

Afghan Dutch or Dutch Afghan?

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Preface

Writing my first official research report has been a tremendous learning process. Not only has it given me an in depth view on the life and identity construal of immigrants in the Netherlands, it has also confronted me with my own character and work method.

I would like to thank my thesis advisor Mr. Kutlay Yagmur for having the patience in working with me on this project and my parents for supporting and believing in me all through my life so I was able to reach this final point of graduation.

Inhoudsopgave

Preface	2
1. Introduction	6
2. Afghanistan and its people	8
2.1 In general	8
2.2 Demographics	8
2.3 Afghan history	9
2.4 Afghan immigration	10
2.5 Afghans in The Netherlands	11
2.6 Integration position	13
2.7 Life in The Netherlands	14
2.8 Orientation to Afghanistan	14
2.9 Language	14
2.10 Social contact	15
2.11 Labour market position	15
2.12 Health care	15
3. Acculturation of Afghan Immigrants	16
3.1 Conceptual Framework	16
3.2 Identity and identification explored	16
3.2.1 Concept of Identity in acculturation studies	16
3.2.2 Social Identity	17
3.2.3 Ethnic identity	18
3.2.4 Identity and language	19
3.2.5 Identity and the concept of Diaspora	20
3.2.6 Identity and religion	22
3.3 Cultural perceptions	23
3.3.1 In general	23
3.3.2 Cultural Dimensions	23
3.4 Acculturation	25
3.4.1 The concept	25
3.4.2 Acculturation perspectives	27
3.4.3 Acculturation pattern approaches	28

3.4.4 Acculturation moderators.....	29
3.4.5 Intergroup relations and culture.....	32
3.5 Integration policy in The Netherlands.	32
3.6 Language	33
3.6.1 Language maintenance and shift	33
3.6.2 Cross language transfer	33
3.6.3 Minorities and language	33
3.6.4 Migration and language	36
3.7 Reflection	37
4. METHODOLOGY	38
4.1 Research questions	38
4.2 Instrument	38
4.3 Respondents	44
5. Results.....	49
5.1 Intergenerational acculturation orientations of Afghan immigrants	49
5.2 Multiculturalism index	50
5.3 Ethnic identification	51
5.4 Cultural Identification	55
5.5 Cultural Awareness	59
5.6 Religious identification.....	62
5.7 Social Network	64
5.8 Vitality perception.....	69
5.9 Integration ideology.....	73
5.10 Integration in public.....	74
5.11 Integration at home	75
5.12 Language use to different interlocutors	76
5.13 Language use different interlocutors to respondent.....	77
5.14 Language preference	78
5.15 Language choice and emotions.....	78
5.16 Language choice in daily activities	79
5.17 Importance of the Afghan language vs. Dutch	80
5.18 Language Attitudes	82

6. Conclusions and Discussion	84
Literature	87
Appendix 1 Questionnaire	90

1. Introduction

I am three years old. I am sitting on my father's knee. He is telling me of a magical place: the fairytale landscape you enter in dreams. Fountains fling diamond droplets into mosaic pools. Coloured birds sing in the fruit-laden orchards. The pomegranates burst and their insides are rubies. Fruit is so abundant that even the goats are fed on melons. The water has magical properties: you can fill to bursting with fragrant pilau, then step to the brook and drink - and you will be ready to eat another meal. On three sides of the plateau majestic mountains tower, capped with snow. The fourth side overlooks a sunny valley where, gleaming far below, sprawls a city of villas and minarets. And here is the best part of the story: it is true. The garden is in Paghman, where my family had its seat for nine hundred years. The jewel-like city it overlooks is the Afghan capital, Kabul. The people of Paghman call the capital Kabul jan: beloved Kabul. We call it that too, for this is where we belong. "Whatever outside appearances may be, no matter who tells you otherwise, this garden, this country, these are your origin. This is where you are truly from. Keep it in your heart, Saira jan. Never forget." Any western adult might have told me that this was an exile's tale of a lost Eden: the place you dream about, to which you can never return. But even then, I wasn't going to accept that. Even then, I had absorbed enough of the East to feel I belonged there. And too much of the West not to try to nail down dreams.

Saira Shah's The Storyteller's Daughter (2003: 3-4)

Afghanistan has been a victim of many wars for the past couple of decades. Different regimes have tried to keep Afghanistan under their occupation, which led to many violent attacks and innocent victims. Due to this ongoing conflict many Afghans fled to various different countries. One of these countries is the Netherlands. There are currently around 37.700 Afghans living in The Netherlands (CBS, 2009). These Afghans are all trying to find a way to build and maintain their life in these new surroundings, which means they come in contact with the new and different culture, the Dutch culture.

This research examines the different factors which may or may not play a role in the identity-formation of Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands. The main focus in this research is the cultural-identity change or maintenance in the Dutch Afghan community and the differences in generations among the Afghan immigrants.

The focus of the current policy on processes of identity and identification was the motivation behind this thesis. I want to aim at the sense of identity and identity development within the Afghan community in The Netherlands. Even though there are many other minority groups besides the Afghan group, the Afghan group has not been thoroughly examined and this made it very interesting to shed a light on this topic. Besides their cultural identity, the role of their language in their identity-formation has also been implemented. As I believe language plays a large role on the maintenance of one's cultural identity.

In order to get reliable research-results I have made use of a questionnaire which has been answered by 97 Afghan immigrants in The Netherlands. The main topics of the questionnaire and thesis are multiculturalism, language, religion and identity. On the basis of these topics I have made a statistical

analysis on the way Afghan immigrants feel integrated in the Dutch society and why (not). In this analysis the focus lays on differences between the first and second generation Afghan immigrants.

The thesis starts with an in depth vision on the Afghans and their history. It is important to put focus on the history of the Afghan people in order to understand their points of view on integration better. The second chapter holds the theoretical framework. In the theoretical framework I have put most of my emphasis on identity and its formation. This includes topics as ethnicity, acculturation, language and identity. After the theoretical framework the research method and instrument are elucidated, which is followed by the chapter of results. According to the data the research results are discussed in the chapter of results which is followed by a conclusion and discussion.

2. Afghanistan and its people

2.1 In general

This chapter contains a brief update on the context Afghan immigrants come from. First I will give you some demographic numbers about Afghanistan, second I will give a short description on the political and economical state Afghanistan is in. Third is a description on the Afghan history, mostly the factors which resulted in the massive migration flow out of Afghanistan. The last part of this section consists of information about the Afghans in The Netherlands, the numbers and way of life derived from previous research on the Afghans in the Dutch context.

2.2 Demographics

Afghanistan is almost 18 times as big as the Netherlands and has by estimation around 27 million inhabitants of which 1.5 million live in and around the capital Kabul. The population is divided into four



Image 2.1 Afghanistan and its boarding countries
(Source: www.maps.com)

Economically the country is poorly developed. Around eighty percent of the population lives on the countryside and produces land- and live stock for their own use. The economy is based on self-supplying agriculture, official transit-trading,

large ethnic groups: Pashto/Pathans (44 percent of the population), Tadzjics (25 percent), Oezbeks (8 percent), Hazara's (10 percent) and different small groups (all together 13 percent), see fig. 2.1 Many languages are spoken in Afghanistan, including Dari (a derivative of Persian) and Pashtu as two official languages, and further more Oezbekian and Turkmenian. A lot of Afghans are multilingual.

The official religion of Afghanistan is Islam, and almost all Afghans are Muslim. Most of them are Sunni oriented; Hazara's are mostly sjites.

Ethnic groups in Afghanistan in %

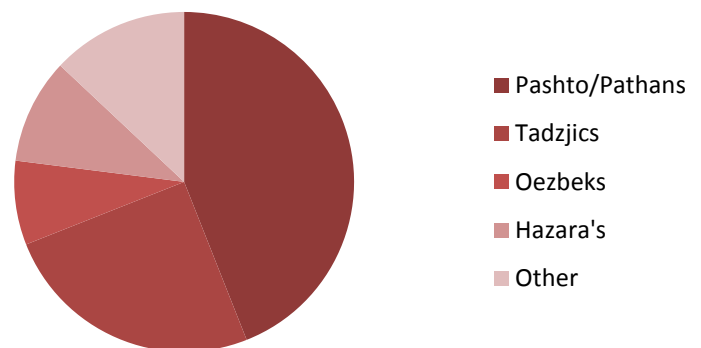


Figure 2.1 Percentages of ethnic groups in Afghanistan.

international help and the production and export of opium. Afghanistan has a high form of inflation and high unemployment rates.

The majority of the population has to deal with shortage in food, clothing and housing all the time. The child mortality rate is very high, life-expectancy is low and medical care is underdeveloped. Fifty percent of the male population and Eighty-five percent of the female population is illiterate.

2.3 Afghan history

The current history of Afghanistan characterizes itself by changing coalitions between diverse ethnic groups, factions and clans with as ultimate goal to stand up against the foreign threats. Between 1964 and 1973 Afghanistan was a constitutional democracy and between 1973 and 1978 it was a republic. In 1978 some soldiers committed a coup so the ruling over Afghanistan went to the communistic Democratic People's Party. The leaders started, with help from the Soviet Union advisors, a program of reformations, including land distribution and the reduction of Islamic influence. A chain of rebellions and repressions resulted in armed resistance against the ruling regime. In December 1979 the Soviet-Union attacked Afghanistan, more or less at the invitation of the communistic leaders in Afghanistan. The Afghan people rebelled against this foreign attack under the lead of Islamic guerilla fighters who called themselves the Mujaheddin. Many Afghan citizens moved to refugee camps in Pakistan and Iran.

In 1988 the Soviet-Union, the United States, Pakistan and Afghanistan signed an agreement to stop the foreign interference. Because of this agreement the Soviets left Afghanistan in 1989, leaving the Afghani communists on their own. In 1992 the Islamic resistance overthrew the communist ruler Najibullah and Afghanistan became an Islamic state with Rabbani as president. However this did not lead to an end of the civil war due to the large diversity within the Mujaheddin. With the uprising of the Taliban a form of rest arose within the country. The Taliban (literally; Islamic students) were a group of students who were connected to the madrassas (Islamic schools) in Afghanistan and Pakistan. The students were mostly soenni Pashtuns. At first the Taliban were welcomed as peacemakers and in 1996 they had the biggest part of Afghanistan under control, including Kabul. President Rabbani fled to the north of the country and established the Northern Alliance.

The Taliban, which officially started to rule in 1998, transformed Afghanistan to a pure Islamic state with an "Islamic emirate" under the lead of Mullah Mohammed Omar, and introduced the Islamic law, Sharia. Women were not allowed to work or go to school anymore and were obligated to wear a burka outside the house. All sorts of pleasure (television, theatre, kite-running) were banned. Adultery was punished with the death sentence and stealing was punished by the loss of a hand. These strict rules lead to a lot of resistance, especially in the larger cities and people with different opinions had no other option then to leave the country.

The terroristic attacks with airplanes on the World Trade Centre in New York and the Pentagon in Washington on September 11th 2001 had great consequences for the Taliban in Afghanistan. Because they refused to extradite the instigator of these attacks, Osama Bin Laden and his organization Al Qaida,

to the United States, an alliance coalition under the lead of the US attacked Afghanistan on October the 7th 2001. At the same time the opposition in the north of Afghanistan, the Northern Alliance, started a ground offensive. On December the 7th 2001 the last city under the rule of the Taliban was taken over. Thousands of members of the Taliban and the Al-Qaida network were captured. Bin Laden was not found. With support from the west a new government was formed on December 22nd under the lead of president Hamid Karzai. This government was based on the “Bonn-Agreement” which was to lead the country until the free elections in 2004. To make sure that the interim Government could start in a safe environment, an international army force was based in Afghanistan called ISAF. Due to the presence of the ISAF it is relatively quiet in Kabul, although outside of the city a lot of armed attacks still exist. Since the fall of the Taliban-regime around 3 million Afghans have returned, especially from Pakistan, but also from Iran, Europe, Australia and the US (Ewans, 2002).

2.4 Afghan immigration

In the European Union Germany got the most asylum requests from Afghan asylum seekers between 1992 an 2002, followed by the Netherlands. The number of asylum requests of Afghans in both countries was almost respectively 58 thousand and 36 thousand. Also in the United Kingdom and Austria many Afghans applied for asylum. In France this was less than two thousand. In Spain, Finland and Ireland hardly any asylum requests were filed by Afghans (See table 2.1).

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	Total
	x 1000											
Germany	6,4	5,5	5,6	7,5	5,7	4,7	3,8	4,5	5,4	5,8	2,8	57,6
The Netherlands	0,5	1,5	2,5	1,9	3,0	5,9	7,1	4,4	5,1	3,6	1,1	36,5
United Kingdom	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,6	0,7	1,1	2,4	4,0	5,2	9,1	6,2	29,4
Austria	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1	0,8	0,7	0,5	2,2	4,2	13,0	4,3	25,8
Denmark	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,2	0,3	0,3	0,5	1,3	2,7	1,1	7,3
Sweden	0,0	0,0	0,3	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,3	0,4	0,4	0,6	0,5	3,1
Switzerland	0,3	0,1	0,2	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,2	0,4	0,4	0,5	0,2	2,9
Belgium	0,0	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,4	0,9	0,5	0,3	2,7
Norway	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2	0,3	0,6	0,8	2,0
France	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,1	0,2	0,2	0,3	0,3	1,7
Spain	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,2

Finland	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1
Ireland	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,1

Table 2.1 Number Asylum requests in EU member states which have given out these numbers. (Source: CBS 2008)

The CBS has also released numbers on the specific flow of finished Afghan Asylum requests in the Netherlands. What we can see from the numbers in table 2.2, is that the Afghan community grew with 800% between 1996 and 2007. In 1998 the number of asylum requests was at its peak with 7100 requests.

Year	Number of finished Asylum requests
1992	400
1993	1500
1994	2500
1995	1900
1996	3000
1997	5900
1998	7100
1999	4400
2000	5000
2001	3600
2002	1100
2003	500
2004	700
2005	900
2006	900

Table 2.2 Number Asylum requests in The Netherlands between 1992-2006. (Source: CBS 2008)

2.5 Afghans in The Netherlands

In The Netherlands there has been a lot of research done on the situation of the four largest minority groups; Moroccans, Turkish, Surinamese and Antilleans. In 2003 the ministry of justice finally published a booklet called *“Afghans in The Netherlands, a profile”*. Next to this booklet the SCP¹ released the Annual report of integration 2004, devoted to the five “new” minorities; the Afghans, Iraqi, Iranians, Yugoslavs, and Somali. A lot of the following data is derived from these two booklets.

From 1998 until 2001 more than 1.800 Afghans fled to The Netherlands. After the fall of the Taliban a lot of Afghan refugees returned to Afghanistan but still over 3.4 million live outside of their home country. According to the Central Bureau of Statistics on January the first 2009 37.700 Afghans lived in The Netherlands. Almost 9000 of them are naturalized as Dutch citizens, while the rest has a temporary or

¹ Social Cultural Research Institute

permanent permit (CBS 2008). 1.470 Afghans are still waiting for a decision on their permit-request in asylum homes.

Year	Number
1996	4.916
1998	11.551
2000	21.468
2002	31.167
2004	36.043
2006	37.246
2009	37.700

Table 2.3 Number of Afghans living in The Netherlands (Source: CBS 2008)

Table 2.3 shows the enormous increase of Afghan immigrants between 1996 and 2006. In ten years the Afghan population in The Netherlands increased with more than 750%. Amsterdam has the most Afghan immigrants living in its district, next to Amsterdam most Afghans are situated in Rotterdam, Utrecht and Eindhoven (Table 2.4). Since 2001 the amount of asylum requests have decreased while the amount of asylum seekers removed from the Netherlands has increased.

In 2002 more than half of the Afghans in the Netherlands was younger than 25 years old. Around four out of ten Afghans are children living at home. Almost a third is married or lives with his or her spouse. Figure 2.2 shows the distribution of household positions of the Afghans living in the Netherlands in 2002. Unfortunately there are no more recent numbers available on this topic.

City	Number
Groningen	358
Leeuwarden	181
Zwolle	243
Enschede	436
Apeldoorn	630
Arnhem	831
Nijmegen	454
Amersfoort	588
Utrecht	1013
Amsterdam	3186
Haarlem	540
Leiden	636
Den Haag	1845
Rotterdam	2470
Dordrecht	807
Breda	342
Tilburg	489
Den Bosch	324
Eindhoven	1037
Geleen/Sittard	226
Heerlen	400
Maastricht	226

Table 2.4 Number of Afghans living in The Netherlands (Source: CBS 2008)

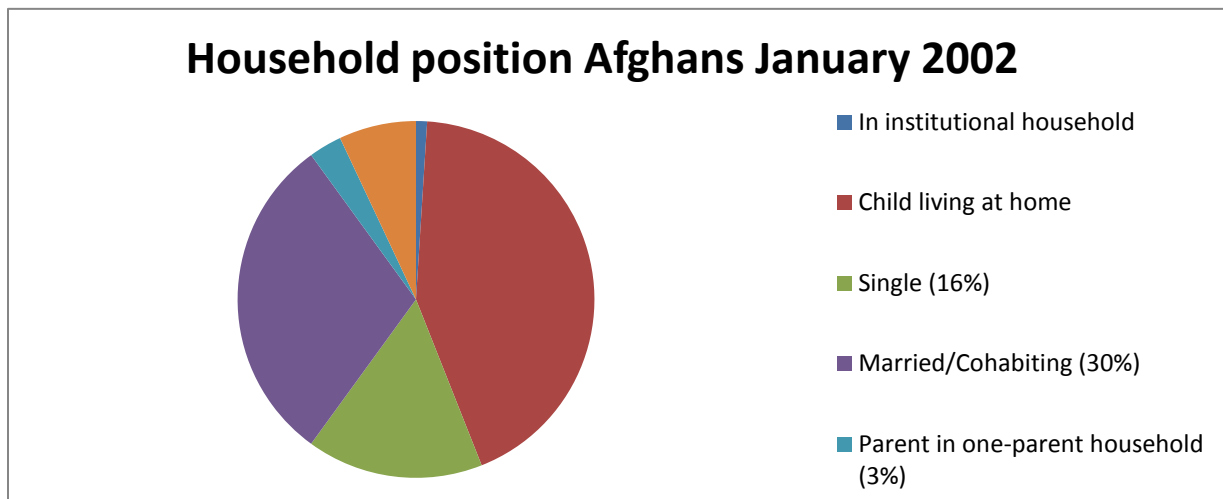


Figure 2.2 Household position Afghans January 2002 (Source: CBS 2002)

2.6 Integration position

There is not a full profile on the integration process of Afghans in The Netherlands, this is one of the reasons why this research is so important. Tillaart et al. (2000) published a profile on the integration of five new ethnical groups in The Netherlands, including Afghans. Information in this thesis on the prior integration position of Afghans is mainly based on this research. In 2004 the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in the Netherlands came out with a report on the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands, "Afghanen in Nederland". Their research was also based on the findings of Tillaart in 2000. Their conclusion was as following:

"In terms of integration there are no major problems to be expected. Afghans residing in the Netherlands generally have a fairly Western world view, a liberal view of Islam, and know how to adjust to the Dutch society. The fact remains that the first generation still faces many problems, especially on the psychological level and to find suitable work. Their children are much better, according to the parents themselves. This is confirmed by the good results of the children in school. (CBS, Afghans in the Netherlands, 2004, translated from Dutch to English). "

According to Tillaart et al. (2000) Afghans live in two worlds. On the one hand they are Western orientated (which can be concluded from their liberal views on Islam) but on the other hand they hold on to (in western terms) strict cultural norms and values. Slowly Afghans in The Netherlands take more from the Dutch culture. Two out of three Afghans feel at home in The Netherlands. A lot of the asylum seekers have been in financial problems in combination with the uncertainty of their naturalization-perspectives. The educational level of Afghans coming to the Netherlands is relatively high; it is the intellectual vanguard which came to The Netherlands, considering they had enough financial means to escape. Still there is a decrease of the average educational level throughout time. Half of the Afghan population has a minimum of a higher education in Afghanistan. Usually they are very motivated to learn the Dutch language, but in practice this seems very difficult. Also the need to get more schooling in The Netherlands is very high, but Tillaart's research shows that this becomes more difficult the older the immigrant is when he arrives in the Netherlands. Most of them would like to continue the occupation they had in Afghanistan, but the Dutch standards on education are much different which makes this most of the times impossible. The second generation, however, seems to do better. This is evident by the high proportion of Afghan immigrant pupils in HAVO/VWO schools (42%). In comparison, this is 22% for Turkish immigrant pupils. Afghan youngsters are usually very motivated to finish a high level of education in The

*Tears come to our eyes, as memories
return listening to a song
About our beautiful Afghanistan, the
land where we belong
So much death, so much destruction, so
much despair
Sometimes I wonder if those left behind
know we still care?
But no matter how long from our home
we remain apart
Our land, our people, our history, remain
dear to our heart
Seems everyday news of tragedy and
sorrow
What can we do but pray for a peaceful
tomorrow?
We that are here must unite, and from
mistakes we learn
For we will be the leaders to show the
way, when we return
(Dr. Azim Azimi)*

Netherlands and integrate as good as possible. Still in their minds is always the dilemma whether they will ever return to Afghanistan or not, and if they should invest in a future in Afghanistan or work on their careers in The Netherlands (Tillaart, 2000).

2.7 Life in The Netherlands

According to Hessels & Wassie (2003, p. 18-20) 90% of the Afghans in The Netherlands are satisfied with their lives in The Netherlands. Almost two third feels at home and almost everyone feels safe in the Dutch environment. Compared to other minority groups Afghans feel less discriminated by Dutch natives (28%), compared to for instance Iranians (41%). Afghans are, after Yugoslavians, the second immigrant group who is most positive about the chances they get as immigrants in The Netherlands and the respect they get. Besides this, they are also very positive on the hospitality and openness of the Netherlands towards other cultures. The most unsatisfying factor of The Netherlands according to the Afghan immigrants is their refugee-policy (SCP, 2004). Nevertheless what should not be forgotten is the status and lifestyle many Afghans come from in Afghanistan. In Afghanistan, many Afghans lived in much larger houses. Modern housing blocks had risen in Kabul and many families had servants for different tasks in and around the house. As a result of the war, numerous houses have been destroyed. Many Afghan immigrants sold their houses in order to pay for the expensive tickets out of Afghanistan. Especially the later fled Afghans usually do not have any properties left in Afghanistan, this is mainly due to the increased expenses for leaving the country and more properties had been demolished by the war. Unfortunately this is the group of immigrants with the highest risk of being sent back to Afghanistan, with nothing to return to.

