

Master thesis

The Influence of Religious Involvement of Turkish Migrants in the Netherlands on Their Political Participation: The Role of Group Identity and Perceived Discrimination

Hanna Russchenberg

Erasmus University Rotterdam

Governance of Migration and Diversity

Sociology track



Student number 515046

Email address h.i.russchenberg@student.eur.nl

Supervisor Gijs Custers

Second reader Thomas Swerts

Word count 9.176

Abstract

The aim of this study is to research to what extent religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands affects their readiness to vote and whether this effect can be explained by group identity and perceived discrimination. Firstly, two aspects of religious involvement are investigated, namely mosque attendance and membership of a religious organization. It is hypothesized that both types of religious involvement have a positive effect on readiness to vote. Secondly, the mediating influence of two types of group identity is examined, namely Muslim and Turkish identity, and perceived discrimination is measured on the personal level. Furthermore, progressive and traditional norms and values and group discrimination were also included in the theoretical framework, however, these mediators could not be tested. The first wave of the NELLS dataset (2009) is analyzed using a mediation model. Firstly, the results show that religious involvement of Turkish migrants positively impacts their readiness to vote. Active involvement, i.e. membership of a religious organization, plays a larger role than passive involvement, i.e. mosque attendance. Secondly, none of the mediators explain the relationship between religious involvement and readiness to vote. Therefore, future research should include more mediators, such as progressive and traditional norms and values and group discrimination. Moreover, future studies should focus on the different Islamic branches and other active forms of religious involvement, and use a larger and more representative sample.

Keywords group identity, perceived discrimination, political participation, religious involvement, Turkish Muslims

Introduction

The integration and participation in the political domain of citizens living in democratic countries is highly valued. For multicultural democratic countries, where many different ethnic groups reside, strong political involvement of migrants is even more important and full participation is considered essential (Eggert and Giugni, 2010). Yet, often it is shown that for migrants – depending on the type of participation – the degree of participation in the political sphere is lower compared to participation of natives. Such differences are found in both the US and Europe (Lien, 1997; Morales and Giugni, 2011). Consequently, the legitimacy of the democratic system of these countries is questioned (Zapata-Barrero and Gropas, 2012). In Western Europe, in the public debate it is often argued that specifically the Islam hinders a successful political integration of Muslims (Kunst, Sadeghi, Tahir, Sam and Thomsen, 2015), which is also the case in the Netherlands. Here, Muslims are labeled by their religious identity on a regular basis, which will lead to more polarization between the natives and Muslim minority group (Shadid, 2006). In turn, this can lead to withdrawal of Muslims from the host society, strengthening the orientation on their own ethnic group (Kunst et al., 2015) and thereby refrain from political involvement.

However, there are empirical studies which show that religious involvement can have a positive effect on the political integration of migrants in their host society. The so called ‘spill over effect’ describes that religious participation can spill over into participation in other spheres, such as the political domain. Here, religious involvement can increase one’s feelings of competence and can lead to more political involvement (Peterson, 1992; Schmidt, 1999). Thus, in contrast to the Dutch public discourse, studies show that religious involvement can impact political participation positively.

Within the literature, there are several factors which can influence the relationship between religious involvement and political participation, namely norms and values (Just, Sandovici and Listhaug, 2014), group identity (Dickson and Scheve, 2006; Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018) and perceived discrimination (Kranendonk, 2018; Fleischmann, Phalet and Klein, 2011). Depending on the type of these different mechanisms, these three factors can impact political participation both positively and negatively. In this research, it will be empirically investigated if the latter two mechanisms, group identity and perceived discrimination, can explain the relation between religion and political participation and which of these two factors is most important in explaining this.

Most research on the role of religious involvement in political participation focuses on populations in the US and – as stated by for instance Sobolewska, Fisher, Heath and Sanders

(2015) and Fleischmann, Martinovic and Bohm (2016) – less is known about this for ethnic minorities in Europe. In the US, the relation between religion and political participation is often studied for Christians, showing that their religion positively impacts political participation (Fleischmann, Martinovic and Bohm, 2016). Yet, Jamal (2005) focused in his study on Muslims in New York and his research showed the same positive influence of religion on their political participation. This shows that it is also applicable to Muslims. However, it remains unclear if this is also true for Muslims in Europe (Fleischmann, Martinovic and Bohm, 2016) and specifically Muslim minorities in the Netherlands. It should be noted that the context of the US and the Netherlands differ from each other. For instance, in the US there are so called ‘black churches’ which stimulate political participation, whereas in the Netherlands there are also more conservative mosques with an anti-democratic approach which can hinder political involvement. In this research there cannot be differentiated between progressive or conservative mosques, yet, this nuance and difference with the US context will be taken into account.

The current research focuses on the Netherlands and specifically individuals of Turkish descent who live in this country and adhere the Islam. This ethnic group was chosen because they are, after residing many decades in the Netherlands, one of the ethnic groups who still face many prejudices (Velasco González, Verkuyten, Weesie and Poppe, 2008) and are heavily stigmatized in the Dutch public debate. Therefore, it is useful to gain more insights in what factors hamper or stimulate their degree of political participation and integration in Dutch society and what role Islam plays in this. Here, the mediating role of norms and values (progressive and traditional), group identification (Muslim identity and Turkish identity) and perceived discrimination (personal level) in the relationship between religious involvement and political participation will be discussed. Unfortunately, due to data limitations, only the last two can be tested in this research. Therefore, this leads to the following research question:

“To what extent does religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands have an effect on their readiness to vote, and can this effect be explained by group identification and perceived discrimination?”

The relevance of this research can, as said before, firstly be found in that it will give more insights in how religious involvement impacts the political participation of Turkish migrants. As stated in the beginning, in the public debate it is often portrayed that the Islam has a negative influence on the political integration of Muslims, whereas most theories and literature on this topic point towards the opposite effect. By making use of empirical data, this research can gain more insights in this effect and contribute to a different perspective in the public debate. In

addition, by showing the effects of group identity processes and experiences of discrimination on their degree of political integration, policies regarding these topics can be altered, which can possibly lead to stimulating their political participation. In turn, more political participation can lead to a larger sense of belonging of this ethnic group in the residing society. This is valuable for both migrants and the host country, since it can lead to more social cohesion and social interaction in the Dutch society as a whole (Simonsen, 2019). Secondly, by focusing on Muslims in the Netherlands this research expands on the already existing literature by giving more insights into how this topic will play out in another context and for a different religion. Furthermore, a large dataset is available and with this dataset the topics addressed in this research can be studied in the Netherlands properly. Specifically, this research will use the first wave (2009) of the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study NELLS (NELLS).

Theoretical framework

As stated in the introduction, religious involvement can positively impact political integration. However, before going deeper into this relation, a brief history of the Turkish migration stream to the Netherlands will be discussed, as well as the heated Dutch public debate about Muslims. Secondly, the terms religious involvement and political participation are rather broad, so precise definitions of the concepts will be discussed. Thirdly, the mediating role of group identification, norms and values and perceived discrimination in the relationship between religious involvement and political participation will be explained. Lastly, a theoretical model will be presented (figure 1).

The case of the Turkish minority group in the Netherlands

Turkish migration stream to the Netherlands

Between 1964 and 1974 Turkish people came to the Netherlands as guest labour migrants. Due to significant economic growth in the Netherlands, vacancies had to be filled which resulted in a labour agreement between the Dutch and Turkish state (General Directorate of Turkish Employment Organisation, 2003; Lucassen & Penninx, 1997). The Turkish state stimulated the migration flow aspiring that remittances would help diminishing large unemployment rates (Sayarı, 1986) and hoping that more high skilled workers would come back to the country (Akgündüz, 2008). Subsequently, “although official labour recruitment stopped after the first oil crisis in 1973, immigration from Turkey continued through family reunification, political migration after the 1980 coup and, more recently, marriage migration” (Hooghiemstra, 2003, as cited in Mügge, 2010, p. 43). In the beginning it was expected that their stay would be temporary, yet, this turned into a permanent one (Mügge, 2010). Currently, the Turkish community in the Netherlands includes 416.864 people, which makes them the largest non-Western group residing in the Netherlands (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2020). Unfortunately, recent data on how many of these Turkish people consider themselves Muslim is absent.

