had heard somewhere (not at home...) that, well, people from Morocco or Turkey cannot read and write.

You just start to wonder, because you don't see any examples, you're the first generation that attends school, you have no one preceding you – I literally remember that I wondered: 'Are those Turkish actually stupid? Are the others just right? Is it really possible that they are just right about this?' ...That you even start to CONSIDER these things!!

Fortunately, the fact that participants felt different in the context of their schools and neighborhoods forms only one part of the picture. Not all relations with ethnic majority peers were characterized by exclusion and non-belonging. Not all participants attending 'white' schools always felt different from their environment. Said, who was conscious of his arrear in primary school, did not feel different from his ethnic Dutch peers in secondary school. Ahmed had always identified as very 'white' because of his 'white' environments. Aysel explained that the current issue of integration and 'foreigners' (*allochtonen*) was simply not relevant in her youth. She was just Aysel, a Turkish girl. That was all – nothing more. Hind stated that she never felt out of place. She had always had many friends of various ethnic backgrounds. She even had more friends with ethnic Dutch backgrounds than with ethnic minority backgrounds, partly because she had more personal freedom than most ethnic minority girls in her surroundings.

Some participants attended schools or lived in neighborhoods with (a few) children with other ethnic minority backgrounds. For a few participants, sharing a minority ethnicity created an extra bond. Imane not only felt close to the Moroccan Dutch girls, but also to Turkish Dutch girls, as they understood at least some of her situation and protected each other against discrimination. For a while, Hind was close with a girl who was a Jehovah's Witness. It was convenient that this girl's parents were slightly stricter than other parents, just like Hind's parents. For example, as they had slightly earlier curfews than most of their classmates, they left school parties together. In many other cases, peers with other ethnic minority backgrounds were mentioned as 'just other friends', such as Hind's Surinamese and Belgian friends.

Reflection and responses (to 'Othering' in school and neighborhood)

The stories reveal that, contrary to the general use of 'ethnic outgroup', interethnic social relations are not solely characterized by dissonance. Not all participants always felt different in their schools and neighborhoods, which were dominated by ethnic Dutch, and many of the participants had friends in school with ethnic Dutch backgrounds or other ethnic minority backgrounds. However, feeling different was an important theme in many accounts of primary and secondary school periods. Participants had a dire wish to belong, but their

belonging often felt contested because of their Moroccan or Turkish backgrounds. Frequently, their belonging was downright denied by others, as their behavior or appearance – or simply their ethnic background – deviated from what was regarded as common. Participants were actively labeled as the Other, or they just felt out of place because they themselves felt as if they deviated from a certain norm. Most often, these two mechanisms went hand in hand. The stories show that exclusion, in either form, can be a very negative and impactful experience. It is related to feelings of loneliness and a lack of self-confidence, as will be further discussed in the next chapter. The stories parallel the stories of ethnic majority climbers, who also often felt different from their classmates because of their aberrant clothes, housing, patterns of expenditure, language use and human and cultural capital (Brands 1992).

A common reaction to dissonance in the form of feeling excluded was a response of concealing. In their youth, many participants tried to conceal the dimension of difference to downplay their ethnicity. Nathalie strikingly described how she felt a deep wish to belong, to be regarded as ‘normal’. She longed to be accepted as one of ‘us’ by her classmates and not to be treated as the Other, the permanent outsider. Her response was to de-emphasize her Moroccan background in order to be as ‘Dutch’ as possible. Many participants employed such an approach, when in their schools and neighborhoods they tried to avoid standing out, doing their utter best to adapt and fit in. This is also illustrated by Mustapha’s quote:

At primary school, you are just busy trying to fit in. Trying to avoid standing out in a negative way – or in a positive way. That really hurt. – Yes, actually, you have always leaned about your cultural background – to actually hide it somehow. (Mustapha)

This response is also observed among other immigrant groups, such as second generation Asian Americans and Chinese British, who out of shame distanced themselves from, or even rejected, their ethnic backgrounds during their childhood and youth (Min and Kim 2000; Song 2003: 211-212).

6.3 Co-ethnic sphere at present. Parents and the next generation

Moving to their present lives, we will see that how the participants reflect on their co-ethnic relationships differs from the accounts of their childhoods. Again, I successively describe how they spoke about their relations with their parents, the broader co-ethnic community, and their peers. The section on their peers is only brief, as this theme will be further developed in the next chapter. In the second half of this section I will reflect on the nuances and complexities of belonging among co-ethnics.

Parents

When participants spoke about their current relationships with their parents, they spoke less about dissonance than when they spoke about their childhood memories. Berkant strongly emphasized his appreciation of his bond with his parents. He explained how he values and loves them and how he continuously works on bridging the gap, which of course still exists. In his communication with them, he adapts to their language and to their worldview. After all, he is familiar with their life world, whereas they are unfamiliar with many aspects of his life. He explained that, out of love, respect and consideration, he does not confront them with issues they will never understand and therefore avoids discussing certain themes, such as his patterns of expenditure or his perspective on religion.

In the interviews, many participants brought up the importance of the bonds with their parents. Most participants spoke lovingly about their parents. Some participants described their fathers or mothers as role models because of their endurance, their strength, their solidarity with family members or their perceptiveness. This respect and appreciation is also why most participants would not say they had 'outgrown' their parents. They did not describe their parents as less intelligent or less skilled, avoiding the suggestion that parents exemplify arrears and failure. This might also be why several participants disputed the regular meaning of 'success' as having a high education and a high status job: to contest the implicit suggestion that people with lower education levels are failures. This is probably why Aysel reacted cynically to her selection for my study because of her higher education level, and this might be why she nuanced the relevance of education:

Apparently, I am some sort of Golden Calf. Am I? ... Did you approach your target group like: these are people who won a Golden Calf...?!
(...) but there are also many others who are VERY capable and VERY smart – My illiterate mother, she has no diplomas... but in some respects she is much smarter than I am. Much wiser. (Aysel)

Many noted that their parents had changed over time. Esra's younger siblings had 'entirely different' parents than Esra when she grew up. They had two 'Dutch' parents, who allowed them to join in school trips. Her sister was even allowed to have a love relationship with a Dutch boyfriend. Aysel's parents, who made Aysel quit school to help at home, became the biggest advocates of education for their grandchildren. Parents had become more progressive, partly as a result of the struggles with their older children and the conclusion that their children's lives had turned out well, partly because of the evaporation of the prospect of return, and partly because of the increased importance of educational degrees.

Co-ethnic community

Participants occasionally mentioned the broader co-ethnic community. A few participants mentioned that successful co-ethnics are treated with suspicion by 'the co-ethnic community'. People such as Rotterdam mayor Aboutaleb or rapper Ali B are commonly regarded with distrust. Ethnic minority people in prestigious positions are often not taken seriously by co-ethnics, as they are considered too good, too slick or too Dutch. Thus, for social climbers, the balance can be intricate, as they risk alienation or ostracism from co-ethnics.

While some participants walk a tightrope to protect their belonging as 'successful' Moroccan or Turkish Dutch, other participants seem less inclined to adapt their behavior in order to protect their belonging among co-ethnics. These participants keep a certain distance to 'the co-ethnic community' in anticipation of receiving contempt triggered by their 'too Dutch' life style, or out of fear that rumors will reach their parents. These participants expect that co-ethnics are less modern and have nothing in common with them. Karim feels a disconnection that makes him distance himself from certain Moroccan Dutch or Muslims. Aside from Karim, I primarily encountered this attitude in interviews with (some) female participants. A possible explanation is the stricter behavioral norms for women, who then are more likely to deviate from what is considered appropriate for a 'good' Moroccan/Turkish/ Muslim woman. See the telling quote of a (completely anonymized) female participant:

At that time, I was kind of allergic to anything Moroccan. There was this group [of Moroccan-Dutch students] – that I always avoided. I feared they would be narrow-minded and would denounce me; for example because I smoked, and because I fell for Dutch boys – and that they would pass on information about me to my parents. The Moroccan community is only a small world. I still have that, actually. I don't like this close involvement. I prefer to live more anonymously, more individually.

Not all reflections on the co-ethnic community were negative. Some participants described their feelings at a later age, when they experienced an increasing need to strengthen and develop their bonds with their ethnic background and with co-ethnics. They started to miss something that felt essential to them – the 'ethnic part' of themselves. This is an important theme in the interviews, which will be further discussed in the next chapter.

For some, their co-ethnic (re-)orientation shapes their societal engagement. The situation of the co-ethnic next generation is still characterized by arrear and inequality, and negative ethnic stereotypes are still widespread, so it feels like their responsibility to 'give back' and help bridge the differences. Participants do voluntary work with co-ethnic youth, support their nieces and nephews, work in

diversity management, start social initiatives and contribute to public discussions on integration.

Co-ethnic peers

Co-ethnic peers play a large role in the adult lives of most participants. Most participants have many close friends who share their ethnic background. In addition, these friends also share the participants' high education level. These co-ethnic, co-educational friendships form an important theme, which is further explored in the next chapter. Siblings were only mentioned sporadically in the context of the participants' adult lives.

Reflection and responses (and an increased wish to belong)

Contrary to their accounts of childhood, participants' reflections on co-ethnic relationships in their current lives focused less on dissonance and more on consonance and belonging, particularly when they spoke of their parents. This does not mean that their worldviews and normative stances are aligned with those of their parents. Rather, the participants highly value their relationships with their parents. Much effort is taken to secure and nurture these bonds and bridge disagreements. Out of love and consideration with their parents, participants evade confrontations and discussions on divergent stances ('concealed'), or participants conform to their parents' wishes, when these are about less-essential topics, for example visiting family at religious holidays. Some participants try to – in a sense – take their parents along in their lives ('convince'). For important issues, the main strategies employed were concealing and convincing instead of conformism and confrontation, which were the strategies participants often employed in their youth. This had to do with their increased independence, on the one hand, and with respect and love for their parents, on the other hand.

The shift in parent-child relationships, from more dissonant to more consonant, when children grow up, is probably common to parent-child relationships in general. However, the accounts interestingly contrast with the experiences of ethnic majority climbers. In both Dutch and international literature on the social mobility of ethnic majority climbers (see Brands 1992; Lubrano 2004; Matthys 2010), alienation from parents and family is a major theme. In their process of social mobility, climbers outgrow their parents and 'leave' them 'behind'. One of Brands' participants described melancholically:

Some people come to equal footing with their parents, despite occasional conflicts. They can really fight. They can really have a conflict. Whereas people like me outgrow our parents, and are not even capable of having a fight anymore. There is no way back. We are not even allowed to have conflicts anymore. Even a bad relationship is beyond reach. It becomes a non-relation. (Brands 1992: 295, translation MS)

In contrast, alienation from parents was not a major theme in my interviews, although in nearly all cases, there was a huge distance between the participants' life worlds and those of their parents. A possible reason is that they did not want to speak negatively about their parents. Another reason is that participants did not have much to say about alienation simply because the gap with their parents has always been self-evident. As children of immigrants, they have never known otherwise. Ever since they could remember, there was a gap between their life worlds and those of their parents. They had always been more socially adept than their parents, who often needed support from their Dutch-speaking children to navigate their ways through Dutch society. When I ask Berkant to reflect on this interpretation, he explains:

Yes that's true. Actually, we only continue the situation we have known since our youth. For example, when my parents joined me at school and asked ME what the teacher said. Then you were the interpreter for your parents. The relationship with your parents had always been kind of weird. From very early on, your parents were not able to help you with your homework, with your issues, they just wouldn't understand. (Berkant)

This means that the gap with parents among second generation immigrant climbers is not primarily a consequence of their social mobility, nor is it specific to immigrant children with higher of education levels. It is present among many immigrant children, particularly those with low-capital backgrounds, since they acted as intermediaries for their parents from early childhood (Orellana 2001; Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001; Pels and De Haan 2003). Some participants explained that their high education level and social achievements even helped reduce their alienation from their parents. Their success gave them 'extra credits' and helped bridge the existing gap. Their achievements increased their parents' trust and led to an increased acceptance of their identities and their choices, contributing to a closer bond and to more leeway. Hicham's quote illustrates this:

Look, they [my parents] saw that, since I was young, I have been concerned with issues of identity. And, since I was very young, I have also been an active Muslim. In combination with success at school, and in society, etcetera, this leads to extra praise, to let's say extra credits. This shows them that you behave differently and make different choices, while being very open about it. There is no pressure on me to change things because – especially now, but also ten years ago – they see me as someone equal to them. I think this is rather unique. Nevertheless, I see this happening more and more among the higher educated; that societal success gives you the credit that enables you to shape your identity in the ways you want. (Hicham)

Many of the participants expressed feelings of deep respect for their parents. Even though feelings of esteem, loyalty and gratitude are also present among ethnic majority climbers (Matthys 2010), these seem to be deeper among the children of immigrants because of the immigrant trajectory. Most participants hold their parents in great esteem, partly because of their parents' sacrifices and the hardships they endured as immigrants who wanted to give their children better futures. As we saw above, this 'immigrant narrative of struggle and sacrifice' contributed to feelings of responsibility towards their parents. Karim explains this feeling:

(...) this made me feel guilty – well... maybe that's too strong... but it gave me feelings of – well...– um – INCREDIBLE loyalty towards your parents, because, they have been tremendously DEDICATED to you. (...) I admired their attitudes; because as people without much education, who have not visited many countries – that they have this mentality to go for it and get the best out of it... That must have been really hard! Been really difficult! (Berkant)

For many participants, not only the bond with their parents, but also the emotional bond with co-ethnics and the broader co-ethnic community is stronger than in their childhoods. Many of their best friends have a co-ethnic background (and a high education level). Several participants are actively involved in activities that intend to support the next generation and help improve the image of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch in the Netherlands. However, relations with the co-ethnic community are not only described in consonant terms. Participants feel that many co-ethnics are less modern and experience a considerable risk of being accused of acting 'too Dutch'.

Literature on ethnic minorities helps us to further understand the complexity of belonging among co-ethnics. It explains why belonging to a minority community often requires a conformism that can be nauseating at times and why community membership simultaneously presents many benefits. It is not only ethnic majorities, but also ethnic minority groups who think in essentialist stereotypes, as thinking in stereotypes promotes intra-group cohesion and solidarity, particularly when ethnic minority groups feel threatened (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 1999; Song 2003). These stereotypes function as behavioral scripts and as bases for judgments of 'ethnic authenticity'. Anyone who does not comply with the norms risks being accused of 'acting white' (see e.g. Waters 1994) or being a 'coconut' (being 'white' on the inside), leading to condemnation or even ostracism: a denial of belonging. These scripts are often gendered and often contain downward leveling norms (Portes 1998). When the scripts are strict and there are high levels of social control, they can be very restricting, particularly when they do not correspond with the preferences of the individual or when they hamper one's social mobility. At the same time, adherence to these scripts can

provide a sense of belonging, social acceptance, unity and membership, and they can offer access to family support and other resources through extra-familial networks. It can be pleasant if you have a claim to distinctive ways of talking, dressing, interacting, eating (Song 2003: 41, 54-55). Belonging to a co-ethnic community can contribute to a sense of self-determination and security about who you are.

6.4 Interethnic sphere at present. General climate and work setting

The interethnic sphere is an important sphere. This is where the impact of the Dutch integration debate is felt most. When participants showed agitation and frustration, this was when they reflected on their positions in broader society. These reflections also often contained ambiguities, which I found confusing. Therefore, this section about the interethnic sphere in the participants' current lives is by far the longest section of this chapter. I first describe how the participants perceive 'the general debate', which they learn through the media. I then focus on how they reflect on their direct interactions with interethnic others, such as colleagues. How do the participants feel and position themselves? Just like in the discussions of the other spheres, we see also here that relationships are not only consonant or dissonant, but that how participants reflect on their positions and relationships is more nuanced. This complexity leads to puzzling paradoxes, which I try to disentangle, and which appear crucial for understanding the positioning and identification of the participants in interethnic settings. This discussion uncovers the important mechanism of classification resistance. In the second half of this section, I show that in situations of dissonance and exclusion the same four strategies can be employed that I described before: confront, conceal, convince and conform.

The general debate

All participants experienced the Dutch integration debate as exclusionary. In chapter 4 we saw that in spite of the multiplicity of voices in politics and the media, a widespread culturalist image of 'Moroccans', 'Turks' and 'Muslims' has emerged. This image clearly trickled down to the participants. All participants perceive the dominant discourse as offensive to people with Moroccan, Turkish and Islamic backgrounds, pushing them into second-class status. They feel that Moroccans and Turkish Dutch are portrayed as subordinate and as incapable and unwilling to fit into Dutch society. The participants feel subjected to intrusive and unlawful demands. Their perception is that over time, accelerated by the events at 9/11 and the murder of Dutch columnist Van Gogh, the tone has grown increasingly harsh, and there is less and less tolerance for multiple identifications. There is an imposed 'mono-identity', as one of the participants called it. The

exclusionary discourse is worrying, and it pushes people away, as the quotes of Nathalie and Karim illustrate:

Nathalie: Recently, Wilders stated that when you misbehave three times – that you should leave the country. Even when you are – um – a second generation immigrant... This implies... that when I misbehave THREE times that I then –
Marieke: – had to 'return' to your country.
Nathalie: WHERE WOULD THAT BE?? Where would that be? So... EVEN when you're born in the Netherlands...! How INSANE! What are we TALKING about?! What should I – ??

But it happens – when you hear people speak, on television or anything, about: 'The perpetrator is a Moroccan', then... I DO feel addressed, yes. Because I know... they also talk about... about ME, you know. WITHOUT even knowing me, knowing who I am, or where I grew up... When THEY say: 'Moroccans should be treated differently', I am – for THEM I am Moroccan, you know. They will look at me like: 'You have Moroccan parents. Well, yes, you also went to university, and did so and so'. But this does not matter! It doesn't matter a fuck! ... When you have Moroccan parents, you should... – you know – ...you should integrate. You should speak the language. You should do this, you should do that, you know. And oh dear, when you... – You should be thankful in the first place, you know – thankful that you live in the Netherlands, because after all: 'We are such a civilized country. We only try to educate you, backward Moroccans, so that you will hopefully, once, also reach some level of civilization'. (Karim)

These quotes illustrate that participants not only experience the debate as a rejection of their ethnic category but also as a denial of their personal belonging in the Netherlands. They expressed their frustration with the labeling of entire social categories as problem groups. They are convinced that they do not fit the problematized definitions of Moroccan and Turkish Dutch, but they nevertheless feel addressed by these polarizing expressions. This feels extremely unjust and implies that they are not accepted as full-fledged citizens – and that they never will be, whatever they do and whatever they achieve. Based on these experiences, it is easy to understand that, as I indicated in chapter 4, the political side of belonging influences the personal side of belonging. Politics of exclusion affect the extent to which people feel at home.

Despite the exclusionary tone of the debate as experienced by the participants, overt discrimination by strangers-passing-by did not surface as a major theme in the interviews. Only a few instances were mentioned. When this occurred, it fed anger and frustration and confirmed the idea that there is a negative social climate for immigrants and their children. Nathalie recounted one 'utterly shocking' instance of such overt discrimination, when a driver of a passing car made a Nazi-salute. Hicham describes a moment when he was staying abroad for a year, which was similarly shocking:

(...) when you call home and your mother tells you she's been scolded and spit at, then something breaks inside. Like: Shit, please tell me this is NOT true... (Hicham)

Social interactions with familiar social others

Interactions with others who are not strangers, such as colleagues, were described far more positively. Most participants described feelings of belonging in the context of their direct work (and other) environments. They explained that they feel accepted and do not feel different in general:

(...) at my work, I just feel like a consultant (Aysel).

I never felt – for example with job applications – that people thought: 'You're a foreigner' [*buitenlander*]. Never. NEVER. (Nathalie)

For ME... I felt that everybody around me was the same... or similar. I didn't think that others had a totally... totally different life, or so. (...) I think, I easily feel at home anywhere. (...) I ALWAYS belong. (Hind)

My friends are very white. That's just a consequence of my education - As the saying goes: 'what you touch shall defile you' - It's that simple. (Ahmed)

Most stressed the fact that they never experienced discrimination in their professional careers. Most participants have many friends with ethnic Dutch backgrounds and various ethnic minority backgrounds; which is a theme that will be further explored in the next chapter.

However, although in the reflections on these interethnic interactions, the participants often emphasized the consonant aspects, these reflections also contained numerous ambiguities. In the interviews, either spontaneously or in response to my probes, 'feeling different' popped up frequently, albeit in more implicit, anecdotal ways. Let us read part of Said's interview, where he talks about the relevance of his ethnic background for his professional work setting. What can we learn from his quotes? Does Said feel different because of his Moroccan background or not? Does his ethnic background make him stand out or not? Does his ethnicity matter at all or is it insignificant? Does he want it to matter, or is it annoying when his ethnicity is deemed relevant?

Said: The fact that you are Moroccan does play a role, actually. I recently attended a training in London, where, two or three times, I discussed the fact that I am Moroccan. I actually highlight it all the [time] – I am just PROUD of it (laughs apologetically but affirmatively). I find it important to – I WANT to show that you can be both Moroccan and successful. I want to, very deliberately, show that these two CAN be combined. Whenever I can, I also say I am a Muslim. Whenever I can I

say I celebrate the Ramadan. And whenever I can I say I regularly pray. And whenever I can I say that I... whatever – that I visit Morocco every year, for example. So, you know, I just try to make people realize: Wait, there's something wrong in that picture... To SHOW the right picture and to show that in your mind you are too black-and-white.

Said: This is very funny. It's weird. Recently, the course leader said to me at a leadership training: 'But YOU are the story! – you know. That you survive between all these partners, these solid, assertive, Dutch guys...!' This made me wonder: 'Is this really the case?' – Well, on the one hand it is true. He said: 'Was it difficult for you, to reach –' 'No', I said, 'not at ALL!' Well, but then... when you ask the same question to a woman... Yes, then it's also difficult. When you are just DIFFERENT from the average accountant. White. Bold. Grey. That you survive between them... That means something. Apparently. At the same time, many women leave the company when they have surpassed the managers' level. You see? So... is that culture then...? I'm not really like: culture... – Is this all about culture? I wanted to say: there are also many – well, ethnic Dutch who don't make it here.

Marieke: Do YOU feel different?

Said: No, I feel – That is the THING! That's why it kind of surprised me that this guy said: 'YOU are the story'. – WHAT: you are the story?? I've never had any problems or anything, here. Do I feel different? Well, no. I don't feel different at all, no. But sometimes.... Verrrry occasionally, you can feel it. But that was in 2001, with those attacks. When people asked you: what do YOU think about these bombings? Which made me think: well, what do I think about these bombings? Yes, then you're suddenly labeled differently, because then, suddenly, you ARE this Muslim. THEN you find out – on such occasions, THEN you find yourself thinking: Wait... I MIGHT think that I'm just a regular... well... just a regular consultant. But others obviously just see you as THAT woman. Or THAT girl. Or... THAT Moroccan for that matter. Or, whatever. That happens sometimes. That's just part of reality.

Marieke: But apparently, you do not experience this very often, because you refer to 2001. However, you also mentioned that recent training.... That you were addressed in such a way.

Said: Yes, exactly... Yes, but that is not in a negative way, because, obviously, this guy only had positive intentions.

Said: Recently, with a distant colleague – That's the thing... there is really no – This guy, he made some sort of 'joke', about Moroccans. Well, it was kind of funny – Well no, I actually didn't even like the joke (laughs). But I mean, those things happen regularly. So, I responded with a joke. Later, when I met him again, again he made a similar joke. So I jokingly said: 'Jeezz... you KEEP making the wrong jokes!' (laughs). Later, I spoke to him over the phone, about a Moroccan-Dutch colleague, who had been an entrepreneur. This guy says: 'Ha ha ha! He sure ran a shawarma place...!' (...) But for the rest, it was just a nice guy. He just doesn't understand that – well –

that he makes the wrong jokes. You know, it's not always discrimination, but people just don't get it...

As I discuss below, this account is confusing because of its apparent incongruities regarding the role of ethnic background and regarding feelings of belonging and differential treatment. Many of the participants' accounts were puzzling because, like Said, participants frequently seemed to contradict themselves. This surprised me, as all participants were highly reflexive, particularly about topics of ethnicity and exclusion, which made it likely that they would notice (and solve) real contradictions themselves. What happened at these moments? Were they referring to different aspects of belonging and identification? Or, did their interpretations of experiences vary during an interview? Were inconsistencies related to performative aspects: is one account told to merely describe events, whereas another is told to communicate a certain message? Are different parts of the stories meant to convey different messages? The analysis of the ambiguities in Said's interview and in the other interviews revealed four interesting paradoxes, which appeared crucial for understanding the role of minority ethnicity in interethnic situations.

- Paradox 1: Ethnic difference, but not 'different';
- Paradox 2: Exclusion, but no 'discrimination';
- Paradox 3: Ethnic self-identification, but aversion to ethnic ascription;
- Paradox 4: Awareness, but nevertheless employment of essentialist language.

Paradox 1. Ethnic difference, but not 'different'. Said emphasized that he does not feel different from his ethnic Dutch colleagues, which seems to imply that his ethnic background does not play a role in his professional context. At the same time, his ethnicity appears highly relevant, as he frequently seizes the opportunity in his 'white' working environment to highlight his ethnic and religious background. This is not as incongruous as it seems. Bringing forward his Moroccan and Muslim background does not mean he is dissimilar from his ethnic Dutch colleagues. It is the similarity, in particular, that makes him stress his ethnicity and religion. Because his status as professional makes him similar to his colleagues and accepted, he can show that being (partly) Moroccan and being Muslim does not matter in relevant ways. His success enables him to show that being 'Moroccan' as well as a practicing Muslim does not preclude a person from being a successful professional, fitting into the professional environment and being oriented towards Dutch society. It makes him the right person to challenge the widespread negative stereotypes about 'Moroccans' and Muslims. The fact that he has 'proven' himself and achieved a relatively secure financial and social status allows him to feel more confident about his minority ethnicity.