2.8 Orientation to Afghanistan

There are over 50 Afghan organizations in The Netherlands. Most of these organizations either focus on organizing Afghan cultural parties, or they have a philanthropic background for the rebuilding of Afghanistan. Unfortunately there are no figures or percentages on the amount of Afghans in The Netherlands participating in these organizations.

2.9 Language

According to the SCP report around 75% of the Afghans say they speak Dutch fluently (2004, p. 43). In 2003 22% of the Afghan population in The Netherlands finished a HBO- or WO-education² (the highest degrees in Dutch education). This is a lot more then the Turkish and Moroccan population with respectively 6% and 8%. Around a quarter of the Afghan population has asked for an evaluation of their Afghan educational diploma's and almost 60% of them has been valued lower in The Netherlands then in Afghanistan (2004, p. 41). An additional or a new form of education is often discouraged by the high costs in combination with the family life they have to provide (2004, p.20).

² HBO and WO are the highest levels of education in the Netherlands

2.10 Social contact

Children get a more western upbringing because the parents realize they need to be able to find a way in the Dutch culture. 71 % Of the Afghan community says to have Dutch friends, 85% claims to like having Dutch friendships. Furthermore 82% of the Afghans has contact with Dutch people in their leisure time. Only 3 % would find it unpleasant if their children would have Dutch friends, but 14% doesn't want their children to have a Dutch spouse (SCP, 2004, p. 72). These are all factors which, according to the SCP, show the degree of integration of foreigners in The Netherlands. The more the minority group is socially active with Dutch natives, the more they have integrated and shifted from their own culture to the new Dutch culture. Partly the Dutch integration policy had an influence on these statistics. New immigrants or refugees are not housed in the G4, the big cities in the Netherlands, but more in the smaller towns and villages spread all over the Netherlands in order for them to come more in firsthand contact with Dutch natives to improve their integration process.

2.11 Labour market position

A good job is important for an Afghan according to Tillaarts research (2000). The fact many Afghans in the Netherlands do not achieve the wanted occupation status is for most of them very frustrating (Tillaart, 2000). Eventually most of them accept lower qualified work. Middle aged Afghans find difficulties to find suiting jobs because diploma's and work experience they have are usually not useful on the European market. In the technical jobs the career opportunities are still the most positive. Afghans on the job market who are younger than 30 years old do not find many difficulties because they have less problems with acquiring the Dutch language. Numbers from the SCP (2004) show that only 38% of the men and 10% of the women have a paid job of more than 12 hours a week. According to the integration year report of the CBS in 2009 there is a large amount of entrepreneurs amongst the Afghan immigrants. In total there are 1.531 Afghan entrepreneurs in the Netherlands, this is with 5.1% of the total Afghan population relatively high compared to other minority groups. 50% Of the Afghan entrepreneurs is active in retail business.

2.12 Health care

Many Afghans face health problems with stress related complaints in the Netherlands, many of which are caused by long term war traumas, the loss of loved ones, their own refugee history, the lack of a trustworthy social network and the care for the destiny of family which stayed behind in Afghanistan. Also the often long procedure of asylum and the uncertainty of naturalization in the Netherlands. Because of the different structure in the Netherlands it takes many Afghan refugees quite some time to find their way in the Dutch facilities. Besides this there is another problem, a communication problem; while Afghans are used to leave the judgment of their health to the professional, the Dutch healthcare workers expect an assertive attitude of their patients (CBS, Hessels, 2004).

3. Acculturation of Afghan Immigrants

3.1 Conceptual Framework

Afghans in The Netherlands differ from Dutch natives due to their connection to multiple countries and cultures. The culture one lives in and comes from determines the personality and identity of a person. This is the reason why this research is mainly focused on the term “identity”. The importance of having multiple identities will be deepened to shed a light on the process most Afghan immigrants go through during their stay in The Netherlands. There are several important factors influencing the identity of Afghans living in the Netherlands. We can think of language, culture and religion. Apart from this, the fact that the Afghans are immigrants, mostly refugees, also has a great influence on their identity-formation. This is why there is a section in this theoretical framework dedicated to the Diaspora concept and its influence on identity.

“Acculturation” is also a very important concept in this research. Acculturation describes the process of shifting from one culture to the other. It is basically the adaptation of one’s identity due to the first hand contact with a new culture. In this theoretical framework theories about acculturation and its determinants will be explored and discussed.

The theoretical framework ends with the concept of language maintenance and shift and its influential factors on the Afghan integration process in the Netherlands. All these issues are also implemented in the questions of the questionnaire so the new findings in this research can be compared to the already existing literature.

3.2 Identity and identification explored

3.2.1 Concept of Identity in acculturation studies

One of our basic questions as human beings is “who am I?”. Being human means being conscious of having a self-identity and the nature of the self is central to what it means to be human (Lewis, 1990).The question ‘Who am I?’ is directly related to the identity you ascribe yourself. Psychologists usually use the term “identity” to describe a person’s personal identity, the things that make a person unique in his own ways. On the other hand, sociologists commonly use the term ‘Identity’ to refer to the social identity of an individual, group memberships define the individual in this case. There is no question whether one of these applications is right or wrong, each discipline can use either concept.

Over the years there have been many philosophers and scientist who have tried to provide a commonly accepted definition of the concept “identity”. It is difficult to make one overall definition because there are different contexts in which the concept “identity” can be used. Paul Ricoeur (1984), defined identity as follows:

“We make sense of our identity by the stories we tell of our lives. We are the subjects in other’s stories and others are the subjects in our stories.”

Also the famous philosopher Emanuel Kant (1781) formulated a definition of identity in the eighteenth century:

“Every person’s Self was actually composed of two aspects: a transcendental subject or ego which is the ground of all knowledge and perception, and an empirical ego which is what we observe when we introspect, or the thing we impute to other people, with qualities, attributes, etc.”

(Kritik der reinen Vernunft, 1781)

The word ‘identity’ and its derivatives ‘to identify’ and ‘identification’ are used very often in daily life. It can refer to a person’s own unique qualities, the name he or she is known by or the ethnical group he or she belongs to. You can identify a person, when you recognize him, but you can also identify with a person, meaning you relate to a certain aspect of that individual. In a personal way one could say that the identity of a person can be described as “his true self” or “the person he is to himself”.

The term “identify” was described by Freud in his theory on the development-process of children. The term means more than ascribing yourself to a certain category. It also expresses a feeling of connectedness. Freud claimed that in a normal development boys identify with their fathers and girls with their mothers. A boy doesn’t only discover he is of the same gender as his father, but he also feels a connection to him and wants to become like him. As a result, children internalize the norms and values of their parents (Glassman & Hadad, 2004, p. 219-220). People also identify themselves with groups, for instance a religious community. Freud emphasized the emotional aspect of identification, this makes it more than just imitating another. It becomes tied to emotions of loyalty, solidarity, shame and anger. The success of the group we identify ourselves with becomes a personal success, in the same way feelings of disappointment and failure of the group are experienced (Verkuyten, 2005). “To identify with” refers to the emotional component of the Social Identity Theory (SIT) (Tajfel, 1986), namely the emotional significance one attaches to group membership. This theory has been implemented in our research on the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands and it will be discussed more extensively in the next section.

3.2.2 Social Identity

The previous mentioned definitions make the assumption that people’s behavior in group settings is essentially similar to their behavior in all other settings. However, people’s group behavior is different than their personal behavior. In life we categorize people the same as we categorize the world around us. A pedestrian sees a lot of different models and colors in cars, but categorizes them all as a certain type of transportation. This is the reason why that same pedestrian will act differently crossing the street when there is a car coming down the road or a bicycle. People categorize each other in the same way, this helps them to adapt their behavior towards others. A pedestrian will, for instance, act differently towards a person in uniform who tries to stop him than towards another pedestrian who

tries the same. Not only do people categorize each other, they also categorize themselves into different groups, for instance; female, teacher, Christian, Dutch etc.

The term “social identity” refers to the group a person belongs to. Social identities are in essence categories which are determined by certain mutual aspects such as gender, sexe, sexual preference, race or ethnical background. In this way the social identity of a person does not truly say something about this person, but more about the group he or she belongs to. This is the reason why Tajfel (1986) distinguished *interpersonal behavior* from *intergroup behavior*. Acting like an individual is different than acting like a group member. In the Social Identity Theory developed in 1986 by Tajfel and Turner, a person has not one but several ‘personal selves’. All these selves correspond to widening circles of group membership. When we speak of group memberships we can think of family, nationality, friendships and so on. Tajfel (1986) made a distinction between the *subscribed* and *ascribed social identity*, which means, a person belongs to a certain group either because he thinks and believes he belongs to that group, or because others see him as a member of that group. In the Afghan immigrant context it is interesting to examine to what group they ascribe themselves and to what group they are described to by the society.

Within Tajfel’s theory three components can be distinguished. The *cognitive component* is the awareness one has of being a member of a social group, the *emotional component* is the emotional significance one ascribes to this group-membership and the *comparative component* is the value one ascribes to this membership (Ellemers et al., 1999, p.372). The self-categorizing-theory of Turner says humans categorize themselves in the same way they categorize other stimuli, on a bases of certain aspects which are characteristic for the members of social categories. Different types of situations or contexts can trigger a person to act, think or feel differently according to the level of self.

Hogg and Vaughan (2002) also speak of “social identities”, they see a social identity as a derived identity from the individual’s perceived membership of social groups. “In other words, it is an individual-based perception of what defines the ‘us’ associated with any internalized group membership. This can be distinguished from the notion of personal identity which refers to self-knowledge that derives from the individual’s unique attributes” (Haslam & Alexander 2001, p. 66). Wiliam James (1890) argued that, in principle, one has as many social selves as there are individuals who recognize one. In practice, these selves are determined by the groups of people about whose opinion one cares (Abrams & Hogg, 2004).

What becomes clear from the previous discussed theories on social identities is that there is cooperation between the societal influences and the individual influences in the construal of the social identity. What is important to take from these definitions is that people form and change many different types of identities by many different influential factors.

3.2.3 Ethnic identity

Ethnic identity refers to a sense of psychological connection to a group of people with a common heritage and place of geographical origin. It is a concept that changes gradually and developmentally in

response to the context. Phinney (2001) has done many researches on ethnic identity and its influences on an individual's self-construal;

"The optimal outcome of the ethnic identity formation process is the achievement of a secure and confident sense of one's ethnicity.....Ethnic identity is highly salient for immigrants, but it changes over time and across generations. For later generations of immigrants, the retention of ethnic identity depends both on attitudes within the ethnic group and on the broader societal or historical context. A bicultural identity, including an ethnic and a national identity, appears to be most adaptive. (Phinney, 2001)

Ethnic identity is often confused with racial identity. A study done by Branch (1996) in the United States shows that adults of European descent in the US usually identify themselves as "white" instead of associating with their place of origin. Phinney et. al. (1990) have done research on age differences and the way people feel connected to their ethnicity. The research showed that young people are less resolved of their ethnic identity than older people. In this research I am focusing on the ethnic identity of Afghan migrants in The Netherlands and the differences which can be found between young and old, first and second generation immigrants, Phinney's work therefore sheds a good preparational light on the part of a humans identity which is connected to ethnicity. According to Weinreich (1983) attitudes towards one's ethnic identity are essential in the psychological functioning of individuals who live in societies where their group is poorly represented. This can be on political scale, economical scale and within the media. This brings up the topic of bi-racial/bi-ethnic identity which implies that one is reconsidering the status of just one ethnic identity and taking on another. In this we can see Poston's (1990) Biracial Identity Development Model. This model is based on several stages; *choice of categorization, enmeshment/denial, appreciation, and integration*. These stages show, according to Poston (1990), the identity faze a person goes through when he moves from one ethnic group to the other. It describes the autonomy of an individual to chose his or her preference in categorization, the faze where the acculturating individual finds struggles in the adaptation of his or her new ethnicity which is followed by the appreciation and acceptation of this new found self. This all leads to the integration within the new society.

Phinney (1990) describes the factors which are most commonly used to be able to examine the ethnic involvement. These factors are; *language, friendship, religious affiliation and practice, structured ethnic social groups, political ideology and activity, area of residence, and miscellaneous ethnic/cultural activities and attitudes*. According to Phinney (1990), these factors show to what extent the individual has adapted to the host society. These factors have been used as guidelines for this research, the main points are language, friendship, social organizations, religion, cultural traditions, and politics. We will see in the research results which factors play a role in the identity formation of the Afghan immigrants in order to combine their Afghan heritage with the Dutch environment.

3.2.4 Identity and language

"Language gives rise to identity in the following way. First, language abstracts the world of experience into words. The encounter with language raises us above mere immediacy of experience and immersion

in the current of experience. This enables us to form a conception of self rather than simply being ourselves.” This view belongs to a tradition going back to the eighteenth-century French philosopher Etienne Bonnot, Abbot of Condillac (1714-80), who located the origins of the human mind in the transition from natural signs to the artificial signs of language which forced people to analyze human experience rather than simply taking it in as a synthetic whole (Joseph, 2004). Over the years there have been a lot of discussions and different mindsets on the influence of language on identity and vice versa. Until this day scientists have not come to an agreement on this matter and this is also not my intention to go further into details here. I would rather want to explore the vision of the individual on his own perceptions and feelings about his language and his identity. This comes forward in the questionnaire where questions are asked on what the Afghan immigrants think of their language and in what situations they choose for a certain language, either Afghan languages or Dutch.

“In the case of national identity, language has traditionally been a key ingredient in this process for at least five reasons.” (Joseph, 2004, p.490). First, people who occupy contiguous territory often have a certain way of speaking, this marks them as a group, one who does not speak the same way is easily seen as an outsider or rival. Still the notion is made that there are also numerous territories which are occupied by people from different linguistic backgrounds, and people with the same linguistic background can have different territories. The second reason given is that language can be used as the text through the constant interaction with which older speakers transmit the cultural norms and values to younger generations. This can be seen in the Afghan immigrant context where first generation Afghans can use the Afghan language in the education and upbringing of the child. It is used as a medium for the formation of ethnic-identity. Thirdly; a nation needs a language to use in official documents and other communication necessities for its inhabitants. A national anthem can be a very good example of this, and it enhances a form of national identity. This is seen when Afghan immigrants learn how to speak and write in the Dutch national language. The ability to read and write Dutch is essential in the Netherlands in order to attend Dutch public schools and other public activities. The use of one formal language brings us to reason number four, in order to be a ‘proper’ citizen one should use a ‘proper’ form of the language (Joseph, 2004). The last reason given by Joseph (2004) has to do with the classification of the population of a nation. *“When a nation wants to control who can live in it, vote in it, and enjoy state benefits, language can appear to be, in the most obvious test for deciding whether particular individuals belong to the nation or not.”*(Joseph, 2004, p. 491). The immigration law in the Netherlands obliges immigrants in the Netherlands to read and write Dutch.

3.2.5 Identity and the concept of Diaspora

Due to the increase of national and international transmigration and creation of diasporas, we can no longer insist on thinking about culture, race or gender as contained by national boundaries or as reified, polarized entities (Bhatia & Ram, 2001). “Thus, Diaspora studies with its emphasis on understanding the construction of self and identity in terms of colonial histories and present day transnational migration and formations of Diaspora, has relevance for understanding issues related to acculturation and immigrant identities in the field of psychology” (Bhatia & Ram, 2001, p. 8). Diaspora is an old concept which comes from the ethnic spread of the Jews after they fled the country which is now called Israel.

These days, Diaspora is also used to name the large amount of immigrants, political refugees, economical refugees and so on. “The idea of the Diaspora refers to immigrant communities who distinctly attempt to maintain (real and/or imagined) connections and commitments to their homeland and recognize themselves and act as a collective community. In other words, people who simply live outside their ancestral homeland cannot automatically be considered as diasporas (Tölöyan 1996 in Bhatia Bhatia & Ram, 2008”). An example of Diasporas is the Palestinians which after World War Two had to leave Palestine due to the Jewish occupation of Israel. One could say Palestine does not truly exist anymore, still Palestine and the remembrance of it plays a large role in the identities of these Palestinian Diasporas. Members of Diaspora identify with an imagined transnational community which is characterized by a shared connectedness to the homeland and a collective history of trauma and disruption. The assimilation of refugee-groups is therefore difficult and identification with the homeland is being strengthened by the low social position in the ethnical hierarchy. Bhatia and Ram (2008) claim the process of adaptation and acculturation is different for Diasporas then for other types of immigrants like for instance Dutch people moving to Spain for their retirement. Bhatia and Ram (2008) also claim that Diasporas are usually formed when the immigrant community does not feel affiliation with the host society culture and they feel they have to erase their home culture due to the host society. This has also been confirmed by Clifford (1994), Clifford claims that the host society expects the Diasporas to adjust and assimilate while this is often impossible for Diasporas because of the large influence their emotional and practical connection to their home country has on their personal identity (Clifford, 1994, p. 307). They seem to be in a constant negotiation between the old and the new homeland, the homeland and the host land. Hermans and Kempen (1998) claim that due to the rapid formation of multinationals, increasing globalization, border crossings and large flows of transmigration, acculturation is no longer a transferring process from culture A to culture B. Instead it is a constant movement of contesting, mixing and moving between different cultures. Due to the large flow of migration out of Afghanistan because of the several wars, Afghans can be seen as Diasporas. If the theories of the previously mentioned researchers are true, the Diaspora status of the Afghans should have a big influence on their cultural identity and integration-process in the Netherlands.

Gilroy (1997) believes there is no such thing as a fixed focus on identity, he argues that by studying the Diaspora identity formation we can find different and new ways of thinking about identity. These identities are not bound to space, place or nationality. The concept of Diaspora makes us reframe the traditional ways of acculturation and makes us take into account the psychological faze the Diaspora immigrant went through to integrate into the new host society. Factors such as traumatic experiences, colonization and transportation should also be taken into account. Hall (1991) illustrates this with an example from the slavery times of Great Britain. During the stages of imperialism the English colonized many countries. The mindset of these colonial natives on Great Britain was a high status, economically well developed country which would ultimately result into a “new homeland”. A lot of the natives moved to Great Britain with this mindset and adapted to the ways of living. However, looking at the Afghan immigration, these Afghans did not migrate to The Netherlands due to its high status in search for wealth and a new homeland, most of these immigrants migrated because they had to. War was raging through their country and in order to survive they had to leave. The mindset of these immigrants is much different as it was forced, which leads to a different type of identity formation. Therefore Bhatia

& Ram (2001) call for a more politicized understanding of migrant identity instead of the fixed cultural self which is probed by traditional acculturation scientists.

3.2.6 Identity and religion

The traditional and conventional view on nationalism in relation to religion is that both are separate entities without any ties; nationalism is even seen as the opposite of religion. According to the traditional view, nationalism supersedes religious affiliations. However, critical scientists are now claiming nationalism and religion should be seen as natural allies. “At the most basic level of analysis, the nation, as a communion of the dead, living, and unborn grounded on both presumptive ethnic ancestry and moral unity, draws on sacred properties of the beliefs and practices of a community of the faithful, including the myth of the chosen people, popular attachments to a sacred territory, the ideal of the golden age, and the commemoration of the glorious dead who fell on behalf of the nation. Each of these beliefs and practices derives from and is infused with sacred imagery, symbolism and ritual, thereby revealing the religious foundations of the communion of the nation” (Smith, 2002, p. 85). Smith claims that nationalism can fulfill many of the identity-creating functions of traditional religions. This makes nationalism not only a competitor to religion but also an ally of religion, depending on historical and social circumstances. Smith (2002) claims this produces a series of familiar mass phenomena;

- a) The *politicization of religion*, religion is used to enhance the nationalism amongst the country’s population. For instance, certain religious stories from the past like the death of Hussain at karbala or the Exodus across the Red Sea are turned into certain festivals which should enhance a feeling of cohesion and nationalism amongst the inhabitants of Iran and Israel.
- b) *The messianization of politics*, in this phenomenon the political leaders of a country are endowed with religious charisma (messiah) . And not only political leaders are messianized, on ethno-historical ground countries claim to have holy land.
- c) *Religious populism*, this is usually seen in the rebirth of old traditions and religions which are taken upon by new generations to get a grip on the old ways of living and the history of the country.

What we can learn from this research is that religion can be seen as an ally of nationalism. In the Afghan context we can see that there is a big religious difference between Afghanistan and The Netherlands. In the previous section we have seen the differences on cultural ground, but religion is according to Smith a very important factor in identity formation. Afghanistan is an Islamic state and has been for many years. The Dutch population on the other hand is mostly Christian and atheist (CBS, 2009). This difference can create a gap between the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands and the Dutch culture. If we take Smith’s theory this would mean that Afghans keep their strong nationalistic feelings towards Afghanistan partly due to their religion. This can be combined with the fact that integration or assimilation is thwarted by the receiving culture when this is a lot different from the home-culture, but this will further be explored in the next section. Religion can enhance the group-cohesion, when all the group members share the same religion this gives them a solid ground to have a similarity which can straighten the group identity. But, in the context of Afghan immigrants, we have to keep in mind that

many of them fled the country due to the Islamic fanaticism of the Taliban which can also enhance their identification with the more secular Dutch society.

3.3 Cultural perceptions

3.3.1 In general

The way individuals and relationships are defined is different within the world's various cultures (Bond & Smith, 1996). People from different cultures have different self-construal's and have a different view on life. The Western community is more concerned with individuality and independence, where the eastern community, Japan for instance, is more focused on social connections, obligations to the group and interdependence (Markus & Kittayama, 1991). In individualistic countries like for instance North America and the Netherlands, people are more likely to describe themselves in terms of unique and distinctive traits or attributes, and to have self-related motives that reflect the importance of independence from others. In more collectivist cultures such as Afghanistan and China, people are more likely to view themselves in terms of their family and other social ties, interdependent with others (Abrams & Hogg, 2004). Consequently, a person in the Netherlands will proclaim their own achievements; in Afghanistan it is seen as a negative thing in which one should be modest. This theory has been explored in depth by Geert Hofstede (2004), whose findings on cultural differences all around the world will be discussed in the next section.

3.3.2 Cultural Dimensions

Geert Hofstede is a Dutch researcher who worked for an international company (IBM) all over the world and in various different cultures. During this period he discovered several categories in which a culture can be divided in and described by. Hofstede (2004) calls these categories *cultural dimensions*. In total he came up with five cultural dimensions which he used to describe a culture and to compare different cultures with each other. In total he has done research in 53 countries; unfortunately Afghanistan is not one of them. To be able to describe the Afghan culture I have made use of the comparisons of two neighboring- countries; Pakistan and Iran. Firstly a description is given of Hofstede's five cultural dimensions.