Public debate in the Netherlands

In the Netherlands, the public debate about the position of Muslims is controversial and instigated by events such as the murder of Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh and the terroristic attacks of September 11, 2001 (Shadid, 2006). This has led to an emphasis in the debate on Islamic threat to Dutch democratic values and separation between religion and state, and the

notion that Islam and Dutch culture are not compatible (Shadid, 2006). Moreover, “by constantly labeling them by their ascribed religious identity, the *we* versus *they* distinction is reinforced. Consequently, Muslims are excluded from mainstream society” (Shadid, 2006, p. 17). This can lead them to withdraw from and hardly interact with Dutch society, while at the same time intensifying their orientation towards their own ethnic group (Kunst et al., 2015). Ultimately, the heated Dutch public debate about Muslims and Islam has resulted in more restrictive migration and integration measures by the Dutch state (Shadid, 2006).

Religious involvement and political participation

Defining religious involvement

Religious involvement comprises different actions, attitudes and types of behavior. For instance, one can be religiously involved through following religious practices which “indicate the observance of religious rules and rites” (Güngör, Fleischmann and Phalet, 2011, p. 1359). Many studies focus on belonging to a religion and religious attendance at a place of worship to study religious involvement, see for example Sobolewska, Fisher, Heath and Sanders (2015). Specifically for Muslims, these two aspects are not sufficient enough, since, as required by the Quran, female Muslims are less expected to attend the mosque frequently compared to male Muslims (Maliepaard, 2012). Therefore, other aspects of religious involvement should be included here as well, such as fasting during the Ramadan, praying (Galle, Abts, Swyngedouw and Meuleman, 2019) or membership of and active involvement in a religious organization. It should be noted that religious organizations are highly valuable for migrants, since these ethnic groups participate in other types of organizations less often (Jones-Correa and Leal 2001). Lastly, active participation in activities which take place within religious institutions is useful as well to take into account (Scheufele, Nisbet, Brossard, 2003). This can be activities such as taking classes, organizing activities or being part of a committee.

Following this, religious involvement can be classified as the frequency of attending the mosque, membership of a religious organization, fasting during the Ramadan, praying and participation in activities within the place of worship. Unfortunately, due to data limitations only the first two aspects will be tested in this research, i.e. mosque attendance and membership of a religious organization.

Defining political participation

Political participation is a broad concept and comprises several activities. For instance, one can participate directly by giving their vote during elections or set up campaigns for political parties (Teorell, Torcal and Montero, 2007) and more indirectly by taking part in demonstrations and strikes (Bauböck, Kraler, Martiniello and Perchinig, 2006; Teorell, Torcal and Montero, 2007). In this research, there will be focused on electoral participation.

Concerning the Netherlands, generally the national elections can be considered as more important than local elections, since Dutch policy is developed on the national level. Yet, concerning foreigners in the Netherlands, it is since the year 1985 that they can vote on the local level if they have lived in the Netherlands for at least five years (Michon, Tillie and Van Heelsum, 2007). Consequently, this can stimulate their willingness to participate in Dutch politics. Thus, in this research it is useful to focus on voting on the local level, i.e. municipal elections. Concerning this type of elections, Berger, Fennema, van Heelsum, Tillie and Wolff (2001) stated that the voter turnout of municipal elections is considered as an important and useful way of measuring the degree of (political) integration of ethnic migrant groups in Dutch society. Here, to be able to vote requires having a sufficient level of knowledge of the Dutch political system (Berger et al., 2001). Moreover, orientation on this system generates more knowledge of the Dutch party system, which contributes to better integration in the political sphere (Berger et al., 2001) and can enhance the voter turnout.

Therefore, in this research the focus will lie on the readiness to vote during the Dutch municipal elections.

Religious involvement and political participation

In the literature, the effects of religious involvement on political participation are investigated extensively. Mostly, this research is conducted in the US (Sobolewska, Fisher, Heath and Sanders, 2015; Fleischmann, Martinovic and Bohm, 2016). Here, in general it can be said that religious involvement can lead to more political participation of migrants (Fleischmann, Martinovic and Bohm, 2016). A direct consequence of participating religiously is that this type of participation can ‘spill over’ into other spheres, such as the political or civic sphere (Schmidt, 1999). Peterson (1992) describes this ‘spill over effect’ as the tendency that participation in domains which are non-political will influence the political orientations and behavior of the participating people. Here, “involvement in decisions within a church would lead a person to feel more competent and, hence, more capable of being politically relevant” (Peterson, 1992, p. 124). In turn, this can lead to more active involvement in the political sphere. Therefore, it

can be said that religious involvement can influence the degree of political participation directly. In addition, Levitt (2008) showed that migrants who are involved in the political or civic domain frequently mention their religion as an incentive for this involvement. This shows that religious involvement can impact the degree of political participation indirectly as well. This results in the following hypothesis:

H1. Religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands is positively related to their readiness to vote.

Mediating factors

Having established that religious involvement has a positive impact on political participation, in this section several different explanations that mediate this relationship will be looked into. Broadly, these explanations revolve around three central themes: group identification processes, norms and values and perceived discrimination.

Although all three mediating factors will be discussed, it is only the explanation for group identity and perceived discrimination that will be tested in this research, due to limited usable data that is available. Yet, the third explanation for norms and values is important to elaborate on, as it gives relevant background information and can have implications for the results as well.

Group identity: Turkish and Muslim identity

Group identification can be defined as “an individual’s awareness of belonging to a certain group and having a psychological attachment to that group based on a perception of shared beliefs, feelings, interests, and ideas with other group members” (McClain, Johnson Carew, Walton and Watts, 2009, p. 474). Concerning migrants, there are several types of groups one can belong to, e.g. based on race, ethnicity or religion. In the next section the effect of the last two types on political participation will be discussed.

Turkish identity

Turkish migrants in Dutch society identify strongly with their country of origin and continue to hold on to this ethnic identity even when residing in the Netherlands for decades (Verkuyten, 2006). Therefore, it is useful to look into the impact of this type of identity on their political participation. In general, it can be said that Turkish identification impacts political participation negatively. For instance, Klandermans, Van der Toorn and Van Stekelenburg (2008) show that having a Turkish identity was negatively correlated with participating in collective action in

the Netherlands. For specifically voting behavior, Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum (2018) show that Turkish migrants in Western Europe who adhere the Islam and strongly identify with their Turkish background were less likely to participate in elections. Here, the Turkish migrants had more feelings of belonging to Turkey and were less inclined to address shared interests in the Netherlands. Accordingly, by holding on to their ethnic identity and lack of participation in the political domain they could segregate from Dutch society (Kranendonk, 2018) and refrain from voting.

Another factor that should be touched upon here is political representation, since “individuals may have less incentive to vote if none of the parties or politicians represents the group interests and policy preferences” (Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018, p. 47). Unfortunately, due to limited recent data, the effects of migrant parties such as DENK or NIDA cannot be investigated yet. Previous research shows that Turkish people in the Netherlands often vote for PvdA, CDA or GroenLinks (Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics, 2002).

Muslim identity

Starting with the positive effects, Wald, Silverman and Fridy (2005) stated that by adhering to a religion believers can develop social identities which can stimulate political action. For specifically Muslim migrants in Europe, it can be said that Muslims with a strong religious identity are very much inclined to participate politically (Fleischmann, Phalet and Klein, 2011). Here, one can use different types of political participation, such as the act of voting, to address their group interests (Lee, 2008). Identifying religiously can impact voting behavior, because believers can develop group interests and shared policy preferences (Dickson and Scheve, 2006) focused on for instance developing a more inclusive society.

However, on the other hand, religious identification can also have negative effects. Firstly, migrants who identify as Muslim and adhere the more conservative branches of Islam believe that because of their religion they are not allowed to participate in democratic Western societies (Just et al., 2014), which can lead to them not participate in politics (Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018). Secondly, individuals who consider themselves as being Muslim are significantly less involved in politics (Just et al. 2014), as “Islamic identification in a non-Muslim environment may be accompanied by feelings of exclusion [and discrimination], which may decrease Muslim voters’ willingness to participate in democratic European political systems” (Ersanilli and Koopmans, 2011, as cited in Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018, p. 46). Here, perception of exclusion and discrimination

can lead to the fact that Muslims develop the expectation that the dominant majority society will reject their group interest (Fleischmann et al., 2011).

And as with ethnic identification, political representation can also play a role here and should be taken into account as well (Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018). This results in the following hypotheses:

H2a: Religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands is positively related to their religious and ethnic identification.

H2b: More religious identification will lead to more readiness to vote of Turkish migrants.

H2c: More religious and ethnic identification will lead to less readiness to vote of Turkish migrants.

Norms and values

Religion does not only affects politics, but it can provide political ideas and values as well (Williams, 1996). Here, religious involvement can, depending on the focus of the religion, lead to the development of progressive or traditional norms and values, which in turn can impact political participation. As with religious identification, the norms and values developed through religious involvement can both have a positive and negative effect on political participation.