Paradox 2: Exclusion, but no 'discrimination'. Said's reflections on differential treatment are equally puzzling. Does he regularly experience exclusionary practices or not? At first glance, it seems Said does not experience discrimination. He did not label his colleague's bad jokes and the remark 'YOU are the success-story' as discrimination. He emphasized the point that the bad joke was 'not discrimination' and that the course leader had only positive intentions. To illustrate that he was sometimes treated differently, he gave no recent examples and fell back on a memory from 2001. Closer inspection reveals another interpretation of these instances. Said followed the statement that the bad joke was not discrimination with a 'but', implying a reassessment. Furthermore, how he challenged the statement that his trajectory exemplified a Moroccan success-story indicates that this 'compliment' invoked his resistance. The way that Said spoke about these occasions reveals that he would rather not be singled out. Being singled out is exclusionary, even if intentions are positive. Various other interviews illustrated how complex it can be to interpret the relevance of one's ethnicity for the situation at hand and to label situations as discriminatory. For example, being asked if she remembered an instance of discrimination, Hind mentioned that she once was singled out for a check for explosives at the airport. However, she immediately nuanced her interpretation of the anecdote as discrimination, as she let this description follow by a counterexample, illustrating that something similar happened to an ethnic Dutch colleague. Maybe she was selected randomly, and this situation had not been discrimination after all. What is felt as exclusion can differ between persons, as the following contrast between Karim and Hind shows. Karim explained that he always feels terribly excluded when he is invited for drinks. He hates receptions. He feels out of place and does not know how to behave, which he attributes to his Moroccan upbringing and the fact that he – 'unlike the Dutch' – does not drink alcohol. He sees having-drinks as an utterly 'Dutch' practice and perceives such an invitation as a 'test' to prove his Dutchness. Just like Karim, Hind does not drink alcohol, but for her, this has never been an issue. It did not stop her from attending parties and receptions and participating in a student sorority, and she never felt like an outsider because of this.

These examples show that (1) being singled out can be a negative experience in itself, even if the intention of the other is positive, and (2) it is difficult to interpret such instances of subtle Othering and to label them as discrimination. The relevance of an ethnic minority background can be complex for minority individuals to interpret. Do you feel singled out? Is there real evidence of exclusion because of your ethnicity (or religion)? Is it on purpose? Do you want to interpret the situation as exclusion? Dealing with subtle practices of Othering can be difficult because situations are often not clear-cut examples of overt exclusion. It can be hard to assess if a situation really is an instance of discrimination or if it is something that could happen to anyone. Such a situation

is even more ambiguous when the other person does not have negative intentions. The fact that the anti-racist discourse is marginalized in the Netherlands might also complicate the interpretation of exclusionary practices. We read in chapter 4 that raising issues of discrimination is often met with severe critique and little understanding. In addition to the fuzziness of a situation and the political marginalization of the anti-racist discourse, there are also psychological and social reasons for not labeling a situation as discrimination, such as a need to protect and enhance self-esteem and a desire to believe that the system is just and that one is treated fairly (Major and O'Brien 2005: 401). One might furthermore refrain from labeling a situation as discrimination to avoid being seen as 'overly sensitive', a 'complainer' or a 'victim'. It can feel inappropriate to complain when others offer a compliment or 'just' make a joke, even though such treatments can be annoying – or ambiguous at the least.

This being said, not all occasions are equally ambiguous, and not all participants are equally hesitant to label situations as exclusionary. Esra, for example, showed no reservation in labeling more implicit practices of Othering as exclusionary:

You stand out. The first thing people ask you – Like after September 11th, the first thing my colleague asked the next morning: 'Do you have any family in the United States?' All she wants is to talk about THAT... That really makes you realize that – I am not a Muslim... I'm not even raised as one. I KNOW I have my roots in a Muslim community, but I am not even religious myself. – And those attacks were carried out by Saudis... And then they ask ME... – That really is just an attempt to start a conversation. That makes me think: 'Halloooo... there's 12 or 14 million other people around here who possibly have family in the US...' Well, that just shows that you always... ARE... different.
(Esra)

Paradox 3: Ethnic self-identification, but aversion to ethnic ascription. We saw that highlighting one's minority ethnicity does not necessarily mean that one feels different (paradox 1), and exclusionary practices are often not unambiguously interpreted as such (paradox 2). These points relate to another puzzling aspect in Said's story: the contrast between ethnicity in Said's own communication towards others and ethnicity in others' communication towards him. He explained that he frequently highlights his ethnicity and religion at his work place to disprove negative stereotypes. At the same time, when others refer to his ethnic background (for example in the 'success-story' compliment'), he explicitly questions and nuances the relevance of his background. Apparently, it feels different when one self-identifies in certain terms than when one is externally identified in these terms by someone else.

Participants are clearly reluctant to accept being addressed by others in terms of their minority identities, whether expressed in ethnic or religious terms.

Instances of what I call 'categorization resistance' pop up frequently in all interviews, independent of one's self-identification. Participants are critical of instances of being singled out based on their ethnicity or religion. They question the role of ethnicity when they feel 'culture' is automatically taken as the primary explanation of a social phenomenon. They stress the irrelevance of ethnicity and religion in particular occasions. More than once in the interviews, their choices for co-ethnic or co-religious friends or partners are labeled as 'coincidental'. There are various ways that participants seem to try to counterbalance the widespread focus on ethnicity.

What causes this classification resistance? How can we understand the participants' reluctance to accept being addressed by others in terms of their minority backgrounds, even when they themselves stress the importance of their ethnic backgrounds? Social psychologists Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears and Doosje (1999: 36) explain that being categorized against one's will, what they call 'categorization threat', can lead to depression and can actually harm the performances of people, particularly when corresponding group images are negative and connected to assumptions of poor ability (see also Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 2002; Meyer 2003; Major and O'Brien 2005). Ellemers and colleagues offer three explanations for the frustration caused by external categorization, which are useful for explaining the classification resistance among the participants in my study. Their explanations are (1) one is pre-judged in terms of one's category membership instead of seen as a unique individual and judged on personal characteristics and merits; (2) the particular categorization is irrelevant to the actual situation, or one feels that additional categorizations should also be taken into account; and (3) a lack of personal control when others impose a certain categorization. I show that these explanations also underlie the classification resistance encountered in my interviews. In addition, I suggest a related fourth explanation.

A main reason for classification resistance in the interviews is *prejudgment*. Participants prefer to be seen as holistic, multifaceted persons, with various individual strengths and weaknesses and not to be reduced to the singular image that accompanies the label 'Moroccan', 'Turk', 'Muslim' or 'foreigner'. See for example Karim's quote:

There's no one who appreciates me for who I AM... And now [as successful minorities] we simply have changed into new stereotypes – just like before, you know. We are still not people. (...) this ethnic identity suddenly becomes your real identity, you know. (Karim)

It is particularly disturbing to be reduced to a singular image when a label is connected to negative stereotypes (Goffman 1990 [1963]), as is the case in the

Netherlands, where the labels 'Moroccan', 'Turk' and 'Muslim' have negative connotations and are all used in opposition to being Dutch. These labels are used to label minorities as outsiders and to emphasize their supposed affiliation with co-categorical others. Such prejudgments happen, for example, when participants are asked what they 'as Moroccans' think of a 'Moroccan' thief or how they 'as Muslims' see the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Rejecting the label is a way to reject accompanying insinuations and expectations and to resist being equated with an entire category.

The second reason for classification resistance in the interviews is *inaccuracy* (resembling the second explanation of Ellemers and colleagues). In Dutch politics and media, 'culture' and 'religion' are often taken as explanations for a wide range of social problems, such as criminality, obnoxious street youth, gender inequality and homophobia. Participants seem to be aware of this mechanical culturalist view, this 'ethnic lens'. As it tends to obscure more relevant social mechanisms, participants counter this ethnic lens. They carefully consider whether particular events really can be explained by ethnicity and religion (and really need to be labeled 'Moroccan' or 'Islamic') or if other social mechanisms offer more accurate explanations. Remember Emirs critical reflection on the relevance of (ethnic minority) culture in explaining failings and successes in his professional field:

(...) is that culture then...? I'm not really like: culture... – Is this all about culture? (Said)

The third reason for classification resistance is *denial of agency*. The previous explanations for classification resistance do not explain why participants resist external identification when they assert their identifications in the same terms. Ellemers and colleagues provide an insightful explanation: the reduction of individual agency. The external ascription of a specific label deprives individuals of the freedom to present themselves as they want to, which can feel highly uncomfortable. Classification resistance can be an effort to resist external coercion and maintain control over one's own image and position.

The fourth reason for classification resistance, which I add to the three explanations of Ellemers and colleagues, is *denial of belonging*. This is related to the first and the third point, but I think it needs to be mentioned separately. A strong downside of external identification is that you are appointed the position of the Other, so you are not classified as one of 'us'. This denial of belonging not only occurs when one is labeled as 'Moroccan' by ethnic Dutch but also when one is labeled as (too) 'Dutch' by Moroccan Dutch. Classification resistance can be a reaction to exclusion, an effort to claim one's belonging.^{iv}

Paradox 4. Awareness, but nevertheless employment of essentialist language. After the discussion of the third paradox of classification resistance, we came to the last

paradox in the interviews: the use of ethnic labels. All participants (except for two, who occasionally used 'Moroccan-Dutch'/'Turkish-Dutch') employed the labels 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' and 'Dutch' in reference to other people without considering it problematic. This is surprising, considering the participants' awareness of the overly simplistic and polarizing use of ethnic categories in the dominant discourse and their resistance to being pushed into ethnic categories. My own, sometimes slightly awkward, attempts in the interviews to refer to 'Moroccan-Dutch', 'Turkish-Dutch', 'Dutch with a Moroccan or Turkish background' and 'children of immigrants' did not affect this use. (Later I decided to take over the terminology of each participant.) The participants even applied these straight ethnic labels to themselves, although they sometimes disputed the applicability of the same labeling at other moments in the interview. The following quotes of Aysel and Ahmed illustrate the ambiguous language use:

Marieke: Because... – What is for you... – Because you say: I am Turkish... – Are you... more Turkish than Dutch...? Or can't I say such a thing...?

Aysel: No, I think – Well, that somehow depends on – In Turkey I feel more Dutch, and in the Netherlands I feel more Turkish; let's phrase it THIS way.

(...)

Marieke: And about being Dutch... Do you think – when you just speak for yourself – that your jobs and education have made you more or less Dutch?

Aysel: These questions are really not the questions that occupy my mind. It's not important. (...) I simply don't consider such issues! These are not the questions – It is NOT interesting: Am I more Turkish or Dutch?

Ahmed: You really shouldn't ask me: do you feel more Dutch or Moroccan. That's really nonsense.

(...)

Ahmed: (...) if I had to place my identification on a scale with two extremes, I think I would be at the very Dutch end.

Why do the participants apply these labels in essentialist ways, if they are conscious of the constructed character and of the possibly harmful implications of doing so? The mixing of more essentialized and de-essentialized terms appears to be a broader phenomenon. Among the various immigrant communities in the London Southall neighborhood that he studied, Baumann notices a similar mixing of reifying and de-essentializing language, which he calls 'double discursive competence' (1996). The Southall people alternately employed a 'dominant' discourse, in which ethnic categories were equated with social groups, and each group was identified with a reified culture, and a 'demotic' discourse, which had developed among the people themselves and was used to renegotiate 'culture' and 'community' (ibid.: 188). The Southallians reified and at the same time undid their reifications (Baumann 1999: 140). Baumann offers various explanations for this double discursive competence that can help us understand the double

discursive competence among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants. The explanations that are most applicable in my case are the psychological tendency and the political and social currency. As we have read in chapter 2, people have a general tendency to categorize in order to make sense of the world (1996: 193). This means that participants use reified language because this (partly) reflects how they perceive the world. In addition, the participants do not have an alternative language at their disposal for communicating with others. Reified ethnic categories are dominant ingredients of the language that is available for making sense of the world. As Baumann explains in the Southall case, the essentialist discourse is the 'hegemonic language', favored by dominant institutions and agents, which therefore forms the 'currency' within which ethnic minorities must deal with the establishment (ibid.: 192). This means that the language used in the general discourses, both among ethnic majorities as well as among ethnic minorities, makes it nearly impossible for the participants not to think and talk in the straight categories 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' and 'Dutch'.

The critical awareness of the essentialization of ethnic categories does not extend to culture in the same way. Whereas the participants seem to acknowledge that 'the Moroccan' or 'the Turk' does not exist, we saw in the previous chapter that they speak in un-reflexive terms about what is typically 'Dutch' (e.g. individuality, professionalism) and what is typically 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' (e.g. hospitality, emotionality, social connectedness). Baumann presents a similar observation: 'In the parlance of most Southallians, the meaning of *culture* is not nearly as negotiable as the meaning of community (...) Most Southallians are in most contexts hesitant to use the word *culture* in its de-essentialized sense' (1996: 196, italics in original). Baumann explains that the definition of an ethnic group relies on what is seen as its culture. Applying this to my case, I would say that participants do not deconstruct culture like they (sometimes) do with identifications because in order to expose varieties and changes in identifications, they need anchored concepts to compose their argument. How can you claim you are only '*partly* Moroccan' when 'Moroccan' does not have a fixed meaning?

Reflection and responses (to subtle practices of 'Othering')

How participants feel and identify in social settings such as their work places, is a complex issue. In contrast to how they described the interethnic relations in their childhoods, which were largely described in terms of dissonance and non-belonging, most participants indicate they have not (often) experienced overt discrimination in adulthood, and they feel they belong in their professional environments. However, this emphasis on consonance does not mean that there are not (subtle) practices of exclusion. Participants are often labeled as 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish', which is disturbing, even though (or rather: because) these practices are often ambiguous and subtle. Such instances of external categorization reduce individuals to a singular identity, suggest a prioritization of cultural explanations,

deny personal agency and emphasize the individual's non-belonging to the context at hand or to the Netherlands in general.

Interestingly, ethnic Dutch climbers describe similar feelings of insecurity about their belonging in their middle-class work environments, even without a minority ethnicity. A perceived gap in social and cultural capital, communication, presentation and knowledge makes ethnic Dutch climbers feel different from their middle-class colleagues (Brands 1992; Matthys 2010). These climbers feel especially rejected when middle-class others are ignorant about life-worlds that are different from than their own, as this shows that the middle-class standards are the undisputed norm and underlines the climbers' deviation (Matthys 2010: 334).

A set of responses to unwanted external categorization emerges from the interviews, paralleling the responses I described before (conform, convince, conceal and confront; which I discuss here in reverse order).^v These responses roughly resemble the responses to unwanted categorization identified by Ellemers and colleagues (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 1999; Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 2002), which are (1) challenging the presumed stereotypical relation between category membership and behavior (similar to 'convincing' and 'confronting'), (2) 'disidentification' with the category of the ascription (concealing), and (3) strengthening one's identification with the category of the external ascription (conforming).

(1) Confront: challenge the external categorization. One way to respond to unwanted external categorization is to explicitly challenge or deny the exclusively ethnic identification. This can be done by refusing the ethnic label – as we have seen in the discussion of 'categorization resistance'. Another way is explicitly emphasizing one's Dutchness. Such claims of Dutchness occur in the interview with Adem who underlines the indisputability of his Dutchness in what seems to be a reaction to the (implicit) suggestion that he is not Dutch:

Marieke: When I ask you: 'Are you Dutch?' What would you say?

Adem: Um.... I am – Well... That JUST depends on what you call Dutch, doesn't it??

Marieke: What do YOU call Dutch?

Adem: I feel I do MORE than enough for THIS country, more than the average Dutch person. And I would defend this country MORE than enough. And I DO. So, when THIS is the condition for being Dutch, I am Dutch for one thousand percent. (Adem)

Another way to challenge the supposed singular character of identification is to challenge the stereotypical idea that identification as Dutch and Moroccan/Turkish are mutually exclusive by stressing one's 'bi-culturality' and explaining the value of 'bi-culturality'.

I feel REALLY blessed in that respect. I really feel blessed that I have two countries where I can live, and that I feel at home in both countries. That's a REAL privilege. (Berkant)

(2) *Conceal: avoid external categorization by disidentification.* Another set of responses aims to entirely avoid the unwanted external categorization as ethnic. To avoid being Othered, some try to hide or de-emphasize their minority identity in order to 'pass' for a member of a different category. We have seen that these strategies were common for many participants during their childhood, when they wanted to downplay or even conceal their ethnicities. Yet, as we saw in the discussion on classification resistance, in their adulthood, participants sometimes refrain from labeling themselves as Turkish or Moroccan. Karim's quote shows that he made a deliberate move from emphasizing to de-emphasizing his minority identity:

Karim: After a while, I was done with being a minority. Just like my friend. (...) We felt that we became like stereotypes... instead of real people...

Marieke: And then you kind of 'undid' your minority status?

Karim: Then, I undid my minority status. Um... yes, over time I did so.^{vi}

A way to de-emphasize one's ethnicity is to designate the ethnic categorization as irrelevant to the situation at hand by stressing other dimensions, such as one's professional identity, as have already seen with Aysel:

– In Turkey I feel more Dutch, and in the Netherlands I feel more Turkish; let's phrase it THIS way. But at my work, I just feel like a consultant (Aysel).

Another approach for designating the ethnic categorization as irrelevant is pointing to one's individuality, emphasizing the futility of categorizing people:

Well... you just switch somewhat, you know. You want – At some moments you really strive to belong. Then you want to be EITHER Dutch OR really Moroccan. At other moments, you feel extremely rebellious and you think: 'You know what? NEVER MIND! I am who I am. I just don't care. It's a bit of a compromise...' (Karim)

Well... I'm not like a standard employee or anything. I somewhat divert from the standard. But that's fine. They have to take me as I am (...). I am Moroccan and Dutch. I am who I am, I cannot separate these things. (Imane)

(3) *Convince: challenge the applied stereotype.* Others take up the challenge. They try to influence the debate and change the widespread negative stereotypes. They publish articles, start social initiatives or enter 'white' bulwarks to bridge the gap between the ethnic minority and the rest of society. They try and 'convince' the

audience that the stereotypical assumptions are untrue and misleading. To show that negative stereotypes of the ethnic group are too negative and simplistic and certainly do not apply to all members of the specific category, it is crucial to highlight both one's ethnic minority background *and* one's success (measured against dominant standards). This is why – as we have read – Said accentuates his 'Moroccan' and 'Muslim' side whenever he can to show that these characteristics indeed can be combined with achieving success. This strategy of showing socially desired behavior to change negative stereotypes appears to be common. It is the most commonly applied behavior among the Moroccan Dutch students in the study of De Jong (2012: 79), and Ketner's Moroccan Dutch respondents also frequently employ this approach (2010).

Another way to challenge negative stereotypes is to 'play' with stereotypical images. The aim is to trigger critical reflection, to make the audience reconsider their simplistic assumptions by behaving in stereotypical ways with-a-twist...:

I remember, once – I was with friends in the train at peak hour, the train was packed – that we started to speak Dutch with such awful, faltering accents. ON PURPOSE, just to shock people. And meanwhile, we just said incredibly smart things, you know (both laughing). To trigger people, so they think: 'Huh??' You know. Just to, kind of, annoy them. To make them REALIZE: 'There's something wrong here... These kids are saying really intelligent stuff. But with an awful accent.' On purpose! (Said)

This is how I also interpret Said's sudden remark at the end of what had been a pleasant interview:

Well, what do you think of my Dutch?? Isn't it faultless?? (Said)

His remark amazed me and made me feel extremely uncomfortable, as it never occurred to me that as a higher educated person with a high status job he would not speak Dutch well, and I would never have wanted to make give him this impression. This remark might be seen as a cynical way to make me aware of the absurd presumptions he often encounters.

(4) Conform: increase identification with the category of ascription. The variety of responses demonstrates that individuals often have agency over how they identify in many situations. However, even though external categorizations do not entirely pin people down, individual agency is not unlimited. The influence of external categorizations can be extreme and often cannot be ignored. When external categorizations happen, they need to be dealt with in one way or the other. Categorizations can be overwhelming, and attempts to challenge these might simply seem futile. People do not always feel the freedom or have the energy to challenge them. In those cases, conforming to them – at least in how you present yourself – might seem like the best option. It is a way to protect one's

self-esteem (Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 2002). Consequently, noted by others participants sometimes present themselves according to the ascribed ethnic label, even if they do not (entirely) feel this way. This is also observed in other studies, see for example Omlo (2011), Van der Welle (2011), De Jong (2012), Eijberts (2013). Ahmed explains:

Actually, now I think about it... Nine out of ten times I am not addressed as Dutch, but as Moroccan [by ethnic Dutch], whereas inside I feel like a Dutch Moroccan, both. (...) Look, I actually do not call myself Dutch, because you are not seen as Dutch. (Ahmed)

The pressure to identify in a certain way can also lead to an increased identification with the ethnic or religious identity on a deeper level, for example, when focusing on being Turkish, Moroccan or Muslim makes one more conscious of one's minority ethnicity and religion. Rumbaut calls this a 'reactive ethnicity' (2008). This is also what De Koning (2008) and Ketner (2009, 2010) notice in relation to religious identification among Moroccan Dutch youth. The social importance of ethnicity (or religion) may lead one to further explore these identities, and it can make these identifications more salient, as Hicham's quote illustrates:

Before, people were much less aware of their being Moroccan or Muslim, they possessed multiple identities. It was more dynamic; it was just how you felt at a particular moment. In the afternoon, at the snack bar with your peers, you use slang, while in the evening with your mom, you speak Berber. Currently, it happens that one identity becomes more and more prominent. That you are Moroccan or Muslim becomes imprinted as the most prominent identity. I feel pushed into this identity, by people questioning me about it, or write about it in the papers, and those who study the second and third generation, whatever. That makes me think about my identity and wonder: 'What actually IS my identity?' Then I suddenly have to make decisions, whereas, before, my identity was like: it all fits together. (...) Now it seems like some sort of a make-or-breakpoint. It is almost like: 'Take it or leave it, it belongs with me and it's important to me'. Things that you were not aware of, previously, become more and more important. (Hicham)

External pressure can also lead to an increased association with a co-ethnic or co-religious community. Bouchra explained that as a result of her experiences of exclusion from Dutch society, she only feels truly welcomed and accepted by the worldwide Islamic community (Ummah).

On an even deeper level, being categorized as 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' and as 'non-Dutch' can lead to the internalization of this view and to a weakening identification as Dutch. When people do not feel accepted for who they are, this might lead to a reconsideration of their belonging in Dutch society and doubts

about their futures is in the Netherlands. Will they and their children really be happy here? Aysel's feelings of belonging changed over time:

(...) For a long while, I thought: 'We are Dutch... This society is ours...'. Fortuyn's murder sort of – I started to realize: 'You are an immigrant and you will remain one, FOREVER. Whatever happens'. (...) So I told my children: 'You might THINK that you can be like Jan or Piet [which are typically Dutch names], but you should really know: If you're involved in something – in the bus, or on a street corner – you are much more likely to be seen as a troublemaker than Piet or Jan... Always be aware of your position in a society.' (Aysel)

Sometimes, the idea that one is 'Moroccan' and therefore is not-Dutch is even too internalised to be problematized, as Hind's quote illustrates:

I KNOW I'm darker and everything, but I am not fully aware of it myself... (laughs). Sometimes, when I am abroad, I happen to say: 'I'm Dutch'. Then they respond with: 'Are you DUTCH??' 'Um, no, sorry, sorry, sorry, I am Moroccan...' (laughs). You know... that I just forget for a moment... (Hind)

The occurrence of this response of 'conforming', when ethnic labeling by others leads individuals to apply the label to themselves or even to further strengthen their broader co-ethnic orientation, shows the reverse (or perverse) effect of the culturalist and emotive integration discourse. The consistent labeling of immigrants and their offspring as the ethnic Other, often leads them to identify as such. This then forms yet another reason for exclusion, as all citizens are required to feel Dutch and identify as Dutch in order to belong (see also Duyvendak and Slootman 2011). Other studies show that feelings of exclusion hampers national identification (Ersanilli 2009; Georgiadis and Manning 2012) This illustrates how the personal side of belonging, feelings of belonging is affected by that other side of belonging, the politics of belonging.

6.5 The role of education, ethnicity, gender, generation and religion

It is clear by now that the participants' self-identifications need to be understood in their social contexts. How others see and approach them affects the participants' feelings of belonging and therefore affects how they position themselves in particular situations. Hence, how individuals present themselves in particular situations is not only based on a 'cognitive component' (the individual's independent, autonomous affiliations). The interviews show that there is also a 'strategic component', based on interactions with the social other, the 'audience' (see Goffman 1959; Barreto, Spears, Ellemers and Shahinper 2003). A range of responses is available when the audience exerts strong behavioral

expectations or ascribes a certain label, and when this endangers one's position of belonging because the stances of the individual and the social other are dissonant. These responses – confronting, concealing, convincing and conforming – vary in terms of how an individual balances one's independent preferences with one's belonging. Although external demands and ascriptions can be fierce, and personal agency can be (severely) limited, individuals rarely completely lack agency.