- *Individualism (vs. Collectivism) (IND)*: In this cultural dimension Hofstede divides cultures into two categories; *individualistic cultures* and *collectivistic cultures*. These two categories are according to Hofstede each other's contradicts. It should explain the way in which people are integrated into a certain group. On the individualistic side we find societies in which the ties between people are loosely linked. Everybody is expected to take care of himself and his or her direct family. In collectivistic cultures we find societies in which people are integrated from birth into a strong cohesion group, usually large families, which will support and protect the family-members for endless loyalty in return. The word "collectivism" does not have a political meaning in this case, it refers to the group, not the state or the country.

- *Power Distance Index (PDI)*: This dimension shows to what extent an uneven power distribution is accepted within a society. The degree of hierarchy plays a large role in this, this is why it suggests that a society's level of inequality is endorsed by the followers as much as by the leaders. According to Hofstede all societies are unequal, but some more than others.
- *Masculinity (vs. Femininity)*: This dimension refers to the role distribution between men and women in a society. The IBM studies of Hofstede showed that in some cultures the differences are smaller than in other cultures. Masculine values are described as assertive, competitive and ambitious. Female values are described as modest behavior, solidarity and caring. In masculine countries men and women have their specific roles which differ a lot; countries with low scores on the masculinity index have fewer differences in men and women's roles in society.
- *Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI)*: Shows to what extent people of a certain culture feel comfortable with uncertainty and ambiguity. Eventually it shows a man's search for the truth. Cultures with a high UAI-index try to avoid uncertainties by strict laws and rules. Uncertainty accepting people deal with different opinions more easily and are more tolerant towards things they are not used to. "People within these cultures are more phlegmatic and contemplative, and not expected by their environment to express emotions." (Hofstede,
- *Long-term Orientation (LTO)*: This is the fifth cultural dimension and it was added to the previous at a later stage. This dimension compares (eastern) persistence in development and application of innovations with the (western) urge of finding the truth and immediate results. People with a short-term orientation have respect for traditions, fulfill social obligations and try to protect their "face".

Over the years Geert Hofstede has collected many research data from various countries all over the world in order to make correct comparisons on a cultural scale. Unfortunately there are no research data available for Afghanistan. To be able to apply Hofstede's theory on the Afghan culture we have chosen two connecting countries, Iran and Pakistan, as representatives for Afghanistan.

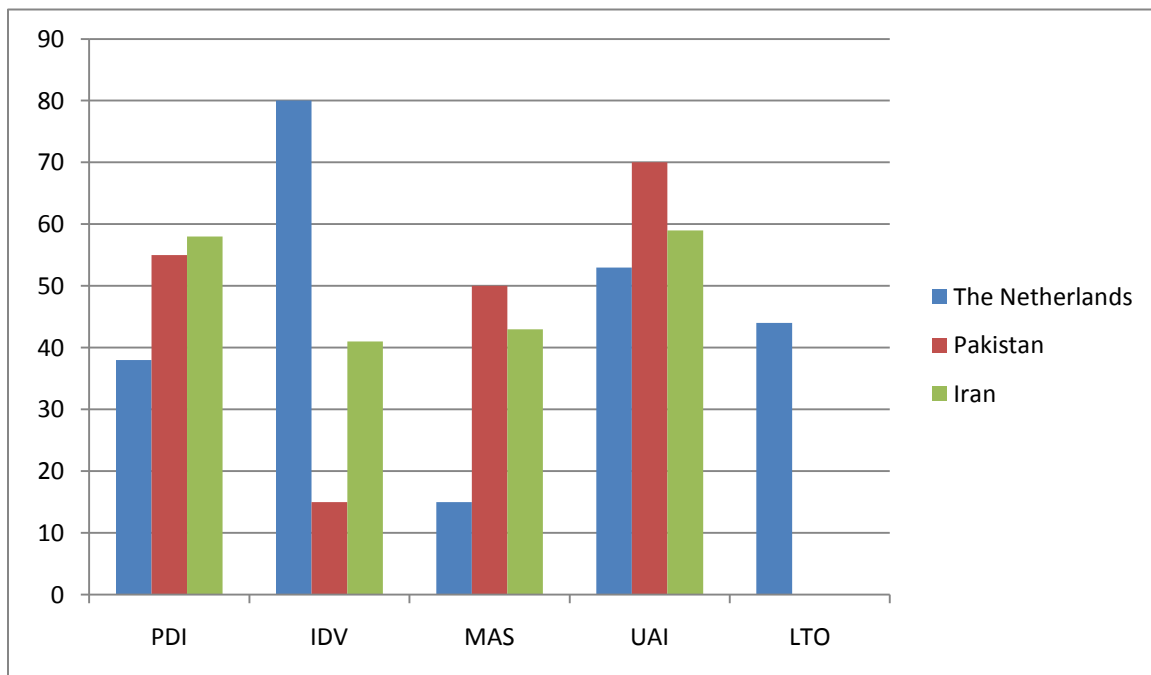


Figure 3.1: Hofstede's dimensions used for the Netherlands in comparison to Iran and Pakistan.

As we can see in figure 3.1 there are a lot of large differences between The Netherlands on the one hand and Pakistan and Iran on the other. Even though Pakistan and Iran also show differences, we must take into account that Afghanistan is the country separating these two countries, for the sake of this research we shall take the Afghanistan results on these dimensions as a combination between Pakistan and Iran.

The dimensions in which we can see the largest differences between the Netherlands and Pakistan and Iran are *Individualism* and *Masculinity*. The Netherlands scores very high when it comes to individualism, as cited before this means that the personal ties with the group in the Netherlands are not nearly as strong as the ones in Pakistan and Iran. Also on the masculinity scale we can see large differences. These differences are mainly based on the role distribution between sexes and the differences which occur with this distribution. However, the most important factor of this outcome is the big difference in individualism. The results from the IBM research show that countries in the Afghanistan region have very high collectivistic communities. This means that their social ties to are very strong, meaning the Afghans will not be able to take distance from these social ties easily, which could prohibit full integration or assimilation in The Netherlands. The research results will show whether this is true or false. What should be taken into account is the large variety of Afghans and their different cultures due to the size of the country Afghanistan itself, which can have an influence on the cultures differing in the north, the south, the east and the west.

3.4 Acculturation

3.4.1 The concept

The previous section discusses the differences in cultures around the world and the effects this has on people's identity. This leads us automatically to the question what will happen when people of different cultural backgrounds meet. The term acculturation "refers to changes that occur as a result of continuous first-hand contact between individuals of differing cultural origins" (Ward, 2001, p.412). One of the first processes of acculturation were defined by Plato, but the term was first used by Powell in 1880 (cited in Sam, 2006). In Powel's time, acculturation was seen as a process which would only affect "primitive" cultures adopting the attributes of superior European cultures. The classical definition of acculturation dates back to 1930's; "Those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups" (Redfield, Linton & Herskovits, 1936, p. 149). In this definition the focus lies on the intergroup relationships. Acculturation should take place when groups come into contact. Acculturation however, can also be an individual process. Berry (2005) included this individual process in his definition of acculturation; "During acculturation groups of people and their individual members engage in intercultural contact, producing a potential for conflict, and the need for negotiation in order to achieve outcomes that are adaptive for both parties" (Berry, 2005, P.2). Before going deeper into the acculturation theories it is important to note what concept of culture I will use in this research I will use the definition of Fernando (1991) which Liebkind (2003) cites for the discussion of culture: "Cultural differences are tied to historical experiences, some of which are based on socioeconomic

stratification of a relatively recent nature, while others are rooted in a distant ‘deep culture’ as it is embedded in language, ethnicity, religion, and/or nationality. Culture is conceptualized as shared patterns of belief and attitudes” (Liebkind, 2003, p. 386). This vision on culture notes that culture is not tied to country borders and this makes it one of the main reasons why I also chose to take on this definition of culture. Ideas and opinions are different in various cultures. Often the cultural norms and values of one culture are not appreciated by the other, but in this sense there is no question of good or bad, there is only a difference. Schweder (1984, 54-55) describes these differences as follows:

“Those for whom the unveiled face of a woman is a sin are obviously different from those for whom the veiled face of a woman is a shame. Those who have three gods and one wife are obviously different from those who have one god and three wives. But, is there really a criterion worthy of universal respect that ranks any of these beliefs the more rational and advanced?”

Strange cultures are often seen as a negative entity due to the many differences in norms and values, but there are also situations where people from one culture want to shift to the other culture because of its status or other influential factors. Whether one wants to integrate or not can be easily described by the push and pull factors of migrants. “When the voluntary-involuntary distinction is applied specifically to migrants, voluntary migrants may be described as having been drawn or pulled toward the new country, usually in hopes of a better lifestyle, while involuntary migrants more commonly are seen as pushed from their homeland into an alien environment.” (Ward, 2001, p.412). Table 3.1 gives the types of acculturating groups to make the push and pull acculturation-typology more clear (Berry & Sam, 1997, p. 295).

Mobility	Voluntariness of Contact	
	Voluntary	Involuntary
Sedentary	Ethnocultural groups	Indigenous peoples
Migrant	Immigrants	Refugees
	Sojourners	Asylum seekers

Table 3.1; Acculturating group typology, source: From Berry and Sam, 1997, P. 295

There are two ways in which acculturation can be examined; acculturation as a *process* and acculturation as a *state*. When we look at acculturation as a process it implies the changes an individual goes through when he is in contact with people from other cultures. The studies on this view on acculturation are usually longitudinal and very time consuming. The other view on the examination of acculturation is defining acculturation as a state. In this type of research the form of acculturation at a given time is examined, the way someone has combined his heritage culture with the new culture. This last approach has been used most frequently as the empirical measurement of change is very difficult. This is why acculturation is most often conceptualized as a matter of degree in relation to culture specific markers (Ward, 1996).

3.4.2 Acculturation perspectives

In the line of research done on acculturation two main perspectives can be found. The first perspective is the idea that acculturation is formed by a *linear process of assimilation*, which means that one starts with one culture and gradually transforms into the other until at one point assimilation has been reached. The other perspective on the acculturation process is *cultural plurality*. Cultural plurality recognizes the two dimensionality of acculturation; this means that the acculturation process is not only a means to get to the point of assimilation. But it is also possible that a person combines the two cultural backgrounds without the disappearance of the original ethnic/cultural identity (Berry, 1997; Nguyen, Messe, & Stollak, 1999; Sayegh & Lasry, 1993).

Shadid (2007) notes that the way in which a migrant integrates or assimilates is partly coherent with the amount of contact he or she has with the host country and with people from his own cultural background. In order to examine this aspect for the Afghan immigrant group we have included questions in the questionnaire with whom the respondent spends most time, either Afghans or Dutch people. This can be an indicator of the integration/assimilation level of the respondents. John Berry's (1995) theory on acculturation is also based on this notion. Berry has made a model of acculturation to be able to put different subjects into different categories which all show a phase in the acculturation process. This model is based on two concepts; *Culture maintenance* and *contact-participation*;

- Culture maintenance; Is it considered to be of value to retain one's own identity and characteristics?
- Contact-participation; Are relations/contacts with the new society appreciated and preserved?

When these two questions are asked the answers can be put into four different categories according to Berry (1995), see figure 3.2;

	Culture maintenance Yes	Culture maintenance No
Contact participation Yes	Integration	Assimilation
Contact participation No	Separation/ Segregation	Marginalization

Figure 3.2: Acculturation model by John Berry(1995)

These four ways of acculturation, integration, assimilation, separation/segregation and marginalization can be explained as following:

Integrated individuals;

The individual wants to keep his own identity with his original culture, but, the individual also wants to adopt some characteristics of the new host-society's culture.

Assimilated individuals;

The individual does not want to keep his own identity and original culture but rather wants to fully adopt the characteristics of the new society and culture.

Marginalized individuals;

The individual does not want to have characteristics of his old identity, nor does he want to be adapting to the new culture. He wants to create a fully new identity which is cut loose from the given opportunities.

Two models that can be compared to Berry's model are the *linear model* and the *two-dimensional (bipolar) model*. The linear model sees ethnic identity in an acculturation process as a line moving from one ethnic identity to the other (Phinney, 1990). In contrast, acculturation in ethnic identity is seen as a two dimensional process, in this process relationships with both the traditional ethnicity and the new dominant ethnicity are considered to be relevant. In this view migrants can have strong or weak ties with both ethnic identities, it is not a simple transmission from one to the other.

A diverse society usually consists of a dominant host group and one or more minority groups. Berry's model which can be seen in figure 2, shows the different degrees of adaptation the majority group can expect of the minority groups. In the Dutch context it is relevant that assimilation means minorities participate in and take over the cultural identity of the host society, but maintaining their own cultural identity. In the Dutch literature on integration there is a distinction made between structural integration and social-cultural integration. Structural integration refers to the position of minorities in the social stratification. Economical position, participation in institutions like education and the labor market and the way they are housed are indicators of this structural integration (Dagevos, 2001, p. 85). On the other hand, social-structural integration refers to the degree in which minority groups are part of the host society, if they keep on distinguishing themselves as a different group and the level of contact they uphold with the host society. Increasingly there is also looked at the degree the minorities identify themselves with the host culture or the homeland-culture as an indicator of integration (Dagevos, 2001, P. 13). This shows that the boundaries, as Berry defines them, between integration and assimilation are not as clear cut in The Netherlands as they should be. What is called integration in The Netherlands seems to be more of assimilation when we compare the indicators of the social cultural integration to Berry's scheme.

3.4.3 Acculturation pattern approaches

Due to the globalization and enormous flows of transmigration, acculturation has become a broad research field in which many researchers have tried to make way for new approaches and theories. Ward (2001) has made an overview of the three main approaches in acculturation science.

- *The social identity approach*; This approach has mainly been influenced by the field of social cognition. On the individual level it views acculturation as a state and it measures the level of acculturation at a single point in time “identifying its relevant predictors, correlates, and consequences.” (Ward, 2001, p. 413). The group level analysis highlights the significance of intergroup perceptions and relations. Mainly the social interactions between members of the host community and various sojourner or immigrant groups and most frequently interprets intergroup relations within the context of the *social identity theory* (Tajfel, 1986).

The culture learning approach; According to Ward (2001) this approach has influenced by Argyle’s (1969) work on social skills and interpersonal behaviors. It is based on the assumption that difficulties with managing everyday social encounters cause the cross-cultural problems. “Adaptation therefore, comes in the form of learning the culture-specific skills that are required to negotiate the new cultural milieu” (Bochner, 1972, 1986). In this approach the most attention is paid to the differences in intercultural communication styles such as non verbal communication and rules and regulations concerning behavior in certain contexts.

Stress and coping; This approach acknowledges the stress that comes with the life changes in the adjusted life environment. It deals with ways how to cope with these types of stress and tries to implement adjustments needed to fit in the new environment.

3.4.4 Acculturation moderators

The process of acculturation is not the same for every individual. There are many factors which can influence the way a person acculturates and to what level. Age, gender, level of education, distance to receiving society, personal factors and migration motives are the main influences on a person’s acculturation process.

According to Berry (1997) age is a very important influence factor on the degree and speed in which a person acculturates. Usually young aged individuals acculturate much faster than people of an older age. This is mainly due to the future perspectives young people still have which makes them more eager to adapt to the new society in order to build a good future for themselves. Also the fact that older people have lived according to certain cultural norms and values for a much longer period of time makes it more difficult for them to change their way of living. As we saw in chapter 1.4.1 more than half of the Afghans in the Netherlands is younger than 25 years old. This could be an indicator of the integration-level amongst the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands.

Gender can also play a role in a person’s adaptation norms. It is frequently seen that women face difficulties when they adapt to the new environment. Especially when it is in the context of eastern cultures moving to western communities. In many eastern cultures the gender roles are often very specific, and women have to behave in certain ways to be accepted in the mainstream society. When a woman adapts to the new Western norms and values she can face problems with people from her own cultural group. Afghans often hold strict cultural norms and values, also in gender related issues. This can result in differences in acculturation processes amongst the male and female dutch Afghans.

As paragraph 2.6 points out, Afghans in the Netherlands often had a high educational level in Afghanistan, 22% has finished a HBO- or WO-education. According to Berry (1997) people who have a high educational level, often show less difficulties in adapting to the new environment. This is due to two major influences, first of all people with a high education degree usually earn more money and are in more firsthand contact with the natives of the new society. Second, higher educated people are usually more familiar with other cultures and languages because they have learned about this in school.

In paragraph 2.4 we have already established that Afghans migrated to the Netherlands because of political instability in their own country. This is a different context than for instance the Moroccan immigrants who moved to the Netherlands to have better economical opportunities. The reasons for moving to a another country can be divided into push and pull factors. Where push factors cause involuntarily migration and pull factors cause voluntarily migration. The Afghan context can be seen as a push factor, according to Kim (1988) migrants of pushfactors show more difficulties in adapting to the new society because they did not migrate because of their positive attitude towards the majority group and their opportunities.

When a person from culture A moves to culture B, the speed in adaptation is also dependent on the amount of differences between culture A and B. When both cultures have many similarities, it will be easier to adapt, but if the norms and values of both cultures are miles apart, the migrant will face more difficulties.

According to Ward & Kennedy (1992) locus of control and introversion versus extraversion play a role in the individual's adaptation skills and motives. The locus of control focuses on an individual's assignment of events. Someone can assign an occurred event to his own actions or to something or someone with a higher influence or fate. Someone with an introvert locus of control he or she believes self-made actions lead to consequences. This individual is more likely to be more open to new cultures and adapting to changes.

In cross-cultural psychology the term acculturation is used to refer to the process of change which occurs when cultural groups come in contact for a longer period of time (van de Vijver, Toth, 2000). Breugelmans (2008) summarized individual acculturation in a framework, figure A shows the different moderators which go hand in hand with acculturation according to Breugelmans (2008).

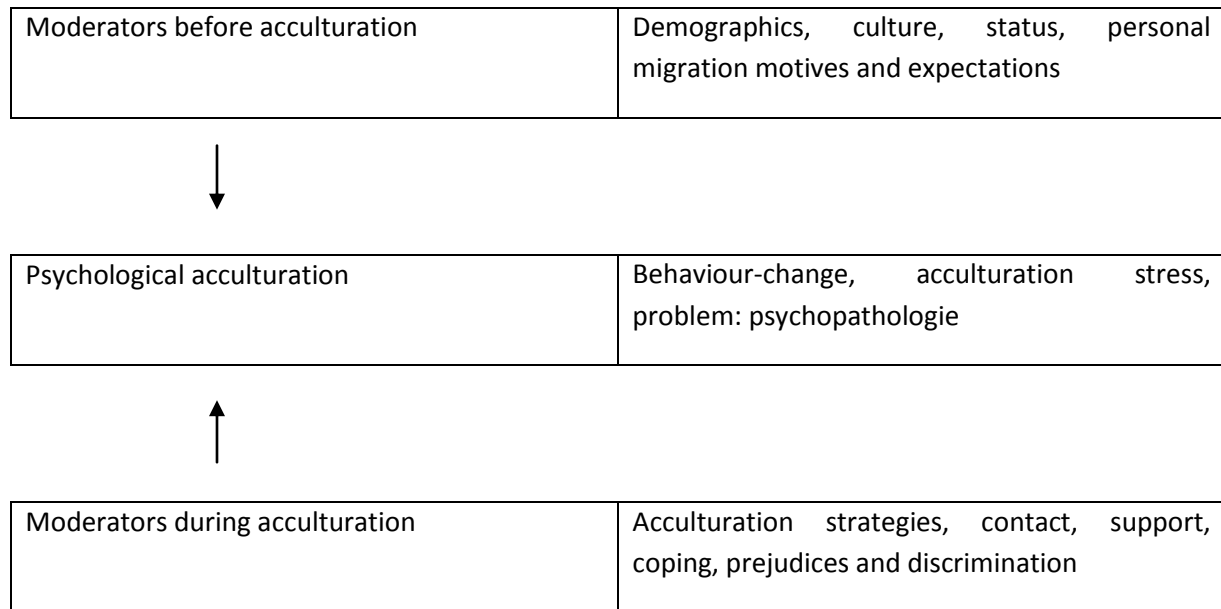


Figure 3.3; Acculturation moderator schedule (Breugelmans, 2008)

Figure 3.3 gives an overview on the moderators which influence the acculturation process. I will not describe all of these factors. Culture for instance can be a very big moderator in the acculturation process. A person moving from Switzerland to The Netherlands will have a different acculturation process than a person from Saudi Arabia moving to The Netherlands. It may be clear that it plays a big role to which extent your original culture differs from the new host-culture. Prejudices and discrimination can also be a moderator during the acculturation process. If one does not feel accepted in the new society, the acculturation process will usually take longer than with an individual who feels totally welcomed in the new host-society. An example of this has already been given in the section on diasporas and their identity formation. Clifford (1994, p. 307) claims that the more immigrants feel rejected or discriminated by the host society, the more the identification with their own group gets stronger. This makes it more difficult for minority groups to integrate and assimilate to the host culture. For this reason we have integrated statements in the questionnaire on whether the respondent feels discriminated by the Dutch people and to what extent the Dutch society make them feel at home. Bourhis et al (1997) has made this clear with his Interactive Acculturation Model. According to Bourhis both state policies and public opinions are influential factors in the acculturation process of immigrants. The minority group is not totally free in choosing its own acculturation strategy. These influences are mainly based on intergroup relationships between different cultural groups. Bourhis' et al model proposes four types of integration ideologies on a scale starting from the pluralism ideology, to the civic ideology, to assimilation ideology ending in the ethnist ideology. Bourhis et al (1997) note that this scale and its clusters can be different from the actual integration practices. In order to combine Bourhis's ideas on integration and assimilation with the Dutch contexts it is important we take a look at the Dutch policies on immigrants and their cultural adaptation. At the end of this paragraph we will discuss the Dutch immigrant policies more in depth in order to get a full understanding of the influence this has on the acculturation process of Afghan immigrants.