Starting with the positive effects, church leaders can stimulate political action by emphasizing the connection between religion and political goals and stressing that political involvement is a fundamental and essential aspect of religion (Greenberg, 2000). Here, the social networks of churches can spread behavioral rules and norms to their members which stimulate to partake in politics (Gilbert, 1993; Wald, Owen and Hill, 1988). In addition, other studies suggest that church attendance encourages electoral participation by framing it as a civic obligation (Macaluso and Wanat, 1979; Hougland and Christenson, 1983; Martinson and Wilkening, 1987). Yet, besides voting this is not the case for more intense forms of political participation, since church attendance was not related these types of participation (Hougland and Christenson 1983; Martinson and Wilkening 1987).

On the other hand, religion can promote traditional beliefs which impede partaking in the residing society (Hirschman, 2004; Just et al., 2014). This can lead to less involvement in politics by individuals with a Muslim identity (Kranendonk and Vermeulen, 2019). For instance, migrants who identify as Muslim can believe that because of their religion they are not allowed to participate in democratic Western societies (Just et al., 2014), which can lead to them not participating in politics (Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018). Here, they can see it as Haram (forbidden) for them to partake in politics (Hopkins and Kahani-

Hopkins, 2004). More specifically, “some Muslims perceive political participation in western democracies as a challenge to the Quran’s teaching that believers are forbidden to accept the authority of the disbelievers over them. The act of voting in secular societies is seen as particularly subversive to Muslim identity because it signals direct engagement with the political system of nonbelievers” (Just et al., 2014, p. 129).

Having established that places of worship can provide different progressive and traditional norms and values, as said earlier, it is hard to differentiate between these different types of mosques in empirical research. Most presumably, the vast majority of the mosques in the Netherlands are more progressive, however, it is not specifically known how many mosques are more conservative. Some well-known mosques, such as the *Blauwe Moskee* in Amsterdam or *De Middenweg* in Rotterdam, are considered more conservative and radical. Ronald Sandee, expert of terrorism and researcher, said that this is because there are indications that these mosques are inspired by ‘the Muslim Brotherhood’ (*Moslimbroederschap*), which pursues a sharia state, and because these mosques are influenced and financed by the Gulf region, an area that maintains a more traditional view (Algemeen Dagblad, 2020). Yet, Sandee stated that there is no hard evidence that these places of worship are more conservative and radical, and the mosques themselves deny it completely (Algemeen Dagblad, 2020). Therefore, in this research there will not be differentiated between progressive and traditional mosques, yet, it is valuable to shed light on this nuance and take it into consideration for the results.

Perceived discrimination

As mentioned in the previous section about group identity, experiences of discrimination can influence the relationship between religious involvement and political participation profoundly. In this section, the specific role of discrimination will be discussed in more detail. In the Netherlands, “high Dutch identifiers feel that Dutch norms, beliefs, and values are threatened by Islam and Muslims, and as a result they develop more negative feelings towards Muslims” (Velasco González et al., 2008, p. 680). These negative attitudes can lead to the fact that Muslim minorities have a higher chance of experiencing discrimination and facing prejudices (Velasco González et al., 2008). Here, being religiously involved as a Muslim can increase the chance of being discriminated even more.

Concerning discrimination, a distinction can be made between group discrimination, i.e. unfair group treatment, and personal discrimination, i.e. unfair individual treatment based on the belonging of an individual to a social group (Schildkraut, 2005). Both forms of

discrimination will be discussed here, however, due to data limitations it is only discrimination on the personal level that will be tested in this research.

Firstly, group discrimination “can provide individuals with something to fight for, which can motivate mobilization on the basis of a social identity. Individuals are probably also more likely to be committed to improving the status of the group if they identify to a greater extent with the discriminated group” (Kranendonk, 2018, p. 7). Here, the development of group consciousness and the need to stand up for their own group can lead to more political participation.

Secondly, concerning personal discrimination, the impact on political participation is less consistent and can both be positive and negative. On the one hand, “the perception of personal discrimination can ... politicize social identification and suggests that personal discrimination makes individual self-concerns politically more powerful in comparison to group discrimination” (Schildkraut, 2005, as cited in Kranendonk, 2018, p. 8), which can lead to more readiness to vote (Kranendonk, 2018). On the other hand, personal discrimination can decrease political participation as it highlights stigmatization of Muslims by the mainstream society. Because of this, Muslims could be less willing to mobilize politically since they fear that they are rejected from the dominant society (Fleischmann, Phalet and Klein, 2011). As a consequence, they can withdraw into their own communities, do not interact with Dutch society and refrain from voting. This results in the following hypotheses:

***H3a:** Religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands will lead to more experiences of personal discrimination.*

***H3b:** More experiences of personal discrimination by Turkish migrants in the Netherlands can increase their readiness to vote.*

***H3c:** More experiences of personal discrimination by Turkish migrants in the Netherlands can decrease their readiness to vote.*

Theoretical model

The relationship between religious involvement and political participation, mediated by group identification, norms and values and perceived discrimination is visualized in a theoretical model (figure 1). Due to data limitations not all variables can be tested in this research. The variables which are tested are highlighted bold.

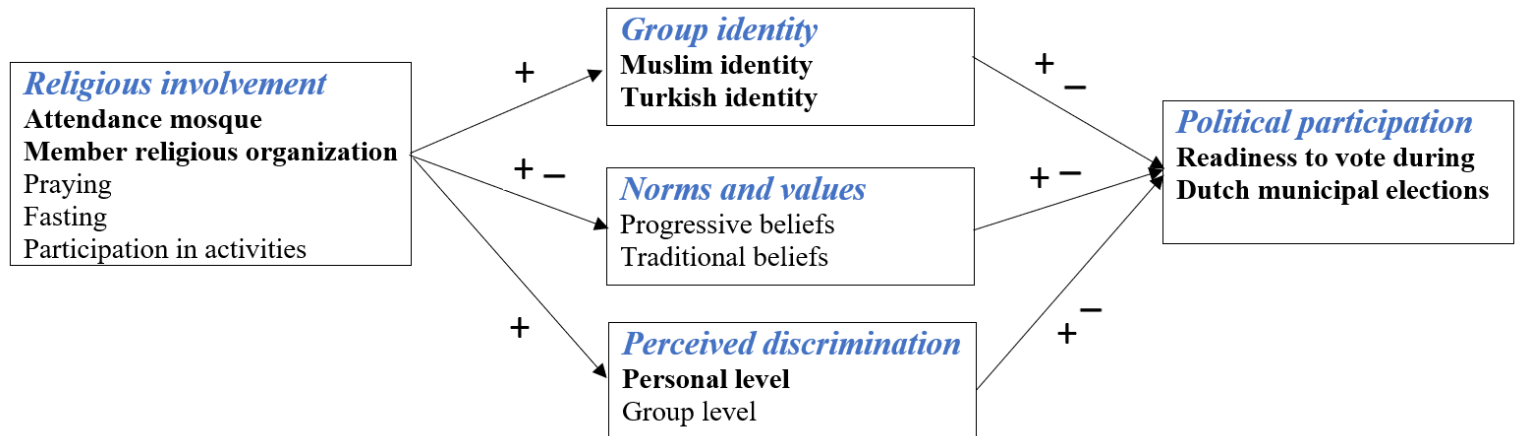


Figure 1: Theoretical model.

Note: for the sake of clarity, the direct relationship between X and Y is not shown in figure 1.

The superordinate hypothesis corresponding the model is:

H4. *Religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands will lead to more religious and ethnic identification and more experiences of personal discrimination, which can increase or decrease their readiness to vote.*

Data and methods

Data

This research will make use of data from the first wave (2009) of the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study NELLS (NELLS). Turkish people are overrepresented which makes this dataset useful for this particular research. The goal of the NELLS was “to build a panel survey for the sociological research community” (De Graaf et al., 2010, p. 2). Three central themes are addressed from a life-course perspective, i.e. social cohesion, norms and values and inequality.

In obtaining the data, two-stage stratified sampling was used. First, 35 municipalities were quasi-random selected by region and urbanization. Here, sampling was not entirely random, since inclusion of the cities of Utrecht, Rotterdam, Amsterdam and The Hague was needed to get a representative sample of Turkish people (De Graaf et al., 2010). Secondly, a random selection was made from the registered population, with birth country of the respondent and his or her parents and age as criteria. Here, the sample included an oversampling of people of Turkish descent (De Graaf et al., 2010).