Obviously, no individual and no context is the same. Nevertheless, the interviews reveal trends that are indicative of the roles that social mobility, ethnicity, gender, generation and religion, play in various cases. I will show in this section, based on the empirical material presented in this chapter, that social mobility affects social bonds and responses in unexpected ways. Furthermore, I will argue, based on the comparison with ethnic majority climbers, that the role of minority ethnicity is smaller than is often assumed, even by many of the participants themselves. I will also briefly touch upon the roles of gender, ethnicity (having a Moroccan versus Turkish background) and generation. The section concludes with a note on the meaning of religion in the context of ethnicity and ethnic identification.

The role of social mobility. Refuting common assumptions

High levels of education and a middle-class status shape the participants' belonging and their self-identifications in particular ways. Social mobility makes the participants feel that they have proven themselves as valuable individuals, as citizens and as ethnic minority citizens in particular (see also Buitelaar 2009: 53). They have proven themselves to themselves, their families and to the broader society. Achieving a higher education level and a middle-class status seem to enhance belonging, creating special opportunities, both in co-ethnic and interethnic contexts.

As explained in the theoretical chapter, classical theories on incorporation predict that socioeconomic advancement among ethnic minorities generally leads to weaker ethnic identification and an increasing gap with co-ethnics. This chapter offers no support for this view. The participants did not experience an unequivocally widening gap with co-ethnics due to their social mobility. For them, as (the eldest) children of Moroccan and Turkish immigrants, a gap between their own life worlds and those of their parents had always been a given. Ever since they were young, they had been more oriented to and familiar with Dutch society than their parents, regardless of their rising education levels. Contrary to the predications based on classical integration theories, but also contrary to experiences of ethnic Dutch social climbers, the participants' social advancement did not further increase the gap with their parents. Instead, their educational achievements helped to somewhat bridge the gap. Their achievements made their parents proud and increased their parents' trust in them. It even helped to

slightly increase the freedom their parents allowed them. In other words: their social mobility can be seen to contribute to their belonging among co-ethnics. (This is particularly true for the relations with parents, as participants sometimes confront suspicion from other co-ethnics.) Additionally, as we have seen, and as I discuss further in the next chapter, processes of social mobility did not generally result in a weak ethnic identification or a distancing from co-ethnics. Instead, many participants showed an increasing ethnic identification after their process of mobility and had many co-ethnic (and higher educated) friends.

With respect to interethnic contexts, it is widely assumed – in line with classical integration theories – that higher education leads to assimilation and belonging. This is also the case among Moroccan Dutch students who hope that climbing the social ladder will finally lead to their acknowledgement as valuable citizens (De Jong 2012). However, the idea that social mobility makes ethnic minority backgrounds irrelevant needs nuancing. First of all, the interviews show that being higher educated does not prevent feelings of exclusion. Most participants regularly experience subtle practices of Othering. These practices are complicated to interpret and respond to, but they nevertheless feel exclusionary. This is particularly frustrating because the participants themselves do not differ. They feel similar to others in their environment, such as their colleagues. They feel Dutch and are skilled professionals. They do not differ from others in any aspect relevant to the situation at hand. Despite these experiences of dissonance, the participants primarily reflect on their daily interethnic interactions in terms of belonging.^{vii}

Secondly, it appears that a high education level makes it especially important to articulate one's ethnic minority background in interethnic settings. As social climbers, the participants are in a particular position that enables them to challenge negative stereotypes, to prove them wrong. Their successful position (measured against dominant social standards) makes them appointed persons to challenge negative stereotypes and to show that being 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' or active 'Muslim' does not preclude social mobility and full participation in society. Their position as social climbers increases the chances that they are heard and taken seriously. It not only instills in them some sort of responsibility to highlight their ethnicity, but also *enables* them to highlight their ethnicity. Given the acceptance based on their achieved positions, the minority climbers can accentuate their 'deviant' characteristic without immediately threatening their position of belonging. This leads many ethnic minority members to sometimes highlight their ethnic background, not despite – but *because of* their positions as social climbers.

The role of minority ethnicity. Exposing an ethnic lens

The comparison with ethnic majority climbers made throughout the chapter reveals many interesting parallels with the stories of the second generation Moroccan and Turkish climbers, which nuance the role of ethnicity. We have seen that it is not only ethnic minority climbers who struggle with their belonging on two sides. Both in the contexts of their family and in their school and work environments, ethnic majority climbers face very similar struggles. As children, ethnic majority climbers also felt the ambiguous pressures from their parents to succeed on the one hand, but to stay close and not become alienated on the other hand. They have to deal with a similar gap between their life worlds and the life worlds of their parents. And like many of the ethnic minority climbers, ethnic majority climbers often feel out of place in their school and work-settings. Interestingly, in these struggles of belonging, educational success is also a means of attaining belonging for ethnic majority climbers. Educational achievements form a way of proving both to their classmates and to themselves that they indeed belong at that school (Brands 1992: 119). Again in their later lives, professional achievements help to counter the uncomfortable perception that one is seen as an intruder (1992: 233).

This suggests that the prominence of ethnicity as a sole explanation for feelings of difference and struggles of belonging is overestimated. The unease at receptions forms a telling illustration. Remember that for Karim being invited to receptions felt like an outright confrontation with his Moroccan 'foreignness'. At these 'typically Dutch' receptions, he felt completely out of place, which he attributed to his Moroccan upbringing. However, not only (several of) my participants feel uneasy at receptions, ethnic Dutch climbers in Matthys' study share this unease (2010: 221, 327). They feel awkward and incapable of having informal conversations because of their unfamiliarity with the reigning communication codes at receptions. Apparently, others without ethnic minority backgrounds share the deep unease that Karim feels at receptions, which for him forms the ultimate demarcation of the boundary that separates him (having Moroccan parents) from 'Dutch society'. This suggests that in Karim's case, this unease is at least partly a consequence of his lower-class background. The similarities with ethnic majority climbers show that the 'ethnic explanation' for experiences of difference and non-belonging among ethnic minority climbers is partly a consequence of employing an ethnic lens.

The role of gender and ethnicity. Revealing the relevance of generation

Besides education level, how do other dimensions affect the belonging and identifications of the second generation climbers? What is the role of gender and of having a Moroccan or Turkish background? Do additional dimensions emerge as relevant? The central observation is that gender and the specific ethnic background are not relevant for the main arguments in this chapter. The parallel occurrence of consonance and dissonance, both in co-ethnic as well as in

interethnic settings, applies to both men and women and to participants with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds. Regardless of gender and ethnicity, they aim for belonging in the various situations, and they have the same choice of approaches for responding to dissonance. In addition, the role of social mobility does not seem different for participants in these various categories.

This does not mean that gender and the specific ethnic minority background do not matter. The gendered images of a typical 'Moroccan' or 'Turk' do influence the experiences of second generation climbers. Many participants mentioned that female siblings have less freedom than male siblings or are less stimulated in their educational careers. However, when we look at the individual cases, the picture is more complex. Yes, the strictest upbringings were those of women, but also some men were raised relatively strictly. There were also women who experienced relatively more freedom, just like some of the male participants. Considering the different stereotypes of Moroccan/Turkish/Muslim women and men in the dominant integration discourse (as subordinate victims respectively as abusive perpetrators), it is surprising that in the interviews gender does not pop up as a major theme in interethnic contexts. Only Bouchra refers to the gendered prejudices she encounters.

Comparing the Moroccan Dutch with the Turkish Dutch participants, I observe two differences, in support of the literature describing the Turkish Dutch as generally more cohesive than Moroccan Dutch, and in support of the results of the previous chapter (that ethnic identification among Turkish Dutch on average is more substantive or 'thick'). Turkish Dutch participants grew up in close connection with children of befriended Turkish families. This contrasts with the stories of Moroccan Dutch participants, who did not report on such close co-ethnic family relations, even though their parents did seem to have connections with other co-ethnic parents. Nevertheless, a frequent interaction among Turkish Dutch children does not automatically imply that these were also close friends (as Esra told), nor that their presence fully alleviated the burdens of discrimination (Berkant). Furthermore, there is a difference in the use of the parental language, as the Turkish Dutch spoke Turkish much more frequently (both with siblings as well as with Turkish-Dutch peers) than the Moroccan Dutch. The main explanation is that the language landscape of the Moroccan Dutch is far less crystallized than the Turkish Dutch landscape (the Arabic language of the Quran differs from the Arabic that is the official language in Morocco, and the various indigenous peoples have different tribal languages, which for a long time have only existed in oral form). So, for Moroccan Dutch to speak with other Moroccan Dutch, they often resorted to Dutch. Moroccan Dutch siblings also spoke Dutch with each other, which can be interpreted as an expression of a stronger Dutch orientation among the Moroccan Dutch than among the Turkish Dutch participants.

Actually, it appears that generation matters more than gender and ethnicity. Many of the participants' experiences are characteristic of their growing up shortly after the moment of migration. Observing their parents' hardships and sacrifices, the looming expectation of return to Morocco and Turkey, the parental inexperience in Dutch society and the lack of support, the relative strictness of their parents, but also the dominance of ethnic Dutch in their schools and neighborhoods (particularly at the higher education levels) and the lack of successful co-ethnic role models in Dutch society are all characteristic of the children of immigrants born around the moment of migration. The centrality of these immigration experiences distinguishes the 'early' second generation from the 'later' second generation. The later second generation, born roughly ten years later in the '80s, grew up further from the moment of migration. Their parents had become more progressive and attached more value to education. The later second generation was more likely to grow up in environments with larger shares of co-ethnics and peers with other ethnic minority backgrounds and grew up with the presence of co-ethnic role models. They also grew up in a different 'Zeitgeist', as over the years the tone of the integration debate has harshened.

The role of religion. Commenting on a conflation of religion and ethnicity

In line with the high correlation in the TIES data presented in Chapter 5, between ethnic and religious identification, in the interviews religious identification was often mentioned in the same breath as ethnic identification, both in relation to co-ethnic and interethnic contexts. The reason is that in both contexts the concepts of religion and ethnicity are closely intertwined. In the dominant integration discourse, ethnicity and religion are generally conflated; for example in the argument that 'Moroccans' and 'Turks' do not belong in the Netherlands because of their Islamic cultures. Because the ethnic and the religious labels are used in comparable ways to denote Otherness, the second generation climbers need to challenge both stereotypes at the same time.

In co-ethnic contexts, ethnic and religious concepts are also closely intertwined. Being a 'good' 'Moroccan' or 'Turk' often means that one is also a 'good' Muslim. For parents (as well as for many of the participants), being a 'good' Muslim often is even more important. This means that being a Muslim strongly contributes to belonging among co-ethnics. Ketner lucidly describes how this works among adolescents with Moroccan backgrounds (2009, 2010). She describes how Islam for them is not only a source of ideological inspiration but also an instrument that they use in negotiations with their parents. By showing that they are good Muslims and/or arguing that certain values are propagated in Islam (such as education, individual autonomy and participation in Dutch society), the adolescents manage to acquire more personal freedom and carve out their own routes and identities while they prevent alienation from their parents.

6.6 Summary and reflection

The answer to the question why second generation Moroccan and Turkish climbers identify as they do is partly: to respond to the social situation at hand. In this chapter we explored social relations, which were characterized by consonance or dissonance. Disagreement, either about behavioral preferences or about labels of identification, forms a possible threat to the individual's acceptance by that particular audience, threatening one's belonging. How one positions oneself in response is a balance between the pursuit of belonging and the pursuit of one's independent wishes. One can choose to conform to the demands of the other, to convince the other to change his stance, to pursue one's own independent wishes but conceal this, or to just confront the other by open pursuit of these wishes.

Even though in this chapter I have shown that individuals have agency in their self-identification, that – in Song's words (2003) – people do have ethnic options, it is important not to overestimate the individual agency and not to underestimate the influence of external actors. There is a danger when the image of 'victim' shifts to the image of 'resilient actor' that the responsibility for social oppression shifts from society to the individual, and that failures to cope are seen as personal rather than societal failings (Meyer 2003, p. 23). As is clear from this chapter, individuals are not free to choose whether or not to be subject to external pressures, whether from co-ethnics or others. In particular, the dominant integration discourse is felt as extremely exclusionary and insulting. Participants often feel judged 'as Moroccans' and 'as Turks' and measured along specific yardsticks. It is important to realize how social others limit and shape the individual's options, by granting or withholding appreciation, acceptance and the permission to belong. It would be unjust to hold the minority individual (entirely) responsible for their experiences and expressions of non-belonging, as feelings of belonging are strongly affected by politics of belonging. This is why the exclusivist discourse has reverse effects.

The findings show the inappropriateness of thinking in terms of ethnic 'ingroup' (characterized by consonance and belonging) and ethnic 'outgroup' (characterized by dissonance and non-belonging). We have seen that in both kinds of settings, strategies are needed to achieve belonging. It appears untrue that only among co-ethnics and not among interethnics there is need for belonging, as thinking in terms of ethnic 'ingroup' and ethnic 'outgroup' implies. In both kinds of settings, individuals strive to belong. Nor is it true that belonging among co-ethnics is self-evident and among interethnics is always disputed. Belonging among co-ethnics often needs to be negotiated, and in many interethnic situations, participants feel they belong. This theme of interethnic consonance will be further explored in the next chapter. Nor is it true that

'ethnicity' shapes experiences and dispositions in such a way that it is justified to think in internally homogenous and externally bounded groups. Other characteristics such as social mobility, gender and generation also affect the experiences of second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. Besides the broader trends, it is important to acknowledge variations between individuals and even between contexts. All these findings warn against any form of 'groupist' thinking and against thinking in terms of a consonant ethnic 'ingroup' and a dissonant ethnic 'outgroup'.

The fact that co-ethnic relationships are not always consonant shows that minority individuals are not seamlessly immersed in homogeneous co-ethnic communities. Ethnic minority individuals are exposed to behavioral and other identificational expectations by co-ethnics, on which one's belonging as a respected member partially depends. In order to be able to recognize these mechanisms, it is important to consistently separate the individual level and the collective level. In addition to much of the empirical literature on ethnic minorities where the focus is on the group level, in more conceptual arguments, the individual and the collective levels are often confused. This is illustrated by the use of 'internal' and 'external' identification by Jenkins (2008a). This is an important case, as Jenkins provides a structured analysis of the concept of ethnic identity, and his use of the concepts of internal and external identification is very common. Even though he criticizes the 'misleading' 'homology between collective identity and individual identity' (2008: 55), he fails to apply this distinction in his definition of internal and external identification. Jenkins describes internal identification as 'an individual process or a collective, group process' and external identification as 'categorizations: of "us" by "them", and of "them" by "us"' (2008: 55, 171). Consequently, this analytical framework ignores a specific process of identification: the external identification of the individual by the 'own' (co-ethnic) group. Even though Jenkins states that he does not regard the individual and the group as one and the same, by using the same analytical concept 'internal definition' for self-definition on both levels, he suggests that the identification of the individual is equal to the identification of 'the group', thereby implying some sort of ('ingroup') homogeneity among co-ethnics, at least in terms of identification. This confusion or conflation of (minority) individuals and entire (minority) categories occurs in many studies, as Brubaker and Cooper also note (2000).

I have solved this confusion of individuals and categories by the use of 'internal' identification (which I called 'self-identification', or 'identification' for reasons of readability) exclusively in reference to the individual level. I have used 'self-identification' to refer to how one defines and positions oneself. 'External identification' (or 'labelling' or 'categorization') refers to all kinds of identity ascriptions by social others, whether these are co-ethnics or not. This requires

explicit mentioning of the relevant actors when discussing practices of external identification. Such mentioning of actors prevents a biased approach towards processes of identification, as it avoids the implicit assumption that a minority individual only (and always) feels unwanted identificational pressure in interethnic contexts and only (and always) feels acceptance and support in co-ethnic contexts.

7. Strangers and soulmates. Trajectories of identification and development of 'minority middle-class capital'

How do identifications develop over one's lifetime? What roles do difference and similarity play? And what is the role of co-educated co-ethnic peers? Can we say that a 'minority culture of mobility' is developing in the Netherlands?

As much as identifications are not static over different contexts, identifications are also not constant throughout one's life-course. This led to the separation of childhood and adult phases in the previous chapter. In this chapter, I will further explore how ethnic identification evolves throughout the life course and how this depends on social interactions and experiences of difference and sameness. I will show that the development of fitting ethnic and national identifications are not self-evident for all and are often preceded by a struggle. I will show that there is a trajectory of 'reinvention' of ethnic identification that is specific for the pioneering social climbers in this study, these climbers who are the first of their ethnic categories to reach higher education levels and middle-class positions. This phenomenon shows parallels with what is described elsewhere as a 'minority culture of mobility'.

Let us listen once more to Said:

Well, I think, when you look back... Yes, I think – reflecting on the period at elementary school – ...that you discover that you are actually different. In a negative way. Because I remember – Quite bizarre: sometimes I was not allowed to play at a friend's house. That's something that you don't understand at that moment. So, then you find out you are different. That is phase one. (...)

Then, let's say, this period at high school, where you, let's say, SEE the opportunities and seize them, and where you realize that you're talented. You know, that you say to yourself: 'This is GOOD for me'. It sounds weird – no, it doesn't – that at the age of

fourteen you notice the difference between you, the higher educated pupil, and the lower educated pupils of the school nearby. There is a huge difference, with those children smoking pot. So you notice THAT. This makes you realize: 'I want to stand out positively, I do not want to be like them'. So, basically – you then learn about your... identity – I don't know. But what you learn is indeed, in that secondary school period: no negative association with your own identity. That was a really fantastic period. What is important, is that – well – there I met with friends who did NOT see you as THE Moroccan, or whatever. You COULD play at their homes: sit... sleep over... you know... I enjoyed that period so much. Really great. Good memories. I did not feel different AT ALL. Of course, you realize you have a different background. But who cares?! You know: 'Enrichment.' Whatever.... – but that wasn't the focus. (...)

The funny thing is – at university you find out – Yes, there I DID relate more to, well, Moroccan Dutch students. This was kind of a change. In fact, your whole life you did not do that. There you meet soulmates [*lotgenoten*], higher educated Moroccan Dutch students. That was a real revelation. For all of us. We still are in contact. But I remember the moment of revelation at that time: 'Apparently I am not alone' – I always felt THE exception. They were on your own wavelength, let's describe it this way. There were incredible levels of mutual understanding. Of course, that is fabulous. We surely all were... the outsider, you know. That was a fantastic period, indeed. I primarily related to Moroccan Dutch people. Students. They were my best friends. Look, I also participated in a normal student fraternity, so there I did interact with other [ethnic Dutch] – But when you ask me: who did you mostly relate to, then it is primarily [with Moroccan Dutch]. (Said)

In the light of these previous quotes, Said's current relation with his ethnic background is remarkably comfortable. Remember the quote presented in the last chapter:

I actually highlight it all the [time] – I am just PROUD of it (laughs apologetically but affirmatively). I find it important to – I WANT to show that you can be both Moroccan and successful. I want to, very deliberately, show that these two CAN be combined. Whenever I can, I also say I am a Muslim. Whenever I can I say I celebrate the Ramadan. And whenever I can I say I regularly pray. And whenever I can I say that I... whatever – that I visit Morocco every year, for example. (Said)

From Said's story, interesting themes emerge, which I further examine in this chapter. First, I describe a particular trajectory of ethnic identification that I encountered in many of the participant's life stories (7.1). I then explicate the occurrence of this trajectory. Is this a generic process? What is the role of belonging? And, what are the roles of sameness and difference? How do they relate to ethnicity and education level? (7.2) Subsequently, I concentrate on the interaction with the so-called 'co-ethnic co-educated soulmates'. Can we say that among these co-ethnic co-educated soulmates a 'minority culture of mobility', or

'minority middle-class capital' emerges? (7.3) The chapter concludes with a brief summary and a discussion of the generalizability of the findings (7.4).

7.1 A trajectory of reinvention of ethnic identification revealed

Many aspects of Said's story also emerged in the other interviews. Most of the participants sketched a trajectory with roughly comparable phases. In the previous chapter, we learned about the childhood phase and the adult phase. All participants were born in Moroccan and to Turkish families around the moment of their migration. Therefore, except for Nathalie, the sphere of primary socialization in their very early years was completely Moroccan or Turkish. As we have read, the childhood accounts in the context of their 'white' schools and neighborhoods were dotted with memories of 'feeling different' and the longing to be accepted by others. Some participants were actively excluded or even bullied, whereas others just felt that they differed from some implicit norm. Several explained how they internalized the stereotypical ideas that Moroccans and Turkish are less intelligent. To avoid standing out because of their ethnic backgrounds and to be accepted as one of 'us', they tried to conceal or downplay their ethnicity. For some participants, these feelings of being different extended into their secondary school phase; others, like Said, did not feel like an outsider anymore and developed a positive self-image. Said's close friendships with ethnic Dutch peers made him feel accepted and valued. His ethnic background simply felt irrelevant to him at that time. His self-confidence grew because he realized he was doing well and could be proud of himself.

The participants' reflections on their ethnic affiliations as adults differ from the reflections on their ethnic affiliations when recalling their childhoods. Their current relationship with their ethnic background is described in far more positive terms. All participants, except Nathalie, explicitly identify in ethnic terms (in combination with feeling Dutch). Furthermore, they have good relations with their parents and have many co-ethnic friends. Many show a social engagement that is inspired by their ethnic backgrounds. They contribute to bridging cultural differences or support the next generation of co-ethnics.

A period that popped up in many of the interviews as a significant phase was the moment when the participants entered university and met students with co-ethnic backgrounds. Said described in euphoric terms what it meant for him to suddenly meet co-ethnic students at university. It was a 'fantastic period', a 'revelation'. Others, such as Berkant and Mustapha, recount this phase in remarkably similar ways:

Then, you suddenly ARE at university, you ARE together with people – Well... since the second year, when I became involved in the Turkish student association – that was a PEAK experience. Suddenly, a whole new world unfolds, um – with an urgent need to share your experiences with somebody who went through the same as you did. So that was really a peak, my time at the Turkish student association. Really a peak. (Berkant)

So, when at university I did meet Moroccan students, for me that was a relief. Indeed, there was no need to explain myself anymore. About why this and why that. So, at that moment I started to explore my roots, also via my studies, as I did a research project in Morocco. And I became active in the student environment. Yes, Muslim, Moroccan, whatever, youth association as well – I have since then been very involved with the Moroccan community. I very much enjoyed it. It gave me heaps of energy, and it really made me grow as a person in that period. (Mustapha)

The reason for this delight was an unparalleled mutual understanding. There was the sudden insight: ‘Apparently there are more of us’. The participants felt a ‘match’ with these co-ethnic students, who were on the same ‘wavelength’. There was this sudden, urgent need to share stories with people who had similar experiences. These co-ethnic students also had been ‘the exception’ in their environments, to use Said’s words. Not only in their school environments, but also in their relations with co-ethnics, these students encountered identical problems. For Karim, meeting co-ethnic student Kamal was ‘life changing’. With Kamal, Karim finally no longer felt judged; he felt appreciated as a person. Like himself, Kamal felt burdened by high expectations from his family and ‘the entire community’. Both men were put ‘under a microscope’ and felt the pressure to behave as ‘one of them’ (their co-ethnics), and were expected to pray and to marry. They felt the heavy imperative to succeed in educational and professional terms. Openly sharing these experiences was a relief. Even Esra and Imane, who initially kept their distance from co-ethnic students due to assumptions that these students would be as conservative as the co-ethnics they already knew, ultimately felt like fish in the water among the co-ethnic students they met. These fellow students appeared to share their modern, liberal and emancipated attitudes. Many of the participants were members of Moroccan or Turkish student associations (sometimes in addition to general student associations), which they often helped to found.

These stories, characterized by a ‘sudden’ unprecedented understanding and described in terms as ‘revelation’, indicate that the participants had not experienced their ethnic identities in a way that felt applicable to themselves until they met these other higher educated co-ethnics. It is through this specific social interaction with co-ethnic peers who shared their education level that the meaning of their ethnic backgrounds fell into place and became more fitting. Experiences that previously felt unique and personal suddenly became shared experiences among people with similar ethnic backgrounds and similar

trajectories of mobility. Apparently, these minority climbers created a new way of relating to the ethnic labels that applied to them as higher educated.

Apart from the university phase, in their early adult life, many felt the increasing need to explore and reassert their ethnicity because it more and more started to feel like a (missing) part of themselves. The following quotes of Hicham and Ahmed illustrate the importance of their ethnicity. They explain that disregard of their ethnic sides led to a feeling of 'loss'. Their quotes also show the effort it took to develop this ethnic side in correspondence with who they are. Their accounts seem to particularly apply to members of the second generation who are higher educated.

Hicham: (...) That's kind of funny. It happens to all people who made the decision to assimilate quite far. You see them struggle – that they just realize: 'Fuck, wait, I actually miss aspects that I feel I carry inside, which I concealed and suppressed, and which I miss badly'.

Marieke: Did you 'lose' something?

Hicham: Yes, I think so. I've discussed this at home as well, with my wife. I lost something because of my choice to be ambitious. I sacrificed part of my family bonds. You used to visit your grandpa and grandma and uncles and aunts, and neighborhood friends that you grew up with; people among whom you can experience part of your Moroccanness – in music, or in jointly watching the Moroccan football team or whatever. I've partly lost that: the opportunity to very directly experience the identity of my parents, and therefore also a part of my own identity – to experience that in my close surroundings. These are very basic things, like: in those old days, when I came home from school, I sometimes dropped by at a Moroccan tearoom. Even though these were not my kind of peers, with regards to their socioeconomic background or whatever, these were the only people in my environment to share some mint-tea with, having Moroccan music in the background... That brings some peace.

Ahmed: (...) of course, for me it's a quest as well... I grew up in very white surroundings, and that's one of the reasons I returned to Amsterdam: because I missed my Moroccanness.ⁱ

Marieke: Why was that?