3.4.5 Intergroup relations and culture

A lot of research has been done on intergroup relations and biases formed by these individuals, minority groups and majority groups. According to Liebkind (2004) there is a main difference in focus of the American research on this topic and the European focus. Research done in the US on stereotyping, prejudice and racism mainly focus on the individual level of awareness and practice of these items. In Europe, on the contrary, intergroup encounters have played a role in daily life for a many centuries longer. “ Coupled with the importance of linguistic, cultural, religious and geographical boundaries, a lesser focus on individualism makes Europe the logical birthplace of more contextual approaches to intergroup relations” (Liebkind, 2004, p. 336). According to Liebkind (2004) the main focus on assimilation and culture is based on the interpersonal relations instead of intergroup relations. It is seen as an individual level process and not as much as a group-level process. A way of defining intergroup relations is the actions by members of one group toward members of another group.

3.5 Integration policy in The Netherlands.

The webpage of the Ministry of Housing, which also resorts the minister for Living, Districts and Integration opens with the following theorem (VROM 2009):

“Integratie betekent dat mensen zich verbonden voelen met de Nederlandse maatschappij.”

“Integration means that people feel connected to the Dutch society” is the translation of the previous quote. This theorem raises a couple of questions. What does it mean to feel connected with a society? Does this limit itself to supporting the Dutch soccer team during the world championships, or does it consist of more than that? Does it exclude other types of bonds, like the bond with the country of origin? In short, what does this theorem mean? We should look for the answers in the recent developments of the Dutch integration policy.

During the eighties there has been a consistent focus on the social policy concerning education, work and income within the minority policies (Duyvendak en Rijkschroeff, 2004). The main goal of these policies was to help minorities in these areas so there would be no more differences in levels of education between the minority and majority groups. In the beginning the Dutch government thought the minority groups would not stay in The Netherlands but leave after a couple of years. This is why the first policies concerning minorities were focused on integration and the maintenance of their own identity. Even when it became clear their stay was not temporary, the policy remained social and focused on integration and culture maintenance. The government thought this social-cultural maintenance would be beneficial to the social economical integration.

When it became clear in the nineties that there was a bigger socio-economic gap between the majority and minority groups than expected, the overall goals of the policies changed. It became more and more important that the immigrants started to adapt to the Dutch norms and values. The importance of an identification with The Netherlands as new homeland was increasing. According to a report of the WRR (WRR, Identificatie met Nederland, 2007) the integration-policy became a matter of identity-policy. In the current debate is noted that the learning of the Dutch language and the stimulation of participation

of minorities in education and labor would not be enough. Immigrants should put more effort into learning the Dutch culture and they should also stop their loyalty to their country of origin. A lot of these policy changes also came with the rise of several political leaders and their strict opinions on the minority debate such as Pim Fortuyn and Geert Wilders.

3.6 Language

3.6.1 Language maintenance and shift

Because the language maintenance and shift of the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands is examined in this research, it is important to shed a light on the various influences of possible changes in languages of immigrants. First we will take a closer look at the processes of language acquisition. Second we will discuss minorities and languages as a whole and third the influences of migration on language.

3.6.2 Cross language transfer

Being exposed during childhood to more than one language can make the transition from the home language to the second language easier. This transition is also called cross-language transfer (Ben-Zeev, 1997; Bernhardt, 1991; Durgunoglu & Verhoeven, 1998). The way this process comes to existence is explained by two major hypotheses, the *interdependence hypothesis* and the *threshold hypothesis*. The interdependence hypothesis (Cummins, 1981; 1984) claims that by learning and processing the first language in an efficient way, children form a underlying cognitive understanding and recognition for other languages which will benefit them in the acquisition of a new language. This recognition is also called metalinguistic awareness. The thresholds hypothesis (Cummins & Swain, 1986) states that second language learners should have a minimum level of knowledge of and proficiency in both languages before benefits can be measured in the acquisition of a new language. According to both hypotheses it is important an L2 learner has a proficient level in the L1 in order to acquire the L2 faster and better. In the Afghan context this would mean that the better Afghans in the Netherlands speak Afghan, the easier they should learn Dutch as a second language.

3.6.3 Minorities and language

In a world of over 6 billion people there are between 6000 and 7000 languages. Most of these languages are only spoken by a couple of thousand speakers, and only a few languages, like English and Chinese, are spoken by millions.

Due to state formation, which is still relevant today, a differentiation arose between majorities and minorities. Due to state policies the aim of most countries was to create homogeneity and cohesion. This resulted in a deviation between majority and minority languages. It is important we make a clear distinction between “language minorities” and “minority languages”. “Language minorities” refer to the social group or community; “minority languages” refer to a specific category of languages. Minority languages are often also called ethnic or lesser used languages. The majority language on the other hand

is often called the dominant or national language. It is easy to understand that a minority language is simply a language spoken by less people in the same region. The definition of minority however has been discussed several times. In this thesis we will take on the definition of the UN Special Rapporteur Capotorti (1979: 7) who defined a minority as following:

“a group numerically smaller than the rest of the population of the State to which it belongs and possessing cultural, physical or historical characteristics, a religion or a language different from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed toward preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language.”

When spoken of minority languages we should make a distinction between regional minority languages and immigrant minority languages. Looking at the Dutch context, we could say that the Frisian language in the North of the Netherlands can be seen as a regional minority language, while the majority language of the Netherlands is Dutch. On the other hand the Afghan languages spoken by most of the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands should be categorized as an immigrant minority language. In 1998 the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages made a definition for this distinction:

“Languages that are traditionally used within a given territory of a State by nationals of that State who form a group numerically smaller than the rest of the State’s population; and different from the official languages) of that State.”

As we can see in this definition the Nation state plays a decisive role in the formation of this definition. Whether a language is a dialect or an official language depends on the states recognition.

It is not easy to say who belongs to a language minority and who does not. We cannot set up a line of criteria for all the members of the minority language group, because not all criteria can be met by all members. There are a few fundamental criteria which can be given, but meeting all four of these criteria is not necessary;

- Self-categorization,
- Common ancestry,
- Distinctive linguistic, cultural, or historical traits,
- A form of social organization that places the language group in a minority position.

There are many ideas and models on the conditions that are needed for a shift from the minority language to the majority language, or when a minority language is maintained. There is until this day no general theory of minority language development (Gorter, 1991). Still in the light of this research we will present some of these models to be able to make the language situation of the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands more clear.

1. *Ethnolinguistic vitality Model*

Giles et al. (1977) created a model for language shift and maintenance which has been widely accepted in the field of linguistics. Originally it was designed as a tool to assess the position of French in Quebec compared to English. In this model “vitality” is the central aspect, which is defined as, “that which makes

a group likely to behave as a distinctive and active collective unity in intergroup situations” (Giles et al., 1977, p. 308). Taking this definition we could say that the more vital a group is, the more likely it will keep its linguistic heritage. According to Giles there are three main structural factors which influence this vitality; status, demographic and institutional factors. The status of the language is dependent on the social, linguistic, historical and economic factors of a language. Demographic factors focus on the number of speakers of the language and the distribution of these speakers. Institutional factors concern the position of the language in many different sectors of society, one can think of for instance education, mass media, religion and the government. “The stronger the language is on these structural factors, the higher the ethnolinguistic vitality of the group speaking the language, and the greater are the chances for survival as a linguistic community” (Gorter, 2006, p. 158). Unfortunately this model only provides us with an objective opinion on the status of a certain language given by researchers and language experts. This is the reason why Bourhis et al. (1981) developed a ‘subjective vitality questionnaire’ to measure how the languages speakers feel about their own language vitality and the language vitality of other groups. This is more or less the same technique used in this research, where the opinion of the Afghan immigrants on their own language and language use was asked in multiple ways in the questionnaire.

2. *Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)*

Fishman published his book, *Reversing language shift*, in 1991. In this book he presented a set of ideas for analyzing the situation of minority languages around the world. The central subject of this book is the GIDS, Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale. Because many languages face a lot of threats in the modern world, Fishman offers a diagnostic framework for language planners and activists so they can form proper strategies to repair the sometimes tragic language-positions. The GIDS offers a tool to establish to what extent a language community is disrupted. It is based on eight levels, where the first and lowest level shows a language community which is completely disrupted and has only a few speakers left and the last and highest level shows a language community which basically rules over all of Giles’ (1977) factors. According to Fishman (1991) it is crucial for the family-neighborhood-community to be secured in order for the language to be transferred from one generation to the next. Only when this intergenerational language transmission is assured, a language will survive. The second condition is the amount of *opportunities* in which a language can be used, it is important that the language is not only spoken in the private domain but also in the public sphere. The final condition is the *desire* to speak the language. People should want to talk the minority language in order for the language to maintain its existence.

3. *Policy-to-outcome path*

In 2003 Grin constructed a model in language policies for minority languages. It focuses on the right policy which uses the minority language in order to enlarge the vitality of that minority language, the policy-to-outcome path (Grin, 2003). According to Grin, three conditions are necessary in order to enhance the minority language use. First of all is the *capacity* of the minority language use, this means that there has to be an adequate degree of linguistic competence in the minority language. When the language is spoken it should be spoken in the correct form in order to survive and to be transmitted to

new generations. “This model of capacity, opportunity, and desire must be seen in a ‘language ecology’ paradigm that stresses the interrelationship between a language and its broader social context” (Grin, 2003, p 43-48).

3.6.4 Migration and language

Due to many migration influences around the world the variety of languages in different societies grew immensely. The main influences are globalization, economical migration and political migration. Because of these migration flows many countries have to cope with many minority language groups. There is a difference found in the status of the immigrant minority groups and the regional minority groups (Extra & Yagmur, 2004) which also results in differences in language statuses. “In most immigration contexts, legally, socially, and economically, immigrants are not considered to be equal members of the mainstream society; instead they are often considered as temporary, marginal, or even undesired within the host society (Extra & Yagmur, 2006). Different countries use different policies concerning integration and language use of immigrants (see section 3.5). The minority groups all react differently to these policies, nevertheless do these policies have a great influence on their language use patterns. According to Smolicz (1981) it depends on whether the minority group sees its language as a core value in order to maintain their first language or to shift to the majority mainstream language. When the minority group comes in firsthand and frequent contact with the majority group language, it is inevitable for a language change to occur. This can either come forward in language shift, stylistic variation or language erosion, and there are other varieties to be named. Unfortunately it cannot be specified how much language use of the first language is needed in order to speak of language maintenance, the same accounts for language loss. Sometimes the minority group imposes its language on the majority group, in the Afghan immigrant context however, the status and power of the minority group is not large enough to impose the Afghan language on the Dutch people. Bilingualism and code-switching are frequently observed among second and third generation migrants. Long-term language maintenance is not very common among migrants who live in small minority groups. The intergenerational language shift is usually completed in the third generation (Fishman, 1965). This thesis is not based on finding out whether the Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands suffer from language shift or loss, it is mainly based on finding out in what contexts the Afghan language is still used and to which people what language is chosen. Nevertheless it is interesting to make a comparison between generations to see whether the use of the mother tongue has declined from the first to the second generation. Considering the Afghan immigrant group in the Netherlands as a small minority community it is likely to assume language shift will appear within a couple of generations. This can indicate a shift to the main society not only in language but also in identity.

3.7 Reflection

In this theoretical framework the focus was mainly on the concept of identity. In my opinion identity is the main subject of this study and therefore it is important to have a good view on the different factors and influences of and from identity.

What we have seen in this theoretical framework is that personal identity can be ascribed as the composition of experiences, perceptions and desires which characterize a person. The word “characterize” already says it all; it forms a person’s character. The social identity does not implicitly state a person’s character; it is mainly based on the group a person belongs to. This can be self-ascribed, meaning the person sees himself as a member of a certain group, or subscribed, meaning others see this individual as the member of a certain group. This personal and social identity cannot be seen as two separate entities, they constantly influence each other. Self ascribed identities can also be part of the cultural or national group an individual wants to belong to. In a multi-ethnic society people can feel connected to more than one community. In the Diasporas case, we have seen that the members of a diaspora community feel connected to an imagined transnational community which is based on a shared connectedness to a history of trauma and disruption. The literature has shown that this is the main reason why assimilation is often difficult for refugees. As a result of this difficult integration and assimilation, refugees often stay low on the hierarchical ladder which enhances their feelings of rejection and discrimination. These feelings ultimately result in more feelings of affiliation with the home-country.

The theoretical frame-work leads to a lot of research material for the Afghan immigrant group in The Netherlands. Because research has shown that migrants often have multiple identities, it is interesting to see to what extent our Afghan respondents feel both connected to the Afghan and to the Dutch culture. Research must show whether they are aware of their ethnic identity and to what extent they have shifted to the Dutch culture. For these dimensions, I will mainly focus on the social identity theory of Taifel and Turner (1979). The questionnaire will also point out the feeling of satisfaction of living in The Netherlands and whether the Afghans feel discriminated by the Dutch. All other factors listed above in the theoretical framework as indicators of and contributors to identity have been taken up in the questionnaire; language, religion, Diaspora and ethnicity.

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Research questions

This research is part of a grand research done among all the immigrant groups in the Netherlands. In this research the focus lies on the Afghan immigrants in The Netherlands. The research tries to discover to what extent the language use of the (Afghan) immigrant has an influence on the formation of identity in The Netherlands. The main question of the research is “What is the degree of relationship between acculturation orientations and language maintenance or shift of different generations in the Afghan immigrant community in the Netherlands?” The answer to this question will be found by testing the following hypotheses.

Hypothesis 1: Second generation Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands will have more affiliation with the Dutch culture than first generation Afghan immigrants in The Netherlands.

Hypothesis 2: The linguistic preference of the first generation Afghan immigrants will be mainly based on the Afghan origins, but a shift can be found in the second generation from the Afghan language to the Dutch language.

Hypothesis 3: Afghan cultural and linguistic maintenance in the public domain will be ranked less important than in the home domain by the first and second generation.

To be able to compare this research to other researches a broad theoretical framework has been used. The key concepts of this research, identity, ethnicity, culture, acculturation and language, have been explored extensively in the literature review and will be compared to the other research results. In order to find empirical data to test the validity of the given hypotheses this research has been carried out among 97 Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands. The respondents were asked many questions concerning the above mentioned topics to establish a clear view on their integration process. The results of these questionnaires have been statistically tested in order to find differences between generations and other important factors which came forward.

4.2 Instrument

For this research an earlier developed questionnaire has been used as the main instrument for collecting research data. This questionnaire has been developed for a larger scale research which compares several immigrant groups in The Netherlands. I have adapted the questionnaire on the parts where it needed adaptation to make it suitable for the Afghan context.

The 13-page questionnaire starts with an introduction-page. This page contains information on the purpose of the questionnaire, the goal of the research, how to fill in the questionnaire, the anonymity of the respondents and how to get in contact with the researcher. It is important that the respondents understand for what purpose this research is carried out and why they are asked certain, often personal, questions. Besides the importance, it is also crucial for the respondent to be aware of his or her anonymity. When the respondent is giving answers to personal questions which cannot be connected to

person, they will be more honest in their responses. If in the end the respondent has any questions about the research it is good for them to know that they have a way to contact the researcher.

The questionnaire has been divided in seven sub-topics. I will briefly discuss these subtopics and their purpose for this research.

1. Personal Information

In the first section the respondents are asked questions about their personal situation. Questions on age, gender, place of birth, period of residence in The Netherlands, parental and spouse origins, education, profession and marital status are the main subjects of this section. This background information of the respondent is crucial within this research in order to make correct interpretations on the research data. This information makes it possible to categorize the respondents into age groups and generations but also to find patterns in the given answers.

2. Multiculturalism index

The second section of the questionnaire consists of 10 statements about the multicultural society. The answers to the statements make clear whether the respondent has a positive or a negative view of the multicultural society in The Netherlands. It contains statements on how immigrants should behave in a multicultural society but also on how the natives should deal with the minorities in the Netherlands. This is important information considering it indirectly deals with the Afghan immigrants own behavior in the Dutch society. The answers can be given on a five point Likert scale in which 1 stands for “I fully disagree” and 5 stands for “I fully agree”. Table 4.1 shows an example of one of the statements from the questionnaire.

	Fully disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Fully agree
3) It is best for the Netherlands if all people forget their cultural backgrounds as soon as possible.	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.1; Question three in section two of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was originally in Dutch.

3. The Dutch and Afghan culture

In section three of this questionnaire, statements are made on the Dutch and Afghan culture and the way the Afghan immigrants relate to these cultures. The section starts with a multiple choice question, the respondents are asked to which cultural group they feel they belong to, the Afghan group, Dutch group, both equally or something else which they can write in an open answer-field. These questions are important in order to find out to what degree the Afghan immigrants feel part of the Dutch society. The integration stages of Poston (1990) can be applied to the answers given by the respondents to see in what faze of the acculturation process the Afghan immigrants are. The second part of section 3 includes two questions on the degree the respondent feels Afghan and Dutch. The following questions are statements about the reasons why the respondent feels Dutch or Afghan. In table 4.2 and 4.3 two

examples are given of these statements. The statements can again be answered on a five point Likert scale where 1 stands for “I fully disagree” and 5 stands for “I fully agree”.

4) I feel Afghan because;

	Fully disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Fully agree
I speak one of the Afghan languages	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.2; Question four in section two of the questionnaire. The questions were originally in Dutch.

5) I feel Dutch because;

	Fully disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Fully agree
I was raised with the Dutch cultural norms and values	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.3; Question five in section 3 of the questionnaire. The questions were originally in Dutch.

In this section there are also statements about the way the respondent feels about his Dutch and Afghan cultural identity. Whether the respondent is happy with his Afghan and Dutch identity and to what extent he believes he has knowledge about and is familiar with these cultures. These questions are important in order to make a comparison on group identification. Examples of these statements are given in Table 4.4. In this part of the questionnaire we also look for Tajfel’s (1979) ascribed and subscribed social identity. We ask whether the respondent feels he belongs to the Afghan or Dutch group, and why. One of the statements made on ‘why’ is “because other people see me as an Afghan”. This is an indicator of the ascribed social identity where it does not matter whether the individual sees himself as a member of the group but more the outsiders view on the membership.

	Fully disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Fully agree
I know a lot about the Afghan culture	1	2	3	4	5
I know a lot about the Dutch culture	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.4; Statements of question 10 in section 3 of the questionnaire. The questions were originally in Dutch.

In this section there are also two open questions asked in which the respondent can write down the answer in his or her own words. The first question states: “In what type of situations or circumstances do you feel more Afghan than Dutch?” The second question states: “In what type of situations or circumstances do you feel more Dutch than Afghan?” It is interesting to find out if and in what conditions their identification with either the Dutch or the Afghan group shifts.

4. Religious beliefs

Section four is based on the religiosity of the respondents. At the beginning of the section it has been made clear that it is quite possible the questions can be very personal and sensitive. Talking about someone's religion is always a delicate subject. It comments that even though the questions may be personal, the respondent is requested to answer all the questions, and the answers will not be used for judgmental purposes. The majority of Afghans is Muslim, therefore it was found to be unnecessary to ask questions about other religions. The questions are based on the intensity of their religious practices, whether they pray, eat Halal³ meat and celebrate religious festivities. There are also questions asked on whether religion is a personal matter or if it should be implemented in society.

Item	Fully disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Fully agree
Islam is an inspirational source for me in my daily life	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.5: Statement in question 11 section. The questions were originally in Dutch.

5. Social network

The fifth section of the questionnaire is based on the social network of the respondent. It is important to know who they spent most time with, either Afghans or Dutch people. As Tajfel (1979) claims there is an emotional significance to group-membership, the amount of time spent with a certain group can have a major influence on the identification with a group. Also the circumstances in which they associate with Dutch or Afghan people are examined. Again there has been made use of statements which can be agreed upon on a five point Likert scale where 1 stands for 'fully disagree' and 5 stands for 'fully agree'. There are also questions in this section which can be answered on a multiple choice scale, instead of using the terms agree-disagree the following answer options are given (table 4.6).

In general, do you have more contact with Afghans or with Dutch people?	Only with Afghans	More Afghans than Dutch	Both equally the same	More Dutch people than Afghans	Only Dutch people

Table 4.6: Statement in question 12 section 5. The questions were originally in Dutch.

In section 5 respondents are also asked to make a ranking of people they spend most of their time with. The people they spend most time with should be ranked number 1, number 5 is given to the people they spend the least time with. The question can be found in table 4.7 Answers given to these variables are valuable in order to find out to what extent the Afghan immigrants are integrated in the Dutch society or hold on to the Afghan society when it comes to filling their leisure time.

³ Halal meat is meat which is slaughtered in a traditional Islamic way. The literal translation of 'halal' is 'allowed'. Porkmeat is per definition not Halal, no matter how it has been slaughtered.

13) Who do you spend most time with? Make a ranking by giving numbers 1 to 5. Number 1 is given to the person(s) you spend most time with, number 5 is given to the person(s) you spend least time with.

..... With family
..... With Afghan friends
..... With Dutch friends
..... With Afghan acquaintances
..... With Dutch acquaintances

Table 4.7: Question 13 in section 5. The questions were originally in Dutch.

Besides the amount of time spent with either Dutch or Afghan citizens, this section also holds statements on how Afghans should behave in the Dutch society and what the respondents view is on the acculturation process of Afghans in the Netherlands. Table 4.8 shows an example of one of these statements where it is crucial to find out if the Afghans in the Netherlands feel they should preserve their Afghan heritage. Whether they do this in practice does not become clear from these statements, but the mindset on how and to what extent an Afghan should integrate, assimilate and acculturate is an important factor on the process of acculturation.

Item	Fully disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Fully agree
Afghans who stop speaking one of the Afghan languages lose their Afghan identity.	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.8 : Question 15 in section 5. The questions were originally in Dutch.

The respondents are also asked if they believe the Afghan community is represented enough in the Netherlands and if they have a group identity.

6. Foreigners in The Netherlands

A commonly used term for immigrants in The Netherlands is “allochtonen”. The official definition of this term is “a person who himself or at least one of his parents was born outside of The Netherlands”. The questions in section 6 of the questionnaire concern the respondents view on the way an “allochtoon” should behave in the Dutch society. Extra attention has been given to what extent the respondent feels an allochtoon should keep his own cultural norms and values or adapt to the Dutch society. Considering the respondent is also an allochtoon, the answers to the questions are highly relevant to the research. A distinction is made between the home domain and the public domain. Questions are asked on, among others, the use of the home language or the expression of religion, these can be answered according to

the context of the home domain or the public domain. Again a five point Likert-scale is used, rating from 1: fully disagree to 5: fully agree.