The panel study comprised of two parts, namely face-to-face interviews and a self-completion questionnaire, both were conducted in the Dutch language. To increase the response rate, a reward was given to the respondents who participated in the survey. The response rate was 52 per cent, which is about average for these kinds of interviews in the Netherlands (De Graaf et al., 2010). For Dutch respondents the response was higher (56%) than for Turkish respondents (50%). This difference can be explained by the fact that, for the Turkish group, the interviewers faced difficulties in effectively reaching someone at the houses of these groups. Furthermore, problems with the Dutch language also hindered the participation of Turkish people. Consequently, conducting the survey in the Dutch language can be seen as a limitation of the dataset, since respondents with a better proficiency in the Dutch language can participate in the survey more easily (De Graaf et al., 2010). Therefore, it can be said that the sample is not representative for the Turkish migrant group.

In total 1.143 Turkish respondents participated in the survey. This research focuses on Turkish Muslims, therefore only Turkish respondents who reported to adhere the Islam are selected. This selection consists of 962 respondents. For four key variables used in this research system-missing values were found, approximately between 13.5 and 15.0 percent. Missing values analysis showed that 131 respondents had missing values on three or four of the key variables used in this research. Therefore, it was decided to delete these cases from the sample,

because much essential information about these respondents is absent. This elimination resulted in a lower percentage of missing values, approximately between 0.1 and 2.4 percent, and a reduction of the sample to 831 respondents. For this group, their age ranged from 14 to 47 years old ($M = 31.37$, $SD = 9.18$). Descriptive analyses showed that the valid N (listwise) is 805. Complete-case analysis will be performed, i.e. all valid cases will be used for each analysis.

Measurements

Independent variable

Religious involvement. The independent variable is measured with two aspects, namely the frequency of attendance to the mosque and membership of a religious organization. The first aspect, (1) *the frequency of attendance to the mosque*, was measured with the item ‘How often do you go to a religious meeting in a mosque?’. The respondents could answer through a 7-point Likert scale with 1 = never and 7 = several times per week. The second aspect, (2) *membership of a religious organization*, was measured with the item ‘Are you a member of an organization for religion?’. The respondents could answer on a 2-point scale (1 = yes, 2 = no), which have been recoded to 0 = no, 1 = yes.

Dependent variable

Readiness to vote during Dutch municipal elections. The dependent variable is measured on the *municipal level* with the following item: ‘If the elections for the city council would be held at this moment, would you vote?’. The respondents could answer through a 4-point Likert scale (1 = most likely yes and 4 = most likely not), which have been recoded to 1 = most likely not and 4 = most likely yes.

Mediators

Group identity. This mediator is measured with two aspect, namely Muslim identity and Turkish identity. The first aspect, (1) *Muslim identity*, is measured with the following item: ‘How important is religion for you personally?’. The respondents could answer through a 5-point Likert scale (1 = very important, 5 = not important at all), which have been recoded to 1 = not important at all and 5 = very important. The second aspect, (2) *Turkish identity*, is measured with four items: ‘I am proud of my ethnic background’; ‘I identify strongly with my ethnic group’; ‘I really feel connected with my ethnic group’; ‘My ethnic identity is an

important part of myself'. The respondents could answer through a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly agree and 5 = strongly disagree), which have been recoded to 1 = strongly disagree and 5 = strongly agree. Factor analysis showed that the items can be reduced to one underlying factor. The items form a very reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .914). Therefore, one scale was constructed by computing the mean score of the answers of the corresponding items. The analyses are based on this average score.

Perceived discrimination. This mediator is measured on the *personal level* with the following item: 'In one of the following situations, did you experience that you were being discriminated based on your ethnic origin?'. The respondents could answer this question for the following six situations: 'a. when applying for a job or internship; b. at your job; c. at school or during lessons; d. at the street, in shops, in public transportation; e. at an association, club, during a work out; f. at entertainment venues or nightclubs'. They could answer on a 3-point scale with 1 = no, never and 3 = yes, quite often. Again, factor analysis showed that the items can be reduced to one underlying factor. The items form a reliable scale (Cronbach's alpha = .812). Therefore, one scale was constructed by computing the mean score of the answers of the corresponding items. The analyses are based on this average score.

Control variables

There are several factors that could influence the results of this research and which should be controlled for. The three control variables that are included in this research are: *age*, *gender* (1 = woman) and *educational level*. Many studies have shown that education can increase political participation and electoral turnout (Hillygus, 2005), so therefore this variable will be included in this research. Educational level was measured with the following item: 'Which of the following educational teachings did you follow? If you did this outside of the Netherlands, choose the Dutch level that most closely resemble your education abroad.' The respondents could choose between 15 different educational categories. For this research, a new variable was constructed with six categories, namely 1 = no education; 2 = lower education; 3 = lbo, vmbo, mavo; 4 = mbo, bol/bbl; 5 = havo, vwo/gymnasium; 6 = hbo, university.

Descriptive analyses

The descriptive statistics of the sample are shown in Table 1.¹

Table 1. Descriptive statistics: range, mean, standard deviation.

Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands			
Valid N = 805			
	Range	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Independent variables			
Attending the mosque	1-7	3.35	2.04
Member religious organization	0/1	.17	.37
Dependent variable			
Readiness to vote	1-4	2.75	1.20
Mediators			
Muslim identity	1-5	4.55	.70
Turkish identity	1-5	4.26	.71
Perceived discrimination	1-3	1.34	.41
Control variables			
Age	14-47	31.37	9.18
Gender	0/1	.51	.50
Educational level	1-6	3.86	1.32

¹ $N > 30$, therefore it can be assumed that the assumptions for normality and linearity are met. Second, Cook's distance < 1 , therefore the identified outliers were not categorized as influential outliers and not removed from the dataset.

The correlations between the predictors, mediators and dependent variable are shown in table 2. The correlations match the hypothesized relations between the variables partially. Firstly, there is a significant positive relation between attending the mosque, membership of religious organization and readiness to vote. Secondly, there is a significant positive relation between attending the mosque, membership of religious organization and Islamic and Turkish identification. Yet, only the correlation between membership of a religious organization and Islamic identification is not significant. Thirdly, there is a positive relation between Islamic and Turkish identification and readiness to vote. However, these correlations are not significant. Fourthly, there is a significant positive relation between attending the mosque, membership of religious organization and perceived discrimination.

Table 2. Correlations between predictors, mediators and dependent variable.

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Attending the mosque	1	.33**	.269**	.154**	.085*	.104**
2. Member religious organization		1	.05	.10*	.13**	.19**
3. Muslim identity			1	.303**	-.001	.020
4. Turkish identity				1	.014	.022
5. Perceived discrimination					1	.081*
6. Readiness to vote						1

Correlation is significant for * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$.

Analysis

To analyse the data Multiple Linear Regression (MLR) will be used with three different models. Firstly, a regression analysis will be used to test the relation between the predictors and the mediators, with control variables (model 1). This will be done for every mediator. Secondly, the relation between the predictors and the dependent variable will be tested, with control variables (model 2). Lastly, all variables will be included in the full model (model 3) by testing the relation between the predictors, dependent variable, mediators and control variables. This way, it can be tested to what extent the mediators strengthen or weaken the relationship between the predictors and dependent variable.

Results

Explanatory results

Model 1

Firstly, concerning Muslim identity, model 1a (table 3) shows that there is a significant, positive relation with attending the mosque ($b = .136^{***}$). Considering the range of the independent variable (1-7) and dependent variable (1-5), this effect can be regarded as moderate. For membership of a religious organization there is a non-significant, weak and negative relation ($b = -.112$) (model 1a). For these effects, the other variables are held constant. Thus, the results show that only attending the mosque moderately contributes to more identification with the Islam. Furthermore, it is shown that the two predictors and control variables predict around 16.5 percent of the differences in religious identification ($R^2 = .165$) (model 1a). This can be considered as relatively high compared to the R^2 of the other models.

Secondly, concerning Turkish identity, model 1b shows that there is a significant, weak and positive relation with attending the mosque ($b = .062^{***}$) and a non-significant, weak and positive relation with membership of religious organization ($b = .105$) (model 1b). Again, the other variables are held constant. Thus, the results show again that only attendance to the mosque contributes to more identification with the Turkish background. However, this effect is weak. Furthermore, it is shown that the two predictors and control variables predict around 3.7 percent of the differences in ethnic identification ($R^2 = .037$) (model 1b). This can be considered as relatively low compared to the R^2 of the other models.

This leads to partial accepting of the following hypothesis: *religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands is positively related to their religious and ethnic identification (H2a)*. This is because the results show that Turkish migrants who attend the mosque identify more with the Islam and their Turkish background, and there is no effect for membership of religious organization.