Ahmed: Because I had always been in a white – well, I'm somewhat exaggerating with this 'whiteness' and 'Moroccanness' – ...because I had always been in these surroundings, and suddenly there was a moment when I wondered: 'What now?' I started to feel the need to explore: 'Okay, what does it mean for me, how does it impact me?' Then, more questions emerged, and the need increased –

Although the participants' stories somewhat vary, the commonalities between many of the interviews are significant. The empirical findings reveal a specific development of ethnic identification, taking place among second generation

climbers in parallel with their trajectories of social mobility. This trajectory is characterized by a 'reinvention' of ethnic identification in early adulthood. During childhood and youth, many of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants tried to downplay their ethnicity because in their primarily 'white' environments it was a reason for their exclusion. In early adulthood, after reaching high education levels, many of the social climbers started reasserting their ethnic identities, but in ways that fitted their higher education levels. It seems as if they needed to reshape the meaning of the ethnic labels in ways that adapted to their newly achieved positions. They did so jointly with co-ethnic, co-educated peers at university, among whom they felt unprecedented levels of understanding. In their later lives, for most, their ethnic identifications had become important and valued parts of themselves (in nearly all cases in combination with a self-identification as Dutch), which the participants articulated in certain contexts at certain moments.

7.2 Identity development and the role of sameness and ethnicity

What causes this particular trajectory? Why does this reassertion of ethnic identity occur among the minority social climbers in their early adulthood? As I discuss in this section, general psychological processes of identity formation provide part of the explanation. It is common for people to develop a fitting identity in their adolescence and early adulthood. Educational mobility and changing social contexts offer additional explanations. Relating to others that are relatively similar to oneself – though not solely or primarily in ethnic terms – enhances self-confidence and feelings of belonging. Educational achievements can have a similar effect. This enhanced self-confidence and feelings of acceptance enable individuals to claim their belonging while articulating the dimension that formerly led to their exclusion: their minority ethnicity.

Identity development

The development of a personal identity in adolescence and early adulthood is a common psychological process, described by developmental psychologists as a process of 'identity development' (Erikson 1968; Marcia 1966, 1980). The most 'optimum outcome' of this process – achieved through exploration or even struggle – is an 'achieved identity' (see also Phinney 1989: 35, 38). Marcia describes that this optimum status is characterized by a 'well-developed' internal 'self-structure' (1980: 159). He explains that individuals with a better developed identity are more aware of their own uniqueness and similarity to others and of their own strengths and weaknesses in making their way in the world. Individuals with a less developed identity are more confused about their own distinctiveness from others and rely more on external sources to evaluate themselves (*ibid.*).

Phinney focuses on the ethnic dimension, and formulates an achieved identity as a clear, secure understanding and acceptance of one's own ethnicity (1989: 38).

This description mirrors the picture that emerges from Said's interview as well as from other interviews: the participants' ethnic identification is not static throughout their lives, but has developed over time into a version that feels satisfying and fitting. The participants' stories show that confusion about who you are in ethnic and national terms is unpleasant, whereas experiencing clarity about yourself is a source of peacefulness and happiness. A clear identification for nearly all does not only relate to the ethnic but also the national dimension. For nearly all participants, having a clear and fitting identification is formulated in a combination of ethnic and national terms. Ahmed, for example, over time has developed a double identification, both as Dutch and Moroccan. This 'balance' in his identity makes him now feel pleasant and peaceful (*'ik heb daar een heel goed, rustig gevoel bij'*). Karim's quote, which in part we already read in the previous chapter, shows us how frustrating the lack of a fitting identity can be:

Karim: Then I thought (...) maybe THAT's who I am, you know: someone who is between – One side does not understand me, and the other side does not WANT to understand me. Um... so you're always somewhere 'in between'... (...) What I FEEL, is like – that there are just very few people who understand what it is like to be... not Moroccan enough on the one hand... and not Dutch enough on the other hand. You know? Do you get what I mean? (...)

Marieke: Does it feel unpleasant, to – well – to feel somewhere 'in between'? To... not feel completely part of either side? ⁱⁱ

Karim: Well... you just switch somewhat, you know. You want – At some moments you really strive to belong, then you want to be EITHER Dutch OR really Moroccan. At other moments, you feel extremely rebellious and you think: 'You know what? NEVER MIND! I am who I am. I just don't care'. It's a bit of a compromise...

The development of a fitting identity over time means that such an identity is not self-evident but is a result of exploration or even some sort of struggle. This is indeed illustrated by the participants' stories. Most of my participants clearly recount of a struggle (or at least of a phase of exploration) in developing a fitting identification; or, as some refer to, in developing 'pride'. This development of a fitting identification was often complicated by external demands and identifications, and by widespread conceptions about ethnic and national identifications, such as the idea that being Moroccan precludes being Dutch. In the previous chapter, we saw that participants experience an imposed 'mono-identity'. Developing a fitting ethnic identification seems to be about finding labels that suit you – or rather, it seems to be about shaping the meaning of labels that are available in order to make them applicable to who you think you are, and to be content with that. I therefore find the term 'fitting' identification more

applicable than 'achieved identity', also because it has less static connotations. Berkant refers to a struggle and the relief of having developed a fitting identity:

It has been a real trajectory... When I was young, I really struggled: 'Am I really Turkish, or am I really Dutch?' It really helped that I lived in Turkey, for my job. There, I found balance in my life. (...) I really feel I have the best of two worlds, actually. Now, whenever I want, I can decide where I live. I'm convinced I can be happy in BOTH countries. That is – That is – That makes me feel relaxed somehow. (...) I feel... let's say... at 'peace' with myself (laughs) – ...that I can say I really feel I have double nationality (Berkant)

A few participants did not account of such internal struggle. Instead, they seem to always have had quite stable ideas about themselves. A possible explanation is their relatively strong religiosity, which formed a solid anchor throughout their lives and provided clarity about their personal positions. For most, however, the process of developing a self-image that feels fitting and provides a source of self-confidence was not at all straightforward.

Developing a fitting identification is furthermore complicated because the dominant stereotypes of being Moroccan or Turkish are generally associated with arrear, not only in socioeconomic terms but also with regards to competencies. We saw in the previous chapter that, as children, the participants internalized such images and assumed that Moroccan and Turkish Dutch were less intelligent than the Dutch. These ideas were enhanced by the lack of co-ethnic role models embodying success in the Netherlands at the time this early second generation grew up. This means that what was considered typically 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish' in the Netherlands was primarily constructed in relation to the lower class and in opposition to being 'Dutch'. Song refers to a similar phenomenon and argues that minorities need to 'deprogramme' the self (Song 2003: 211-212). She explains that for second generation Chinese in Britain and Vietnamese Americans, after a period of shame during childhood (which made them distance themselves from their ethnic backgrounds), it takes a while to revalue and embrace their families' ethnic heritage when they attempt to free themselves from internalized 'white' views.

The interviews with the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch suggest that not only the internalized 'white' view needs to be unlearned, but ethnic stereotypes that are dominant among co-ethnics do too. In their pursuit of social mobility, participants frequently collided with the strict norms of being a 'good' 'Moroccan' or 'Turk' as held by their parents and local co-ethnic communities, for example about leaving the parental home to attend a distant university. Some participants reported that co-ethnics were extremely critical about the high social positions of other co-ethnics, whom they condemned for being 'too Dutch'. This suggests that for the

participants, it could be hard to combine (aspects of) social mobility and the accompanying acculturation with what was generally considered a 'good' 'Moroccan' or 'Turk'. The absence of higher educated co-ethnic predecessors meant that there was also no alternative Moroccan or Turkish identification available in the Netherlands that fit the participants' higher education levels. This explains why meeting co-ethnic students felt like a revelation and why in this context the role of ethnicity suddenly fell into place. They jointly worked on reshaping their ethnic identities to make the labels 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish' feel applicable to themselves, their higher education levels and their bicultural identification.

The interviews show – in parallel with the psychological literature on identity development – that having a fitting identification goes hand in hand with self-confidence. However, contrary to the suggestion in the literature (see e.g. Phinney 1989: 47), increased self-confidence does not seem to be the result of a developed fitting identity but instead seems to be a *prerequisite* for developing a fitting ethnic and national identity. It appears from my data that many of the participants first acquire self-confidence and subsequently feel confident enough to develop their own relation to the ethnic and national labels, as higher educated people with an ethnic minority background. Said explained that for him, the increase in self-confidence partially depended on his awareness that he was doing fine and was on a good track; he was talented and used his potential. Social mobility can increase one's self-confidence, as we have also seen in the previous chapter. Social mobility can 'prove' one's belonging, not least in the eyes of the beholder. Another reason for an increase in confidence is the experience that one is accepted as 'normal' in the eyes of others, that one does not stand out as the 'exception' anymore. Said presented his phase at secondary school, in which his ethnicity was not salient, as a crucial phase in which he developed a positive self-image apart from his ethnicity. In a later phase, he developed a satisfying relation with his Moroccan ethnicity. Nathalie's story reveals a similar process. Just like in Said's case, she went through an evolution from being insecure with herself to being confident. The insecurity was related to non-belonging, to being 'different', as a child with an ethnic minority background in a primarily 'white' environment. Once Nathalie made close friends, her insecurity started to fade. Only from this situation with increased self-confidence was able to slowly develop pride of her ethnic background:

When you find out that THAT [being Moroccan] is a reason to be excluded, you try to avoid it and to minimize it as much as you can, in order to be as NORMAL as possible. (...) Well... and after a while you ARE normal – or at least, you are accepted as normal by your surroundings – then suddenly... um... then you realize you have nice friends, and that people really LIKE you, and that everything is fine... um... But that REALLY takes time, before you've built some self-confidence. That's definitely not – look, when

you've been bullied, then... then... your self-confidence is BELOW zero! It takes some time to really GET there (...) and then... after a while... well, once you have overcome this... – I'm talking about YEARRRRRS here – then you think: Well, it's actually quite a nice story... And then – then – Only THEN you dare to be PROUD – proud of where you come from... (Nathalie)

We can conclude that it requires self-confidence to explore and articulate one's minority identity instead of choosing full assimilation to seamlessly blend into the majority. This self-confidence can be based on one's religiosity, for example, which can serve as an anchor, and on one's social mobility, which can form a ground for belonging. However, in most cases, the development of self-confidence appears to be based on not-feeling-different, on not-being-seen-as-the-Other and on feeling accepted.

Sameness and demographic characteristics. The relevance of 'ethnic feathers'

In the participants' accounts, the idea of difference-and-sameness emerges as a central and emotional theme. We have seen in the previous chapter, which primarily focused on situations of dissonance, the potential intensity of experiences of difference and non-belonging. These feelings can be the result of active exclusion but also of 'just' feeling different. Exclusionary experiences can be very negative and often spark the wish to belong, to be accepted by others. This can lead to feelings of insecurity and the desire to downplay or even conceal one's ethnic background and generally does not contribute to increased self-confidence. As I show here, while experiencing difference often is unpleasant, experiencing sameness can be extremely pleasant. When participants reflect on their social bonds, they mention sameness in the same breath. Sameness underlies feelings of connection, it can boost self-confidence and contribute to a positive self-image.

What *is* sameness, and what does it bring the participants? It appears that sameness is more about sharing a worldview and experiences than about sharing demographic characteristics such as ethnicity per se. This does not mean however that experiences and worldview are fully independent from one's demographic characteristics. Let us look at three quotes in which participants explain when they feel social bonds and what forms the core of their friendships.

(...) people with whom I share my frustrations and ambitions about changing the world. With whom I talk about fundamental things, with whom I sharpen my views. (Hicham)

(...) a certain social stature, which enables you to share things with one another. Because, that's what it is about: sharing one's fascinations. Because indeed, when you do not have anything to talk about, there is nothing that bonds. (Berkant)

I realize that I need some kind of companions; meaning higher educated. You know, women I can have sharp conversations with. But also men. (...) those few people who are very important to me – let's say, with whom I get this flow of fresh insights, triggering interactions. I like having those inspiring friends around me – companions, to reflect on having a career in this world, in this context. (Aysel)

The participants describe what binds them to others in terms of similarity, in terms of sharing norms and experiences. It is about having corresponding worldviews, which gives substance to conversations and likewise to social relations and friendships. This is not an uncommon notion: the thesis that (attitudinal) 'similarity attracts' has been widely accepted in social psychology for a long time (Berscheid and Walster 1969; Byrne 1961). People seek validation of their attitudes, and people who hold similar opinions and beliefs provide this validation. We could say that the confirmation that one's own attitudes (which are related to who-you-are) are correct, that these attitudes are not labeled as deviant, affirms that one is 'normal'. Bourdieu describes the same mechanism in different terms. He argues that having a similar *habitus* – a set of grown, personal dispositions that guide one's behavior – increases attraction between people and leads to lasting social relationships, because it leads to a confirmation of one's attitudes (Bourdieu 2010 [1984]: 238; Web, Schirato and Danaher 2002).

What does this say about ethnicity? I will show that the similarity-attracts-thesis and thinking in terms of habitus explain both the irrelevance *and* the relevance of ethnicity. Let us listen Berkant when he talks about experiences of sameness and difference in two different neighborhoods.

When I was living in Zeeburg with my family, which is basically a yuppie neighborhood – I think we were the only Turkish family there – we interacted with EVERYONE. Because they were the same 'social layer'. These were people who had similar experiences and with whom we could share ours. Ethnicity was not an issue whatsoever. Later we moved to Amsterdam-North, where we ended up in an immigrant neighborhood. There we interacted with NO ONE. Because we were just in a separate social layer. Highly educated... and my wife did not wear a headscarf at all – she even is antipathetic to headscarves. And then... after day ONE – it's that quick – even the neighbor across the street, who was a Moroccan man, would not even look at us! This makes you think: based on ethnicity we are supposed to fit in here. But you have NOTHING to share. That makes you think: wow, ethnicity is much less important than one would think, much less than the social layer. (Berkant)

The idea that similarity attracts is often automatically translated into the folk wisdom that 'birds of a feather flock together'. However, caution is needed when this adage is blindly applied to social categories, such as ethnic categories, as is the case in groupist thinking, which presupposes strong bonds among an ethnic

‘ingroup’. Similarity is not determined by a single demographic feather. One’s habitus is only partly shaped by ethnicity. Other characteristics, such as socioeconomic class, also play a role in shaping experiences and worldviews and thereby form a basis for social bonds. Berkant’s worldview appears to be shaped more by his class and education level than by his minority ethnicity. The importance of socioeconomic class and education level does not only emerge in Berkant’s quote. In all the interviews where neighborhood preference was discussed, participants expressed a preference for middle-class neighborhoods – regardless of ethnic composition – rather than imagining themselves with their children in a neighborhood that was dominated by (low-class) ethnic minority neighbors.

We have seen in chapter 4 that the education level is related to one’s attitudes, one’s habitus. This is illustrated by the TIES data on gender-equality norms. When we look at the entire ethnic categories, the Moroccan Dutch respondents are much less progressive than the ethnic Dutch control group, and the Turkish Dutch are even less progressive than the Moroccan Dutch (see table 7.1 and figure 7.1). However, when for every category we look at the average scores for the lower and higher educated separately, we see that education level strongly influences the picture. In all three ethnic categories, the higher educated respondents are more progressive than the lower educated respondents. The higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch respondents are more liberal than the lower educated of the control group. This not only illustrates the stronger impact of education level on shaping these gender norms than ethnicity, per se, but also suggests that groupist thinking in terms of ethnicity obscures characteristics that might be more relevant in this respect, such as education level.

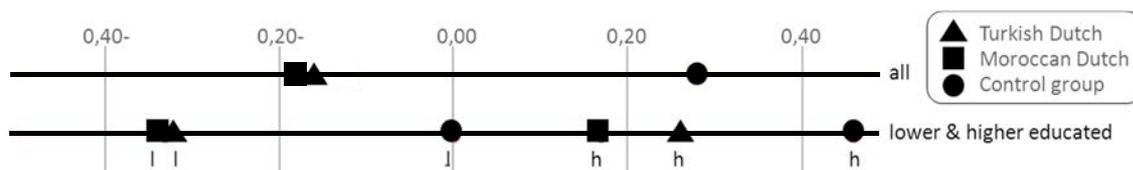
Table 7.1 Gender-equality norms compared (means per ethnic category and subsection)¹

	Turkish Dutch	Moroccan Dutch	Control group
All	-0.16	-0.18	0.28
Lower educated	-0.32	-0.33	0.00
Higher educated (HBO+)	0.26	0.17	0.46

1) Only respondents with a mono-ethnic background

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

Figure 7.1 Gender-equality norms compared (schematic presentation of table 7.1)



Considering the effect of education level on habitus and considering the role of habitus in forming social bonds, it is not surprising that education level appears also more important than ethnicity in forming friendships. All participants report that they have close friendships (almost) exclusively with higher educated people and not exclusively with people of the same ethnicity. The observation that the second generation higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch have more friendships with co-educated than with co-ethnic peers is supported by the quantitative TIES data. Second generation respondents with university level education (either attending or having completed their studies at the time of the survey) more often have only co-educated best friends than only co-ethnic best friends. When asked about the ethnicity of their three best friends, 20 percent of Turkish Dutch university-educated respondents answered they had only Turkish Dutch best friends (see table 7.2). It was more common that respondents only had friends with high education levels. When asked about the education level of their three best friends, twice as many of the the Turkish Dutch university-educated respondents (40%) indicated they had only higher educated friends (HBO and university). Among the Moroccan Dutch university educated respondents, these shares were 26 and 43 percent.

Table 7.2 University educated respondents with three best friends that are all co-ethnic or all co-educated (percentage per ethnic category)¹

University educated respondents (at university or having completed)		% that has three best friends that are all...	
Moroccan Dutch	(N=31)	...co-ethnic	26% (not all three co-ethn: 74%)
	(N=28)	...co-educated	43% (not all three co-educ: 57%)
Turkish Dutch	(N=35)	...co-ethnic	20% (not all three co-ethn: 80%)
	(N=30)	...co-educated	40% (not all three co-educ: 60%)

1) Only respondents with a mono-ethnic background

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

Even though 'ethnic background' is often regarded as the feather that naturally makes people flock together, the findings show that (1) sharing an ethnic minority background does not automatically make people flock together, and (2) ethnic background is not the primary characteristic making people flock together. Apparently, sharing a high education level influences one's experiences and worldview (one's habitus) more strongly than merely sharing one's Moroccan or Turkish background.

This discussion of similarity and social categories brings us back from the psychology of interpersonal attraction to the more sociological perspective. Individual experiences and personal worldviews are connected to social structures and to the organization of society into social categories and certain arenas (*fields*). This makes Bourdieu's concept of habitus especially useful, as it

connects individual dispositions with social structures. Wacquant summarizes Bourdieu's ideas:

Habitus designates the system of durable and transposable *dispositions* through which we perceive, judge, and act in the world. These unconscious schemata are acquired through lasting exposure to particular social conditions and conditionings, via the internalization of external constraints and possibilities. This means that they are shared by people subjected to similar experiences even as each person has a unique individual variant of the common matrix (this is why individuals of like nationality, class, gender, etc., spontaneously feel "at home" with one another). It implies also that these systems of dispositions are malleable, since they inscribe into the body the evolving influence of the social milieu, but within the limits set by primary (or earlier) experiences, since it is habitus itself which at every moment filters such influence. Thus the layering of the schemata that together compose habitus displays varying degrees of integration (subproletarians typically have a disjointed habitus mirroring their irregular conditions of living while persons experiencing transnational migration or undergoing great social mobility often possess segmented or conflictive dispositional sets). (...) [Habitus] can be modified through the acquisition of new dispositions and because it can trigger innovation whenever it encounters a social setting discrepant with the setting from which it issues. (Wacquant 2008, p. 267-268, italics in original, underlining MS)

In other words, the habitus of an individual is shaped by one's personal experiences, which are the consequences of one's particular position in a societal arena or field. Every field has a certain structure and certain playing rules. People who occupy similar positions in societal fields are likely to have a largely similar habitus, which enhances their feelings of social connection, their 'feeling at home' with one another. One's position in a certain field is influenced by demographic characteristics that have attained societal relevance in that field. For example, we saw that having a Moroccan or Turkish ethnicity influences how one is approached by ethnic Dutch, thus affecting one's position in ethnic Dutch arenas. Therefore, having a Moroccan or Turkish ethnicity affects one's experiences and worldview in that arena in a certain way. That is why feelings of social connection are often influenced by one's demographic characteristics. These feelings do not (purely) express an instinctive sense of solidarity with others who belong to the same demographic category, but exist because these others have very similar positions and a comparable habitus. In short, *if* birds of a feather flock together, this is not because of their feathers per se, but because of their shared experiences and shared worldview. The empirical data showed that not only ethnic feathers play a role in shaping habitus and making people flock together, but education level as well (and even more so).

Sameness. Co-ethnic co-educated soulmates flock together

This prevalence of education level over ethnicity does not mean that ethnicity does not play a role. In fact, the accounts of the university phase show that ethnicity matters a great deal for shaping social bonds. Although participants had more co-educated than co-ethnic friends, peers who were *both* co-ethnic and co-educational appeared to be real soulmates. Among those peers, unprecedented levels of understanding existed because of the combination of their shared ethnic backgrounds and educational trajectories. For example, they all knew what it meant to experience differential treatment, they all shared a progressive mentality that separated them from lower educated co-ethnics, and they all experienced pressure from their parents to succeed and to remain 'good' Moroccans or Turks at the same time.

The role of sameness contributes to our understanding of processes of ethnic identity formation. Based on my findings, we can extend the current explanations for the resurgence of ethnic identity at university, a resurgence that is also observed in other cases. Waters (1996) discusses heightened ethnic identifications among both 'black' and 'white' students in college, and explains this by referring to the confrontation with difference. She argues that interacting with people who are different makes 'individuals realize the ways in which their backgrounds may influence their individual personality' (1996). My findings indicate that for the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers, it was not the confrontation with difference but with commonality that made them realize the ways in which their ethnic backgrounds had influenced their lives.

Min and Kim's study among Asian American professionals (2000) confirms the importance of similarity for the resurgence of ethnic identification, but my findings still add to their explanation. The young Asian American professionals in their study report experiences that are very similar to those of participants in my study. The Asian Americans downplayed their ethnicity in their youth because of active exclusion at their predominantly 'white' schools. As children, they 'resisted learning their ethnic languages and cultures', 'preferring to identify themselves as Americans', which stemmed 'from the pressure to be "normal"' (p. 745). Later, 'the college environment helped to strengthen their ethnic and pan-Asian identities' (p. 743), as at college many of them had more frequent interactions with co-ethnic peers. The Asian American students saw college as a way 'to escape from the demands of their parent's cultural expectations'; while, paradoxically, it is at college that many of them 'developed an interest and pride in their ethnic subculture' (p. 745). An 'evolution' of their ethnic identity took place; it was a phase of exploration and they took increasing pride in their ethnicity. The young professionals 'generally grew to appreciate their bicultural heritage' (p. 746). They were 'acculturated into the white mainstream culture as higher educated professionals', and they are also 'strongly attached to their

ethnic subculture and binational in their loyalty and identity' (p. 750). Min and Kim seek explanations for the resurgence of ethnic identification in the way colleges nurture the Asian ethnicity and the large presence of Asian American students. However, the findings of my study show that it is not merely similarity in ethnic terms (the presence of co-ethnic peers) that helps such students form a fitting ethnic identification at university, as Min and Kim argue, rather it is similarity in both ethnic *and* educational terms. Contrary to the case studied by Min and Kim, when the second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch entered university, there were no large numbers of co-ethnic peers, nor did university curricula support a fostering of Moroccan or Turkish identity. The interviews showed that the mutual understanding was not based on merely shared ethnic backgrounds but rather on a combination of shared ethnic backgrounds and shared processes of social mobility. Issues that participants found important (such as having a progressive mentality, receiving a disappointingly low secondary-school advising, experiencing pressure from parents to be successful and to remain or become a 'good' Moroccan or Turk at the same time) were only grounds for mutual understanding among co-ethnic peers who experienced comparable processes of social mobility.

Using Bourdieu's concepts of habitus and field, these social bonds are easy to explain. In Wacquant's terms, we can say that these co-ethnic, co-educated soulmates feel 'at home' with one another because they share the intersection of two demographic characteristics. They share the specific 'layering' of having Moroccan or Turkish immigrant parents and being highly educationally mobile. They have comparable 'segmented' or even 'conflictive' 'dispositional sets', which are either useful in the co-ethnic field or in the field of work or higher education. In other words: they are soulmates because they occupy comparable social positions in various fields and have been through comparable social trajectories, which resulted in a highly similar habitus. They all grew up in immigrant families, with low educated parents who migrated from Morocco or Turkey to the Netherlands, and they all went through a trajectory of large educational mobility in predominantly 'white' contexts in the same period. They have developed similar sets of specific skills and attitudes, which they employ in different contexts.

The findings show that this common ground, this mutual recognition, helps higher educated ethnic minority members develop a positive relation to their ethnicity. In the case of minorities that hitherto predominantly occupied lower social strata, the meaning of ethnicity in the higher educated context still needs to be shaped. Until then, the ethnic identity has been primarily constructed in relation to lower-class immigrants and does not feel entirely fitting to higher educated members of the second generation. Their particular situation meant that for the higher educated Turkish and Moroccan Dutch of the (early) second

generation, no fitting ethnic identification was yet available. They were the first in their ethnic categories to reach these positions. They were pioneers in their ethnic groups. The soulmate spaces formed a favorable context for jointly developing a comfortable relationship with their ethnicity, given their shared education levels. These spaces provided a favorable context to reinvent their ethnic identification. Not only was there a *reassertion* of ethnic identity after a period during which this ethnic identity had been downplayed or was simply irrelevant, but the participants also *reshaped* their ethnic identity to fit their higher education levels.