7. Language use

The main goal of this section in the questionnaire is to get insight on the domains in which the respondent uses his mother tongue or the Dutch language. There are three types of Likert scales used in this part of the questionnaire. The first type concerns questions regarding several subtopics; with whom the respondent speaks what language to and vice versa, which language is used in which domains and which topics are discussed in which language. The ratings start at 1; Always Dutch to 5; Always Afghan. In table 4.9 I will give an example of one of these questions to make clear how they were set up.

Language use- What language do you usually speak when you talk to the following people?	Always Dutch	Usually Dutch	Both Dutch and Afghan Equally	Usually Afghan	Always Afghan
With your father?	1	2	3	4	5
With people in the mosque?	1	2	3	4	5
Which language do you usually use when you...?	Always Dutch	Usually Dutch	Both Dutch and Afghan Equally	Usually Afghan	Always Afghan
Think?	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.9; Question 16 section 7. The questions were originally in Dutch.

The second type of Likert scale is used to get insight into what degree the Afghan language is found important to be used. In table 4.10 is an example given to illustrate this.

How important is the Afghan language to achieve certain affairs in The Netherlands?	Very unimportant	Unimportant	Neutral	Important	Very important
Making friends	1	2	3	4	5

Table 4.10: Question 16 section 7. The questions were originally in Dutch.

The last type of Likert-scale seen in Table 8 is used to get insight on the way the respondent feels about the language itself. How does the respondent value the language? An example of one of the statements

is; “it sounds friendly”. The five point Likert scale has been ranked as following: 1; I believe this only accounts for the Dutch language, 5; I believe this only accounts for the Afghan language. Answers to these questions are crucial in order to find reasons why Afghan immigrants choose either the Dutch or Afghan language in certain situations.

4.3 Respondents

In this research 97 informants were used to gain a sufficient amount of research data (N=97). These respondents have been randomly selected throughout The Netherlands. In total there were 50 female respondents (52%) and 47 male respondents (48%). It was difficult to find 97 willing Afghan respondents to fill in a very long questionnaire on their views on the above mentioned topics. It took me quite some time to receive the questionnaires and a lot of effort was put into conveying the respondents to finish the questionnaire in time. The questionnaires were handed out on paper and by email. I did not make use of an online program for filling in questionnaires. Looking back on the procedure this could have been a wise decision because it is faster to answer the questions when they are proposed online. Nevertheless I was able to find 103 Afghans who filled in the questionnaire unfortunately 6 of the filled in questionnaires were invalid.

To find suitable respondents I have mostly made use of my own social network. As a founder of the SOAP-Foundation, a foundation which collects money for children’s education in Kabul, I was able to come in contact with a lot of Afghan immigrants in The Netherlands. Due to my participation in the SOAP-Foundation I already earned their trust and was able to convince them to fill in the questionnaires.

I have also made use of the participation of Afghan students at the University of Tilburg. People often say; “once you know one Afghan, you easily get to know them all”, this seemed to be the case when it came to filling in the questionnaires. The Afghan students were very willing to cooperate and to help me find other respondents. This made it a lot easier for me to reach my target of 100 respondents.

It was difficult to find older Afghan immigrants to fill in the questionnaire, mainly because there was a language barrier. The Afghans between 40 and 60 years often did not have the Dutch language proficiency which is needed to understand the questionnaire. Still in line with the research hypotheses it was important to have the views of older generations on various topics. It would be difficult to translate the questionnaire into the various different Afghan languages and dialects so I had to find a way to combine these two factors. This resulted into asking the students of the University of Tilburg to translate the questionnaires for their parents if this was necessary. Eventually the age distribution was as given in Table 9. The tables and numbers given in this chapter on the respondents are research results taken from the Personal Information section in the questionnaire. These results are not discussed in the research results

chapter because it is information which is more suitable for the method section in order to make clear what type of respondents were used for this research.

The age varied between 18 and 61. In table 4.11 We can see the distribution of age and gender over the total amount of respondents.

Table 4.11 “Distribution age and gender” (N=97)

Age group	Sex	Frequency	Frequency Total	<i>percentage</i>
< 20	Male	3	4	4.1%
	Female	1		
20-25	Male	25	40	41.2%
	Female	15		
26-30	Male	3	11	11.3%
	Female	8		
31-35	Male	5	10	10.3%
	Female	5		
36-40	Male	2	6	6.2%
	Female	4		
41-45	Male	1	6	6.2%
	Female	5		
46-50	Male	6	9	9.3%
	Female	3		
51-55	Male	1	7	7.2%
	Female	6		
56-60	Male	2	3	3.1%
	Female	1		
61-66	Male	0	1	1%
	Female	1		

The largest group of respondents belongs to the age group of 20 to 25 years old (41.2%). Only 11 out of 97 respondents were older than 51.

Most of the respondents were born in Afghanistan. Two males were neither born in The Netherlands nor in Afghanistan, but both of them belong to the second generation group of respondents. A respondent is counted a second generation immigrant when he was born in The Netherlands or moved to The Netherlands before the age of 11. The respondents who moved to The Netherlands after the age of 11 are counted as first generation Afghans. This notion is built on the claim of Cummins (1986) who states that after the age of 11 children start learning a language as a conscious process due to changes in the brain. In this research this claim is accepted and connected to the acquisition of a cultural identity which then should also take place consciously starting from the age of 11 and unconsciously before the age of 11.

In table 11 we can find the distribution of gender and birth country. This table shows where the respondents were born and whether this has a major influence on their first or second generation status.

Table 4.12 “Distribution of Gender vs Birth country” (N=97)

Birthcountry		1st generation	2nd generation	Total
Afghanistan	Female	34	15	49
	Male	18	22	40
The Netherlands	Female	0	1	1
	Male	0	5	5
Different	Male	0	2	2

As seen in table 4.12 the total number of first generation respondents is 52 and 37 of them moved to The Netherlands before the age of 11 and are therefore counted as second generation immigrants. Table 4.12 also shows that there are more female first generation respondents than first generation male respondents and more male second generation respondents than female second generation.

The educational level of the respondents is based on a combined category of the Afghan and Dutch educational level. Although most of the Afghan diplomas are not recognized by the Dutch government as an official education achievement, in this research we do not make a distinction between the Dutch and Afghan educational system. As we see in table 4.13 the educational level of the respondents is very high. Over 60 % of the respondents have either a Bachelor or a Master degree.

Table 4.13 "Distribution gender and education" (N=97)

Last received diploma	Gender		Total	Percentage total
	Male	Female		
No diploma	0	3	3	3.1 %
Primary school	1	6	7	7.2 %
VMBO	3	4	7	7.2 %
Havo	2	1	3	3.1 %
VWO	8	5	13	13.3 %
MBO	1	4	5	5.5 %
Bachelor	22	14	36	37.1 %
Master	10	13	23	23.6 %
Total	50	47	97	100 %

Out of 97 respondents, 58 respondents are married. We have not taken into account the possibility of respondents being married to each other. 51 Out of 58 married respondents are married to someone who is also from Afghanistan. 33 of the married respondents are female, 25 are male. Almost 94 % of the female married respondents have Afghan spouses, this is 80 % for the male married respondents. Table 4.14 makes this clearer.

Table 4.14 "Distribution of marital status vs. gender vs. birth country spouse" (N=58)

	Birth country spouse			Total
	Afghanistan	The Netherlands	Different	
Married				
Male	20	2	3	25
Female	31	2	0	33
Total	51	4	3	58

The respondents were also asked whether they go back to Afghanistan for visits or holidays and how often. 17.5 % of the respondents claim they never go back to Afghanistan anymore. 44.3 % of the respondents go back once every three years. Only 7.2 % of the respondents claim they go back to Afghanistan more than once a year. Unfortunately it is unclear to say anything about these results in comparison to their attachment to Afghanistan. Afghanistan is still a war area and also very expensive and difficult to reach. Compared to immigrants from countries like Morocco and Turkey the Afghan-context is less of an indicator for feelings of connection to Afghanistan. Table 4.15 shows the distribution of gender and the amount of times they travel to Afghanistan.

Table 4.15 "Distribution gender vs. amount of times visiting Afghanistan"

Sexe	How often do you go back to Afghanistan every year?					total
	More than once	Once a year	Once every two years	Once every 3 years	Never	
Male	3	3	13	20	8	47
Female	4	8	9	23	6	50
Total	7	11	22	43	17	97

5. Results

5.1 Intergenerational acculturation orientations of Afghan immigrants

In this chapter I will extensively discuss the research results drawn from the questionnaires. The goal of this research is to find out what type of acculturation orientations Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands have and whether there are differences to be found between the first and second generation immigrants. This research is based on 3 main hypotheses, which were already given in the methodology chapter. I will now discuss them briefly as a reminder before further discussing the results.

Hypothesis 1: Second generation Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands will have more affiliation with the Dutch culture than first generation Afghan immigrants in The Netherlands.

Hypothesis 2: The linguistic preference of the first generation Afghan immigrants will be mainly based on the Afghan origins, but a shift can be found in the second generation from the Afghan language to the Dutch language.

Hypothesis 3: Afghan cultural and linguistic maintenance in the public domain will be ranked less important than in the home domain by the first and second generation.

In line with these hypotheses the research results are discussed in order to find out whether the hypotheses can be confirmed or not. The results are based on a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The Oneway ANOVA test was chosen because the research is based on one population which has been divided into two groups, the first and second generation. The response variable was normally distributed, the samples are independent, the variances of the population are equal and the responses for the given groups are independent and identically distributed. The results are measured significant when $P < .05$ and highly significant when $P < .01$.

5.2 Multiculturalism index

The multiculturalism index tries to examine to what extent the Afghan immigrants are multiculturally oriented in the Dutch society. The results were taken from a oneway ANOVA test in SPSS data research. The main aim was to find differences between first and second generation Afghans in the Netherlands in their perception on multiculturalism. In Table 5.1 the results are given.

Table 5.1 ANOVA 1 “results across generations for Multiculturalism Index” (N = 97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. The Dutch should accept that The Netherlands consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds	FG	52	4.08	.652	5.386	.022
	SG	45	3.71	.895		
2. Ethnic minorities should receive help in order to maintain their cultural heritage	FG	51	3.86	.872	7.775	.006
	SG	45	3.36	.908		
3. It is best for the Netherlands if all people forget their cultural heritage as soon as possible.	FG	52	1.48	.671	1.356	.247
	SG	45	1.64	.712		
4. A multicultural society is better able to solve problems than a monocultural society.	FG	52	3.38	1.331	.348	.556
	SG	45	3.53	1.120		
5. The harmony of the Netherlands is weakened by minority groups who hold onto their original cultural values.	FG	52	2.60	.823	1.582	.212
	SG	45	2.38	.886		
6. If minority groups want to maintain their own culture, they should not do this in public.	FG	52	1.88	.878	.972	.327
	SG	45	2.07	.939		
7. A country in which several cultural groups reside, has more problems with creating unity than countries in which only 1 or 2 cultural groups reside.	FG	52	2.83	1.478	.402	.527
	SG	45	2.64	1.334		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
8. Dutch people should try harder to learn about the cultures of the minority groups that live in the Netherlands.	FG	52	4.17	.706	9.412	.003
	SG	45	3.69	.848		
9. Allochthonous parents should encourage their children to maintain the culture and traditions of the native country.	FG	52	4.19	.561	2.006	.160
	SG	45	4.02	.621		
10. People who come to live in the Netherlands, should adapt their behavior to the behavior of the Dutch people.	FG	52	3.10	1.015	.851	.358
	SG	45	2.91	.949		

Table 5.1; The items from section 2 on the multiculturalism index. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

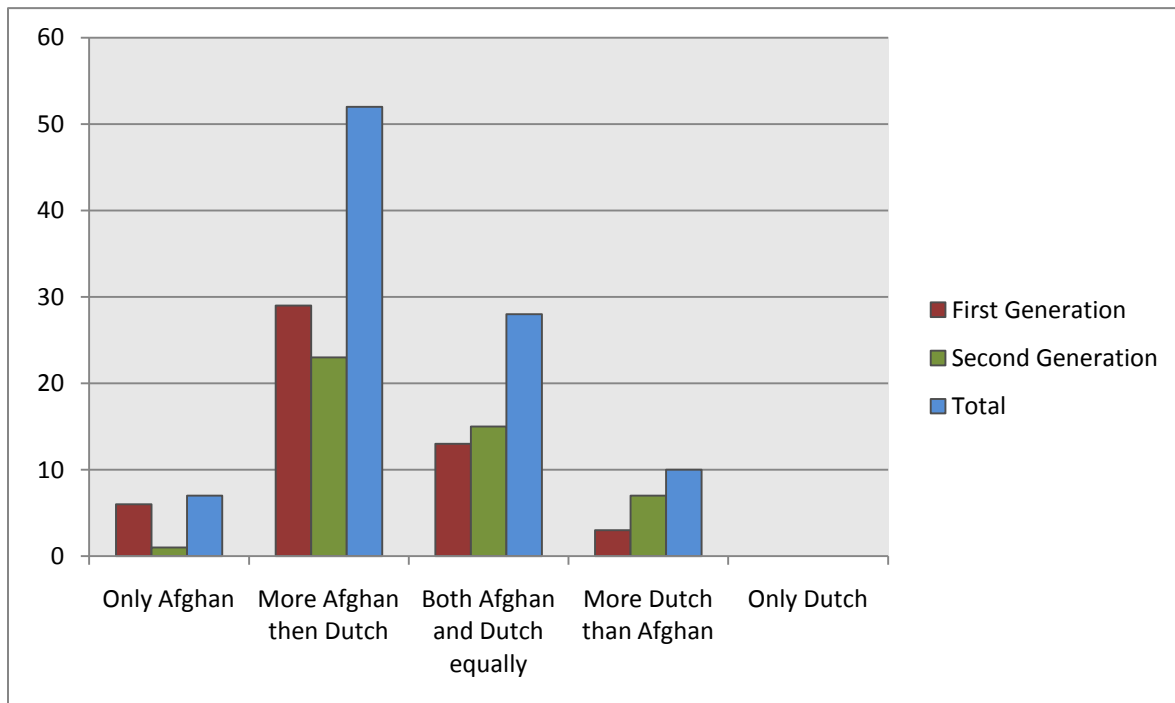
The results presented in Table 5.1 show that for most of the variables in the multiculturalism index there are no significant differences between the first and second generation. Regarding the acceptance of multiculturalism (Variable 1), the results show that the second generation agrees significantly more with this statement than the first generation ($F(1,97) = 5.386, P=.022$). In variable 2 "*Ethnic minorities should receive help in order to maintain their cultural heritage*" there is a significant difference between the first and second generation ($F(1,96) = 7.775, P=.006$). The first generation clearly states to agree more with this statement than the second generation. Variable 8 "*Dutch people should try harder to learn about the cultures of the minority groups that live in The Netherlands*" shows also a significant difference between first and second generation ($F(1,97) = 9.412, P=.003$). The second generation agrees less to this statement than the first generation. Overall both first and second generation show a high level of commitment to multiculturalism. Variable 1, 2, 4, 8 and 9 are all variables which have a positive statement on the multiculturalism index in the Netherlands. It is stated in these variables that it is good to have cultural maintenance as an immigrant and the Dutch natives should accept this. In all these variables the means are above 3, where three is neutral and 5 stands for totally agree. The variables which state a negative point of view to multiculturalism all show a mean below 3. This shows the respondents generally have a high level of commitment to multiculturalism and believe cultural maintenance should be made possible by the majority group.

5.3 Ethnic identification

A major issue in this research is ethnic identification. To what extent do the Afghans feel they have the Afghan ethnicity or the Dutch ethnicity and can differences be found between the first and second generation? In Graph 5.1 the results are shown of the question "Do you feel more Afghan or more

Dutch?” The answers were given on a five point Likert-scale, 1 was ‘Only Afghan’, 2 More Afghan than Dutch, 3 Both Equally, 4 more Dutch than Afghan and 5 ‘Only Dutch’. Graph 5.1 shows three groups, first generation, second generation and the total number of respondents. Because there are nearly 100 respondents the percentages are practically similar. The results are not shown in percentages but in actual numbers of respondents and their choices. What is interesting to see is that most of the respondents claim to feel more Afghan than Dutch, for the first generation this is 29.9% of the total respondents and for the second generation this is 23.7 % of the total amount of respondents. 15.5 % of the second generation respondents (from total) feel they are both Afghan and Dutch equally. This is 13.4 % for the second generation. Only 7.2% of the respondents claim to feel only Afghan.

Graph 5.1 “Generation cross-tabulation: Do you feel more Afghan or more Dutch?” (N=97)



Graph 5.1; Results of a crosstabulation on ethnicity perceptions. The results are divided into three groups, first generation, second generation and total. The answers are total numbers of respondents. The item was originally in Dutch.

In order to examine on what factors the respondents build their ethnic identity there were numerous questions which focused on the reasons why the respondents feel Afghan and why the respondents feel Dutch. In Table 2 these variables have been filtered to find the answer to the question why the respondents feel Afghan. The results were tested by a One Way ANOVA test in order to find differences between the first and second generation. The questions contain different aspects of being Afghan such as the Afghan language, being Muslim and norms, values and traditions. Table 5.2 clearly shows that there are significant differences between first and second generation Afghan respondents concerning these topics.

Table 5.2 ANOVA 2 results “Ethnic identification Afghan Identity across generations” (N = 97)

I feel Afghan because:	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I feel Afghan	FG	52	4.27	.490	4.480	.037
	SG	45	4.02	.657		
2. I speak an Afghan language	FG	52	4.38	.530	9.227	.003
	SG	45	4.07	.495		
3. I am Muslim	FG	52	3.87	1.103	10.298	.002
	SG	45	3.13	1.140		
4. I have a lot of knowledge about my religion	FG	52	3.31	1.112	11.266	.001
	SG	45	2.60	.939		
5. I live according to Afghan norms and values	FG	52	4.06	.826	16.278	.000
	SG	45	3.31	.996		
6. My parents are Afghan	FG	52	4.63	.525	4.935	.029
	SG	45	4.38	.614		
7. I was raised according to the Afghan tradition	FG	52	4.35	.764	6.840	.010
	SG	45	3.91	.874		
8. I look Afghan	FG	52	4.25	.926	4.506	.036
	SG	45	3.84	.952		
9. I feel more comfortable with Afghans	FG	52	4.19	.886	27.192	.000
	SG	45	3.11	1.153		
10. Other people consider me as Afghan	FG	52	4.33	.734	11.266	.001
	SG	45	3.84	.673		
11. The Dutch culture does not appeal to me	FG	52	2.83	1.451	.933	.336
	SG	45	2.58	1.011		

Table 5.2; The items from section 3 on the Afghan ethnicity. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘totally disagree’ and 5 means ‘totally agree’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

Except for variable 11 all the variables in Table 2 show significant differences between generations ($P < .05$). By the mean values we can see that the first generation has higher rankings on each variable. They score significantly higher on being a Muslim and on speaking Afghan. In the second variable, ‘I

speak an Afghan language', the means are high for both the first and the second generation ($M > 4$). Yet the differences between the first and second generation are highly significant ($F(1,97) = 9.227, P = .003$). Also in being raised and living according to Afghan cultural norms and values the first generation scores on average are higher than the second generation. The means of both groups are above 3 yet the significance is high ($F(1,97) = 16.278, P < .01$). Generally the means of these variables are all very high, meaning they identify themselves a lot with the Afghan culture. Variable 11, "The Dutch culture does not appeal to me" shows no significant differences on a generational level. Both the first and second generation have a mean between 2 and 3 (FG: $M = 2.83$, SG: $M = 2.58$), where 2 stands for "disagree" and 3 stands for "neutral". This shows that the reason for their high rankings in Afghan identification is not necessarily linked to a negative view on the Dutch culture.

The same variables were given for the Dutch ethnicity in order to examine the Afghans ethnic identification with the Netherlands. The results of these questions were also tested with a one way ANOVA test in SPSS data file, the results are given in Table 5.3. Only two variables show a significant difference between the first and second generation respondents, variable 1 ($F(1,97) = 5.661, P = .019$) and variable 6 ($F(1,97) = 5.821, P = .018$). In variable one, where the statement is made that the respondent feels Dutch, the first generation clearly disagrees more than the second generation (FG: $M = 2.94$, SG: $M = 3.36$) where 1 is completely disagree, 3 is neutral and 5 is completely agree. In variable 6 which states that the respondent looks Dutch, also the second generation ($M = 1.56$) agrees to this statement significantly more than the first generation ($M = 1.31$), but it is seen by the low scores of the means that they both disagree to a high extent ($F(1,97) = 5.821, p = .018$).

Table 5.3 ANOVA 3 results "Ethnic identification Dutch Identity" (N= 97)

I feel Dutch because:	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I Feel Dutch	FG	52	2.94	.938	5.661	.019
	SG	45	3.36	.743		
2. I speak Dutch	FG	52	3.73	.972	.738	.392
	SG	45	3.56	1.035		
3. I am aware of Dutch norms and values and traditions	FG	52	2.98	.779	2.235	.138
	SG	45	3.24	.957		
I feel Dutch because:	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
4. I live according to Dutch norms, values and traditions	FG	52	2.33	.985	3.563	.062
	SG	45	2.73	1.136		

I feel Dutch because:	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
5. I was raised as a Dutch person	FG	52	1.71	.776	2.500	.117
	SG	45	1.96	.737		
6. I look Dutch	FG	52	1.31	.466	5.821	.018
	SG	45	1.56	.546		
7. I feel more comfortable with Dutch people	FG	52	2.35	.738	.529	.469
	SG	45	2.47	.894		
8. Other people consider me as Dutch	FG	52	1.79	.750	1.425	.236
	SG	45	1.98	.812		
9. The Afghans in the Netherlands and their culture do not appeal to me	FG	52	1.94	.669	.453	.502
	SG	45	2.04	.824		

Table 5.3; The items from section 3 on the Dutch ethnicity. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

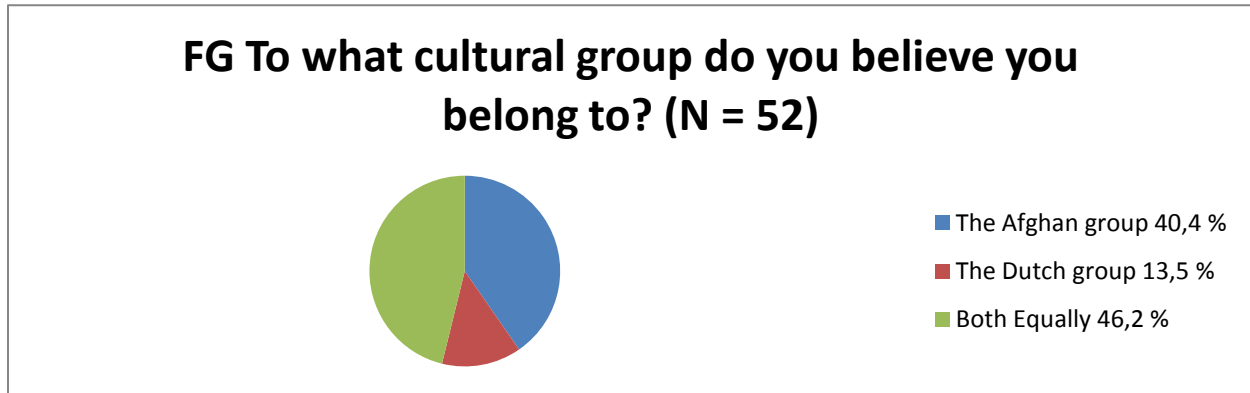
Overall the means of both the first and second generation on this topic and these statements are very low. They are aware of the Dutch cultural norms and values but they do not live by them much and this causes the scores to be low concerning their ethnic identification with The Netherlands. Especially when we compare these results with the results for Afghan ethnic identification, it is clear that the respondents have more of an ethnic identification with Afghanistan than with The Netherlands.