Several other results could also be derived from model 1a and 1b. Firstly, concerning gender, the analyses show that there is a significant, moderate and positive relation with Muslim identity ($b = .402^{***}$) and a significant, weak and positive relation with Turkish identity ($b = .166^{**}$) (model 1a and 1b). This means that Turkish women, compared to Turkish men, identify moderately more with the Islam and a bit more with their Turkish background. Secondly, concerning educational level, there is a significant, weak and negative relation with

Table 3. Linear regression analysis for model 1a, 1b, and 1c.

	Model 1 (X on Z)					
	Model 1a		Model 1b		Model 1c	
	<u>Muslim identity</u>		<u>Turkish identity</u>		<u>Perc. discrimination</u>	
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>
Independent variables						
Attendance mosque	.136***	.013	.062***	.014	.000	.008
Member rel. org.	-.112	.065	.105	.071	.118**	.040
Control variables						
Age	.001	.003	-.001	.003	.003	.002
Gender	.402***	.050	.166**	.055	-.122***	.031
Educational level	-.054**	.017	.012	.019	.010	.011
Explained variance (R²)	.165		.037		.045	

The relation is significant for * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

Muslim identity ($b = -.054^{**}$) (model 1a). This means that Turkish people who are higher educated identify less with the Islam.

Thirdly, concerning perceived discrimination, model 1c shows that there is a non-significant relation with attending the mosque ($b = .000$) and a significant, weak and positive relation with membership of religious organization ($b = .118^{**}$) (model 1c). Again, the other variables are held constant. Thus, the results show that only being member of a religious organization contributes to more experiences of personal discrimination. Furthermore, it is shown that the two predictors and control variables predict around 4.5 percent of the differences in experiencing personal discrimination ($R^2 = .045$) (model 1c). This can be considered as relatively low compared to the R^2 of the other models.

This leads to partial accepting of the following hypothesis: *religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands will lead to more experiences of personal discrimination (H3a)*. This is because the results show that only Turkish migrants who are a member of a religious organization experience more personal discrimination, and there is no effect for attending the mosque.

Gender differences could also be derived from model 1c. Here, the analyses show that there is a significant, weak and negative relation between gender and perceived discrimination ($b = -.122^{***}$) (model 1c). This means that Turkish women, compared to Turkish men, experience less often personal discrimination. Yet, this effect is weak.

Model 2

Moving on to the second model, for readiness to vote, this model (table 4) shows that there is a significant, positive relation with attending the mosque ($b = .057^*$). Considering the range of the independent variable (1-7) and dependent variable (1-4), this effect can be regarded as weak. For membership of a religious organization there is a significant, moderate and positive relation ($b = .456^{***}$) (model 2). Again, the other variables are held constant. Thus, the results show that both attending the mosque and being member of a religious organization contribute to more readiness to vote. Yet, this effect is stronger for membership of religious organization. This indicates that active behavior, i.e. involvement in religious organizations, is more important for the willingness to vote of Turkish migrants. Furthermore, it is shown that the two predictors and control variables predict around 9.1 percent of the differences in readiness to vote ($R^2 = .091$) (model 2). This can be considered as relatively low compared to the R^2 of the other models.

This leads to accepting of the following hypothesis: *religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands is positively related to their readiness to vote (H1)*. This is because the results show that Turkish migrants who attend the mosque and/or are a member of a religious organization are more willing to vote during the Dutch municipal elections.

Several other results could also be derived from the second model. Firstly, concerning age, the analyses show that here is a significant, weak and positive relation with readiness to

Table 4. Linear regression analysis for model 2 and 3.

	Model 2 (X on Y)		Model 3 (full model)	
	<u>Readiness to vote</u>		<u>Readiness to vote</u>	
	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>SE</i>
Independent variables				
Attendance mosque	.057*	.023	.052*	.025
Member rel. org.	.456***	.116	.438***	.117
Mediators				
Muslim identity			.030	.066
Turkish identity			-.010	.060
Perc. discrimination			.108	.101
Control variables				
Age	.025***	.004	.024***	.004
Gender	.106	.089	.095	.094
Educational level	.150***	.031	.151***	.031
Explained variance (R²)	.091		.092	

The relation is significant for * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$.

vote ($b = .025^{***}$) (model 2). This means that older Turkish migrants are more willing to vote during Dutch municipal elections. However, this effect is weak. Secondly, concerning educational level, there is a significant, moderate and positive relation with readiness to vote ($b = .150^{***}$) (model 2). This means that higher educated Turkish migrants are moderately more willing to vote during Dutch municipal elections.

Model 3

The full model (model 3) firstly shows that for readiness to vote (table 4) there is a non-significant, very weak and positive relation with Muslim identity ($b = .030$) and a non-significant, very weak and negative relation with Turkish identity ($b = -.010$) (model 3). Again, the other variables are held constant. Thus, the results show that identification with the Islam can lead to more readiness to vote, and identification with the Turkish background can lead to less readiness to vote. However, both relations are not significant.

This leads to rejection of the following hypotheses: *more religious identification will lead to more readiness to vote of Turkish migrants (H2b)* and *more religious and ethnic identification will lead to less readiness to vote of Turkish migrants (H2c)*. Furthermore, the effects of age and educational level from model 2 are, almost identically, shown as well in model 3 (respectively $b = .024^{***}$ and $b = .151^{***}$). This indicates again that Turkish migrants who are older and higher educated are more willing to vote.

Secondly, concerning readiness to vote, the third model shows that there is a non-significant, weak and positive relation with perceived discrimination ($b = .108$) (model 3). Again, the other variables are held constant. Thus, the results show that experiences of personal discrimination can lead to more readiness to vote, but this relation is not significant.

This leads to rejection of the following hypotheses: *more experiences of personal discrimination by Turkish migrants in the Netherlands can increase their readiness to vote (H3b)* and *more experiences of personal discrimination by Turkish migrants in the Netherlands can decrease their readiness to vote (H3c)*.

Lastly, the full model (model 3) shows that none of the mediators are significant. Furthermore, the proportion of explained variance barely changes in this model ($R^2 = .092$) (model 3). This leads to rejection of the superordinate mediating hypothesis: *religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands will lead to more religious and ethnic identification and more experiences of personal discrimination, which can increase or decrease their readiness to vote (H4)*. This is because the results show that none of the mediators contribute significantly to the model. Yet, the positive effect for attending the

mosque and membership of a religious organization on readiness to vote, which was found earlier, is still significant (model 3). This is also the case for the positive significant relation between age, education and readiness to vote (model 3).

Process of mediation

To assess if mediation takes place four conditions must be met. The results show that this is the case for only a part of these conditions.

The first condition, a significant relation between X and Y, is fully met. This is because the relation between both attending the mosque and membership of religious organization is significant for readiness to vote. The second condition, a significant relation between X and Z, is partially met. The results show only a significant relation between attending the mosque and Muslim and Turkish identity, and membership of religious organization and perceived discrimination. The third condition, a significant relation between Z and Y, is not met. Here, none of the mediators have a significant relation with readiness to vote. Lastly, the fourth condition, the relation between X and Y weakens when the mediators are added to the model, is also not met. Here, the coefficients of the predictors in the model without the mediators are .057* (mosque attendance) and .456*** (membership of religious organization). In the full model the coefficients are .052* (mosque attendance) and .438*** (membership of religious organization). This shows that after adding the mediators the change in the size of the coefficients of both the predictors is only a few percent. Thus, it can be said that the relation between X and Y weakens a bit, yet, the mediators barely influence the relationship. Besides, none of the mediators are significant. Therefore, it can be concluded that there is no mediation in this research.

Figure 2 shows the path model corresponding with the results.