7.3 Reinvention of ethnic identification and 'minority middle-class capital'

In this section I compare the previous findings with literature that describes the specificities of the positions and trajectories of other minority climbers. The broad similarities indicate that many aspects of the exposed trajectory are not unique to second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers. The trajectory of reinvention as described among the second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers in this study resonates with what is called a 'minority culture of mobility' (but what I refer to 'minority middle-class capital'), both in the underlying causes and the social effects.

The underlying causes: distinctive challenges of minority climbers

We have seen that the specific intersection of ethnicity and education level results in high levels of sameness and mutual understanding among minority climbers. Both in the professional field, dominated by the ethnic majority, and in the co-ethnic field, dominated by the lower educated, minority climbers occupy positions and encounter challenges that are unique to higher educated individuals with a minority background. Empirical studies on various groups in various settings (mostly in the United States) show that these experiences do not only apply to the second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers but also to other minority climbers in other contexts. I first discuss the literature and then make the comparison with my findings.

The climbers' tendency to maneuver in *field of the middle class* sets them apart from lower-educated co-ethnics (Neckerman, Carter and Lee 1999). As the middle-class field is dominated by the ethnic majority, in their school and work environments, the minority climbers have more frequent contacts with 'whites' than lower-class co-ethnics have. Therefore, they encounter distinctive forms of social exclusion, often more subtle (ibid.). For example, middle-class Mexican Americans are not seen as bona fide members of the middle class (Agius Vallejo, 2012). They encounter rigid boundaries, which materialize for example when one

is seen as a spokesperson for the entire ethnic category or as an expert on migration issues, or when one is asked what (s)he thinks of the deviant behavior of arbitrary co-ethnics. Haitian African middle-class youth report feelings of being-the-only-one and tokenism (Clerge 2014). In fact, many middle-class ethnic minorities have a 'subtle, global feeling of being different' (Torres 2009: 891). Feelings of exclusion are often accompanied by feelings of isolation and loneliness (Neckerman et al 1999) or even deep dissatisfaction and cynicism (Cole and Omari 2003).

In order to function in the professional field, minority climbers need to acquire 'white middle-class cultural capital',ⁱⁱⁱ which requires a high level of sociocultural assimilation (Carter 2003). They need to learn business norms and rituals that are dominant, such as speech patterns, dress and business etiquette (Agius Vallejo 2009, 2012). Another purpose of employing majority middle-class cultural capital is to combat the negative stigma of the ethnic label by showing the erroneousness of stereotypical assumptions and the avoidance of 'stock stories' (typical stories that exemplify and affirm stereotypical images) (Agius Vallejo 2009). Sometimes individuals emphasize their middle-class identities to distance themselves from negative images (Clerge 2014). However, the employment of majority middle-class capital does not mean that minority climbers see themselves as 'white'. Others see them as non-white, and they see themselves as non-white. That does not mean however that they do not see themselves as middle-class.

This description of the professional environments of the minority climbers partly parallels what we have learnt about the second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers in the previous chapter. For most participants their professional middle-class environment indeed is predominantly 'white'. The Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants also mention moments when ethnic boundaries materialize and when they feel 'Othered' because of their ethnic background. They wearily recount of moments when they are singled out as 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' or 'Muslim', or when they are uncomfortably set apart as a 'positive' exception. However, most of the participants do not seem to feel strongly excluded in their direct working environment and they do not report many instances that they unambiguously label as discrimination. They employ 'white' cultural capital in similar ways as described in the literature: they highlight their successful position in combination with their ethnicity to prove negative stereotypes wrong.

With regard to the maneuvering in the middle-class professional field, they stress their versatility and flexibility as the result of lifelong switching between fields and behavioral codes.

(...) I think, over time, I have learned – and I think many people have, those with a Moroccan or Turkish background – that they have learned to be VERY flexible. That you just learned to adapt. I think, your abilities have to be adaptive – um, I mean: When you are at home – well, it's not that you're a completely different person, but you learn to deal with various contexts. You learn how to behave in various ways, knowing what behavior is accepted and what is not. (Said)

The unfamiliarity with the middle-class behavioral codes is not a significant theme in the interviews. A few participants, such as Karim, experienced a gap because of their alcohol abstinence. Furthermore, Hind explained that the student fraternity, with its boisterous atmosphere, somewhat prepared her for her life at a consultancy firm, which has a climate that is largely comparable to the fraternity. She also mentioned that many of the second generation do not understand the importance of extracurricular activities for their careers.

In relation to the gap between the climbers with ethnic minority backgrounds and the middle-class capital, it is important to note the relevance of their low socioeconomic backgrounds. We saw that in their (occasional) unease, ethnic minority climbers resemble ethnic majority climbers, indicating that feelings of non-belonging are partly caused by their low socioeconomic backgrounds. This is also observed by other scholars. Torres argues that the gap that black students at an elite college experience with the 'white' students is primarily related to their low socioeconomic backgrounds (Torres 2009) (see also Cole & Omari 2003 and Agius Vallejo 2012). Unfamiliarity with 'white' middle-class behavioral codes and feelings of incompetence of ethnic minority climbers, are consequences of both the ethnic minority and lower socioeconomic background.

The second class of challenges relates to interactions with lower educated people in the *co-ethnic field*. Minority middle-class individuals have interclass encounters far more frequently than majority middle-class individuals (Neckerman et al 1999; Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009). Their family often is lower-class, as is the bulk of the co-ethnic community, which often functions as some sort of extended family. (Fordham (1988) calls this 'fictive kinship'). Relatively often, minority climbers live in class-diverse neighborhoods and participate in class-diverse organizations. Lower-class co-ethnics can exert strong claims for co-ethnic loyalty and assistance. The practice of 'giving back', comprised of (financial) support to family and other co-ethnics, is apparent among various middle-class minorities (Neckerman et al 1999; Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009). Strong co-ethnic solidarity can exist, for example among African Americans, because of a linked fate due to the racialization of identities, or among the adult children of Latino Americans due to the responsibility they feel towards their parents, which is framed in terms of an 'immigrant narrative of struggle and sacrifice' (Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009). These Latino American climbers attribute

their success to the major sacrifices their parents made for the future of their children. They not only help their parents financially but also through 'cultural brokerage', by supporting their parents in their interactions with the ethnic majority.

Middle-class majority capital is often not valued in the lower-class minority setting, where recognition and acceptance are based on the employment of ethnic minority capital (Carter 2003). As we have read before, in many minority fields, being middle-class and participating in the mainstream economy are denounced, and ethnic minority identities are constructed in opposition to the majority identity as ways to foster intra-ethnic cohesion and solidarity (Song 2003). Depending on dominant ideas about the 'authentic' ethnic identity, there is pressure to behave 'authentic' and avoid 'acting white'. Neckerman and colleagues cite Fordham and Ogbu (1986):

[M]inority oppositional culture racially codes behaviour and styles (...) Such judgments fall heavily on middle-class minorities, who in order to be successful must adopt behaviours and styles coded as "acting white". Minority oppositional culture is reflected in peer pressure not to adopt these behaviours and styles; it can also lead to deep ambivalence about identity. (Neckerman, Carter and Lee 1999: 951)

This particularly applies to the United States because of their history of strong racial inequality. Steele reflects on 'the double bind of middle-class blacks' (1988). The equation of being black with victimization and being lower class required middle-class blacks to 'repress' one dimension 'to appease the other' (p. 43). Steele describes his personal experience of lacking a black identification that does justice to his middle-class status:

As a middle-class black I have often felt myself *contriving* to be 'black'. And I have noticed this same contrivance in others – a certain stretching away from the natural flow of one's life to align oneself with a victim-focused black identity. Or particular needs are out of sync with the form of identity available to meet those needs. (Steele 1988: 43, italics in original)

However, the opposition is not always as deep as Fordham and Ogbu suggest. This oppositional norm is spread less widely than they assume. Several studies show that not all oppositional stances reject educational achievement. Carter (2006) shows that individuals who oppose assimilation (and 'acting white') do not automatically oppose educational achievement and social mobility. Furthermore, critical elements of an oppositional mentality are not only shared by lower educated ethnic minority members, but are sometimes also shared by the higher educated members. Latino and African American students develop academic identities in which they on the one hand acknowledge the importance of

academic achievement for occupational success, while they develop a reflective and critical attitude towards the achievement ideology at the same time (Mechan, Hubbard and Villanueva, 1994).

Also the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants have frequent interclass encounters with co-ethnics. As we have read in the previous chapter, they describe a co-ethnic solidarity and a responsibility towards their parents, which they express in a comparable 'immigrant narrative of struggle and sacrifice'. Many also feel a broader responsibility towards the co-ethnic next generation, leading to practices of 'giving back', whether or not within their immediate families. Furthermore, in some interviews, participants mention the judgmental character of some co-ethnics with regard to success or being 'too assimilated'. At the same time, the interviews also show that in these ethnic minority fields, there are not solely critical, oppositional voices. Nearly all participants were raised by parents who stressed the importance of education and who are really proud of their children's achievements. Some participants describe how their success was even beneficial and 'gave them extra credits', also in the co-ethnic field.

The result: a 'minority culture of mobility'

The joint reinvention of ethnic identity among minority social climbers (the reassertion of an ethnic identity that is adapted to fit the newly achieved middle-class status) echoes the idea of a 'minority culture of mobility' introduced by Neckerman, Carter and Lee (1999). These authors argue that the distinctive challenges that result from the intersection of minority ethnicity and a high education level lead ethnic minority climbers to develop their own solutions. They call these solutions: elements of a 'minority culture of mobility'. The implications are illustrated by several empirical studies on minority middle classes (see the studies of Mehan, Hubbard, Villanueva 1994; Carter 2003, 2006; Lacy 2004, 2007; Agius Vallejo 2009, 2012; Agius Vallejo and Lee 2009; Torres 2009; Clerge 2014 – all in the United States). These studies show that minority middle-class spaces emerge, which Lacy (2004) calls 'black spaces', such as gatherings, networks and organizations. These are places where minority middle-class members come together. Here, they are protected from discrimination. Here, they can share stories about discriminatory encounters with people who personally recognize your experiences. They feel like 'fish in the water', they can 'derobe' and switch to co-ethnic interactional and symbolic styles, to styles and preferences that are familiar to these climbers because they grew up with them. For example, many middle-class Mexican Americans occasionally like to speak 'Spanglish', dance salsa and watch Spanish movies. Professional minority associations offer ways of increasing middle-class cultural capital and social capital, offering a range of business trainings and access to (minority and majority) networks. At the same time, these spaces foster 'ethnic' cultural capital by (re-)creating principles of interaction with co-ethnics – such as practices of

‘giving back’ – and by offering places where minority climbers can jointly create fitting ethnic identifications and develop pride with regard to their low-class ethnic backgrounds.

Lee and Kramer (2013) explain how changes to habitus due to social mobility lead to the reformulation of identities. Among the students with lower-class backgrounds they studied, they observe that the ‘schism between their new, hybrid habitus and the community’s working-class habitus does not mean those students no longer identify as working class but rather that their new habitus changes how and what identifying as working class means to them and to others’ (p. 4). Brands’ study illustrates how this works among ethnic Dutch climbers (1992). These climbers create what Brands calls their ‘personal project’ (*‘het eigen project’*). They create their own story, which defines how they see their lives; how they can relate to the cultural capital that is dominant in school and work and how they can distance themselves from their parents without completely severing the bond. They create a new identity that defines their position, both in the fields of school and work as well as in the field of their low-class family. This identity is an answer to the ever-slumbering doubt: ‘do I belong here?’ (*‘Hoor ik hier wel thuis?’*) (p. 272). This identity is not detached from their home-culture but rests upon the norms, attitudes and habits of their parents’ lower class (p. 282). The personal project at the same time helps to distance oneself from one’s youth and one’s home, and helps to cultivate their background and the relationship with their parents. It is some sort of self-justification for one’s changed position. It is a way to leave behind their home-culture and their parents while at the same time to take these along.

We observe a similar phenomenon among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers in my study. Among their soulmates, in these ‘black spaces’ or ‘soulmate-spaces’, processes of conjoint interpretation seem to occur; processes of making sense of the world and of their experiences in the world. In the interviews, I see this reflected in the repeated emphasis on the deep levels of mutual understanding, and even more in the fact that most respondents experienced this understanding as astounding. The terms ‘sudden’ and ‘revelation’ refer to an unexpected commonality among these co-ethnic co-educated peers. This indicates that they suddenly feel that their individual experiences are not subjective and unique, but are related to their specific social positions as educational climbers with ethnic minority backgrounds. Together, they discover what it means to be a higher educated Moroccan or Turkish Dutch. They do not apply new labels, nor do they (as adults) distance themselves from the ethnic labels, but rather they explore and redefine what being ‘Moroccan’ and ‘Turkish’ means to them as higher educated. They (now) know how to identify as ‘Moroccan’ or ‘Turkish’ even though, for example, their religiosity changed, they are fluent in Dutch, they are more oriented towards the Netherlands than

towards Morocco and Turkey, and they have middle-class ('Dutch') patterns of expenditure, clothing and holidays.

The idea of a 'minority culture of mobility' that is developed and fostered in middle-class minority spaces parallels the 'reinvention' of ethnic identification that I describe among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers, who crafted their own ways of dealing with their ethnicity. One central parallel is that minority climbers choose not to fully assimilate into the ethnic majority middle-class, but to become middle-class while articulating their ethnic minority identities. The changed habitus of these Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers did not lead to an assimilative identification as 'white' or 'native' or exclusively 'Dutch'. The second resemblance is that the minority climbers do not turn to 'retention' of lower-class ethnic identities and merely adopt common co-ethnic images and common co-ethnic capital, but they adapt their ethnic identities to the achieved middle-class status and create new subcultural elements. The Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers chose to articulate their minority identities in their own, reinvented ways that fit their higher education levels. The third central resemblance is the importance of co-educational (or co-class) co-ethnics, as the reinvention of identity and subcultural elements is not something done alone. Large shares of the social networks of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers consist of co-ethnic, co-educated soulmates, who understand their experiences and their life worlds better than anyone. Many participants became members of co-ethnic student organizations or professional organizations, which in several cases they helped to found. A difference between the Dutch case and the theory of Neckerman and colleagues is that in the case of the United States, a middle class with a minority background (of African Americans) already has formed, as a destination for assimilation for other minority groups. In the case of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch pioneering climbers, however, no such minority cultures of mobility were available to tap into, which they therefore had to create themselves.

'Minority middle-class capital'

I have two objections to the term 'minority culture of mobility'. The first is that the term 'culture' in daily practice has essentialist connotations, implying homogeneity and boundedness. To refer to someone's 'culture' implies that he has norms, attitudes and habits that are particular for a specific category. I object to this presentation, as a minority culture of mobility does not develop as result of separateness and particularity, but emerges from the attempt to combine and connect various fields and dispositions. Although it is a particular effort of a particular group of middle-class ethnic minority individuals, their aim is – while fostering their own uniqueness – to connect with and participate in the middle-class ethnic majority field as well as the lower-class co-ethnic field. Secondly, the affix 'of mobility' seems to imply that this culture aims to enhance mobility,

whereas, how I see it, the subculture develops especially to *deal with* achieved social mobility. Although 'minority culture of mobility' is a coined concept in the scholastic literature, I prefer to use 'minority middle-class capital'.

7.4 Summary and reflection

In the first section we saw that ethnic and national identifications are not static over time. Many of the higher educated second generation participants have struggled with their identifications and with their self-confidence. Experiences of exclusion made them want to downplay their ethnicity. Over time, their self-confidence increased in parallel with increasing feelings of belonging. Slowly increasing feelings of 'pride' led them to gradually explore and articulate their ethnic identity. They needed to free themselves from the imposition of a mono-identity and from negative and low-class images of 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish'. They developed a way of ethnic identification that fit their higher education levels, and is combined with feeling 'Dutch'.

This resurgence of ethnicity occurred in joint effort with co-educated co-ethnic peers, who turned out to be real soulmates. It appears that it is not ethnicity, per se, that predominantly shapes one's experiences and worldview (one's habitus) and underlies close social bonds; in fact, most of the higher educated second generation participants felt stronger connections with people who share their education level and socioeconomic class than with those who share (only) their ethnic background. However, when at university they suddenly met people who shared *both* their education level *and* their ethnic background, this felt like an astounding revelation. With them, they felt unprecedented levels of understanding. Surprisingly, personal experiences turned out to be related to one's ethnic background in combination with one's educational trajectory. These co-ethnic climbers share a similar habitus, based upon the positions and trajectories within the various fields. In these soulmate spaces, they seem to discover what their ethnicity means to them. They reassert their ethnic identities and reinvent ways of relating to their ethnic backgrounds as higher educated.

Based on these findings, I suggest that in the Netherlands 'minority middle-class capital' is formed among middle-class people with an ethnic minority background. Even though their co-educated co-ethnic soulmates are clearly not their only friends and connections, for many higher educated ethnic minority members, they form important social circles. Instead of choosing fully assimilative ways of identification, they start to acknowledge the importance of their ethnicity jointly and develop ways of appreciating their ethnic side. This does not mean that they stick to the same rules as their parents, that they have similar worldviews as all co-ethnics, that they prefer Morocco and Turkey to the Netherlands and that they

only interact with co-ethnics. This does not preclude or threaten their feeling Dutch, interacting with Dutch and being oriented to Dutch society. Instead, it means that part of their experiences and part of their preferences are shaped by their Moroccan or Turkish background, by the immigrant history of their parents, by an Islamic upbringing and by their co-ethnic (extended) family. Failing to acknowledge their ethnic side, for many feels like a personal deprivation. They love their family, they value various norms and traditions that are associated with being 'Moroccan' and 'Turkish', they feel inspired by Islam in specific ways, they like visiting Morocco and Turkey and they feel responsible for co-ethnic youth who are still in a position of arrear and need information, a guiding hand and inspiring role models.

8 Wrapping up. Reinvention of ethnic identification among minority climbers

What have we learnt from this study? What does it contribute to current ideas on immigrant incorporation and on ethnic identification?

Our task is then to account for the ways in which ethnicity (...) becomes a socially meaningful and consequential category of practice. (Fox and Jones 2013: 393)

Now, why do ethnic minority climbers, such as the higher educated second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch in this study, identify in ethnic terms? What makes their ethnicity meaningful and consequential? How is their identification related to their social contexts and to their pathways of social mobility? What about their ethnic options?

In this book, I identified a trajectory of incorporation that is hitherto underexposed. This trajectory of the reinvention of ethnic identification is important to notice and to further study because it contributes to our understanding of the prevalence of ethnic identification among social climbers with ethnic minority backgrounds. It furthermore shows that individuals enter the middle class without losing their ethnic distinctiveness. The fact that they value and highlight their ethnicity, while nevertheless being socially engaged and fully participating citizens, points to an integration mode beyond complete identificational assimilation and beyond mere ethnic 'retention'.

In addition to a discussion of the social phenomenon of ethnic identification on a descriptive level (8.1), in this final chapter I also reflect on the conceptual issues raised in chapter 2 (8.2). I conclude with a small glance into the future (8.3).

8.1 The relevance of ethnicity for ethnic minority climbers

This study among social climbers of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch second generation exposes a trajectory of reinvention of ethnic identification. Their ethnic identification is something that they reassert and *reshape* themselves, which they do so *in a later stage* of their lives, when they have already climbed

relatively high, and which they do so together with 'co-ethnic, co-educational soulmates'. During childhood and in their youth, many Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants tried to downplay their ethnicity because in their primarily 'white' environments, their ethnic background resulted in exclusion. When they entered university, they met students who shared both their ethnic backgrounds and their education levels, among whom they felt unprecedented levels of understanding. Together with these soulmates, they rediscovered and reshaped their relation to their ethnicity, so it better matched with their higher education levels. In their later lives, for most participants, their ethnic identifications had become important and valued parts of themselves. Nearly all identify as Moroccan or Turkish, and most combine this identification with identification as Dutch. However what identifications mean to some extent varies between people and between contexts.

The prevalence of ethnic identification cannot be solely explained by intrinsic factors or extrinsic factors, such as external labelling. In fact, as we have seen throughout the book, the relevance of ethnicity for these second generation climbers can be explained by a variety of factors, ranging from more intrinsic to more extrinsic. (1) Firstly, ethnicity can have *intrinsic personal relevance*. One might appreciate certain customs and norms, which are either or not connected to religion. Partly, these are customs and norms that one grew up with. One might value Moroccan food, Turkish music, the level of hospitality and the kind of personal bonds. One might enjoy familiar religious rituals or feel inspired by Islamic principles. One might feel connected with his parents' birth country because this is a place he feels at home, whether or not just for periodic holidays. (2) Furthermore, ethnicity is relevant because one's *ethnic (and migration) background has shaped one's experiences* in a particular way. Growing up in an immigrant family often means growing up with particular resources, expectations and cultural norms and practices. Many of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers had parents with relatively low levels of formal education, who came from rural areas and for a long time intended to go back; their parents worked hard and did not speak the Dutch language very well; they were unfamiliar with the Dutch (education) system and needed support from their own children; they made huge sacrifices and therefore had high expectations of their children but often were unable to offer practical support. Many parents wanted their children to be socially mobile, but at the same time, they wanted to protect their children from becoming drop outs, which meant that many parents kept their children on a short leash. They raised their children from certain (religious) worldviews, with certain norms and values. All such conditions shape one's life in specific ways. This means that ethnicity, and being a child of labor migrants, very concretely shaped the lives of the socially mobile Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. (3) Ethnicity is also important because it *strengthens connections with people* one loves and respects, such as parents and other family members.

Certain practices and ways of self-identification help nurture precious social bonds with co-ethnic people, such as parents. This might require upholding norms and habits that are considered typically 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' – such as celebrating Ramadan, being religious (or at least identifying as such), avoiding confrontations with one's parents as a matter of respect, speaking your parents' language or emphasizing you are 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' or Muslim. (4) Not only one's ethnic background but also *ethnic discourses shape experiences*. Besides practical and social mechanisms, ethnicity can also affect one's life in more discursive ways. The importance that society attaches to ethnicity and ideas on ethnicity influences how one is seen and approached by other people. The place of ethnicity in society influences how one is approached and judged by others. It can lead to bullying and discrimination. It can hamper one's trajectory, for example when one's ethnic background affects secondary school advice. In addition, it can influence how one perceives oneself and his co-ethnics, for example when one internalizes the idea that one is different and 'inferior'. Such views can reduce but also enhance ambitions and might be a reason to conceal but also to assert one's ethnic background. (5) Last but not least, sometimes ethnicity is impossible to escape or ignore because of *external labeling*. When one is labeled as 'Moroccan', 'Turkish' or 'Muslim', this puts ethnicity on the table and means that one has to deal with it in one way or another. Ethnic labeling in inter-ethnic settings is not always with discriminatory intentions, but the effect is nevertheless exclusionary because the individual is labeled as 'the Other', which denies his belonging. The demand that ethnic minorities identify as Dutch instead of Moroccan or Turkish, does not make ethnicity less relevant. In fact, on the contrary, it seems that the identificational requirements and the zero-sum connotation of the two dimensions of identification only make ethnicity more relevant.

Clearly, the question why individuals with minority backgrounds identify as they do in particular situations has a myriad of answers. Their identification is partly a response to the particular social situation at hand and contains strategic elements. Interactions with social others are characterized by consonance (alignment, agreement) or dissonance (disagreement). As we can see in chapter 6, dissonance forms a possible threat to one's belonging, both in co-ethnic and in interethnic contexts. Individuals have various options at their disposal for reacting to instances of dissonance, instances of diverging behavioral preferences or unwanted external labeling. For example, in the face of external labeling, which can be very coercive, one does not have to uncritically adopt this external identification as 'ethnic' and its negative connotations. One can also downright *confront* the other and present one's own stance as 'take it or leave it'. One can also avoid conflict by trying to *conceal* the source of dissonance, or by trying to *convince* the other by explanation and negotiation. Or, one can indeed *conform* to the stance of the other; out of powerlessness or weariness or out of love or

respect. These choices depend on the balance between one's independent goals and one's appreciation of the social bond, and on the risk of harming the social bond.

These reasons and mechanisms for ethnic identification show that for most Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers, their ethnic identification is not solely 'symbolic', as Gans asserts (1979), as their ethnic background has very concrete consequences. For most, their ethnic identification is also not purely 'reactive', as Rumbaut describes (2008), as for them their ethnic identification is much more than a mere reaction to external labeling. Nor do these climbers only identify in ethnic terms to signal that one is an authentic member of the ethnic minority group, like Carter describes (2003). Rather, in line with the presentation of Song (2003) that ethnic minorities possess ethnic options, we see that in various situations, the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers articulate their ethnic identity in various ways, for various reasons.

The fact that individuals have agency does not mean that this agency is unlimited. Ethnic options are limited, pre-shaped and sometimes severely sanctioned. Social others influence one's options for identification, either by sanctioning deviant behavior or by simply ignoring or overruling the self-identification of the individual. One's options are also affected by the societal connotations of the various labels. One's self-identification is never independent of external categorizations, existing stereotypes and social relations. This means that we should acknowledge the agency of minority individuals but we should by no means underestimate the influence of external social forces.