5.4 Cultural Identification

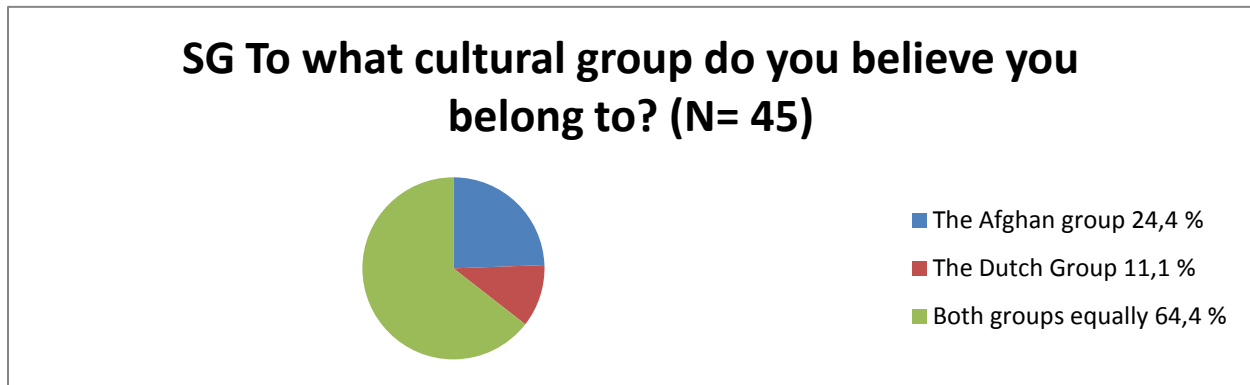
Besides ethnical identification with both the Netherlands and Afghanistan it is also important to examine the cultural identification with the Dutch and Afghan culture. This holds more information on the way the Afghans feel about being Afghan and Dutch and their level of comfortableness with this cultural background.

The respondents were asked to which cultural group they feel they belong to. They could answer 'The Dutch group', 'The Afghan group', 'Both equally' or 'Other'. In this research no respondent chose 'Other' category. The distribution of answers is shown in percentages in Graphs 5.2A and 5.2B. Graph 5.2A shows the results for the first generation and Graph 5.2B shows the results for the second generation.

Graph 5.2A “First generation: To what cultural group do you think you belong to?”



Graph 5.2B “Second generation: To what cultural group do you think you belong to?”



As we can see in graphs 5.2A and 5.2B, 40.4% of the first generation feels they belong to the Afghan cultural group, in the second generation this is only 24.4%. In the second generation group the largest number of respondents claims to feel connected to both Dutch and Afghan groups equally (64.4%). The same accounts for the first generation respondents, but for them it is 46.2% of the total.

As noted earlier, certain variables were made to see how the respondents identify with the Afghan and Dutch culture and how they feel about this. In this research again we have divided the variables into two sections, afghan cultural identification and Dutch cultural identification. In table 5.4 the Afghan cultural identification is presented and discussed.

Table 5.4 ANOVA 4 results “Cultural identification Afghan Identity” (N= 97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I am happy to be Afghan	FG	51	4.31	.583	1.820	.181
	SG	45	4.16	.562		
2. I feel a strong bond with other Afghans	FG	52	4.38	.661	10.286	.002
	SG	45	3.89	.859		
3. The fact that I am Afghan says nothing about the person that I am	FG	52	2.96	1.028	.001	.975
	SG	44	2.95	1.160		
4. I dislike that I am Afghan	FG	52	1.67	.734	1.821	.180
	SG	45	1.49	.589		
5. When people talk about Afghans I feel they talk about me	FG	52	4.27	.564	7.371	.008
	SG	45	3.91	.733		
6. Being Afghan is an important part of my cultural identity	FG	52	4.56	.539	12.445	.001
	SG	45	4.09	.763		
7. I am proud to be Afghan	FG	52	4.33	.785	.043	.836
	SG	45	4.36	.529		
8. When I talk about Afghans, I say: “we, Afghans..”	FG	52	4.23	.675	9.142	.003
	SG	45	3.73	.939		
9. In many ways I am the same as other Afghans	FG	52	3.96	.685	8.653	.004
	SG	45	3.49	.895		

Table 5.4; The items from section 3 on the Afghan culture. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘totally disagree’ and 5 means ‘totally agree’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

Table 5.4 shows that in the first variable, ‘I am happy to be Afghan’ there are no significant differences found between generations. Considering the high means (>4) the Afghan immigrants are happy to have their Afghan heritage. Table 5.4 also points out there are five variables which do have significant differences on the generation scale. Variable 2 which is about the bond with other Afghans has a highly significant difference ($F(1,97)=10.286$, $P = .002$). The first generation clearly feels more of a bond with other Afghans then the second generation. Still both means are quite high (FG: $M= 4.38$, SG: $M= 3.89$). Variable 5 shows a significant difference ($F(1,97)=7.371$, $P = .008$), with means of FG: $M= 4.27$ and SG: $M= 3.91$ that the first generation feels more addressed when people speak of Afghans in general. Still, same as with variable 2, both means are quite high. Both the first and the second generation do not dislike they are from Afghan descent, with very low means we can say they are not unsatisfied with their

Afghan cultural heritage (FG: M=1.67, SG: M=1.49). Other highly significant differences between generations were found in variables 6, 8 and 9. Although the means of all three variables are seemingly high, the second generation shows clearly less of a cultural identification as the first generation on the basis of these statements. Where they speak less as “ We, Afghans..” in conversations and they believe less to be the same as other Afghans than the first generation ($F(1,97)=8.653, P= .004$).

The same types of statements were made on the Dutch cultural identification. The variables consist of statements on the way the respondents identify with the Dutch people and their level of satisfaction with the Dutch influences their identity. The results are shown in table 5.5.

Table 5.5 ANOVA 5 results “Cultural identification Dutch Identity” (N= 97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I am happy to be Dutch	FG	52	3.23	.614	.401	.528
	SG	45	3.31	.633		
2. I feel a bond with other Dutch People	FG	52	2.73	.744	3.749	.056
	SG	45	3.04	.852		
3. The fact that I am Dutch says nothing about the person that I am	FG	52	3.31	1.365	5.647	.019
	SG	45	2.73	.939		
4. When people talk about Dutch people I feel they talk about me	FG	52	1.81	.595	4.535	.036
	SG	45	2.11	.804		
5. Being Dutch is an important part of my cultural identity	FG	52	2.17	.857	6.722	.011
	SG	45	2.64	.933		
6. I dislike that I am Dutch	FG	52	2.40	.634	2.718	.103
	SG	45	2.18	.716		
7. When I talk about Dutch people, I say: “We, the Dutch..”	FG	52	1.92	.621	1.756	.188
	SG	45	2.11	.775		
8. In many ways I am the same as other Dutch people	FG	52	2.25	.905	3.574	.062
	SG	45	2.60	.915		

Table 5.5; The items from section 3 on the Dutch culture. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘totally disagree’ and 5 means ‘totally agree’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

As we can see in the results of Table 5.5 only two variables show significant differences in the answers of the first and second generation respondents. Variable 3, “*The fact that I am Dutch says nothing about the person that I am*” shows a difference between the first and second generation where the first generation with a mean of 3.31 seems to agree to this statement significantly more than the second

generation with a mean of 2.73 ($F(1,97)=5.647, p=.019$). In variable 5 a statement was made about the importance of being Dutch to the cultural identity. With a mean of 2.17 the second generation disagrees with this statement significantly more than the first generation with a mean of 2.64 ($F(1,97)=6.722, p=.011$). Overall we can take from these research results that the means of the answers given by the respondents are quite low. Only in variables 1, 2 and 3 the means go higher than 3, where 3 is neutral and 5 is completely agree. The respondents do not dislike being Dutch, but on the other hand, they do not feel very connected to or addressed by the Dutch identity. This is shown by the low means of the 7th variable where the statement is made that in conversation the respondent speaks of “We, the Dutch..”. From the low means (FG: $M=1.92$, SG: $M=2.11$) we can derive that they do not see themselves as Dutch as much as they see themselves as Afghans (see Table 5.5 variable 8).

5.5 Cultural Awareness

The next subsection in the questionnaire was about the cultural awareness of the respondents. They were asked several questions about the Dutch and Afghan culture to examine whether they are conscious of the cultural norms and values within the Dutch and Afghan culture. To make the research results more clear and to make a distinction between the Afghan and Dutch culture, the variables are split into two sections where the first table (Table 5.6) shows the awareness of the Afghan culture and the second table (Table 5.7) shows the awareness of the Dutch culture. In the questionnaire these questions were presented in mixed order.

Table 5.6 Anova 6 “Afghan cultural awareness” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I know a lot about Afghan Culture	FG	52	4.44	.574	15.778	.000
	SG	45	3.93	.688		
2. I know a lot of the Afghan traditions and I live according to these traditions	FG	52	4.00	.657	24.089	.000
	SG	45	3.24	.857		
3. I know about Afghan cultural norms and values	FG	52	4.52	.505	19.651	.000
	SG	45	4.11	.383		
4. Afghan values (like the Afghan flag and history) mean a lot to me	FG	52	4.23	.703	15.708	.000
	SG	45	3.58	.917		

5. The Afghan culture influences me greatly	FG	52	4.23	.546	8.738	.004
	SG	45	3.84	.737		
6. The Afghan culture has a positive effect on my life	FG	52	4.15	.415	3.973	.049
	SG	45	3.96	.562		
7. I live according to Afghan norms and values	FG	52	4.29	.667	31.031	.000
	SG	45	3.38	.936		
8. I listen to Afghan music	FG	52	4.25	.738	4.431	.038
	SG	45	3.91	.848		
9. I follow the Afghan news	FG	52	3.94	1.037	6.809	.011
	SG	45	3.33	1.261		
10. I prefer Afghan food	FG	52	4.52	.505	1.173	.282
	SG	45	4.40	.580		
11. In my spare time, I take part in Afghan cultural activities	FG	52	3.88	.583	27.337	.000
	SG	45	3.18	.747		
12. I know Afghans well	FG	52	4.38	.631	16.206	.000
	SG	45	3.89	.573		
13. I like the way Afghans deal with each other	FG	52	4.27	.770	13.943	.000
	SG	45	3.62	.936		

Table 5.6; The items from section 3 on the Afghan cultural awareness. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

Table 5.6 clearly shows there are many significant and highly significant differences between generations on these statements. The first 7 variables are all questions about the knowledge of the respondent on the Afghan culture, norms and values and the way these have an influence on their lives. Although all means of these variables are quite high (all >3), the results show that the first generation clearly has more knowledge and positive connotations on the Afghan culture. The second generation feels they do not live according to the Afghan norms and values like the first generation ($F(97,1)=31.031$, $P<.01$). The second generation also seems to have more activities with Afghan origins such as reading

Afghan newspapers and listening to Afghan music. The only variable which shows no significant difference between first and second generation is variable 10: “*I prefer Afghan food*”, with means which are high for both first and second generation (FG: M=4.52, SG: M=4.40) is shown that the Afghan cuisine is preferred over other cuisines.

The same type of questions have been asked for the Dutch culture in order to examine the level of awareness in Dutch cultural norms and values and the way they are lived. Table 5.7 shows the results of these variables in a distinction between first and second generation.

Table 5.7 Anova 7 “Dutch cultural awareness” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I know a lot about Dutch culture	FG	52	3.50	.780	2.292	.133
	SG	45	3.76	.883		
2. I know a lot of the Dutch traditions and I live according to these traditions	FG	52	2.38	.973	2.019	.159
	SG	45	2.64	.802		
3. I know about Dutch cultural norms and values	FG	52	3.65	.623	8.991	.003
	SG	45	3.98	.398		
4. Dutch values (like the flag and history) mean a lot to me	FG	52	2.71	.915	.065	.799
	SG	45	2.67	.798		
5. The Dutch culture influences me greatly	FG	52	2.75	1.046	10.281	.002
	SG	45	3.42	1.011		
6. The Dutch culture has a positive effect on my life	FG	52	3.48	.939	1.704	.195
	SG	45	3.73	.963		
7. I live according to Dutch norms and values	FG	52	2.58	1.073	2.447	.121
	SG	45	2.89	.859		
8. I listen to Dutch music	FG	52	2.27	1.140	5.277	.024
	SG	45	2.82	1.230		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
9. I follow the Dutch news	FG	52	3.83	.879	2.726	.102
	SG	45	4.11	.804		
10. I prefer to eat Dutch food	FG	52	1.58	.750	.213	.645
	SG	45	1.64	.679		
11. In my spare time, I take part in Dutch cultural activities	FG	52	2.56	.916	2.482	.118
	SG	45	2.89	1.153		

Table 5.7; The items from section 3 on the Dutch cultural awareness. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

The results of the one way ANOVA test on these questionnaire outcomes are clearly less significantly different between generations than the previous table on Afghan cultural awareness. There is a highly significant difference found in variable 3 ($F(1,97)=8.991$, $P= .003$) which states the respondent knows about Dutch cultural norms and values. The second generation states to know more about Dutch norms and values than the first generation, still both means are quite high for both groups (FG: $M=3.65$, SG: $M=3.98$). Also variable 8 shows a difference between the first and second generation, this variable states "I listen to Dutch music", both means are quite low (FG; $M=2.27$, SG: $M=2.82$) but the second generation listens significantly more to the Dutch music than the first generation ($F(1,97)=5.277$, $p=.024$). Both first and second generation claim to know seemingly a lot about the Dutch culture but they do not live according to these traditions. The results of variable 6, where is stated that the Dutch culture has a positive effect on the respondents life, shows high results (FG: $M=3.48$, SG: $M=3.73$) where both generations seem to agree to a high extent. Whether the Dutch culture actually has an influence on their lives shows a significant difference ($F(1,97)=10.281$, $P=.002$). The first generation claims to be less influenced by the Dutch culture than the second generation.

5.6 Religious identification

In the previous topics questions were asked about the cultural and ethnical identification of the respondents. This section will deal with the religious identification of the respondents. Again the research results were tested by a one way ANOVA test in order to find differences between first and second generation respondents. In table 5.8 the results of these tests are shown.

Table 5.8 Anova 8 “Religious identification” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I am a Muslim	FG	52	4.58	.667	13.647	.000
	SG	45	4.02	.812		
2. I know a lot about Islam	FG	52	3.73	.866	17.426	.000
	SG	45	3.00	.853		
3. I know a lot about Islamic rules	FG	52	3.88	.784	17.018	.000
	SG	45	3.22	.795		
4. I know how I am supposed to practice my religion	FG	52	3.96	.791	13.523	.000
	SG	45	3.36	.830		
5. I feel a strong connection with Muslims	FG	52	4.31	.897	9.905	.002
	SG	45	3.67	1.108		
6. Islam means a lot to me	FG	52	4.46	.699	9.338	.003
	SG	45	3.96	.928		
7. When people talk about Muslims, I feel they talk about me	FG	52	4.23	.757	.550	.460
	SG	45	4.11	.832		
8. I support a strict application of Islamic rules	FG	52	3.44	1.074	11.554	.001
	SG	45	2.62	1.302		
9. When I make decisions in daily life, I am influenced by Islamic rules	FG	52	3.71	.848	10.877	.001
	SG	45	3.00	1.261		
10. Islam should play a role in the Dutch social life and politics	FG	52	3.15	.937	4.492	.037
	SG	45	2.71	1.121		
11. Islamic belief is a personal matter	FG	52	3.56	1.092	.741	.392
	SG	45	3.76	1.171		
12. Islam is a source of inspiration in my daily life	FG	52	4.29	.893	7.750	.006
	SG	45	3.62	1.435		
13. I live my life without prioritizing Islamic rules	FG	52	1.98	.874	9.666	.002
	SG	45	2.62	1.154		
14. I am a practicing Muslim	FG	52	3.58	.696	13.947	.000
	SG	45	3.00	.826		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
15. I fast during Ramadan	FG	52	4.13	1.103	8.070	.006
	SG	45	3.36	1.583		
16. I celebrate religious festivities	FG	52	4.33	.760	4.083	.046
	SG	45	3.98	.941		
17. I prefer to eat Halal meat	FG	52	3.87	1.010	6.878	.010
	SG	45	3.22	1.396		
18. I think that religion is a personal Matter	FG	52	4.31	.805	1.961	.165
	SG	45	4.04	1.043		

Table 5.8; The items from section 4 on Religious Beliefs. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

The results of this one way ANOVA test show significant differences between the first and the second generation. Out of 18 variables 15 variables show a significant difference based on generation. The first variable on whether the respondent is Muslim or not has very high means for both the first and second generation (FG: M=4.58, SG: M=4.02), still the results show a highly significant difference where the first generation has a higher result on being Muslim than the second generation ($F(1,97)=13.647$, $P= .000$). The same accounts for the knowledge on Islam and its rules. The respondents of both generations are not as well educated on Islam as they believe they are a member of this religion, this is shown by variable 2 and 3. Clearly the second generation has less affiliation with Islam in terms of practicing it. Both first and second generation believe, according to variable 18, that religion is a personal matter, this can be derived from the high means for both generations (FG: M=4.31, SG: M=4.04) and it shows no significant difference between the first and second generation. Variable 7, which contains information on the identification with the Muslim group, shows that both first and second generation identify themselves as a member of the Muslim group and feel addressed when someone speaks of Muslims. The results show that there are no significant differences on a generational level. So for both generations religion plays an important role in their identity formation but on the other hand the second generation does not live according to Islam as much as the first generation does. In general, the mean values show that the Afghans think highly of Islam but they believe it is a personal choice and it should not be imposed on the society.

5.7 Social Network

In this research it is important to examine the social networks of the Afghan immigrants in order to get a clear view on the Afghans' social activities and in which way they fill these activities with members of their own group and members of the majority group, Dutch natives. To make a clear distinction on this

topic the variables have been split in two groups, social networks with other Afghans and social networks with Dutch people. First the Afghan social networks will be discussed (table 5.9) and second the Dutch social network (table 5.10).

Table 5.9 Anova 9: “Afghan social networks” (N=97)

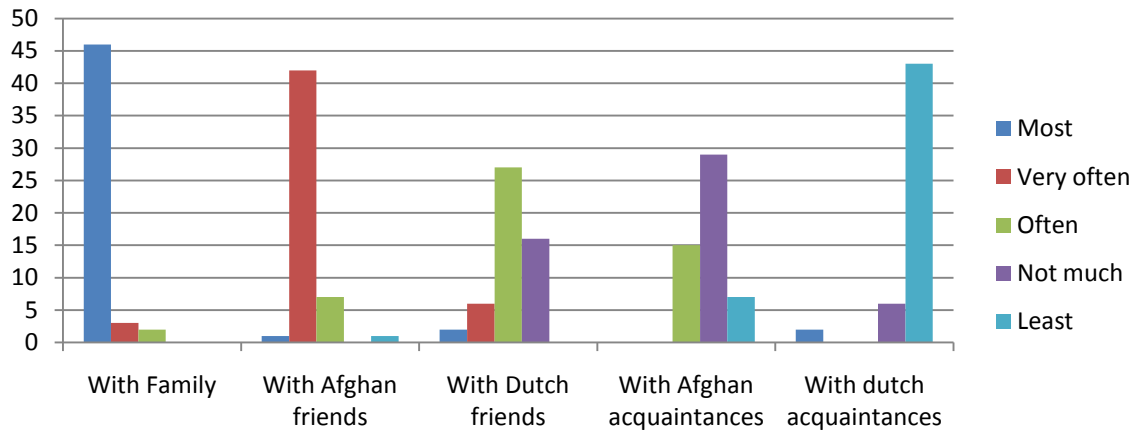
Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I have a lot of Afghan friends	FG	52	4.33	.706	12.515	.001
	SG	45	3.78	.823		
2. In my spare time I visit cafés, teahouses or clubs to meet Afghans	FG	52	2.87	1.067	.131	.718
	SG	43	2.79	.914		
3. I am a member of a Afghan club/organization	FG	52	3.10	1.241	3.235	.075
	SG	45	2.62	1.353		
4. I know Afghans well	FG	52	4.38	.631	16.206	.000
	SG	45	3.89	.573		
5. A lot of Afghans live in the neighborhood where I live	FG	52	3.06	.850	18.656	.000
	SG	45	2.31	.848		
6. I love the way Afghans interact with each other	FG	52	4.27	.770	13.943	.000
	SG	45	3.62	.936		
7. I have a strong bond with my Family	FG	52	4.69	.466	6.950	.010
	SG	45	4.42	.543		
8. I have a strong bond with my Afghan friends	FG	52	4.38	.599	10.827	.001
	SG	45	3.93	.751		
9. I have a lot of Afghan friends whom I can call real friends	FG	52	4.10	.774	9.903	.002
	SG	45	3.56	.918		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
10. I discuss personal matters with my Afghan friends	FG	52	3.96	.862	4.628	.034
	SG	45	3.60	.780		
11. When I need help with every day things, I ask help from my Afghan friends	FG	52	3.90	.934	4.711	.032
	SG	45	3.49	.944		
12. In average I have more contact with Afghans than with Dutch people	FG	52	2.27	.598	3.659	.059
	SG	45	2.56	.867		

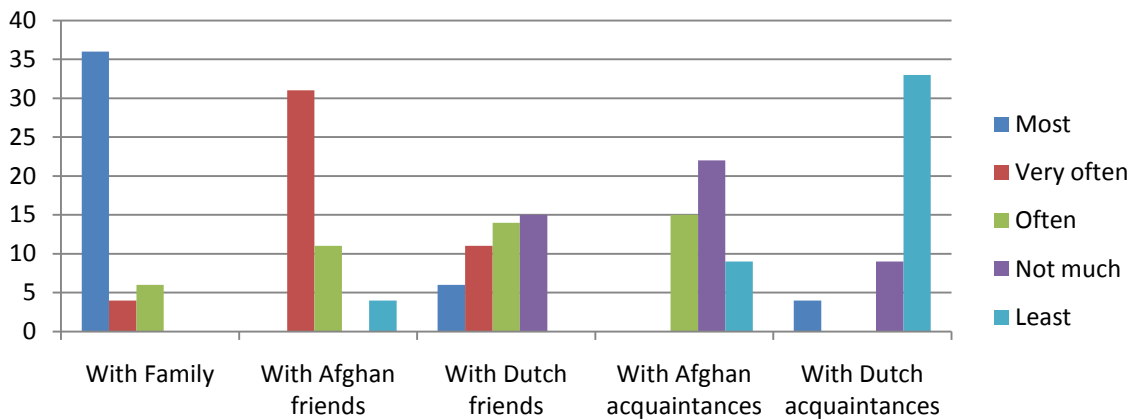
Table 5.9; The items from section 5 on the Afghan Social Network. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

As we can see in table 5.9, 9 out of 12 variables show significant differences between the first and second generation. Many of the respondents seem to have many Afghan friends (FG:M=4.33, SG:M=3.78). But according to the One Way ANOVA analysis, the second generation has significantly less Afghan friends than the first generation ($F(1,97)=12.515$, $p=.001$). Both first and second generation respondents do not seem to spend a lot of times in cafés and teahouses in order to meet other Afghans. The results also show that the first generation Afghans know other Afghans significantly better than the second generation ($F(1,97)=16.206$, $p<.01$). There is also a significant difference in the amount of other Afghans living in the neighborhood. Whether the first generation knows these Afghans and the second generation does not remains unclear. Also the bond the respondents have with their Afghan family and friends is for the second generation significantly less than the first generation, shown by variable 7 and 8. Although the respondents of both first and second generations claim to have a lot of contact with other Afghans, even though differences are often significant, they also claim with no significant difference, that they do not have much more contact with Afghans than with Dutch people. In order to demonstrate this we have made a graph which shows who the respondents spend most time with and who they spend least time with. In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to fill in a ranking from 1 to 5 in which 1 stands for most frequent contact and 5 stands for the least frequent contact. They had to give these rankings with whom they spend most time with, family, Afghan friends, Dutch friends, Afghan acquaintances and Dutch acquaintances. In the next two graphs (graphs 5.3A and 5.3B) these results are shown according to generation.