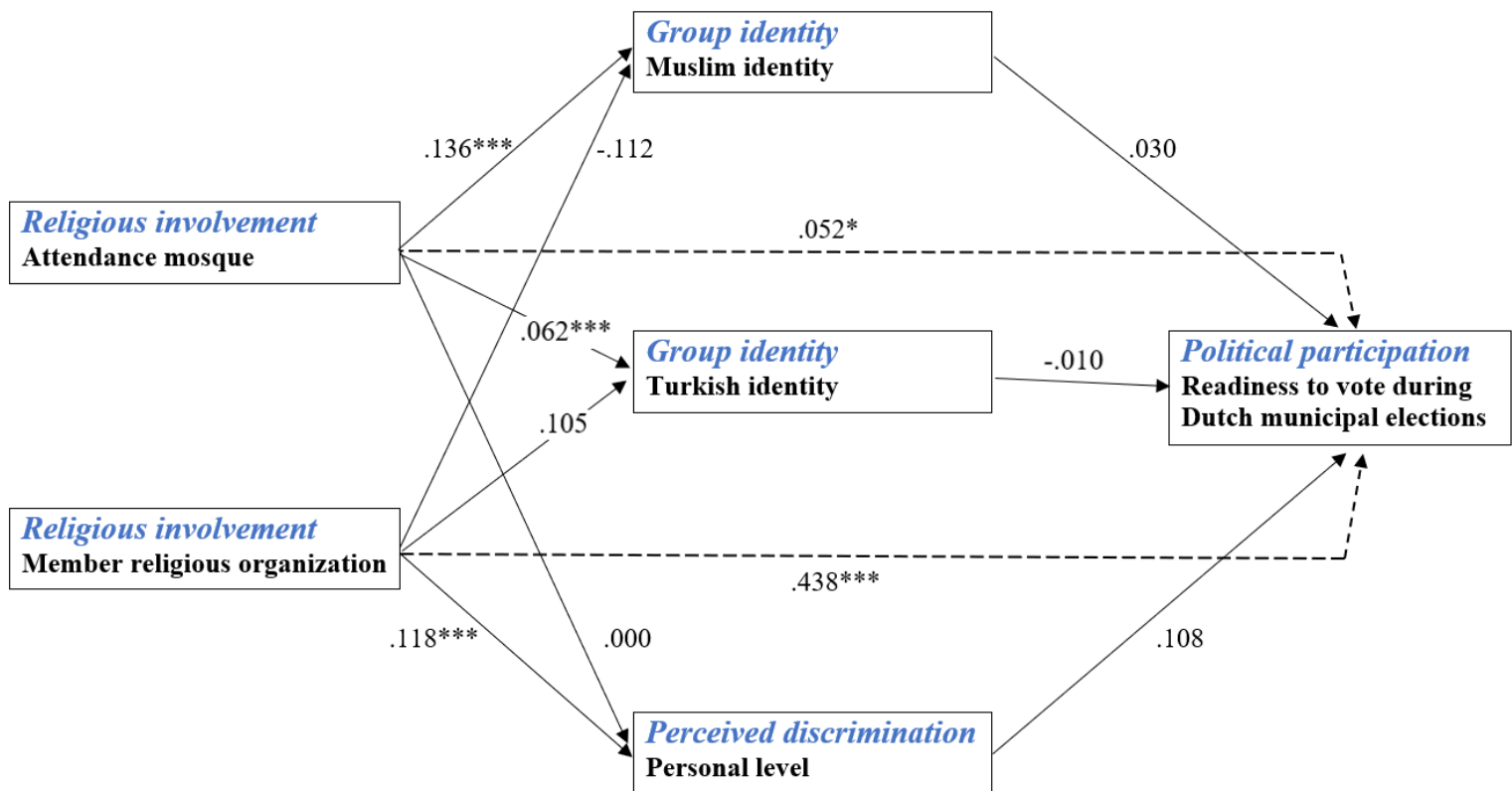


Figure 2: Path model.

Note: unstandardized coefficients, statistical relations for *p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001.

Conclusion

The research question in this study was: “*To what extent does religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands have an effect on their readiness to vote, and can this effect be explained by group identification and perceived discrimination?*” To answer this question, the first wave of the NELLS dataset (2009) was analyzed with several regression analyses, using a mediation model. The results showed firstly that religious involvement of Turkish migrants can positively impact their readiness to vote. Here, more active involvement, i.e. membership of a religious organization, plays a larger role than passive involvement, i.e. attending the mosque. Secondly, the relation between religious involvement and political participation cannot be explained by any of the mediators, i.e. Muslim and Turkish identity and perceived personal discrimination.

The findings are partly in line with previous literature (Schmidt, 1999; Levitt, 2008; Fleischmann et al., 2016). Concerning the primary relationship, it is shown that both attending the mosque and membership of a religious organization of Turkish migrants can lead to more willingness to vote during the Dutch municipal elections. Here, membership of a religious organization and being actively involved in its activities is more important and has a larger effect than only attending the mosque. This finding can be connected to the ‘spill over effect’ of Peterson (1992), which described that religious participation can spill over in participation in other domains, such as the political sphere. This is because active involvement, such as decision-making within a religious institution, or membership of a religious organization, can increase one’s feelings of competence and lead to more involvement in the political domain.

Yet, many hypotheses were not confirmed. Firstly, concerning Muslim and Turkish identity, it is shown that only Turkish migrants who attend the mosque identify moderately more with the Islam and a bit more with their Turkish background. There was no effect for membership of religious organization. Secondly, concerning perceived discrimination, it is shown that only Turkish migrants who are a member of a religious organization experience slightly more personal discrimination. There was no effect for attending the mosque.

Furthermore, it became apparent that none of the mediating factors, i.e. Muslim and Turkish identity and perceived personal discrimination, mediated the relation between religious involvement and political participation or changed the degree of readiness to vote. Concerning Turkish and Muslim identity, it is not entirely clear why these two factors did not influence the primary relationship. Since there was no effect found, it can be questioned if these two mediators are relevant in investigating the relation between religious involvement and political participation. Yet, one factor that could have played a role here is lack of political

representation (Kranendonk, Vermeulen and Van Heelsum, 2018). Migrant parties, such as DENK or NIDA, did not exist yet and it could be that the respondents were less inclined to vote, because they felt that the political parties who were present did not represent their group interests. If the respondents could have chosen for more appealing and suitable political parties which address their specific needs, it could be that there would be an effect found for the two types of identity and readiness to vote.

Concerning perceived discrimination, the fact that this factor did not mediate the primary relationship could be explained because it was only measured on the personal level. Yet, it could be that group discrimination has a larger effect, however, this could not be tested in this research. In particular, some literature stated that group discrimination can have a large impact on political participation (Kranendonk, 2018). Here, group discrimination can lead to the development of group consciousness and shared grievances. In turn, this can lead to the notion that they have something to fight for, which increases the need to stand up for their own group and get politically involved. Here, the urge to take action to improve the group position could have a stronger effect on the willingness to participate in politics, compared to taking action for yourself as individual, as is the case with personal discrimination. Thus, group discrimination could be more important in explaining the relation between religious involvement and readiness to vote.

Lastly, another factor that could explain the primary relationship is the mediator of norms and values which could not be tested in this research as well. On the one hand, more progressive mosques could stimulate voting by emphasizing the connection between religion and political participation, stressing that political involvement is a fundamental and essential aspect of religion and stimulate partaking in Western democracies. Here, social networks of mosques can spread behavioral rules and norms to their members which stimulate to partake in democratic politics. On the other hand, more conservative mosques could dispraise voting by promoting beliefs which say that Muslims are not allowed to participate in democratic Western societies. Here, some of these beliefs say that according to the Quran Muslims are not allowed to accept the power of nonbelievers over them (Just et al., 2014). Electoral participation in a secular country such as the Netherlands can undermine the Islamic identity, since it shows direct involvement and interaction with the democratic political institutions of disbelievers.

Discussion

Based on the results it can be said that the American theories and literature can provide a basis for investigating the influence of religious involvement on political participation for Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands, since the results showed a positive effect for both attending the mosque and membership of religious organization. Thus, generally speaking, religious involvement of Turkish Muslims in the Netherlands can lead to more political participation. As shown earlier in this research, there are different ideas about if religious involvement of Muslims has a positive or negative effect, given the presence of conservative mosques in the Netherlands. Yet, this research showed that the effect is positive in general, albeit, this effect is not too big.

There are some limitations to this study which will now be discussed. Firstly, not all theoretical concepts were measured in the dataset, whereupon some important factors that mediate the primary relation could not be determined. Thus, future research should investigate all mediators. This way, it can be tested which factors are important in explaining the relation between religious involvement and political participation. The factors that should at least be included are group discrimination and norms and values (progressive and traditional). Here, future studies should focus more on the different branches within the Islam, i.e. progressive and conservative branches. By doing so, the different impacts that the branches have can be revealed, which can nuance the impact of religious involvement on political participation. Moreover, there should be focused more on active forms of religious involvement, e.g. participation in religious activities or other forms of active involvement, rather than passive engagement, since this type of participation is of greater importance.

Secondly, the sample was rather small and not representative, because only Dutch speaking Turkish migrants were included and respondents with many missing values were deleted from the sample. Moreover, it is most likely that for the greater part only the more progressive Turkish Muslims participated in the survey, since taking part in this is a form of (democratic) participation. Conservative Turkish Muslims might be less inclined to participate in these type of surveys, whereupon this group is not represented. Subsequently, this could have influenced the results of the primary relation, which showed a positive relation between religious involvement and political participation, since most of the respondents most likely attended more progressive mosques. Thus, overall, it can be said that the results are not generalizable to the Turkish Muslim community in the Netherlands. Despite these limitations it should be noted that large surveys covering the topic of this research and include ethnic minority groups in the Netherlands are quite rare. Yet, future research should use a larger and

more representative sample by conducting the interviews and surveys in the Turkish language and include more respondents who completed the study entirely as well as Turkish Muslims from conservative Islamic branches.