With its particular focus on the relevance of ethnicity for minority climbers and on intra-ethnic variations and developments over time, my study adds to the dominant theories of immigrant incorporation, straight-line theory and segmented assimilation theory. The lenses that these theories provide are not entirely appropriate for understanding the relevance of ethnicity for ethnic minority climbers and how this relevance translates into ethnic identifications that vary over time and place. The fact that social climbers with low-class minority backgrounds develop their own ways of identifying and of coping with their particular positions both in their predominantly 'white' professional environments and among their predominantly lower educated co-ethnics, resonates with the concept of a 'minority culture of mobility' as presented by Neckerman, Carter and Lee (1999), which I rather refer to as 'minority middle-class capital'. This resonance suggests that the trajectory of reinvention is not unique for the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers, but also occurs among other ethnic and racial minorities who are social climbers.

The findings of study also seem broader expandable. For example, the range of reasons that explain the relevance of ethnicity, might very well apply to all individuals with ethnic minority backgrounds. Furthermore, parallels exist between the situations of minority climbers and those of social climbers with majority backgrounds, as comparisons with the literature on ethnic Dutch climbers revealed. The fact that experiences of ethnic minority climbers that are attributed to ethnic differences partially overlap with experiences of ethnic majority climbers suggests that these experiences are also related to differences in class background and not solely to ethnicity. However, at the most detailed level, the case described in this book is unique for the early second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers in the Netherlands. As we have seen, many elements shaped the particular stories of the research participants in crucial ways, for example: they grew up in the Netherlands shortly after the moment of their family's migration; they were educational pioneers and were the first in their families and their wider surroundings to reach higher education levels; and as young adults, they experienced a hardening of the Dutch discourses that particularly targeted their ethnicity and religion.

Social mobility and ethnic identification

It turns out that the trajectory of social mobility affects the ethnic identification of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers in two ways. First of all, the trajectory of social mobility shapes the social contexts in which these climbers maneuver. The combination of their low-class, ethnic minority background and their trajectory of social mobility determines the fields they move in, as well as their positions and trajectories in these fields. For many, their low-class, ethnic minority backgrounds mean that they occupy distinctive positions in the their (still) predominantly 'white', middle-class professional field, just like they did at their (then) predominantly 'white' secondary schools. This situation means that they sometimes feel that they do not fully belong, either because they experience a cultural gap or because they feel singled out by others. The fact that they have largely adapted to the Dutch progressive norm does not entirely prevent this. At the same time, for many, their achieved social mobility means that they also occupy distinctive positions within the field of their co-ethnic family and local community, who are predominantly low-class. It seemed that for many of the climbers, the labels 'Moroccan' or 'Turk' that were available and the common zero-sum connotations of ethnic and national identifications did not fit their socially advanced positions. It was not until they met co-educational, co-ethnic peers at university, who shared their distinctive positions, that they started to reshape their relations with the ethnic labels.

Secondly, achieving socioeconomic advancement creates both the opportunity and the responsibility for many of the second generation climbers to assert their ethnic identity. Reaching a socially advanced position feels as if one has proven

oneself towards the broader society as a successful and (in the present discourse:) 'integrated' citizen. These achievements can therefore lead to feelings of belonging in the Netherlands and to the idea that one can rightfully claim one's belonging as Dutch. This creates space to assert one's minority ethnicity without feeling insecure about whether this endangers this one's belonging. It feels to some as if their 'integration' in educational and professional respects forms a ground for acceptance by the broader society, which creates the opportunity to be different on another dimension: the ethnic dimension. In the perception of some, these social achievements do not only prove their worth towards the broader society but to family and other co-ethnics as well. The socially advanced position can create extra leniency from the side of parents, who are reassured that their child has ended up well, even though it does not fully comply with the norms and customs, like parents might have preferred. This creates space for these second generation climbers to somewhat re-shape traditional norms and possibly stretch the boundaries of what is accepted within the traditional framework. The socially advanced position not only creates the opportunity to more 'safely' assert one's ethnicity, but for some also instills feelings of responsibility. One might consider it as one's responsibility to highlight his ethnic identity because his middle-class and professional status as a social climber equip him (or her) to refute the negative stereotypes. By highlighting one's ethnicity as a social climber, one forms living proof that an ethnic minority background and an ethnic minority identification do not stand in the way of being a good citizen who fully belongs in Dutch society.

8.2 Studying ethnic identity: a relevant social construct

The question 'What is ethnic identity and how can we study it?' is complex. In chapter 2, I explained that the apparent academic consensus to see ethnicity as a social construct is hard to follow through in empirical studies because of the risk of falling into the essentialist trap on the one hand and into the trap of ambiguity and vagueness on the other. I furthermore mentioned that the portrayal of a phenomenon as constructivist often leads people to regard the phenomenon as endlessly and individually malleable, which can lead to an underestimation of its social consequences. I argued that I nevertheless preferred a constructivist perspective to an objectivist perspective as a starting point because a constructivist view would not preclude my finding that a phenomenon is more universal and static; whereas starting from the assumption that a phenomenon is objectivist in nature could lead us to overlook that it is possibly multiform, dynamic and malleable. How did my approach turn out? What can we say about ethnic identity based on my findings?

A constructivist perspective: variations and trends revealed

My study illustrates the value of regarding ethnic identity among second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers as a constructivist phenomenon. In support of the widespread argument that ethnic identity is not an essentialist phenomenon, the empirical findings show that ethnic identity is not a self-evident given that simply results from the birth place of one's parents. It also does not automatically reflect an internally homogeneous, externally bounded culture and does not preclude simultaneous national identification. What identification with the Moroccan or Turkish label means is not uniform. For the Turkish Dutch climbers, feeling 'Turkish' is (relatively) 'thick' as it is (moderately) connected with a broader sociocultural orientation, whereas for Moroccan Dutch, feeling 'Moroccan' does not reflect a broader sociocultural content and is therefore relatively 'thin'. Particularly for the Moroccan Dutch, and particularly for the higher educated, the meaning of ethnic identification differs per individual. This points to the importance of distinguishing identification-with-a-label from the sociocultural content and avoiding the conflation of the two.

The empirical findings expose the multifaceted, contextual and dynamic character of ethnic identification, revealing both the variability in ethnic identification and the underlying broader trends and mechanisms. Various mechanisms are discerned through which ethnic background becomes relevant to ethnic minority individuals. The findings also show that how individuals identify varies per context and is the result of an interaction with the social other and therefore contains a strategic component. The findings reveal that individuals have a range of responses at their disposal for dealing with external labeling and behavioral expectations, which means that individuals have agency, although this is limited. The findings furthermore illustrate that co-ethnic contexts are not necessarily characterized by belonging and consonance and that interethnic contexts are not necessarily characterized by non-belonging and dissonance. Finally, the findings expose the temporality of ethnic identification. Many of these aspects of ethnic identification would most likely have been overlooked if I would have employed an objectivist and groupist perspective.

Yet... the concreteness of ethnic identity

That ethnic identity does not have a uniform and static meaning, that it varies between segments, sub-segments, individuals, contexts and periods, and that it can be molded and negotiated does not mean it is a purely abstract and fictive notion that is only relevant for analytical purposes (see Bader 2001: 254). Ethnic identity is also not an entirely discursive phenomenon, lacking any 'existence' and structure. Nor is it endlessly flexible and individually malleable. We should not downplay or relativize how relevant and 'real' ethnic identity can be or how concrete it is in its consequences.

This paradox of ethnic identity being both constructivist and 'real' is illustrated by the case of the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers. On the one hand, they are reflexive and critical on issues such as ethnicity and ethnic identity, and they seem aware that ethnic identification can vary in content and per situation. They are aware of the individual options they have. They develop their own relations to the ethnic labels and even sometimes switch the use of the ethnic label 'on' and 'off'. At the same time, we saw how relevant ethnicity and ethnic identification can be for these climbers. Their ethnic sides can feel like essential parts of who they are as people, the participants are not (completely) in control over their ethnic identifications and ethnic identification can even be inescapable. Some even feel they have 'ignored' a part of themselves throughout their climb.

This is a clear warning that we should not assume that a phenomenon that we view as a social construct is endlessly flexible and individually malleable. For individuals, or even for entire categories, a phenomenon such as ethnic identity can be very concrete and even inescapable. This causes ambiguities in how individuals, such as the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch participants, speak about their ethnic identifications. The participants demonstrate awareness of the non-essentialist character of ethnicity, criticizing essentialist views on ethnic and national identifications, while moments later they themselves use essentialist formulations; this reveals a 'double discursive competence' that is also observed elsewhere (Baumann 1999).

Studying processes of ethnic identification

The analytical toolkit that I used proved valuable for avoiding slipping into unintentional essentialization but also for avoiding the use of concepts that are vague and ambiguous. However, throughout the discussion of the empirical data, it appeared that some tools needed to be refined and others needed to be added. The focus on *processes* of identification rather than on one's 'identity' enabled me to uncover the interactional and contextual aspects of identification. What is often overlooked, however, is the relevance of the *temporal* aspect of identification, which emerges as a main theme in my empirical data. Furthermore, the distinction between *label and content* proved indispensable for investigating the divergent meaning of identification with a certain label. In addition, the distinction between *self-identification and external identification* appeared to be crucial to unravel mechanisms of identification. The coercive forces exerted by abstract stereotypes and by concrete social others, but also the individual agency to choose and mold one's response could not have been revealed without this analytical distinction. Without strictly separating the two concepts, their interaction cannot be studied and power inequalities remain hidden. We have seen that this conceptual tool needs to be sharpened by the (consistent) separation between the *individual and the collective level*. Regarding an individual as seamlessly belonging to a harmonious, consonant co-ethnic 'ingroup' and as

standing apart from a dissonant interethnic 'outgroup' does not do justice to people's experiences. Such a view makes us overlook frictions with co-ethnics and alignments with people with other ethnic backgrounds. It would also make us overlook the fact that sameness is not solely, nor primarily, shaped by ethnicity, but also for example by education level. The breaking down of the dichotomy between (ethnic) 'ingroup' and 'outgroup' implies that in reference to external identification we should explicitly mention the actor, as this actor not always the ethnic Other; it can be a parent, sibling, a co-ethnic acquaintance or a co-ethnic co-educated soulmate, or it can be an ethnic Dutch colleague, a politician, a co-educated Belgium Dutch friend or whoever. These findings furthermore underline the importance of distinguishing between *category and group*. The presence of a social category does not necessarily mean that the members of this category all form a coherent group, all strongly identify in the label of the category and all have the same culture. The findings warn against groupist ways of thinking and against employing an overly ethnic lens.

An *intersectional approach* appeared to be another useful tool for avoiding and debunking 'groupist' views. By showing that educational mobility influences experiences that are related to one's ethnic background and by showing how having a high education level influences one's ethnic identification, the findings illustrate that the ethnic categories are not homogeneous. By revealing not only that, but also how experiences and worldviews are influenced by education level (even more so than by ethnicity – and most strongly even by a combination of these two characteristics), we can challenge groupist assumptions about ethnic categories. This brings intersectional thinking beyond women's studies and beyond the intersection of race and gender.

8.3 Looking ahead

'The more you know, the more you realize what you don't know'. The old Socratic wisdom urges us to be modest but at the same to pursue knowledge and investigate. Like any study, my study raises questions that can provide inspiration for subsequent studies. It would be interesting, for example, to further examine what happens in the co-educational, co-ethnic soulmates spaces of the ethnic minority climbers; how mechanisms of ethnic identification differ between the higher and lower educated; and to make comparisons with minorities in the Netherlands who arrived as higher educated knowledge migrants or who are less stigmatized.

Although this book is written for an academic audience in the first place, I hope my findings will also cause ripples in the societal domain. At these times, when societal debates on immigrant incorporation have become increasingly

culturalized, when ethnic and national dimension are too often regarded as mutually exclusive, and demands for 'successful' integration have become framed partly as polarized identificational demands, it is particularly important to realize what makes citizens with minority backgrounds articulate their minority identities. This is especially important because the middle-class is becoming increasingly diverse (Crul, Schneider, Lelie 2013; Vertovec 2007). In this book, I have shown that the articulation of a minority identity very often is not an expression of dissociation from broader society. It is a way to nurture a part of oneself instilled through early socialization; it is a way to uphold social bonds with people one loves; it is a way to give meaning to one's position and one's experiences; it is a way to challenge negative stereotypes; and partly, it is conformism to persistent external labeling as 'Moroccan' or 'Turk'. These insights furthermore help us to understand why ethnic minority spaces are formed, also among the higher educated. These organizations, such as ethnic minority student associations, should not be disposed as mere expressions of supposed disassociation and segregation. However, whether ethnic minority identifications and ethnic minority spaces will develop as a part of mainstream Dutch society, instead of forming segregated and parallel segments; whether they will remain combined with Dutch identifications and engaged participation, depends on the openness of society.

At least, we now better understand when minority social climbers present themselves like Dchar did at that particular moment when he won the Golden Calf.

'I am Dutch!

I am proud, with Moroccan blood!'

Appendix A: Interview guide

Note: This interview guide was originally in Dutch. The guide functioned as a fallback and was not (rigorously) followed in the interviews. Not all themes were discussed in all interviews at the same level of detail, and the phrasing of the questions was more used as source of inspiration than that the questions were asked literally. I excluded the probes that I never used at all.

INTRODUCTION

- Objections against audio-recording?
- The interview is anonymous.
- Introduction Marieke + research project

Research project:

Theme: higher educated adult children of immigrants, about their career trajectories, and the role of social others. Why this focus? According to the literature, immigrants are in a particular situation, as they often are less familiar with the national institutions, and there is the assumption that they have a smaller social network with people who can support them in their educational and job-related careers.

I like to explore how this worked out for you. What did your trajectory look like? What roles did social others play? What do such achievements do to you as a person? To what extent was this trajectory shaped by who you are?

A. Life course/career & background

Could you briefly describe your educational and working career?
(schools, jobs, extracurricular activities)

Could you tell me more about your background?

- Parents
 - o Education level, work, migration origin, migration period, are they still together, language, religious upbringing
- Siblings
 - o Age, education level, job, language
- Current situation (partner/children)
 - o Ethnicity, education, work; relevance of these aspects for you; language
- Religion
 - o Role in upbringing. Current role of religion.
- What did the neighborhoods where you lived look like?

- Demographic composition: class, ethnicity ...

B. Success-factors and barriers

Try to find out:

What made you reach these high education levels?

Zoom in on phases and choices; on decisions for schools and education levels, on applications, on extracurricular activities. Role of others? Role of motivation? Role of context? Why you, and why many others not (such as maybe siblings)? (Support, inspiration; parents, siblings, peers, others, such as teachers)

- **Parents:**
 - What was the attitude of your parents regarding education? How did you feel that? Did they check your homework? Did they help you with homework? Did they talk with teachers?
 - What expectations did your parents have of you? And of your (elder/younger) brothers? And sisters?
 - Did you have strict parents? (Were you allowed to ... go on school trips, go out, play with friends, have sleepovers, have friends play at your house)
- **Siblings:**
 - Role? Help with homework?
- **Ambition:**
 - What profession did you aspire when you were young? When did you know you wanted to go to university? What was your motivation? Do you feel proud of your achievements?
- **Choices:** Explain every step.
 - Why this school? Why this level? How did you inform yourself? Did somebody accompany you to information events? Did somebody help you with your application? What was the role of parents, siblings, peers, others? Did peers take the same decision?
- **Who or what do you consider crucial for your trajectory?**
 - Can you think of a person who has been crucial for you trajectory (... if THAT person wouldn't have been there...? (A special teacher? Some sort of role model?))
- **Would your trajectory have been different if you...**
 - ... wouldn't have had Moroccan/Turkish parents; ... wouldn't have been a woman/man; ... would have lived in a different neighborhood.
 - Opportunities and barriers; attitudes of others and social relations; role parents and peers. If you were able to choose, where would you like to live with your own family?

C. Social context

How was/is the relation with parents, siblings, friends (demographic characteristics).

- Who were your **friends**? Primary & secondary school, university, now
 - o Gender, class background, ethnicity; mirroring the composition of the school class/neighborhood?
- How would you describe the relationship with your **parents/siblings**? (then/now)
 - o Do you think your career influenced the relationship with your parents/siblings? (pride/distance)
- **Feeling at home:**
 - o Did you feel at home at school/in the neighborhood? Why?
 - o With which people / at which places do you feel at home best? What does feeling at home mean for you? Why?
 - o Where do you feel at home less? Why?
(With parents? At home? At school? At work?)

D. Identification (feeling/being/doing)

- **Dutch**
 - o Are you 'Dutch'? To what extent do you feel Dutch? What does that mean for you?
- **Moroccan/ Turkish**
 - o Are you 'Moroccan' / 'Turkish'? To what extent do you feel Moroccan/Turkish? What does that mean for you?
- **Combination**
 - o Do you feel more Moroccan/Turkish or Dutch? Or can't we say such a thing? Why?
- **Muslim**
 - o To what extent do you feel Muslim? What does that mean for you?

END

- Did we forget anything that is relevant or is there something that you would like to add? Any questions to me?
- Can I approach you again?
- Possible leads?

Appendix B: Tables Chapter 4

Table 1. Significance of differences between ethnic and educational categories (values for gamma and significance level) ¹

	Mor vs Tur	HBO+ vs Lower (Mor & Tur) ²
	<i>Gamma (p)</i>	<i>Gamma (p)</i>
Social interactions		
Share of three best friends that is co-ethnic	-.168 (.001)	-.247 (<.005)
Partner is co-ethnic	-.306 (.095)	-.375 (.127)
Current friends' network is co-ethnic	-.032 (.521)	-.322 (<.005)
Watch co-ethnic television channels	-.655 (<.005)	-.194 (.002)
Going out to places with 2 nd generation youth	-.250 (<.005)	.148 (.078)
Frequency of visits to parents' country	-.272 (<.005)	.097 (.215)
Participation in co-ethnic organizations	-.127 (.054)	-.303 (<.005)
Language		
Use of Dutch language with friends	.598 (<.005)	.397 (<.005)
Use of Dutch language with siblings	.611 (<.005)	.234 (<.005)
Proficiency in Dutch	.210 (<.005)	.322 (<.005)
Proficiency in parents' language	-.144 (.004)	-.109 (.068)
Religiosity		
Having a religion at the time of the survey	.109 (.309)	.260 (.053)
Being Muslim is an important part of myself	.186 (.003)	-.081 (.266)
Frequency of prayers	.455 (<.005)	.033 (.724)
Frequency of visiting the mosque	-.044 (.401)	-.031 (.607)
Religion should be represented in politics and society	.108 (.031)	-.205 (.001)
Wearing a headscarf (women)	.110 (.285)	-.359 (.002)
Progressive norms		
Acceptability of abortion	-.011 (.847)	.130 (.050)
Acceptability of women having sex before marriage	.118 (.036)	.311 (<.005)
Women with small children can work outside the house	.052 (.265)	.209 (<.005)
It is okay if women in leading positions have authority over men	.035 (.510)	.365 (<.005)
Study and higher education are equally important for men and women	-.003 (.960)	.436 (<.005)

Appendix B. Tables Chapter 4

Source: TIES data for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

1) Values for gamma that are significant on the level of 0.05 are shaded grey

2) For the comparison between higher and lower educated, only the respondents were included with parents that are *both* born in Morocco or Turkey. In other words, only 'mono-ethnic' respondents were included. In chapter 5 I explain this decision

Appendix C: Tables Chapter 5

Note that:

- Sources of all tables in the Appendix: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES.
- Significant coefficients are shaded grey ($\alpha = .05$).

Table 1. Multivariate regression models for identification with the ethnic labels (per ethnic category; standardized regression coefficients β)

	Mor (N=372)	Tur (N=383)
R ²	.074	.041
	β (p)	β (p)
Gender (ref: male)	-.049 (.335)	-.045 (.374)
Age	-.053 (.301)	-.025 (.627)
Education (4 categories)	-.066 (.197)	-.068 (.178)
City (ref: Amsterdam)	-.082 (.105)	.061 (.233)
Mixed ethnic background (ref: mono)	-.234 (<.005)	-.164 (.001)

Table 2. Strength of identification for Moroccan and Turkish Dutch respondents with a mono and mixed ethnic background (per ethnic category)¹

Ident. with	Ethn. backgr.	1 Not/ve- ry weak	2 Weak	3 Neutral	4 Strong	5 Very strong	N (=100%)	Mean	Gamma (p)
Mor	Ethnic mono	2%	2%	14%	41%	42%	338	4.2	-.505 (.001)
	label mix	12%	9%	29%	29%	21%	34	3.4	[-.537 (.036)]
NL	mono	10%	10%	38%	29%	13%	347	3.2	.221 (.112)
	label mix	6%	14%	25%	28%	28%	36	3.6	[.427 (.059)]
Tur	Ethnic mono	2%	3%	15%	32%	47%	367	4.2	-.473 (.025)
	label mix	18%	6%	24%	29%	24%	17	3.4	[-.510 (.111)]
NL	mono	10%	14%	37%	29%	9%	359	3.1	.362 (.047)
	label mix	0%	17%	17%	56%	11%	18	3.6	[.373 (.231)]

1) Included are the Gammas for a selection of solely HE respondents [between brackets]. In this selection, values for N range between 110-113 (mono-ethnic background) and between 7-10 (mixed-ethnic background).

Table 3. Strength of identification for men and women (HE, per ethnic category)¹

Ident. with	Gender	1 Not/very weak	2 Weak	3 Neutral	4 Strong	5 Very strong	N (=100%)	Mean	Gamma (p)
Mor	Ethnic men		2%	16%	47%	35%	51	4.2	-.076 (.638)
	label women	4%	4%	13%	48%	32%	56	4.0	
NL	men	11%	11%	38%	34%	6%	53	3.1	.197 (.170)
	label women	5%	11%	35%	37%	12%	57	3.4	
Tur	Ethnic men	3%		15%	37%	44%	59	4.2	-.174 (.250)
	label women	6%	6%	15%	37%	37%	52	3.9	
NL	men	10%	21%	31%	33%	5%	58	3.0	.145 (.306)
	label women	6%	15%	38%	32%	9%	53	3.3	
CG	NL men	1%	2%	18%	41%	38%	137	4.1	.052 (.588)
	label women	1%	3%	14%	43%	40%	159	4.2	

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Source: TIES survey for the Netherlands, 2007, NIDI and IMES

Table 4. Strength of identification for HBO and university educated respondents (per ethnic category)¹

Ident. with	Education level	1 Not/very weak	2 Weak	3 Neutral	4 Strong	5 Very strong	N (=100%)	Mean	Gamma (p)
Mor	Ethnic HBO	3%	1%	15%	46%	35%	78	4.1	-.033 (.855)
	label University		7%	10%	52%	31%	29	4.1	
NL	HBO	9%	11%	37%	35%	9%	81	3.2	.083 (.618)
	label University	7%	10%	34%	38%	10%	29	3.3	
Tur	Ethnic HBO	4%	4%	15%	32%	46%	81	4.1	-.223 (.163)
	label University	7%		17%	50%	27%	30	3.9	
NL	HBO	8%	16%	36%	34%	6%	80	3.2	-.060 (.712)
	label University	10%	23%	29%	29%	10%	31	3.1	
CG	NL HBO	1%	4%	18%	36%	41%	141	4.1	.011 (.910)
	label University	1%	2%	14%	47%	37%	155	4.2	

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds.