Graph 5.3A “Who do you spend most time with?” First Generation (N=52)



Graph 5.3B “Who do you spend most time with?” Second Generation (N=45)



As we can see in graphs 5.3A and 5.3B the distribution of time spent with different people is similar for both first and second generation. The largest difference can be seen in the group “Spending time with Dutch friends”. The first generation scores higher when it comes to spending “often” time with Dutch friends, but at the same time the second generation scores higher on spending “very often” time with Dutch friends. The table shows a slow shift from the first generation to the second generation in terms of distribution of their social time. Still it remains clear that Family is the number one time consumer and Dutch acquaintances are the least spent time with for both generations.

This brings us to the Dutch social networks. The same types of questions were asked to the respondents regarding Dutch social networks in order to be able to make a comparison. In table 5.10 these research results are presented.

Table 5.10 Anova results on “Dutch social networks” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. I have a lot of Dutch friends	FG	52	2.83	.985	5.682	.019
	SG	45	3.33	1.108		
2. In my spare time I visit cafés, teahouses or clubs to meet Dutch people	FG	52	2.33	.879	3.025	.085
	SG	45	2.67	1.044		
3. I am a member of a Dutch club/organization	FG	52	2.31	1.130	.346	.558
	SG	45	2.18	1.029		
4. I feel most comfortable with Dutch people	FG	52	2.90	1.241	.004	.948
	SG	45	2.89	.959		
5. I know Dutch people well	FG	52	3.23	.831	13.159	.000
	SG	45	3.80	.694		
6. I love the way Dutch people interact with each other	FG	52	2.40	.799	4.907	.029
	SG	43	2.81	1.006		
7. I have a strong bond with my Dutch friends	FG	52	2.87	.864	9.706	.002
	SG	45	3.44	.967		
8. I have a lot of Dutch friends whom I can call real friends	FG	52	2.38	.889	5.885	.017
	SG	45	2.91	1.240		
9. I discuss personal matters with my Dutch friends	FG	52	2.52	.960	4.548	.036
	SG	45	2.98	1.158		
10. When I need help with every day things, I ask help from my Dutch friends	FG	52	2.40	.721	15.414	.000
	SG	45	3.07	.939		

Table 5.10; The items from section 5 on the Dutch Social Network. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘totally disagree’ and 5 means ‘totally agree’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

In table 10, we can see that out of 10 variables, 7 variables show significant differences on a generational level. The mean scores in this table are much lower than the mean scores in table 9 regarding the Afghan social networks. The second generation scores higher in terms of having Dutch friends and being active in Dutch surroundings with other Dutch people. The second generation scores significantly higher in terms of having a bond with Dutch friends ($F(1,97)=9.706$, $P= .002$). The same accounts for the amount of respondents who claim to have a lot of close Dutch friends who they consider real friends (see variable 8). Overall, we can conclude that the respondents have more connection with other Afghan people than with Dutch people. In the social networks this can be drawn mostly from the amount of time spent willingly with Afghan and Dutch people. The mean scores in Table 10 are seemingly lower than the mean scores in Table 5.9 on Afghan social networks. But there seems to be a shift between generations, the scores from the second generation in the two tables are much similar than the scores from difference between the scores in both tables of the first generation.

5.8 Vitality perception

This section in the questionnaire contains questions about the way the respondents feel about the status and cohesiveness of their group in The Netherlands and to what extent they accept changes in this status and cohesion. In table 5.11 the results of these questions are shown on the basis of oneway ANOVA test results.

Table 5.11 Anova 11: “Vitality perception” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Afghans in The Netherlands who stop speaking an Afghan language lose their Afghan identity	FG	52	3.60	.955	2.558	.113
	SG	45	3.24	1.209		
2. Afghans in The Netherlands who stop practicing Islam lose their Afghan identity	FG	52	3.17	1.004	3.340	.071
	SG	45	2.78	1.126		
3. Afghans in The Netherlands who lose their Afghan values and norm, lose their Afghan Identity	FG	52	4.04	.625	.011	.917
	SG	45	4.02	.892		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
4. Afghans in the Netherlands can come across as one group	FG	52	2.94	.777	.003	.959
	SG	45	2.93	.939		
5. Afghans in the Netherlands have a strong connection as a group	FG	52	2.96	.791	.053	.818
	SG	45	3.00	.853		
6. Afghans in The Netherlands have enough organizations and foundations to promote their interests	FG	52	2.98	.852	.337	.563
	SG	45	2.89	.682		
7. Afghan organizations positively contribute to the Afghan community	FG	52	3.56	.639	.031	.861
	SG	45	3.53	.726		
8. The Afghans in The Netherlands always stick together	FG	52	3.08	.882	.213	.646
	SG	45	3.00	.739		
9. The Afghan community is well represented in Dutch politics	FG	52	2.00	.626	5.536	.021
	SG	45	2.33	.769		
10. Dutch people usually think negative about Afghans	FG	52	2.90	.721	.002	.964
	SG	45	2.91	.848		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
11. Dutch people appreciate the Afghan language and culture	FG	52	2.81	.841	.097	.756
	SG	45	2.76	.802		
12. Dutch people think negatively about Afghan language and culture	FG	52	3.23	.675	.135	.715
	SG	45	3.18	.747		
13. Dutch people discriminate Afghans	FG	52	3.15	.607	7.722	.007
	SG	45	2.76	.802		
14. There are enough places where Afghan languages are taught.	FG	52	2.38	1.239	2.275	.135
	SG	45	2.76	1.171		
15. In my neighborhood there are enough Afghan shops, organizations, teahouses, etc.	FG	52	2.50	1.019	2.237	.138
	SG	45	2.20	.944		
16. The Afghan community in The Netherlands has enough Afghan media (Newspapers, television, etc.)	FG	52	2.17	1.396	.384	.537
	SG	45	2.33	1.108		
17. When an Afghan has a problem, he/she knows that the Afghan community will help	FG	52	3.58	.723	5.931	.017
	SG	45	3.16	.976		

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
18. Within 20 to 30 years the Afghans in The Netherlands will be organized better and there will be more solidarity within the Afghan community	FG	52	3.15	1.144	.097	.756
	SG	45	3.22	.997		
19. Within 20 to 30 years the Afghans in The Netherlands will no longer form a community and a collective Group identity will no longer exist.	FG	52	3.02	.980	1.696	.196
	SG	45	2.78	.823		

Table 5.11; The items from section 5 on vitality of Cultures. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

In the first three variables we can see the opinion of the respondents on the loss of the Afghan cultural identity. To a certain extent they believe that one loses the Afghan identity when the capability to speak Afghan is lost. To a lesser extent they feel religion is a part of their Afghan identity, especially in the second generation the mean on this subject is quite low. When it comes to the loss of Afghan norms and values the results are very high which shows that the Afghans feel one loses his or her Afghan identity when he does not live according to these Afghan norms and values anymore. In neither of these variables significant differences were found on a generational level.

In terms of a group identity the respondents score low, as we can see in variables 4 and 5 where statements are made that the Afghans in The Netherlands form one group both means are low for the first and second generation with no significant differences. The same accounts for variable 8 where the statement is made that Afghans stick together, with moderate means (FG: M=3.08, SG: M=3.00) this shows that the cohesion within the Afghan group is not very high. For variable 17, "When an Afghan has a problem, he/she knows that the Afghan community will help" the means are a little over 3 with a significant difference for the first and second generation ($F(1,97)=5.931$, $p=.017$). On the questions about what group identity the Afghans will have in the future (variable 18, 19) the respondents are more positive on the positive future that the Afghans will have a strong group-cohesion, but the differences are not very large.

According to the results the Afghan community is not very well represented in politics. They also feel they do not have enough Afghan organizations, for teaching Afghan, media or shops and teahouses. Besides this, they have a low score on believing Dutch people think negatively about them but at the same time they believe Dutch people do not appreciate the Afghan language and culture much, (variable 11 and 12). There is a highly significant difference between generations found in variable 13, whether the respondents feel Dutch people discriminate against Afghans. The first generation significantly agrees more with this statement than the second generation ($F(1,97)=7.722$, $p=.007$).

5.9 Integration ideology

It is important to know the Afghan respondents' view on integration and language use as a whole. Making them think about the immigrant-language-use as a whole instead of only from their own Afghan perspective can shed new light on certain topics. In table 5.12 these topics are discussed and tested by a One Way ANOVA analysis in order to find generational differences amongst the respondents.

Table 5.12 Anova 12: "Language use Ideology" (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Foreigners in the Netherlands should speak Dutch	FG	52	4.23	.675	.078	.781
	SG	45	4.27	.580		
2. Foreigners in the Netherlands should prioritize the Dutch norms and values over norms and values of other cultures	FG	52	2.33	1.424	1.863	.175
	SG	45	2.00	.798		
3. Foreigners in the Netherlands may speak in their own language	FG	52	4.56	.639	5.427	.022
	SG	45	4.20	.869		
4. Foreigners in the Netherlands may live according to the norms and values of their own culture	FG	52	4.46	.670	9.338	.003
	SG	45	3.96	.952		
5. Foreigners in the Netherlands may appreciate the norms and values of their own culture	FG	52	4.69	.506	13.897	.000
	SG	45	4.27	.618		
6. Foreigners in the Netherlands are supposed to live according to the culture norms and values of the Dutch	FG	52	2.60	1.107	3.646	.059
	SG	45	3.00	.953		

Table 5.12; The items from section 6 on Foreigners in the Netherlands. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'totally disagree' and 5 means 'totally agree'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

With very high means the respondents clearly feel that learning and knowing the Dutch language when one lives in The Netherlands is a must (variable 1) but being able to speak the Afghan language should also be possible (variable 3). Within the language-domain there are only significant differences between generations found in variable 3 ($F_{(91,97)}=5.427$, $p=.022$). Even though they feel this strongly about learning the Dutch language, they do not feel the same about practicing the Dutch norms and values, with very low means they show that they should be free to practice and appreciate their own culture

within the Dutch borders and they do not like to be forced into behaving differently (variable 6). The high means on variable 4 and 5 show that the Afghans in the Netherlands should appreciate and live according to their own cultural norms and values, but there are highly significant differences found between the first and second generation.

5.10 Integration in public

There is a difference in having cultural norms and values inside the domestic domain or outside in the public domain. This section of the questionnaire covered questions and statements on integration in the public sphere; we will compare these results with the next section which deals with integration in the home domain. In table 5.13 we can find the research results from One Way ANOVA tests.

Table 5.13 Anova 13: “Integration in Public” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Foreigners in the Netherlands should always speak Dutch in public, at work and in school	FG	52	2.65	.683	5,951	,017
	SG	45	2.76	.908		
2. Foreigners in the Netherlands may always speak their own language in public, at work and in school	FG	52	3.21	.800	,003	,956
	SG	45	2.78	.951		
3. Foreigners in the Netherlands should respect the Dutch norms and values in public, at work and in school	FG	52	4.06	.777	,395	,531
	SG	45	4.07	.809		
4. Foreigners may behave according to their own (non-Dutch) values and norms in public, at work and in school	FG	52	3.79	.605	,090	,765
	SG	45	3.58	.839		
5. Foreigners in the Netherlands should behave according to the Dutch norms and values in public, at work and in school	FG	52	2.90	.955	2,049	,156
	SG	45	2.96	.706		

Table 5.13; The items from section 6 on Foreigners in the Netherlands. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘totally disagree’ and 5 means ‘totally agree’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

Variable 1 shows that both first and second generation do not agree with the statement that Dutch should always be spoken in public, although there is a significant difference found between the generations where the second generation agrees to this statement to a larger extent ($F(1,97)=5.951$, $P=.017$). The respondents recognize that in certain situations it is not appropriate to speak Afghan; they

do not believe they should be able to speak Afghan where-ever and whenever. The Dutch norms and values should be respected, but this does not mean they cannot behave according to their own cultural norms and values (variable 4 and 5). Besides in variable 1 there are no significant differences found between the first and the second generation.

5.11 Integration at home

Behaving a certain way can be totally different for the home domain from the public domain. For this reason the same type of questions as in table 13 were asked about the home domain. The results are presented in table 5.14.

Table 5.14 Anova 14: “Integration at home” (N=97)

Item	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Foreigners in the Netherlands may speak their own language at home	FG	52	4.75	.556	.003	.957
	SG	45	4.76	.435		
2. Foreigners in the Netherlands should respect the Dutch norms and values at home	FG	52	2.94	1.162	.250	.618
	SG	45	3.07	1.286		
3. Foreigners in the Netherlands may behave according to their own (non-Dutch) norms and values at home	FG	52	4.23	1.022	.709	.402
	SG	45	4.38	.614		
4. Foreigners in the Netherlands should speak Dutch at home	FG	52	1.73	.992	.713	.400
	SG	45	1.58	.753		

Table 5.14; The items from section 6 on Foreigners in the Netherlands. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘totally disagree’ and 5 means ‘totally agree’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

With no significant differences found on a generational level, we can see that both first and second generation think very much alike on this topic. With very high means for variable 1 we can see they believe they should be free in their language choice at home. They want to be able to behave according to their own norms and values at home. Opinions are not very clear on whether they should respect the Dutch cultural norms and values in the home domain. It could be that this statement was too vague in terms of; to what extent it means they need to adapt their own behavior. It becomes clear that the respondents believe they should be free to act and live according to their own cultural norms and values and language, but, they have a much stronger opinion about this when it comes to the home domain. In the public domain they are willing to adapt this to a milder form in order to comply with Dutch cultural norms and standards.

5.12 Language use to different interlocutors

Table 5.15 Anova 15: “Language use to different interlocutors” (N=97)

Wich language do you speak with..?	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Your father	FG	52	4.56	.539	1.411	.238
	SG	45	4.42	.583		
2. Your mother	FG	52	4.25	.905	.580	.448
	SG	45	4.11	.885		
3. Your siblings	FG	52	3.54	1.244	20.665	.000
	SG	45	2.49	.991		
4. Your Afghan friends	FG	52	3.71	1.126	36.874	.000
	SG	45	2.44	.893		
5. Afghan neighbours	FG	52	4.00	.863	8.721	.004
	SG	45	3.44	.990		
6. Afghan shop owners	FG	52	4.04	.885	6.325	.014
	SG	45	3.58	.917		
7. People in the tea house	FG	52	4.00	.950	14.815	.000
	SG	45	3.18	1.154		
8. People in the Mosque	FG	52	3.73	1.050	15.239	.000
	SG	45	2.84	1.186		
9. Afghans on the phone	FG	52	4.54	.803	7.070	.009
	SG	45	3.98	1.252		

Table 5.15; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘only Dutch’ and 5 means ‘only Afghan’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

In table 5.15 we can see what language is used when spoken to different interlocutors. It is interesting to see that there is a high amount of variables which show highly significant differences between generations, 7 out of 9. The first two variables, speaking to one’s mother and father, show no differences, this is, judging by the high means, mostly Afghan. To siblings, the first generation speaks more Afghan and the second generation has a significant shift to the Dutch language. The same goes for variables 4 until 9. Overall the means of the variables are quite high. For the first generation Afghans the means are all above 3. Meaning they use more Afghan than Dutch. For the second generation the mean values are lower than 3 for communication with siblings, Afghan friends and people in the mosque; meaning they use more Dutch than Afghan.

5.13 Language use different interlocutors to respondent

In table 5.16 the variables which deal with questions about the language use of the informants towards the other Afghans in the Netherlands are discussed. It is interesting to make a comparison between the language use of the respondent with different interlocutors.

Table 5.16 Anova results on “Language use by different interlocutors to informant”

When the following people speak to you, which language do they use?	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Your father	FG	52	4.85	.415	.000	.985
	SG	45	4.84	.475		
2. Your mother	FG	52	4.81	.561	1.591	.210
	SG	45	4.64	.712		
3. Your siblings	FG	52	3.81	1.067	26.166	.000
	SG	45	2.71	1.036		
4. Afghan friends	FG	52	3.73	1.012	27.239	.000
	SG	45	2.71	.895		
5. Other relatives	FG	52	4.62	.530	.701	.405
	SG	45	4.51	.695		
6. Afghan neighbours	FG	52	4.58	.537	1.923	.169
	SG	45	4.38	.860		

Table 5.16; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘only Dutch’ and 5 means ‘only Afghan’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

When we compare Table 5.16 to Table 5.15 it immediately becomes clear that the respondents do not use the Afghan language as much as the people around them do. They get addressed in Afghan more than they address others in the Afghan language themselves. Also in this table we can see no significant differences in the first two variables about the communication of mothers and fathers. This makes clear that both the child and the parents speak in the Afghan language to each other. Siblings and Afghan friends seem to speak more in Dutch to the respondents than the parents do, with highly significant differences this especially accounts for the second generation (var.3, $F(1,97)=26.166$, $p=.000$) (var.4, $F(1,97)=27.239$, $p=.000$). Other relatives and Afghan neighbors seem to speak in Afghan to the respondents more than the respondents speak in Afghan to them.

5.14 Language preference

In this section I examine in what situation the respondent prefers either Dutch or Afghan. A One Way ANOVA test was done in order to find differences on a generational level.

Table 5.17 Anova Results on: “Language preference” (N=97)

Which language do you normally use when you...?	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Think	FG	52	3.63	1.172	28.904	.000
	SG	45	2.40	1.074		
2. Dream	FG	52	3.58	1.226	18.641	.000
	SG	45	2.53	1.140		
3. Calculate and count	FG	52	3.46	1.244	11.974	.001
	SG	45	2.67	.977		
4. Read books	FG	52	3.38	1.239	23.650	.000
	SG	45	2.27	.986		
5. Read the newspaper	FG	52	3.25	1.219	21.605	.000
	SG	45	2.20	.968		
6. Watch TV	FG	52	2.94	.958	8.657	.004
	SG	45	2.36	1.004		
7. Listen to the radio	FG	52	2.71	.848	9.250	.003
	SG	45	2.16	.952		
8. Write	FG	52	3.00	1.205	20.138	.000
	SG	45	2.04	.824		

Table 5.17; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘only Dutch’ and 5 means ‘only Afghan’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

As we can see in table 5.17 all variables show highly significant differences between generations. The first generation seems to use the Afghan language significantly more than the second generation. But on these variables for both first and second generation the means are not very high, this means that the use of Afghan in these situations is not much dominant. The answers could be given on a 5 point scale which ranged from 1; “only dutch” to 5; “only Afghan”.

5.15 Language choice and emotions

What language a person chooses in his emotions tells a lot about whether he or she feels comfortable in using this language. In table 18 we can find the variables which were used in the questionnaire in order to find information on the language use of the respondent when the situation involves spontaneous expression of emotions. The oneway ANOVA test results are again shown in order to make a comparison between generations.

Table 5.18 Anova Results on “Language choice and emotions” (N=97)

Which language do you prefer when you are...?	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Tired	FG	52	3.77	1.231	15.761	.000
	SG	45	2.73	1.338		
2. Tense	FG	52	3.67	1.248	19.799	.000
	SG	45	2.56	1.216		
3. Angry	FG	52	3.73	1.315	19.143	.000
	SG	45	2.56	1.324		
4. In a hurry	FG	52	3.60	1.287	26.160	.000
	SG	45	2.36	1.069		
5. In a fight	FG	52	3.69	1.307	26.602	.000
	SG	45	2.40	1.136		
6. In a good mood	FG	52	3.63	1.284	23.666	.000
	SG	45	2.44	1.099		
7. Confused	FG	52	3.54	1.275	21.094	.000
	SG	45	2.44	1.035		

Table 5.18; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means 'only Dutch' and 5 means 'only Afghan'. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

As in the previous table, these results also show highly significant differences on every variable on a generational scale. As with language preference, the second generation seems to use significantly less Afghan and more Dutch in their language choice in expressing emotions. As we can see by the means of these results, the means of the first generation all rank higher than 3, for the second generation there is no variable where the mean is higher ranked than 2.8. This shows that the second generation mostly uses Dutch and switches to Afghan, the first generation seems to do the opposite.