References

- Akgündüz, A. (2008). *Labour Migration from Turkey to Western Europe 1960-1974: A Multidisciplinary Analysis*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Algemeen Dagblad (2020, February 10th). ‘Moskeeën in Rotterdam en Amsterdam in de greep van conservatieve Moslimbroeders’. Retrieved from: <https://www.ad.nl/politiek/moskeen-in-rotterdam-en-amsterdam-in-de-greep-van-conservatieve-moslimbroeder~a3966d2a/>
- Bauböck, R., Kraler, A., Martiniello M. & Perchinig, B. (2006). *Migrants’ citizenship: Legal status, rights and political participation*, in R. Penninx, M. Berger & K. Kraal (eds.), *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe: A State of the Art*, IMISCOE Joint Studies. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 65-98.
- Berger, M., Fennema, M., van Heelsum, A., Tillie, J. and Wolff, R. (2001). *Politieke participatie van etnische minderheden in vier steden*. IMES Rapportenreeks.
- De Graaf, P. M., Kalmijn, M., Kraaykamp, G. and Monden C. W. S. (2010). *The NETHERLANDS Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS Wave 1)*. Dataset. Tilburg University & Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands.
- De Graaf, P. M., Kalmijn, M., Kraaykamp, G. and Monden C. W. S. (2010). *Design and content of the NETHERLANDS Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS)*. Research report. Tilburg University & Radboud University Nijmegen, Netherlands.
- Dickson, E.S. and Scheve, K. (2006). Social identity, political speech, and electoral competition. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 18, 1, 5–39.
- Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics. (2002). Een allochtone stem. Index No. 4, April 2002.
- Dutch Central Bureau of Statistics. (2020). Bevolking; kerncijfers. *Statline*. Consulted on April 2, 2021, from <https://opendata.cbs.nl/statline/#/CBS/nl/dataset/37296ned/table?ts=1617544856232>
- Eggert, N. & Giugni, M. (2010). Does associational involvement spur political integration? Political interest and participation of three immigrant groups in Zurich. *Swiss Political Science Review*, 16, 2, 175–210.
- Ersanilli, E. and Koopmans, R. (2011). Do immigrant integration policies matter? A three-country comparison among Turkish immigrants. *West European Politics*, 34, 2, 208–234.
- Fleischmann, F., Martinovic, B. & Böhm, M. (2016) Mobilising mosques? The role of

- service attendance for political participation of Turkish and Moroccan minorities in the Netherlands, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39, 5, 746-763, doi: 10.1080/01419870.2015.1081962
- Fleischmann, F., Phalet, K., & Klein, O. (2011). Religious identification and politicization in the face of discrimination: Support for political Islam and political action among the Turkish and Moroccan second generation in Europe. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 50, 4, 628–648.
- Galle, J., Abts, K., Swyngedouw, M., and Meuleman, B. (2019). Attitudes of Turkish and Moroccan Belgians toward Redistribution and Government Responsibility: The Role of Perceived Discrimination, Generation, and Religious Involvement. *International Migration Review*, 54, 2, 423-446.
- General Directorate of Turkish Employment Organisation (2003). *Statistical Yearbook 2003 No. 327*. Ankara: Republic of Turkey. Ministry of Labour and Social Security.
- Gilbert, C. (1993). *The Impact of Churches on Political Behavior*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
- Greenberg, A. (2000). The church and the revitalization of politics and the community. *Political Science Quarterly*, 115, 377–394.
- Güngör, D., Fleischmann, F., Phalet, K. (2011). Religious Identification, Beliefs, and Practices Among Turkish Belgian and Moroccan Belgian Muslims: Intergenerational Continuity and Acculturative Change. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 42, 8, 1356-1374. doi:10.1177/0022022111412342
- Hillygus, D. (2005). The Missing Link: Exploring the Relationship Between Higher Education and Political Engagement. *Political Behavior*, 27, 1, 25-47.
- Hirschman, C. (2004). The role of religion in the origins and adaptation of immigrant groups in the United States. *International Migration Review*, 38, 3, 1206–1233.
- Hooghiemstra, E. (2003). *Trouwen over de grens. Achtergronden van partnerkeuze van Turken en Marokkanen in Nederland*. The Hague: SCP.
- Hopkins, N., Kahani-Hopkins, V. (2004). Identity construction and British Muslims' political activity: beyond rational actor theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 43, 339–356.
- Houglund, J. G. and Christenson, J. A. (1983). Religion and Politics: The Relationship of Religious Participation to Political Efficacy and Involvement. *Sociology and Social Research*, 67, 405–20.
- Jamal, A. (2005). The Political Participation and Engagement of Muslim Americans:

- Mosque Involvement and Group Consciousness. *American Politics Research*, 33, 4, 521–544.
- Jones-Correa, M. A., and Leal, D. L. (2001). Political Participation: Does Religion Matter? *Political Research Quarterly*, 54, 4, 751–770. doi:10.1177/106591290105400404
- Just, A., Sandovici, M. E., and Listhaug, O. (2014). Islam, religiosity, and immigrant political action in Western Europe. *Social Science Research*, 43, 1, 127–144.
- Klandermans, B., Van der Toorn, J., and Van Stekelenburg, J. (2008). Embeddedness and identity: How immigrants turn grievances into action. *American Sociological Review*, 73, 6, 992–1012.
- Kranendonk, M. (2018). The relationship between social identification and local voting, and its interplay with personal and group discrimination among the descendants of Turkish immigrants in Western Europe. *Comparative Migration Studies*, 6, 25, 1-30, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40878-018-0087-1>
- Kranendonk, M. and Vermeulen, F. (2019). Group identity, group networks, and political participation: Moroccan and Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands. *Acta Politica: International Journal of Political Science*, 54, 4, 625-666.
- Kranendonk, M., Vermeulen, F. and Van Heelsum, A. (2018). “Unpacking” the Identity-to-Politics Link: The Effects of Social Identification on Voting Among Muslim Immigrants in Western Europe. *Political Psychology*, 39, 43-67, doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/pops.12397>
- Kunst, J. R., Sadeghi, T., Tahir, H., Sam, D., and Thomsen, L. (2016) The vicious circle of religious prejudice: Islamophobia makes the acculturation attitudes of majority and minority members clash. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 46, 249– 259. doi: 10.1002/ejsp.2174.
- Lee, T. (2008). Race, immigration, and the identity-to-politics link. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 457–478.
- Levitt, P. (2008). Religion as a Path to Civic Engagement. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31, 4, 766–791.
- Lien, P. (1997). *The Political Participation of Asian Americans: Voting Behavior in Southern California*. New York and London: Garland Publishing.
- Lucassen, J. & Penninx, R. (1997) *Newcomers: Immigrants and their Descendants in the Netherlands 1550-1995*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

- Macaluso, T. F. and Wanat, J. (1979). Voting Turnout and Religiosity, *Polity*, 12, 158-69.
- Maliepaard, M. (2012). *Religious trends and social integration: Muslim minorities in the Netherlands*. (Dissertation). Retrieved from <https://dspace.library.uu.nl/handle/1874/241972>
- Martinson, O. B. and Wilkening, E. A. (1987). Religious Participation and Involvement in Local Politics throughout the Life Cycle. *Sociological Focus*, 20, 4, 309-318.
- McClain, P. D., Johnson Carew, J. D., Walton, E., and Watts, C. S. (2009). Group Membership, Group Identity, and Group Consciousness: Measures of Racial Identity in American Politics? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 12, 1, 471-485.
- Michon, L., Tillie, J., and Van Heelsum, A. (2007). Political Participation of Migrants in the Netherlands since 1986. In *ECPR Joint Sessions of Workshops* (Vol. 21).
- Morales, L., & Giugni, M. (2011). 'Political opportunities, social capital and the political inclusion of immigrants in European cities'. In L. Morales & M. Giugni (eds.) *Social capital, political participation and migration in Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mügge, L. (2010). *Beyond Dutch Borders. Transnational Politics among Colonial Migrants, Guest Workers and the Second Generation*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Peterson, S. A. (1992). Church Participation and Political Participation: The Spillover Effect. *American Politics Research*, 20, 1, 123–139.
- Sayarı, S. (1986). Migration policies of sending countries: Perspectives on the Turkish Experience. *Annals of the American Academy*, 87-97.
- Scheufele, D. A., Nisbet, M. C. and Brossard, D. (2003). Pathways to Political Participation? Religion, Communication Contexts, and Mass Media. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 15, 3, 300–324. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1093/ijpor/15.3.300>
- Schildkraut, D. J. (2005). The rise and fall of political engagement among Latinos: The role of identity and perceptions of discrimination. *Political Behavior*, 27, 3, 285–312.
- Shadid, W. A. (2006). Public Debates over Islam and the Awareness of Muslim Identity in the Netherlands. *European Education*, 38, 2, 10-22. doi: 10.2753/EUE1056-4934380201
- Simonsen, K. B. (2019). "Us" or "Them"? How Policies, Public Opinion, and Political Rhetoric Affect Immigrants' Sense of Belonging," *Migration Information Source*, February 19, 2021. Retrieved from: <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/policies-public-opinion-rhetoric-immigrants-sense-belonging>
- Smidt, C. (1999). Religion and Civic Engagement: A Comparative Analysis. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 565, 1, 176–192. doi: [doi:10.1177/000271629956500112](https://doi.org/10.1177/000271629956500112)