Table 5a. Sociocultural orientation: Turkish & Moroccan Dutch compared (HE) (categorical variables)¹

<i>Categorical variables</i>	Cat.	Turkish Dutch			Moroccan Dutch			Mor vs Tur Gamma (p)
		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
Co-ethnic television	5 (1-5)	108	2.52	1.04	102	1.68	0.62	-.636 (<.005)
Going out to co-ethnic places	2 (0-1)	112	0.74	0.44	113	0.67	0.47	-.164 (.258)
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	3 (0-2)	112	1.34	0.61	107	1.12	0.53	-.365 (.003)
Co-ethnic organizations	3 (0-2)	90	1.00	0.90	95	0.75	0.89	-.240 (.050)
Co-ethnic best friends	5 (0-100)	112	53.6	38.1	113	54.9	33.5	.023 (.819)
Co-ethnic partner	2 (0-1)	38	0.84	0.37	23	0.87	0.34	.111 (.765)
Headscarf (women)	2 (0-1)	46	0.28	0.46	55	0.29	0.46	.020 (.927)
Norms: sexual freedom (w)	3 (1-3)	111	1.89	0.79	112	1.94	0.77	.050 (.650)
Norms: abortion	3 (1-3)	109	2.24	0.77	113	2.27	0.76	.039 (.730)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Table 5b. Sociocultural orientation: Turkish & Moroccan Dutch compared (interval variables)¹

<i>Interval variables</i>	Turkish Dutch			Moroccan Dutch			T-test		
	N	Mean	SE	N	Mean	SE	t	df	p
Skills in parental language	112	-0.25	.07	105	-0.87	.08	5.682	215	<.005
Skills in Dutch language	112	-0.11	.09	107	-0.03	.08	-0.621	217	.535
Speaks parental language often	54	0.58	.13	35	-0.01	.14	2.931	87	.004
Identification as Muslim	107	3.95	.12	110	4.18	.10	-1.521	215	.130
Religious feelings	104	-0.28	.10	103	0.35	.08	-4.871	205	<.005
Religious behaviors	51	-0.40	.15	41	0.39	.13	-3.954	90	<.005
Religious political norms	113	-0.16	.08	112	0.19	.10	-2.675	215	.008
Norms: gender equality	125	0.26	.07	123	0.17	.08	0.880	246	.380

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds. HE=higher educated (HBO+)

Table 6a. Sociocultural orientation: Moroccan Dutch respondents with lower & higher education levels compared (categorical variables)¹

<i>Categorical variables</i>	Cat.	Lower education			HBO+			HBO+ vs lower Gamma (p)
		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	
Co-ethnic television	5 (1-5)	228	1.83	0.74	102	1.68	0.62	-.169 (.097)
Going out to co-ethnic places	2 (0-1)	248	0.56	0.50	113	0.67	0.47	.234 (.040)
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	3 (0-2)	239	1.11	0.58	107	1.12	0.53	.016 (.887)
Co-ethnic organizations	3 (0-2)	199	1.14	0.94	95	0.75	0.89	-.354 (.001)
Co-ethnic best friends	5 (0-100)	241	60.6	35.6	113	54.9	33.5	-.129 (.116)
Co-ethnic partner	2 (0-1)	72	0.88	0.33	23	0.87	0.34	-.024 (.946)
Headscarf (women)	2 (0-1)	106	0.50	0.50	55	0.29	0.46	-.418 (.008)
Norms: sexual freedom (w)	3 (1-3)	245	1.84	0.78	112	1.94	0.77	.109 (.243)
Norms: abortion	3 (1-3)	244	1.90	0.79	113	2.27	0.76	.379 (<.005)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 6b. Sociocultural orientation: Moroccan Dutch respondents with lower & higher education levels compared (interval variables)¹

<i>Interval variables</i>	Lower education			HBO+			T-test		
	N	Mean	SE	N	Mean	SE	t	df	p
Skills in parental language	237	-0.81	.05	105	-0.87	.08	0.608	340	.544
Skills in Dutch language	240	-0.37	.07	107	-0.03	.08	-3.075	263	.002
Speaks parental language often	75	0.22	.11	35	-0.01	.14	1.188	108	.237
Identification as Muslim	240	4.43	.06	110	4.18	.10	2.310	348	.021
Religious feelings	218	0.24	.06	103	0.35	.08	-1.100	319	.272
Religious behaviors	98	0.20	.09	41	0.39	.13	-1.168	137	.245
Religious political norms	245	0.42	.06	112	0.19	.10	1.989	355	.047
Norms: genderequality	300	-0.33	.06	123	0.17	.08	-4.500	421	<.005

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 7a. Sociocultural orientation: Turkish Dutch respondents with lower & higher education levels compared (categorical variables)¹

<i>Categorical variables</i>	Cat.	Lower education			HBO+			HBO+ vs lower
		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Gamma (p)
Co-ethnic television	5 (1-5)	252	2.84	1.03	108	2.52	1.04	-.284 (.004)
Going out to co-ethnic places	2 (0-1)	268	0.72	0.45	112	0.74	0.44	.062 (.620)
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	3 (0-2)	265	1.24	0.55	112	1.34	0.61	.181 (.092)
Co-ethnic organizations	3 (0-2)	219	1.26	0.88	90	1.00	0.90	-.243 (.020)
Co-ethnic best friends	5 (0-100)	260	71.0	33.7	112	53.6	38.1	-.350 (<.005)
Co-ethnic partner	2 (0-1)	161	0.95	0.22	38	0.84	0.37	-.564 (.085)
Headscarf (women)	2 (0-1)	124	0.43	0.50	46	0.28	0.46	-.309 (.073)
Norms: sexual freedom (w)	3 (1-3)	269	1.75	0.74	111	1.89	0.79	.146 (.123)
Norms: abortion	3 (1-3)	266	2.02	0.75	109	2.24	0.77	.244 (.009)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 7b. Sociocultural orientation: Turkish Dutch respondents with lower & higher education levels compared (interval variables)¹

<i>Interval variables</i>	Lower education			HBO+			T-test		
	N	Mean	SE	N	Mean	SE	t	df	p
Skills in parental language	265	-0.17	.05	112	-0.25	.07	1.001	375	.317
Skills in Dutch language	266	-0.69	.08	112	-0.11	.09	-5.034	272	<.005
Speaks parental language often	160	1.25	.08	54	0.58	.13	4.126	212	<.005
Identification as Muslim	252	4.26	.07	107	3.95	.12	2.389	357	.017
Religious feelings	226	-0.01	.06	104	-0.28	.10	2.440	328	.015
Religious behaviors	117	-0.13	.09	51	-0.40	.15	1.544	166	.125
Religious political norms	266	0.43	.06	113	-0.16	.08	5.687	240	<.005
Norms: genderequality	318	-0.32	.06	125	0.26	.07	-6.503	326	<.005

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 8a. Sociocultural orientation: Moroccan Dutch male and female respondents compared (categorical variables) (HE)¹

<i>Categorical variables</i>	Cat.	Men			Women			W vs M
		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Gamma (p)
Co-ethnic television	5 (1-5)	48	1.63	0.61	54	1.72	0.63	.142 (.432)
Going out to co-ethnic places	2 (0-1)	53	0.74	0.45	60	0.62	0.49	-.268 (.172)
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	3 (0-2)	51	1.08	0.44	56	1.16	0.60	.179 (.359)
Co-ethnic organizations	3 (0-2)	43	0.63	0.85	52	0.85	0.92	.211 (.234)
Co-ethnic best friends	5 (0-100)	53	56.6	34.2	60	53.3	33.2	-.071 (.615)
Co-ethnic partner	2 (0-1)	9	0.89	0.33	14	0.86	0.36	-.143 (.821)
Headscarf (women)	2 (0-1)							
Norms: sexual freedom (w)	3 (1-3)	53	1.96	0.78	59	1.92	0.77	-.050 (.750)
Norms: abortion	3 (1-3)	53	2.36	0.76	60	2.20	0.75	-.190 (.227)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 8b. Sociocultural orientation: Moroccan Dutch male and female respondents compared (interval variables) (HE)¹

<i>Interval variables</i>	Men			Women			T-test		
	N	Mean	SE	N	Mean	SE	t	df	p
Skills in parental language	49	-0.81	.12	56	-0.92	.11	0.708	103	.481
Skills in Dutch language	51	-0.22	.14	56	0.14	.09	-2.195	89	.031
Speaks parental language often	14	0.05	.23	21	-0.04	.17	0.313	33	.756
Identification as Muslim	52	4.17	.14	58	4.19	.13	-0.085	108	.932
Religious feelings	48	0.30	.13	55	0.39	.11	-0.537	101	.592
Religious behaviors	11	0.41	.24	30	0.39	.15	0.072	39	.943
Religious political norms	53	0.28	.16	59	0.11	.13	0.824	110	.412
Norms: gender equality	56	0.05	.11	67	0.26	.11	-1.307	121	.194

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 9a. Sociocultural orientation: Turkish Dutch male and female respondents compared (categorical variables) (HE)¹

<i>Categorical variables</i>	Cat.	Men			Women			W vs M
		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Gamma (p)
Co-ethnic television	5 (1-5)	54	2.22	0.90	54	2.81	1.08	.413 (.002)
Going out to co-ethnic places	2 (0-1)	58	0.72	0.45	54	0.76	0.43	.092 (.671)
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	3 (0-2)	59	1.32	0.60	53	1.36	0.62	.065 (.708)
Co-ethnic organizations	3 (0-2)	55	0.96	0.92	35	1.06	0.87	.087 (.625)
Co-ethnic best friends	5 (0-100)	59	58.8	38.3	53	47.8	37.3	-.215 (.121)
Co-ethnic partner	2 (0-1)	19	0.84	0.37	19	0.84	0.37	.000 (1.00)
Headscarf (women)	2 (0-1)							
Norms: sexual freedom (w)	3 (1-3)	58	1.79	0.79	53	2.00	0.78	.217 (.156)
Norms: abortion	3 (1-3)	57	2.18	0.78	52	2.31	0.76	.145 (.365)

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 9b. Sociocultural orientation: Turkish Dutch male and female respondents compared (interval variables) (HE) ¹

<i>Interval variables</i>	Men			Women			T-test		
	N	Mean	SE	N	Mean	SE	t	df	p
Skills in parental language	59	-0.32	.09	53	-0.17	.12	-1.047	110	.297
Skills in Dutch language	59	-0.10	.11	53	-0.11	.14	0.071	110	.943
Speaks parental language often	29	0.63	.18	25	0.53	.21	0.368	52	.714
Identification as Muslim	57	4.12	.15	50	3.76	.17	1.581	105	.117
Religious feelings	55	-0.23	.14	49	-0.33	.14	0.499	102	.619
Religious behaviors	25	-0.13	.20	26	-0.66	.23	1.765	49	.084
Religious political norms	59	-0.12	.12	54	-0.20	.12	0.499	111	.619
Norms: genderequality	67	0.13	.10	58	0.41	.08	-2.212	122	.029

1) Only respondents with mono-ethnic backgrounds

Table 10a. Sociocultural orientation: Second generation respondents with mono & mixed ethnic backgrounds compared (HE) (categorical variables)

<i>Categorical variables</i>	Cat.	Mono ethnic			Mixed ethnic			Mixed vs mono
		N	Mean	SD	N	Mean	SD	Gamma (p)
Co-ethnic television	5 (1-5)	210	2.11	0.95	20	1.75	0.72	-.322 (.057)
Going out to co-ethnic places	2 (0-1)	225	0.71	0.46	20	0.40	0.50	-.567 (.017)
Visits to Turkey/Morocco	3 (0-2)	219	1.23	0.58	19	0.95	0.52	-.485 (.027)
Co-ethnic organizations	3 (0-2)	185	0.87	0.90	18	0.61	0.85	-.255 (.225)
Co-ethnic best friends	5 (0-100)	225	54.2	35.8	20	28.3	37.9	-.503 (.010)
Co-ethnic partner	2 (0-1)	61	0.85	0.36	6	0.67	0.52	-.486 (.372)
Headscarf (women)	2 (0-1)	101	0.29	0.45	6	0.17	0.41	-.336 (.465)
Norms: sexual freedom (w)	3 (1-3)	223	1.91	0.78	20	2.45	0.69	.539 (.004)
Norms: abortion	3 (1-3)	222	2.26	0.76	20	2.65	0.49	.459 (.013)

Table 10b. Sociocultural orientation: Second generation respondents with mono & mixed ethnic backgrounds compared (HE) (interval variables)

<i>Interval variables</i>	Mono ethnic			Mixed ethnic			T-test		
	N	Mean	SE	N	Mean	SE	t	df	p
Skills in parental language	217	-0.55	.06	19	-1.52	.23	4.698	234	<.005
Skills in Dutch language	219	-0.07	.06	19	0.18	.18	-1.177	236	.240
Speaks parental language often	89	0.35	.10	7	-0.21	.28	1.490	94	.139
Identification as Muslim	217	4.07	.08	17	3.12	.39	2.385	17	.029
Religious feelings	207	0.03	.07	11	-0.18	.35	0.683	216	.495
Religious behaviors	92	-0.05	.11	3	0.10	.26	-0.241	93	.810
Religious political norms	225	0.01	.07	20	-0.60	.16	2.689	243	.008
Norms: genderequality	248	0.21	.05	20	0.29	.27	-0.385	266	.700

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Summary

When Nasrdin Dchar wins the Golden Calf for best Dutch actor in 2011, in his emotion-laden speech he explicitly underscores his Dutchness and his Moroccan blood. How can we explain this? What makes people like Dchar, social ‘climbers’ with an ethnic minority background, identify with their ethnic labels, such as ‘Moroccan’ or ‘Turkish’? Why Dchar’s explicit articulation, at such a remarkable moment? Why doesn’t ethnic identification automatically fade in parallel with processes of structural, or socioeconomic, incorporation?

In this book, a trajectory of incorporation is identified that is hitherto underexposed. This trajectory of reinvention of ethnic identity helps us understand the prevalence of ethnic identification among social climbers with immigrant or other ethnic minority backgrounds.

Chapter 1. Introduction. Winning the Golden Calf...

This study explores how ethnic identification is experienced by ‘ethnic minority climbers’, higher educated individuals with lower class ethnic minority backgrounds. The study focuses on second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch individuals with higher education levels. The main questions are:

- How strongly do these minority social climbers identify with their ethnic labels? (To what extent do they feel ‘Moroccan’ and ‘Turkish’?) How does this relate to them feeling Dutch? And, what does it mean when they identify with ethnic and Dutch labels?
- How are their identifications related to the various social contexts in which they maneuver?
- How do their identifications develop over time? How are identifications related to their trajectories of social mobility?

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 sketch the methodological, theoretical and socio-political context of the study.

Chapter 2. Models of incorporation. Ethnic and national identification considered

When we want to explain the relevance of ethnic identification among social climbers, the lenses provided by the two main theories of immigrant incorporation, ‘straight-line’ integration theory and segmented assimilation theory, do not seem sufficient. The theoretical perspective on ethnic identities that conceptualizes ‘ethnic options’ is more adequate for understanding the various underlying reasons for ethnic identifications at the individual level.

The conceptualization of ethnicity and identity is not straightforward. Despite the broad consensus in the social sciences to see ethnicity and identity as social constructions, in many empirical studies, the constructivist perspective is unintentionally substituted by an objectivist, or essentialized, view. This view, which is also common in everyday life, presents ethnic identities as reflecting bounded and homogeneous cultures, and members of an ethnic category as a cohesive and homogeneous group. Many other studies fail to clearly define ethnicity and identity as unambiguous analytical concepts. To avoid both the trap of essentialism and the trap of ambiguity, in chapter 2 an analytical toolkit is assembled. The kit includes five analytical tools: (a) a focus on processes of identification rather than on fixed identities; (b) a distinction between self-identification and external identification; (c) a distinction between category and group; (d) a distinction between label and content; and (e) the idea of intersectionality.

Chapter 3. Research Design. Mixing methods

The study has a mixed methods research design. It combines data from a structured survey among second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch and data obtained through fifteen in-depth interviews with second generation Moroccan and Turkish Dutch with university degrees. The survey was conducted in the context of the TIES research project, prior to this study. The two different methods complement each other in valuable ways and are used in various constellations throughout the study. The study shows that methods associated with the quantitative and more positivist research tradition can nevertheless be used within a more constructivist perspective and can be very well used for the deconstruction of concepts such as ethnic identity, as illustrated in chapter 5.

Chapter 4. The Dutch integration landscape and Moroccan and Turkish Dutch

The changed landscape of Dutch integration politics forms the backdrop of this study. Literature shows that, like in many other European countries, the Netherlands has experienced a 'culturalization of citizenship', in which who-belongs and who-does-not-belong has become defined in cultural terms. Immigrants and their children are required to internalize the progressive 'Dutch' norms and identify as Dutch. Based on the presumption that one can be only loyal to one country and culture, identification as Moroccan or Turkish is deemed suspect. Particularly Muslims, whose religion is portrayed as inherently incompatible with 'Dutch culture', are seen as the Other. Although people from both ethnic categories are predominantly Muslim, Moroccan Dutch are more stigmatized in politics and media than Turkish Dutch.

Moroccan and Turkish immigrants arrived in the Netherlands around the 1970s as labor migrants to work in low-skilled jobs. Most came from rural areas and only had (very) low levels of formal education. Given their backgrounds, it is quite

an achievement that nowadays a large and ever increasing share of their offspring enters higher education levels. Despite the commonalities in immigration setting and rural origins, differences exist between the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch. In general, among the Turkish Dutch, their country of origin and national identity are larger sources of bonding and pride than among the Moroccan Dutch. Furthermore, among the various Turkish communities, the levels of co-ethnic cohesion and co-ethnic organization are higher than among Moroccan Dutch communities.

Chapters 5 to 7 form the heart of the book. Here, the empirical data are discussed.

Chapter 5. 'Am I Dutch? Yes. Am I Moroccan? Yes.' Two dimensions of self-identification explored

Do the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers actually identify as 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish'? Both the survey data and the interviews indicate that they do. When asked, a large majority of the second generation higher educated Moroccan and Turkish Dutch indicate that they feel strongly 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish'. This does not mean, however, that they do not feel Dutch as well. A large majority of the survey respondents and nearly all interview participants indicate that they feel both Moroccan/Turkish *and* Dutch. This refutes the idea that ethnic and national identifications are zero-sum in character.

Interestingly, although the Turkish Dutch show a stronger orientation towards their co-ethnics and towards 'Turkish' practices than the Moroccan Dutch, their ethnic identifications are not stronger. Analysis of the statistical data reveals that, among the Moroccan Dutch, 'feeling Moroccan' hardly correlates with other sociocultural variables, and these sociocultural variables show little correlation among each other. Overall, the 'Turkish' label is more substantive than the Moroccan label; identification with the Turkish label more strongly reflects sociocultural content than identification with the Moroccan label. This is supported by findings from the in-depth interviews. This does not mean, however, that for the Moroccan Dutch their ethnic identification is less important than for the Turkish Dutch.

Chapter 6. 'I am... who I am...' Identifications in social contexts

Contrary to what is implied by the previous analysis, individuals do not have fixed identifications. How they identify, how they position themselves – both in terms of labels and behavioral content – depends on the social context. In the in-depth interviews, the participants described that they yearned to belong; they wanted to feel accepted as one of 'us', both in co-ethnic contexts, such as the family, and in interethnic contexts, such as at school and the workplace. However, such belonging is not completely self-evident. Often, particularly in co-ethnic contexts,

participants are confronted with behavioral expectations that run counter to their own independent preferences. In interethnic contexts, the participants sometimes face an exclusionary labeling that conflicts with how they want to be seen, namely as one of 'us' in that particular situation. Being categorized as 'Moroccan' or 'Turkish' (or 'Muslim'), even when phrased as a compliment, reduces one to the status of the Other and denies one's agency and belonging. However, these external pressures do not render individuals powerless. The analysis revealed that individuals have various responses at their disposal. In other words, individuals have ethnic options. These range from conformist responses, in which one chooses to conform to the preferences of the other and avoid any risks to one's belonging, to confrontational responses, which are most effective for reaching one's independent goals, but involve the largest threats to one's belonging. At the same time, personal agency is not unlimited. Ethnic options are often pre-shaped and severely restricted by external forces.

When one feels accepted among ethnic Dutch, this does not automatically make one's ethnic identity irrelevant. Instead, belonging among the majority can even lead to the articulation of one's minority identity. One who feels confident that he is completely accepted and that no one can deny his belonging, for example because of educational achievements or professional status, can feel empowered to articulate his minority identity. Furthermore, particularly those who are regarded as successful (measured against dominant standards) are in the ideal position to challenge negative stereotypes, as they are living evidence that being Moroccan, Turkish or Muslim can go hand in hand with being successful.

Chapter 7. Strangers and soulmates. Trajectories of identification and development of 'minority middle-class capital'

Identifications do not only vary between contexts but also vary over time. Experiences of difference and similarity appear to be very relevant themes. These experiences vary over time in parallel with changing contexts and are related to individuals' identifications. During their childhood and youth, many of the second generation climbers felt 'different' and sometimes even experienced downright bullying because of their ethnic background. This made most of them want to downplay their ethnicity. While feeling different was mostly experienced negatively, experiencing sameness is recounted in positive terms. Contrary to feeling different, experiencing sameness is not described in characteristics such as ethnicity, but refers to having shared experiences and a shared worldview; a similar habitus. This habitus, then, appears to be more influenced by education level than by ethnic background per se. This is illustrated by the fact that higher educated second generation survey respondents have more friends with the same education level than with the same ethnic background.

This does not mean that ethnicity is irrelevant for them. When peers shared *both* their education level *and* their ethnic background, this led to unrivalled levels of understanding. When, at university, the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers ‘suddenly’ met co-ethnic students, this felt like a ‘revelation’. Personal experiences suddenly appeared to be shared experiences and fell into place. Together with these ‘soulmates’, they explored what their ethnicity meant for them as higher educated. Together, they shaped an ethnic identity that fitted their higher educated position. As they were educational pioneers – they were the first of their ethnic background to reach these education levels in the Netherlands – there were no middle-class ethnic identities available for them yet. Their ethnic identification is something that they reasserted and *reshaped* themselves, which they did so together with co-ethnic, co-educational soulmates. In short: my study exposes a trajectory of reinvention of ethnic identification.

The prevalence of ethnic identity among minority social climbers in adapted forms indicates that a ‘minority culture of mobility’, or ‘minority middle-class capital’, is being formed among the Moroccan and Turkish Dutch in the Netherlands. This is comparable to other countries and other minorities. In response to the particular challenges that minority climbers face – resulting from their social mobility in combination with their (lower class) ethnic background – social spaces among minority climbers develop, with specific cultural and identificational elements.

Chapter 8. Wrapping up. Reinvention of ethnic identification among minority climbers

From the empirical results, a range of factors emerge that explain the relevance of ethnic identity for Moroccan and Turkish Dutch climbers. Many of them (at times) identify in ethnic terms because they feel attached to certain customs or ideologies, or to the country of their parents’ origin; or because their ethnic background has shaped their experiences in particular ways; because it strengthens their bonds with people they love, such as parents; because they want to challenge widespread ethnic stereotypes; or out of conformism to persistent external labeling as ‘Moroccan’ or ‘Turk’. Clearly, ethnic self-identifications are partly responses to the social situation at hand and contain strategic elements. The identifications are not solely voluntary and ‘symbolic’, but also not purely ‘reactive’.

The trajectory of reinvention of ethnic identification among minority climbers highlights the possibility of being middle-class without completely assimilating into the ethnic majority mainstream and presents an alternative incorporation trajectory of becoming middle-class with a *middle-class minority identity*. The results help us understand the emergence of a more diverse Dutch middle class, which includes individuals who do not discard their ethnic distinctiveness.

Samenvatting (Dutch summary)

Als Nasrdin Dchar in 2011 wordt bekroond tot Beste Nederlandse acteur en daarvoor een Gouden Kalf in ontvangst neemt, houdt hij een geëmotioneerde speech waarin hij expliciet benoemt dat hij Nederlands is en Marokkaans bloed heeft. Hoe valt dat te begrijpen? Wat maakt dat iemand zoals Dchar, een 'sociale stijger' met een etnische minderheidsachtergrond, zich identificeert als Marokkaans en dat op zo'n moment naar voren brengt? Waarom verdwijnt etnische identificatie niet automatisch bij sterke sociale mobiliteit, dus wanneer er op sociaaleconomisch terrein sprake is van verregaande 'integratie'?

In dit boek identificeer ik een traject onder de (volwassen) kinderen van migranten dat tot nu toe onderbelicht is geweest. Dit is een traject van *reinvention of ethnic identity*, oftewel van het her-uitvinden van etnische identiteit. Dit helpt ons beter te begrijpen waarom in veel gevallen etnische identificatie zo belangrijk is voor sociale stijgers met een etnische minderheidsachtergrond.

Hoofdstuk 1. Introductie. Een Gouden Kalf winnen...

Deze studie verkent hoe 'minderheids-stijgers' hun etnische identiteit ervaren en vormgeven; het gaat dus om hoger opgeleide individuen met een etnische minderheidsachtergrond die opgegroeid zijn in gezinnen met een lagere sociaaleconomische status. Ik richt me in deze studie op tweede generatie Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders met een hoog opleidingsniveau. Hoofdvragen zijn:

- Hoe sterk identificeren deze minderheids-stijgers zich met hun etnische labels? (Hoe sterk voelen zij zich 'Marokkaans' en 'Turks'?) Hoe verhoudt zich dit tot hun identificatie als Nederlander? Wat betekent het voor hen als zij zich identificeren met hun etnische labels en met het Nederlandse label?
- Hoe worden hun identificaties beïnvloed door de verschillende sociale situaties waarin zij zich begeven?
- Hoe ontwikkelen hun identificaties zich gedurende de tijd? En hoe hangen deze identificaties samen met trajecten van sociale mobiliteit?

In hoofdstukken 2, 3 en 4 wordt de methodologische, theoretische en sociaalpolitieke context van de studie geschetst.

Hoofdstuk 2. Integratiemodellen. Beschouwing van etnische en nationale identificatie

Als we het belang van etnische identificatie voor sociale stijgers willen begrijpen, schieten de twee meest bekende integratiemodellen, die van 'rechtelijns'

integratie en van 'segmented assimilation', tekort. De invalshoek waarin etniciteit wordt benaderd vanuit het idee van 'etnische opties' is meer geschikt.

Hoe etniciteit en identiteit als analytische concepten gebruikt worden is geen eenvoudige zaak. In de sociale wetenschappen is er een brede consensus om etniciteit en identiteit als sociale constructies te zien. Echter, in veel empirische studies wordt deze visie onbedoeld verdrongen door een meer essentialistische visie; een visie die ook alom aanwezig is in het alledaagse leven. Binnen deze visie worden etnische identiteiten gezien als een weerspiegeling van begrensde, homogene culturen, en leden van een etnische categorie worden beschouwd als een hechte en homogene groep. Ook gebeurt het vaak dat etniciteit en identiteit niet helder en eenduidig worden gedefinieerd. Om deze twee valkuilen van onbedoeld essentialisme en van ambiguïteit te vermijden, worden in deze studie vijf analytische instrumenten gebruikt. Deze zijn: (a) een focus op processen van identificatie in plaats van op vaststaande identiteiten; (b) een onderscheid tussen zelf-identificatie en externe identificatie door anderen; (c) een onderscheid tussen categorie en groep; (d) een onderscheid tussen label en sociaal-culturele inhoud; en (e) het begrip intersectionaliteit.

Hoofdstuk 3. Onderzoeksopzet. Het mixen van methoden

De studie heeft een 'mixed methods' opzet en combineert survey data met data uit diepte-interviews. De vragenlijst is voor aanvang van deze studie afgenomen onder tweede generatie Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders, in de context van het TIES project. De diepte-interviews zijn gehouden met vijftien tweede generatie Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders met een universitair opleidingsniveau. De methoden vullen elkaar in belangrijke mate aan en worden op verschillende manieren gecombineerd. Methoden uit de kwantitatieve en positivistische onderzoekstraditie blijken ook gebruikt te kunnen worden vanuit een meer constructivistisch perspectief, en zelfs voor de deconstructie van concepten zoals etnische identiteit (zie ook hoofdstuk 5).