- Sobolewska, M., D. Fisher, S., Heath, A.F. and Sanders, D. (2015). Understanding the effects of religious attendance. *Eur J Polit Res*, 54, 271-287. doi:10.1111/1475-6765.12081
- Teorell, J., Torcal, M. & Montero, J. (2007). 'Political participation. Mapping the terrain', in Van Deth, E., Montero, J., Westholm, A. (eds) *Citizenship and Involvement in European Democracies: A Comparative Analysis*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Velasco González, K., Verkuyten, M., Weesie, J. and Poppe, E. (2008). Prejudice towards Muslims in The Netherlands: Testing integrated threat theory. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 47, 667-685. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1348/014466608X284443>
- Verkuyten, M. (2006). Groepsidentificaties en intergroepsrelaties onder Turkse Nederlanders. *Mens en Maatschappij*, 81, 1, 64-84.
- Wald, K. D., Owen, D. E. and Hill, S. S. (1988). Churches as Political Communities. *American Political Science Review*, 82, 531-48.
- Wald, K. D., Silverman, A. L. and Fridy, K. S. (2005). Making sense of religion in political life. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 8, 121-143.
- Williams, R. H. (1996). Religion as Political Resource: Culture or Ideology? *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion*, 35, 4, 368-378.
- Zapata-Barrero, R., & Gropas, R. (2012). 'Active immigrants in multicultural contexts: democratic challenges in Europe.' In A. Triandafyllidou, T. Modood, & N. Meer (eds.) *European multiculturalisms: cultural, religious and ethnic challenges*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Appendix A: Ethics and privacy checklist



CHECKLIST ETHICAL AND PRIVACY ASPECTS OF RESEARCH

INSTRUCTION

This checklist should be completed for every research study that is conducted at the Department of Public Administration and Sociology (DPAS). This checklist should be completed *before* commencing with data collection or approaching participants. Students can complete this checklist with help of their supervisor.

This checklist is a mandatory part of the empirical master's thesis and has to be uploaded along with the research proposal.

The guideline for ethical aspects of research of the Dutch Sociological Association (NSV) can be found on their website (http://www.nsv-sociologie.nl/?page_id=17). If you have doubts about ethical or privacy aspects of your research study, discuss and resolve the matter with your EUR supervisor. If needed and if advised to do so by your supervisor, you can also consult Dr. Jennifer A. Holland, coordinator of the Sociology Master's Thesis program.

PART I: GENERAL INFORMATION

Project title: *The influence of religious involvement of Turkish migrants in the Netherlands on their political participation: the role of group identity and perceived discrimination.*

Name, email of student: *Hanna Russchenberg, h.i.russchenberg@student.eur.nl*

Name, email of supervisor: *Gijs Custers, custers@essb.eur.nl*

Start date and duration: February 2021 – June 2021

Is the research study conducted within DPAS

YES - ~~NO~~

If 'NO': at or for what institute or organization will the study be conducted?

(e.g. internship organization)

PART II: HUMAN SUBJECTS

1. Does your research involve human participants. YES - ~~NO~~

If 'NO': skip to part V.

- If 'YES': does the study involve medical or physical research? YES -
NO

Research that falls under the Medical Research Involving Human Subjects Act ([WMO](#)) must first be submitted to [an accredited medical research ethics committee](#) or the Central Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects ([CCMO](#)).

2. Does your research involve field observations without manipulations
that will not involve identification of participants. YES -
NO

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

3. Research involving completely anonymous data files (secondary
data that has been anonymized by someone else). YES - ~~NO~~

If 'YES': skip to part IV.

PART III: PARTICIPANTS

1. Will information about the nature of the study and about what participants can expect during the study be withheld from them? YES - NO
2. Will any of the participants not be asked for verbal or written 'informed consent,' whereby they agree to participate in the study? YES - NO
3. Will information about the possibility to discontinue the participation at any time be withheld from participants? YES - NO
4. Will the study involve actively deceiving the participants? YES - NO
Note: almost all research studies involve some kind of deception of participants. Try to think about what types of deception are ethical or non-ethical (e.g. purpose of the study is not told, coercion is exerted on participants, giving participants the feeling that they harm other people by making certain decisions, etc.).
5. Does the study involve the risk of causing psychological stress or negative emotions beyond those normally encountered by participants? YES - NO
6. Will information be collected about special categories of data, as defined by the GDPR (e.g. racial or ethnic origin, political opinions, religious or philosophical beliefs, trade union membership, genetic data, biometric data for the purpose of uniquely identifying a person, data concerning mental or physical health, data concerning a person's sex life or sexual orientation)? YES - NO
7. Will the study involve the participation of minors (<18 years old) or other groups that cannot give consent? YES - NO
8. Is the health and/or safety of participants at risk during the study? YES - NO
9. Can participants be identified by the study results or can the confidentiality of the participants' identity not be ensured? YES - NO

10. Are there any other possible ethical issues with regard to this study? YES -
NO

If you have answered 'YES' to any of the previous questions, please indicate below why this issue is unavoidable in this study.

What safeguards are taken to relieve possible adverse consequences of these issues (e.g., informing participants about the study afterwards, extra safety regulations, etc.).

Are there any unintended circumstances in the study that can cause harm or have negative (emotional) consequences to the participants? Indicate what possible circumstances this could be.

Please attach your informed consent form in Appendix I, if applicable.

Continue to part IV.

PART IV: SAMPLE

Where will you collect or obtain your data?

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

I will make use of an existing dataset called the Netherlands Longitudinal Lifecourse Study (NELLS), first wave (2009). This can be found on this website:

<https://easy.dans.knaw.nl/ui/datasets/id/easy-dataset:34387>

What is the (anticipated) size of your sample?

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

The anticipated sample size = 960 Turkish respondents

What is the size of the population from which you will sample?

Note: indicate for separate data sources.

Approximately 378.330 people with a Turkish migration background lived in the Netherlands in 2009.

Continue to part V.

Part V: Data storage and backup

Where and when will you store your data in the short term, after acquisition?

Note: indicate for separate data sources, for instance for paper-and pencil test data, and for digital data files.

I will store the dataset on my own laptop, which is also connected to my Google Drive account as a backup.

Who is responsible for the immediate day-to-day management, storage and backup of the data arising from your research?

I am solely responsible for this.

How (frequently) will you back-up your research data for short-term data security?

A daily backup will be made in my Google Drive account.

In case of collecting personal data how will you anonymize the data?

Note: It is advisable to keep directly identifying personal details separated from the rest of the data. Personal details are then replaced by a key/ code. Only the code is part of the database with data and the list of respondents/research subjects is kept separate.

Not applicable.

PART VI: SIGNATURE

Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the ethical guidelines in the conduct of your study. This includes providing information to participants about the study and ensuring confidentiality in storage and use of personal data. Treat participants respectfully, be on time at appointments, call participants when they have signed up for your study and fulfil promises made to participants.

Furthermore, it is your responsibility that data are authentic, of high quality and properly stored. The principle is always that the supervisor (or strictly speaking the Erasmus University Rotterdam) remains owner of the data, and that the student should therefore hand over all data to the supervisor.

Hereby I declare that the study will be conducted in accordance with the ethical guidelines of the Department of Public Administration and Sociology at Erasmus University Rotterdam. I have answered the questions truthfully.

Name student: Hanna Russchenberg

Name (EUR) supervisor: Gijs Custers

Date: 1 April, 2021

Date: 2-04-2021



APPENDIX I: Informed Consent Form (if applicable)