Hoofdstuk 4. Het Nederlandse integratie-landschap en de Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders

Het veranderde politieke integratie-landschap vormt de achtergrond van deze studie. Uit beschrijvingen in de literatuur blijkt dat in Nederland, evenals in veel andere Europese landen, burgerschap verregaand 'geculturaliseerd' is geraakt; wie in Nederland thuishoort en wie in Nederland niet thuishoort wordt steeds vaker gedefinieerd in termen van cultuur en identificatie. Van immigranten en hun kinderen wordt verwacht dat zij de progressieve 'Nederlandse' normen internaliseren en dat zij zich als Nederlands identificeren. Identificatie als Marokkaans of Turks wordt gewantrouwd, vanuit de aanname dat men slechts loyaal kan zijn aan één land en cultuur. Moslims worden in het bijzonder gezien als de Ander, omdat hun religie wordt afgeschilderd als onverenigbaar met (wat

gepresenteerd wordt als) 'de Nederlandse cultuur'. Hoewel zowel Marokkaanse Nederlanders als Turkse Nederlanders overwegend moslim zijn, worden Marokkaanse Nederlanders negatiever geportretteerd in de politiek en de media dan Turkse Nederlanders.

Rond 1970 arriveerden de eerste Marokkaanse en Turkse migranten in Nederland. Ze kwamen als arbeidsmigranten om laaggeschoold werk te doen. De meesten kwamen van het platteland en hadden een (zeer) laag opleidingsniveau. Gezien deze achtergrond is het een flinke prestatie dat een aanzienlijk, en groeiend, percentage van de tweede generatie hoger onderwijs volgt of heeft gevolgd. Naast de overeenkomsten in immigratiecontext en rurale achtergrond, zijn er ook verschillen tussen Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders. In het algemeen zorgen Turkije en de daaraan gekoppelde Turkse identiteit voor grotere verbondenheid en trots onder Turkse Nederlanders dan Marokko doet onder Marokkaanse Nederlanders. Ook zijn de cohesie en de graad van organisatie hoger onder Turkse dan onder Marokkaanse gemeenschappen.

Hoofdstukken 5 tot en met 7 vormen het hart van het boek. Deze hoofdstukken zijn gebaseerd op de empirische data.

Hoofdstuk 5. 'Ben ik Nederlands? Ja. Ben ik Marokkaans? Ja.' Een verkenning van twee dimensies van zelf-identificatie

Identificeren de Marokkaans- en Turks-Nederlandse stijgers zich eigenlijk als 'Marokkaans' of 'Turks'? Uit zowel de survey data als uit de interviews blijkt dat dit het geval is. Desgevraagd geeft een grote meerderheid van de hoger opgeleide tweede generatie aan dat zij zich sterk 'Marokkaans' of 'Turks' voelen. Dit betekent echter niet dat zij zich niet ook Nederlands voelen. Een grote meerderheid van de respondenten van de survey en bijna alle geïnterviewden gaven aan dat zij zich zowel sterk Marokkaans/Turks voelden als Nederlands. Dit weerlegt de aanname dat etnische en nationale identificaties elkaar uitsluiten.

Wat opvalt is dat de Turks Nederlandse respondenten weliswaar sterker gericht zijn op co-etnische mensen en gebruiken dan de Marokkaans-Nederlandse respondenten, maar dat hun etnische identificatie gemiddeld genomen niet sterker is. Uit de survey data blijkt dat, in het bijzonder voor de Marokkaans-Nederlandse respondenten, identificatie met het etnische label (dus 'Marokkaans voelen') nauwelijks samenhangt met andere sociaalculturele variabelen. Identificatie met het label 'Turks' vormt een sterkere weerspiegeling van sociaalculturele inhoud dan identificatie met het label 'Marokkaans'. In andere woorden: het Turkse label is 'dikker', meer substantieel, dan het Marokkaanse label. Dit wordt bevestigd door de diepte-interviews. Dit betekent echter niet dat voor de Marokkaans-Nederlandse respondenten hun etnische identificatie minder belangrijk is dan voor de Turks-Nederlandse respondenten.

Hoofdstuk 6. 'Ik ben... wie ik ben...' Identificaties in sociale contexten

Hoewel de vorige analyses de indruk wekken dat individuen vaststaande identificaties hebben, is dit niet het geval. Hoe zij zich positioneren hangt af van de situatie; zowel in termen van het gebruik van specifieke labels als van sociaalculturele praktijken.

Een belangrijk thema in de diepte-interviews was het verlangen om ergens bij te horen, om geaccepteerd te worden door anderen als een van 'ons', zowel in co-etnische omgevingen, zoals de familie, als in interetnische omgevingen, zoals op school en op het werk. Erbij-horen blijkt echter niet vanzelfsprekend, zelfs niet in co-etnische omgevingen, zoals vaak verondersteld wordt. In veel gevallen liepen de geïnterviewden tegen bepaalde normen en verwachtingen aan die niet strookten met hun eigen voorkeuren, met name in co-etnische situaties. In interetnische situaties werden ze soms geconfronteerd met een categorisering als de 'Ander' die niet strookte met hoe zij zichzelf wilden positioneren. Als iemand wordt bestempeld als 'Marokkaans' of 'Turks' (of 'moslim') – zelfs in de context van een compliment – dan wordt diegene bestempeld tot de 'Ander' en heeft diegene zelf weinig invloed meer op zijn positionering, op zijn identiteit. In andere woorden, zulke etnische categorisering hebben een buitensluitend effect en ontnemen mensen hun *agency*. Dit betekent nog niet dat individuen dit willoos ondergaan. Er zijn verschillende soorten reacties waarop individuen in zulke situaties van wrijving, of dissonantie, kunnen reageren. Oftewel, individuen hebben 'etnische opties'. Deze variëren van meegaand tot conflictueus; van reacties waarin gekozen wordt de sociale relatie niet op het spel te zetten en de eigen, onafhankelijke voorkeuren ondergeschikt te maken aan de sociale relatie, tot reacties waarin het nastreven van de eigen voorkeuren en identificaties belangrijker is dan het vermijden van conflict. Deze waaier aan keuzes wil echter niet zeggen dat individuen ruime vrijheid hebben in hun opties. Etnische opties worden vaak beperkt door allerlei externe factoren en actoren.

Acceptatie als Nederlander leidt er niet automatisch toe dat etnische identiteit geen rol meer speelt. Sterker nog, acceptatie als volwaardig Nederlander kan zelfs leiden tot een sterkere nadruk op de eigen etnische identiteit. Iemand die het gevoel heeft dat hij volledig geaccepteerd wordt, bijvoorbeeld vanwege zijn opleidingsniveau of professie, kan zich extra zeker voelen om zijn minderheidsidentiteit naar voren te brengen zonder dat dit leidt tot uitsluiting. Het is zelfs zo dat juist diegenen die gezien worden als 'succesvol' in de ideale positie zijn om negatieve stereotypen te doorbreken. Zij zijn tenslotte het levende bewijs dat Marokkaans-, Turks- of moslim-zijn prima samen kan gaan met een volwaardige, 'succesvolle' positie.

Hoofdstuk 7. Vreemdelingen en vrienden. Trajecten van identificatie en het opkomen van 'minderheids-middenklasse kapitaal'

Identificaties blijken niet alleen te variëren tussen verschillende contexten, maar variëren ook over tijdsperioden. Zich andersvoelen en zich niet-andersvoelen zijn belangrijke thema's hierbij. Veel van de geïnterviewde stijgers hebben zich in hun jeugd 'anders' gevoeld. Sommigen voelden zich daardoor zelfs buitengesloten, en sommigen zijn ronduit gepest. Dit lag meestal aan hun etnische achtergrond, waardoor ze probeerden hun etniciteit zo min mogelijk te tonen en te benadrukken. Terwijl andersvoelen voornamelijk een negatieve ervaring bleek, werden gevoelens van gelijkheid positief ervaren. In tegenstelling tot andersvoelen, werd gelijkheid meestal niet uitgedrukt in termen van etniciteit, maar beschreven als het delen van ervaringen en een bepaald wereldbeeld; van het delen van een specifieke *habitus*. En iemands *habitus* blijkt sterker gevormd te worden door opleidingsniveau dan puur door etniciteit. Dit wordt geïllustreerd door het feit dat de tweede generatie hoger opgeleide survey respondenten vaker vrienden hebben die hun opleidingsniveau delen dan vrienden die hun etnische achtergrond delen.

Dit betekent echter niet dat etniciteit onbelangrijk voor hen is. Het delen van *zowel* opleidingsniveau als etnische achtergrond blijkt te kunnen leiden tot ongekende wederzijdse herkenning. Veel van de geïnterviewden vertelden dat het voelde als een 'openbaring' om op de universiteit 'ineens' medestudenten tegen te komen met een co-etnische achtergrond. Ervaringen die tot dan toe heel persoonlijk leken, bleken ineens gedeelde ervaringen en vielen op hun plek. Samen met deze 'soulmates' volgde een verkenning van wat hun etniciteit voor hen betekende. Samen gaven ze vorm aan hun etnische identiteit, zodat deze beter paste bij hun opleidingsniveau. Omdat er vóór hen weinig Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders waren die dit opleidingsniveau bereikten, waren zij pioniers en bestonden er in Nederland nog geen invullingen van hun etnische identiteit die pasten bij een middenklasse positie. Kortom, we zien een traject van *reinvention of ethnic identification*, van het her-uitvinden en (opnieuw) naar voren brengen van etnische identificatie.

De prominente rol van etnische identiteit voor minderheidsstijgers, in aangepaste vorm, wijst op het ontstaan van 'minderheids-middenklasse kapitaal' (of een 'minderheidscultuur van mobiliteit') onder Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders. Dit is vergelijkbaar met wat zich afspeelt in andere landen en onder andere minderheden. In reactie op uitdagingen die uniek zijn voor minderheidsstijgers vanwege de karakteristieke combinatie van hun minderheidsachtergrond en hun traject van sociale mobiliteit richting de middenklasse, ontwikkelen deze stijgers specifieke sociale netwerken, gebruiken, normen en identificaties, oftewel specifiek minderheids-middenklasse kapitaal.

Hoofdstuk 8. Ter afsluiting. 'Her-uitvinding' van etnische identificatie onder minderheidsstijgers

Op basis van het empirische materiaal kunnen we begrijpen waarom etnische identiteit zo relevant is voor veel Marokkaans- en Turks-Nederlandse stijgers. Een mogelijke reden is dat iemand zich aangetrokken voelt tot bepaalde gebruiken of ideologieën, of tot het land van zijn of haar ouders; dat de etnische achtergrond heel bepalend is geweest voor opgedane ervaringen; dat etnische identificatie een belangrijke manier is om sociale relaties te onderhouden met dierbaren, zoals ouders; of dat iemand bij wil dragen tot het doorbreken van negatieve stereotypen; of etnische zelf-identificatie is vooral een teken van aanpassing aan het label 'Marokkaans' of 'Turks' dat voortdurend door anderen wordt opgeplakt. Het is duidelijk dat etnische zelf-identificatie vaak een onderdeel is van een sociale interactie en strategische elementen kan hebben. Etnische zelf-identificaties onder Marokkaanse en Turkse Nederlanders zijn niet puur vrijwillig en symbolisch, maar ze zijn ook niet slechts een reactie op categorisering door anderen.

Het traject van her-uitvinding van etnische identificatie onder minderheidsstijgers wijst op de mogelijkheid dat iemand behoort tot de middenklasse, zonder zich volledig aan te passen aan de etnische meerderheid. De mogelijkheid bestaat om middenklasse te worden met een middenklasse minderheidsidentiteit. Het valt daarmee gemakkelijker te begrijpen dat de Nederlandse middenklasse meer divers wordt en individuen kent die hun etnische eigenheid accentueren.

Endnotes

Chapter 1

- ⁱ In Dutch he said: “*Ik ben een Nederlander. Ik ben heel trots – met Marokkaans bloed. Ik ben een moslim. En ik heb een f*cking Gouden Kalf in mijn hand*”. See: www.youtube.com/watch?v=iYkSPiYbKg8 [accessed 17 October 2014]
- ⁱⁱ Dchar was appointed a hero and many were deeply moved by his words and applauded his criticism towards exclusionary discourses (see for example: the broadcast of ‘Pauw and Witteman’ of Oct 3, 2011 (www.youtube.com/watch?v=UHTaZUVggTE); De Volkskrant 2011; Algemeen Dagblad 2011; Trouw 2011). He was regarded ‘the first’ to claim the right to be Dutch, Moroccan and Muslim at the same time (Volkskrant Magazine 2011). In later interviews Dchar referred to the negative reactions he received (see for example Volkskrant Magazine 2011 and the broadcast of De Jong’s interview with Dchar on: www.uitzendinggemist.nl/afleveringen/1215853).
- ⁱⁱⁱ See www.nu.nl/politiek/2551250/verhagen-noemt-angst-buitenlanders-begrijpelijk.html

Chapter 2

- ⁱ The fact that I employ a constructivist perspective does not mean that I regard every concept as a social construct, rather that I approach *the main theme of ethnic identification* in a such way, which enables me to reveal its possibly constructed or relative character, and the possible underlying mechanisms.
- ⁱⁱ I prefer to use different terms because of the connotation of ‘virtual’ as unreal and the confusion of ‘nominal identity’ and category (see for example the use of ‘nominal identity’ by Chandra 2012: 10).
- ⁱⁱⁱ When the (then) Dutch crown princess Máxima Zorreguita, herself an immigrant from Argentina who migrated to the Netherlands to marry the Dutch crown prince, in a speech presented in 2007 remarked that in her search for the Dutch identity she has not found any ‘the’ Dutch identity, this leads of a lot of commotion. She was severely criticized for making this remark. She delivered the speech at the event organized for the presentation of the WRR report ‘Identification with the Netherlands’ (*Identificatie met Nederland*). (Meurs 2007) (WRR: Scientific Council for Government Policy; *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor Regeringsbeleid*)
- ^{iv} In the Netherlands, discussions on integration are exclusively focused on the category of ‘non-western immigrants’, referring primarily to people with a Surinamese,

Moroccan, Turkish and Antillean background. In the Dutch context, it is self-evident that integration discussions do not focus on immigrants from for example the U.S., Germany or Japan. The attribute 'non-western' is generally even omitted in these discussions, as well as a description of the particular categories that belong to this label. (Low-wage workers from Eastern-Europe form a recent new category, which is also focus of discussions on integration).

Chapter 3

- ⁱ Niglas (2010: 217) shows that the use of the labels to refer to the various research paradigms varies between authors. I follow Bryman (2001) in distinguishing between labels that refer to ontological positions (objectivism and constructivism) and labels that refer to epistemological positions (positivism and interpretivism).
- ⁱⁱ Various typologies are mentioned in the literature. Some authors present typologies of mixed methods studies based on technical characteristics, such as the sequence of the methods and the emphasis placed (e.g. Caracelli and Greene 1997; Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009; Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009). Personally, I do not find these very useful in designing a study because the technical design is not a consideration in itself, but should arise from the purpose of the study. Other authors, like Creswell and Plano Clark (2007), give a typology that mix purposes and designs. I find their typology confusing because the options they sketch are too rigid and limited, and in my view, these inhibit researchers in thinking from the purpose of the study in drafting their own research design.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Greene et al. (1989) refer to this purpose as 'complementarity', but I prefer the label clarification to clearly distinguish this purpose from the purpose of expansion.
- ^{iv} I asked the 2006 participants for permission to still use their interviews. One I could not reach again, and I decided to use the interview for the analysis, but to include only a few quotes in the book in a decontextualized way, without any other personal information.
- ^v I also tested working with the software package Atlas.ti. I choose MaxQDA for its additional options for structuring the codes into specific orders and levels and for marking codes with colors.

Chapter 4

- ⁱ The recently reinvigorated discussions about the Dutch custom of *Zwarte Piet*, who features as a dark-skinned helper of a white-skinned Saint in a national children's celebration, has probably increased the resonance of the anti-racist discourse in the last two years. I doubt, however, if its consonance has increased as well, as the anti-racist criticism of *Zwarte Piet* has triggered fierce and emotional opposition, in which *Zwarte Piet* is portrayed as an inherently Dutch symbol and therefore as untouchable.
- ⁱⁱ In 2006, the Labor party argued that '[i]ntegration is not only about bridging socioeconomic differences and language problems: it also has a cultural dimension'

(Slegers 2007: 43-44, translation MS). The Christian Democrats state that: ‘Shared norms form the basis of our society. They bind us and make us proud of our country’ (ibid.: 42, translation MS). The right-wing Liberals want to protect the typical ‘Dutch’ character of society, which is a real source of pride, and needs protection from external influences (ibid: 44)

- iii See the text of the speech:
<http://www.koninklijkhuis.nl/nieuws/toespraken/2007/september/toespraak-van-prinses-maxima-24-september-2007/>
- iv See for example the use of ‘*Marokkanenprobleem*’ by Wilders and national newspapers:
www.telegraaf.nl/binnenland/21861018/_Politie_onder_vuur_in_Assen_.html
www.elsevier.nl/Politiek/nieuws/2013/4/Spoeddebat-Marokkanenprobleem-gaat-toch-door-1220518W/
www.trouw.nl/tr/nl/4492/Nederland/article/detail/3420424/2013/04/04/PVV-wil-uitstel-debat-Marokkanenprobleem.dhtml.
‘Marokkanendrama’ was the title of a book published in 2007 (Jurgens 2007), which was adopted by mainstream politicians. See for example the text of a Green politician on his party’s website (Dibi 2009) and the blog of the Secretary of State for Social Affairs (De Krom 2010).
- v In his speech of 28 June 2011, see text printed in NRC:
www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2011/06/28/toespraak-maxim-verhagen/
- vi CBS uses (non-western) ‘third generation’ to refer to individuals who have at least one grandparent who is born in a non-western country (2010: 37)
- vii NRC published (May 6th, 2012) “En op de website van de LPF, stond de - vaak geciteerde - uitspraak: „*Christelijke inwoners in Nederland, zoals op de Veluwe, hebben moreel meer rechten dan islamitische nieuwkomers, omdat christenen al eeuwenlang hebben bijgedragen aan de opbouw van ons land.*” See:
www.nrc.nl/nieuws/2012/05/06/de-extravagante-uitspraken-van-de-flamboyante-fortuyn/
- viii Amsterdam: <http://www.os.amsterdam.nl/feiten-en-cijfers>, 1 January 2013.
Rotterdam: <http://www.rotterdamincijfers.nl>, January 2013
- ix This section is mainly based on data from the CBS (Statistics Netherlands, *Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek*) and SCP (Netherlands Institute for Social Research, *Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau*). These research institutes are closely affiliated with the government and equipped with the task of conducting research and providing statistical monitors on all areas of government policy. Alternately, the two institutions produce the *Jaarrapport Integratie*, a yearly monitor of the state of affairs with regard to the ‘integration’ of ‘allochthonous’ groups, based on statistical data about socioeconomic and sociocultural aspects of the situation of immigrants and their offspring in the Netherlands. As mentioned in chapter 2, in the figures shown in the Integration Monitors, most results as they are shown are organized by ethnic background rather than by class background or parental education level (see for example CBS 2012). Apparently, even though the authors of these monitors

suggest that the educational arrear ‘seems to be more related to characteristics of the parental environment than with ethnicity’ (2012: 70), this does not lead them to present the figures in a different way than organized by ethnicity (and occasionally by gender).

- ^x The Dutch education system is characterized by the lack of a (significant) sector of private schools and by the presence of a public school system that is of relatively high quality. Less than two percent of the pupils attend a public secondary school (Elsevier 2005^x). Nevertheless, the achievements of Dutch pupils are ranked at the 10th best in the world (OECD PISA rankings 2012)

Chapter 5

- ⁱ The level of significance (alpha) throughout the book is .05, unless indicated otherwise.
- ⁱⁱ See Pallant’s (2007: 132) guideline for interpretation of effect sizes in social sciences, based on Cohen (1988: 79-81): small: $r=.10-.29$, medium: $r=.30-.49$, large: $r=.50-1.0$.
- ⁱⁱⁱ As one might have noticed, the self-descriptions in this section were phrased both in terms of ‘being’ and ‘feeling’. Do these expressions not refer to essentially different components of identification? Verkuyten (2005) distinguishes ‘being’ components (referring to ontological aspects, to ‘objective’ characteristics related to the applicability of the categorization) from ‘feeling’ components (referring to other kinds of affiliations, such as emotional attachments). However, in how these terms are used in the interviews, no such distinction seems to be made. In the interviews, there does not seem to be an analytical difference in how these terms are used, as they are used interchangeably, both by me and by participants. In the context of the interview, the theme of ‘objective’ characteristics, or ontological arguments, appears to be largely irrelevant, as it hardly pops up. It only surfaces occasionally, when referring to the ridiculously exclusivist character of the integration discourse but hardly in narrations on self-definitions. See how the terms ‘feeling’ and ‘being’ are mixed in the following two quotes:

Marieke: Did you also feel like ‘a foreigner’?

Nathalie: Well, you know... back THEN... back THEN I did... and I have to say this has decreased with the years. I mean, um... now, I NEVER feel like the foreigner. NEVER. I’m just not – I AM just Dutch. That’s how I feel about it. (...) No. No... No, I am just Dutch. I feel REALLY Dutch!

[The last part literally was: Ik BEN gewoon niet buiten! -- ik ben gewoon NEDERLANDER. Zo voel ik dat. (...) Nee. Nee... Nee, ik ben gewoon Nederlands. Ik voel me ECHT Nederlands!]

Marieke: As you say: ‘I’m Turkish...’ Are you... more Turkish than Dutch...? Or can’t you see it like that?

Aysel: No, I think – Well... It just depends on – In Turkey I feel more Dutch and in the Netherlands I feel more Turkish, let's say it THIS way.

- iv Without opening up a new concept and an additional domain of literature on transnationality, here I remark that ethnicity among Turkish Dutch seems to contain more transnational elements than ethnicity among Moroccan Dutch. I therefore highly contest the inflation of ethnic identification with transnationality, as ethnicity is likely to refer more to having-a-certain-background-in-a-specific-country than to practices that are related to two countries. The first can contain the latter, but does not necessarily have to.
- v As asked in the Rotterdam Youth Survey (*Rotterdam Jongeren Survey*) 1999 and 2006. (Entzinger and Dourleijn 2008: 91)

Chapter 6

- i The terms consonant and dissonant are also employed in segmented assimilation theory but with a different meaning. There, consonance and dissonance specifically refer to how acculturation processes of children relate to the acculturation processes of the parents. The proposition is that the social mobility of the children is hampered in a situation of dissonance, i.e. when the acculturation process of the parents severely lags behind the acculturation of the children, which is supposed to often be the case in low-capital minority groups (Portes & Rumbaut 2001; Portes, Fernández-Kelly and Haller 2009).
- ii That having stern parents is crucial for upward mobility is disputed by Stepick and Stepick 2010. In reference to Nicholas, Stepick and Dutton (2008), they argue that not only upwardly mobile immigrant children have stern parents, but that children across the entire achievement spectrum have stern parents.
- iii Buitelaar (2009: 205, 209) shows that internalization, even though it might resolve tension with social others, can result in internal friction, as internalization can result in a moral dilemma and mixed feelings.
- iv Ellemers and colleagues call this denial of belonging 'acceptance threat'. However, they only apply acceptance threat to the context of the ethnic 'ingroup', and they do not recognize this as an aspect of categorization threat, also applying to interethnic contexts (Branscombe, Ellemers, Spears and Doosje 1999).
- v I suggest that this classification of approaches can be applied to any situation of dissonance, as it is based on how the gap between two diverging stances is bridged.
- vi Literally, the conversation was:
 - Karim: Ik was op een gegeven moment klaar met het allochtoon zijn. En [die vriend] ook, zeg maar. Die ging gek genoeg ook door dezelfde fases als die ik ging. (...) Want hij voelde ook dat we op een gegeven moment stereotypen werden, zeg maar, in plaats van echte mensen...
 - Marieke: En toen ben je minder 'allochtoon' geworden?

Karim: Toen ben ik minder allochtoon geworden. Ehm, ja steeds minder eigenlijk.

- vii This differs from findings of other studies, such as the study of De Jong (2012). The Moroccan Dutch students in her study often feel insecure in their daily interactions with ethnic Dutch, as they assume that most of the ethnic Dutch agree with Wilders' view and have negative associations with 'Moroccans'

Chapter 7

- ⁱ Literally, he said: *'omdat ik veel meer behoefte had aan mijn Marokkaans-zijn.'*
- ⁱⁱ During the interview I tried to unravel the distinction between his self-identification and identity-ascription by others. Here, Karim describes how others see him, but his tone radiates a sad resignation. I see this as indicative of how his self-image and feelings of self-worth are intricately related to how others see him. With my explicit focus on his emotions, which might come across as 'steering', I try to have him further reflect on this.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Instead of 'white middle-class cultural capital', Carter (2003) uses 'dominant cultural capital' to distinguish this capital from the forms of cultural capital that are present in ethnic minority settings, which she calls 'non-dominant cultural capital'. With this distinction, she acknowledges the important fact that ethnic minority settings also have cultural capital. I avoid the term 'dominant' in reference to the ethnic majority mainstream, as what is 'dominant' differs per field and therefore is a relative term. (In ethnic minority settings, forms of ethnic minority capital are dominant).