5.16 Language choice in daily activities

As in the previous two sections we have examined the language use of the respondents, this time daily activities were given and the respondents could give their rankings whether they use more Dutch or more Afghan in these situations. The results of the oneway ANOVA test are presented in table 19.

Table 5.19 Anova 19: “Language choice in daily activities” (N=97)

Which language do you prefer when you talk about these subjects?	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. On daily matters	FG	52	3.69	1.130	19.537	.000
	SG	45	2.73	.986		
2. School or work affairs	FG	52	3.33	1.309	19.530	.000
	SG	45	2.31	.874		
3. Politics	FG	52	3.19	1.387	12.526	.001
	SG	45	2.29	1.079		
4. Popular culture	FG	52	3.40	1.272	24.032	.000
	SG	45	2.27	.963		
5. Religion	FG	52	3.54	1.228	24.220	.000
	SG	45	2.42	.965		
6. Education in the own language and culture	FG	52	3.50	1.245	19.836	.000
	SG	45	2.40	1.176		

Table 5.19; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘only Dutch’ and 5 means ‘only Afghan’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

As in the previous two tables, this table again shows highly significant differences between generations on every variable. The second generation uses Dutch significantly more than the first generation. Again, as we saw in the previous two tables, the means of both generations are not very high, meaning Afghan is not a very dominant language. Still, as seen in Table 5.18, the first generation’s mean scores are >3, while all the mean scores on the variables for the second generation are less than 3.

5.17 Importance of the Afghan language vs. Dutch

How do the respondents feel about their language in comparison to the Dutch language? Do they believe it is of high significance to use Afghan in important situations? Do they feel they need the Afghan language in order to get certain things done in The Netherlands? To get a clear view on these questions one section of the questionnaire was dedicated to this topic. In table 20 we can find the results of these questions and the oneway ANOVA test for a generational comparison.

Table 5.20 Anova Results on “Importance of Afghan vs. Dutch” (N=97)

How important is the Afghan language to accomplish the next things?	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. To make friends	FG	52	3.08	.882	.204	.653
	SG	45	3.16	.824		
2. Earn money	FG	52	2.40	.569	.333	.565
	SG	45	2.49	.869		
3. Study	FG	52	2.85	.937	1.258	.265
	SG	45	2.62	1.029		
4. Find a job	FG	52	2.50	.754	.004	.950
	SG	45	2.51	.968		
5. Get better education	FG	52	2.75	.968	.056	.814
	SG	45	2.80	1.120		
6. Reside in The Netherlands	FG	52	1.92	.882	5.103	.026
	SG	45	2.36	1.004		
7. Have something to say in the community	FG	52	2.92	.987	.496	.483
	SG	45	2.78	1.042		
8. Raise children	FG	52	4.21	.572	4.111	.045
	SG	45	3.91	.874		
9. Being accepted in the Afghan community	FG	52	4.29	.572	3.975	.049
	SG	45	3.98	.941		
10. Talk to Afghan friends	FG	52	4.08	1.026	.346	.558
	SG	45	3.96	.999		
11. Being accepted by Dutch people	FG	52	2.15	.849	1.938	.167
	SG	45	2.44	1.198		
12. Talking to colleagues	FG	52	2.38	.932	.638	.427
	SG	45	2.53	.894		
13. Travelling	FG	52	3.06	1.178	.490	.486
	SG	45	3.22	1.126		
14. Trading	FG	52	3.12	1.022	.643	.425
	SG	45	2.93	1.214		

Table 5.20; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘only Dutch’ and 5 means ‘only Afghan’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

Out of 14 variables, only 3 variables show a significant difference between the first and second generation. Variable 6 shows the second generation feels they need Afghan to live in The Netherlands more than the first generation ($F(1,97)=5.103$, $p=.026$). The first generation believes speaking Afghan is more important in raising children than the second generation ($F(1,97)=4.111$, $p=.045$), this also accounts for being accepted in the Afghan community in variable 9 ($F(1,97)= 3.975$, $p=.049$) . The variables which show low scores, meaning Afghan is not very important, are mostly connected to building a successful life in the Dutch society, such as earning money, studying, finding a job, residing in The Netherlands, talking to colleagues. These variables all show scores which are lower than 3 which stands for neutral. The variables which informants score higher on the importance of the use of Afghan are mostly linked to social activities, such as making friends, raising children, talking to Afghan friends, being accepted in the Afghan community and travelling.

5.18 Language Attitudes

The finishing part of the questionnaire was about the way the respondent feels about the Afghan language, what it sounds like and whether the respondents have a positive connotation with the Afghan language.

Table 5.21 Anova Results on “Language Attitudes” (N=97)

I believe the Afghan language:	G.	N	M	S.D.	F	p
1. Sounds nice	FG	52	3.71	.848	3.216	.076
	SG	45	3.42	.723		
2. Sounds friendly	FG	52	3.21	1.054	.756	.387
	SG	45	3.04	.796		
3. Sounds posh	FG	52	3.00	.863	4.656	.033
	SG	45	3.31	.468		
4. Sounds polite	FG	52	3.10	.891	1.335	.251
	SG	45	3.29	.727		
5. Sounds cosy	FG	52	3.77	.581	3.969	.049
	SG	45	3.51	.695		
6. Sounds modern	FG	52	2.52	.754	3.462	.066
	SG	45	2.80	.726		

Table 5.21; The items from section 7 on language. Answers ranged from 1 to 5 where 1 means ‘only Dutch’ and 5 means ‘only Afghan’. The table shows the results of a Oneway ANOVA test on a generational level. The original items were in Dutch.

Table 5.21 shows that 2 out of 6 variables show significant differences between generations. The first variable asks whether Afghan sounds posh. The second generation agrees with this statement

significantly more than the first ($F(1,97)=4.565$, $p=.033$). The second variable which shows a significant effect is variable 5, the first generation believes the Afghan language sounds more cosy than the second generation ($F(1,97)=3.969$, $p=.049$). On other scales, except for variable 6 "*it sounds modern*", the means are higher than 3, which shows a modest positive connotation with the Afghan language, figuring all variables give out positive feelings about the language. Apparently the respondents feel Afghan is not as much a modern language as Dutch is. Because the means are comparable and it can be concluded that they have equally positive attitudes towards the Dutch and Afghan language on the given variables.

6. Conclusions and Discussion

The main research question is “What is the degree of relationship between acculturation orientations and language maintenance or shift of different generations in the Afghan immigrant community in the Netherlands?”. On the basis of the results, we are able to generate conclusions for this study. The study started with three hypotheses on the differences between the first and second generation Afghans in the Netherlands. These hypotheses were the following;

Hypothesis 1: Second generation Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands will have more affiliation with the Dutch culture than first generation Afghan immigrants in The Netherlands.

Hypothesis 2: The linguistic preference of the first generation Afghan immigrants will be mainly based on the Afghan origins, but a shift can be found in the second generation from the Afghan language to the Dutch language.

Hypothesis 3: Afghan cultural and linguistic maintenance in the public domain will be ranked less important than in the home domain by the first and second generation.

The research results confirmed hypothesis 1. Starting with the ethnic identification, the second generation identifies less with the Afghan ethnicity than the first generation. Most of the Afghans who felt Afghan were first generation Afghans. When it comes to raising children and living according to Afghan cultural norms, values and traditions, the first generation scores significantly higher than the second generation, which proves that the second generation shows less affiliation with the Afghan culture. However, it is important to mention that the results showed very low scores for both the first and second generation on identifying with the Dutch culture. So it is not clear whether identifying less with the Afghan culture means identifying more with the Dutch culture. Both generations are happy and proud to have Afghan origins but the second generation feels significantly less Afghan than the first generation. This comes forward by the cultural activities both first and second generation attends to. Table 6 in the results chapter shows that the first generation knows much more about the Afghan cultural norms and values and holds on to these aspects by for instance reading Afghan news or listening to Afghan music. At the same time the results show that the second generation knows more about the Dutch cultural norms and values. This can also be seen in the social networks, on the whole both generations have many ties with other Afghans, yet, the second generation clearly has more social ties with Dutch people than the first generation. Both generations believe the Dutch culture has had a positive influence on their lives, yet the second generation feels significantly more influenced by it than the first generation. This could have something to do with the fact that the first generation feels more discriminated by the Dutch society than the second generation, taking it is an acculturating moderator (Breugelmans, 2008). As discussed in the theoretical framework, religion is not seen as a contradiction to nationalism, it can be seen as an enhancing factor for a movement of solidarity, especially amongst immigrants who share the same religion in a foreign country with other religious values. The research results show large differences between the first and second generation immigrants on the basis of their beliefs. As the majority claims to be Muslim, the second generation clearly has fewer affiliations with the

religion and its practice. This can be seen as one of the reasons why the second generation has fewer ties with the Afghan culture, or, the fact that the second generation has less ties with the Afghan culture results in their secularization process. Unfortunately, the answer to this question cannot be derived from this research. The results only show that the second generation does not consider 'religion' as a cultural marker as much as the first generation does.

As for the second hypothesis, there are many differences in the language use, choice and preference between the first and second generation Afghans. The language use in the parental context is similar for both generations; Afghan is preferred and most commonly used. Other language domains show large differences between the first and second generation. The language preference of the second generation in terms of thinking and dreaming, emotions and daily activities is clearly more Dutch orientated than the preference of the first generation. This can be a result of the declined proficiency in the Afghan language in the second generation. Both generations believe speaking Afghan is important for the preservation of the Afghan identity yet the second generation speaks Afghan less than the first generation. There are no differences in the importance of Dutch and Afghan in public domains on a generational level. Examples of these public domains are schooling and finding a job. Still the first generation believes Afghan is more important when it comes to raising children and being accepted in the Afghan community.

The third hypothesis on the cultural and linguistic maintenance in the public and home domain can be confirmed the same as the first two hypotheses. Both generations believe all foreigners in the Netherlands should be able to speak Dutch. They want to be able to speak their own language in the home and public domain, yet the second generation agrees more to the statement that Dutch should be spoken in the public domain. There is a high score on speaking the Afghan language in the home domain, the same accounts for behaving according to Afghan cultural norms and values. Both generations believe they should also be able to behave according to their own norms and values in the public domain, but with preservation and respect for the Dutch culture. Still, behaving according to the Dutch culture should not be a priority in the public domain.

As the results show, the Afghan community in the Netherlands believes it is important to preserve their own cultural and linguistic heritage. They show respect and understanding for the Dutch culture, norms and values and try to combine their life in the Netherlands with their own perceptions in the way they should live. It becomes clear that there is a shift from the first to the second generation when it comes to language and cultural activities. The second generation speaks more and better Dutch and is creating a smaller gap between their Afghan identity and their Dutch identity.

There are a few points of discussion which can be made as a result of the finalization of this research. The main point of discussion I would like to address is the large amount of influential factors on culture taken into account in this research. The research is based on the exploration of cultural and linguistic maintenance or shift amongst Afghan immigrants in the Netherlands. Factors such as age, gender, place of birth, education and many more have been incorporated into the questionnaire. This makes it hard to identify or specify which factor has the largest influence on the acculturation process. It would be wise to take all the cultural moderators individually, explore them on the basis of gender and other specific markers and then combine these research results into one large comparative study. A second limitation, which one faces when conducting a research is the concept of reversed causality. This concept has not been taken into account while dealing with the cultural markers. In this research the focus was put on the influence cultural markers had on culture, yet, it should also be taken into account that culture can have its influence on the aforementioned factors.

Another point of discussion is the age and background variety used in this research, in order to get an ever better view on the acculturation strategy differences between generations it is important to use more Afghan immigrants who are above 40 years of age. Especially in an ethnically diverse population like the Afghans, it is important to not randomly select the respondents but to take their background into account.

As for future research references in this specific research context I would like to address another influential aspect which should be taken into account. Due to the current multicultural environment in the Netherlands, it is wise to focus future research on the multicultural identity instead of merely the Afghan identity versus the Dutch identity. While living in the Netherlands one does not only encounter with the Dutch culture, but also with numerous other cultures residing in the Netherlands mainly due to immigration. Especially in larger cities many nationalities and cultural backgrounds mingle with each other, which causes a melting pot of cultures and traditions mainly influenced by the amount of immigrants living in the same city or neighborhood. Future research should incorporate the aforementioned points regarding identification of culture in a Multicultural state as Holland.

I have learned during this research process and whilst analyzing the research results is the diversity and complexity of a country's people. Not only did I find out that the Afghan population is very diverse, but also the receiving population is diverse in its cultural norms and values and therefore also in dealing with minority groups. Looking back on the research results and the conclusions I have drawn from them, the main lesson that can be taken from this research is that Afghan immigrants are proud of their ancestry and try to maintain their Afghan cultural heritage as much as possible. But, despite this pride and maintenance, they are also very willing to adapt to the receiving culture in order to lead a pleasant and comfortable life without finding too many clashes with the receiving population. This is also what we can find in the different generations where the second generation Afghans becomes more part of the Dutch society and therefore adapts to it in such a way they do not find difficulties in living with Dutch natives. What I concluded from this research is that the Afghan immigrants have respect for both their own as for the receiving culture and try to combine these two cultures in a way that both sides do not feel neglected or disrespected.

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Appendix 1 Questionnaire

Enquete

Taal, Cultuur en Identiteit Afghaanse Nederlanders.

Een persoon die voor langere tijd in een ander land woont dan zijn herkomstland, wordt vaak beïnvloed door de cultuur van zijn nieuwe verblijfplaats. Daarnaast kan hij met zijn eigen cultuur ook invloed uitoefenen op de nieuwe omgeving waar hij zich in bevindt. Dit proces heet “culturele interactie” en kan zowel bewust als onbewust plaatsvinden.

Aan de hand van deze vragenlijst wil ik meer inzicht verkrijgen in de culturele interactie van Afghaanse Nederlanders in Nederland. Om een juist beeld te vormen van dit proces is het belangrijk is dat u alle vragen naar waarheid invult, om deze reden worden alle onderzoeksresultaten dan ook anoniem en strikt vertrouwelijk behandeld.

Sommige vragen in deze vragenlijst kunnen ongebruikelijk lijken, toch zijn alle vragen echter nodig om in dit onderzoek de juiste vergelijkingen te kunnen maken. Mijn verzoek aan u is dan ook om alle vragen te beantwoorden.

In deze enquête wordt gebruik gemaakt van antwoordschalen. Een voorbeeld van een dergelijke vraag staat hieronder:

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Nederland is een mooi land.	1	2	3	4	⑤

Als u vindt dat Nederland een heel mooi land is dan omcirkelt u het cijfer 5. Indien u Nederland helemaal niet mooi vindt dan omcirkelt u cijfer 1. Wanneer u een fout heeft gemaakt zet u een kruis door het foutief omcirkelde cijfer en omcirkelt u het juiste cijfer.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Nederland is een mooi land.	1	2	③	4	5

Hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking!

Indien u vragen, suggesties of interesse in de scriptie heeft mag u altijd contact met mij opnemen. Aurin Fouraschen

Email: A.E.M.L.Fouraschen@uvt.nl

Tel: 06-20662967

DEEL 1: PERSOONSgegevens

1) Geslacht:

Vrouw

Man

2) Geboortedatum:-..... 19

3) Geboorteland

Afghanistan

Nederland

Anders, namelijk.....

4) Hoe lang woont u in Nederland? jaar

5) In welk land is uw vader geboren?

Afghanistan

Nederland

Anders, namelijk

6) In welk land is uw moeder geboren?

Afghanistan

Nederland

Anders, namelijk

7) Wat is uw woonplaats?

8) Wat is uw laatst behaalde schooldiploma?

9) Wat is uw beroep?

10) Bent u getrouwd?

Ja

Nee

11) Indien u getrouwd bent, in welk land is uw partner geboren?

Afghanistan

Nederland

Anders, namelijk

12) Hoe vaak keert u terug naar uw moederland?

Vaker dan een keer per jaar

Een keer per jaar

Eens per 2 jaar

Eens per 3 jaar

Deel 2: Multiculturaliteitsindex

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
1) Nederlanders moeten accepteren dat Nederland bestaat uit groepen van verschillende culturele achtergronden	1	2	3	4	5
2) Etnische minderheden (allochtonen) moeten hulp krijgen om hun culturele achtergrond in Nederland te kunnen behouden	1	2	3	4	5
3) Het is het beste voor Nederland als alle mensen hun culturele achtergrond zo snel mogelijk vergeten	1	2	3	4	5
4) Een multiculturele samenleving is beter in staat om problemen op te lossen dan een niet-multiculturele samenleving	1	2	3	4	5
5) De harmonie van Nederland is verzwakt door minderheidsgroepen (allochtonen) die vasthouden aan hun oorspronkelijke culturele waarden	1	2	3	4	5
6) Als minderheidsgroepen (allochtonen) hun eigen cultuur willen behouden, dan moeten ze dat niet in het openbaar doen	1	2	3	4	5
7) Een land waarin verschillende culturele groepen wonen, heeft meer problemen met het creëren van eenheid, dan landen waarin maar 1 of 2 culturele groepen wonen	1	2	3	4	5
8) Nederlanders (autochtonen) moeten meer moeite doen om te leren over de culturen van de minderheidsgroepen	1	2	3	4	5

(allochtonen) die in Nederland wonen					
9) Allochtone ouders moeten hun kinderen aanmoedigen de cultuur en tradities van het moederland te behouden	1	2	3	4	5
10) Mensen die in Nederland komen wonen, moeten hun gedrag aanpassen aan het gedrag van Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5

Deel 3: De Nederlandse en Afghaanse cultuur

1) Er wonen verschillende culturele groepen in Nederland. Tot welke groep vindt u dat u behoort?

0 De AFGHAANSE groep

0 De NEDERLANDSE groep

0 Tot BEIDE groepen evenveel

0 Anders, namelijk

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
2) Ik voel me afghaans	1	2	3	4	5
3) Ik voel me Nederlands	1	2	3	4	5

4) Ik voel me Afghaans omdat:

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Ik een van de Afghaanse talen spreek	1	2	3	4	5

Ik een moslim ben	1	2	3	4	5
Ik veel kennis heb van mijn religie	1	2	3	4	5
Ik volgens de Afghaanse normen en waarden leef	1	2	3	4	5
Mijn ouders Afghaans zijn	1	2	3	4	5
Ik volgens de Afghaanse traditie ben opgevoed	1	2	3	4	5
Ik er Afghaans uitzie	1	2	3	4	5
Ik me meer op mijn gemak voel bij Afghanen	1	2	3	4	5
Andere mensen mij beschouwen als Afghaan(se)	1	2	3	4	5
De Nederlandse cultuur mij niet aanspreekt	1	2	3	4	5

5) Ik voel me Nederlands omdat;

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Ik Nederlands spreek	1	2	3	4	5
Ik goed op de hoogte ben van de Nederlandse waarden en tradities	1	2	3	4	5
Ik volgens de Nederlandse normen, waarden en tradities leef	1	2	3	4	5

Ik als Nederlander ben opgevoed	1	2	3	4	5
Ik er Nederlands uitzie	1	2	3	4	5
Ik me meer op mijn gemak voel bij Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
Andere mensen mij beschouwen als Nederlander	1	2	3	4	5
De Afghanen in Nederland en hun cultuur mij niet aanspreken	1	2	3	4	5

6) Omcirkel bij de volgende stellingen het cijfer dat voor u het meest van toepassing is.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Ik ben er blij mee dat ik Afghaans ben.	1	2	3	4	5
Ik voel een band met andere Afghanen	1	2	3	4	5
Het feit dat ik Afghaans ben, zegt niets over mijn persoonlijkheid	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind het vervelend dat ik Afghaans ben	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer mensen het over Afghanen hebben voel ik me aangesproken	1	2	3	4	5
Afghaans zijn vormt een belangrijk deel van mijn culturele identiteit	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ben er trots op dat ik Afghaans ben	1	2	3	4	5

Wanneer ik over Afghanen spreek, dan heb ik het over “ Wij Afghanen..”	1	2	3	4	5
In veel opzichten ben ik net als andere Afghanen	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ben er blij mee dat ik Nederlands ben	1	2	3	4	5
Ik voel een band met andere Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
Het feit dat ik Nederlands ben zegt niets over wat voor persoon ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer mensen het over Nederlanders hebben voel ik me aangesproken	1	2	3	4	5
Nederlands zijn vormt een belangrijk deel van mijn culturele identiteit	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind het vervelend dat ik Nederlands ben	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer ik over Nederlanders spreek dan heb ik het over: “Wij Nederlanders...”	1	2	3	4	5
In veel opzichten ben ik net als andere Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5

7) Voelt u zich meer Afghaans of meer Nederlands?	Alleen Afghaans	Meer Afghaans dan Nederlands	Zowel Afghaans als Nederlands (gelijk)	Meer Nederlands dan Afghaans	Alleen Nederlands
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8) In welke situaties of omstandigheden voelt u zich meer Afghaans dan Nederlands?

9) In welke situaties of omstandigheden voelt u zich meer Nederlands dan Afghaans?

10) Omcirkel bij de volgende stellingen het cijfer dat voor u het meest van toepassing is.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Ik weet veel van de Afghaanse cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
Ik weet veel van de Nederlandse cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ken veel Afghaanse tradities en leef volgens deze tradities	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ken veel van de Nederlandse tradities en ik leef volgens deze tradities	1	2	3	4	5
Ik weet veel van de Afghaanse culturele normen en waarden	1	2	3	4	5
Ik weet veel af van de Nederlandse culturele normen en waarden	1	2	3	4	5

Afghaanse waarden (zoals de Afghaanse vlag en geschiedenis) hebben veel betekenis voor mij	1	2	3	4	5
Nederlandse waarden (zoals de Nederlandse vlag en geschiedenis) hebben veel betekenis voor mij	1	2	3	4	5
De Afghaanse cultuur heeft veel invloed op wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
De Nederlandse cultuur heeft veel invloed op wie ik ben	1	2	3	4	5
De Afghaanse cultuur heeft een positief effect op mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
De Nederlandse cultuur heeft een positief effect op mijn leven	1	2	3	4	5
Ik leef volgens de Afghaanse normen en waarden	1	2	3	4	5
Ik leef volgens de Nederlandse normen en waarden	1	2	3	4	5
Ik luister naar Afghaanse muziek	1	2	3	4	5
Ik luister naar Nederlandse muziek	1	2	3	4	5
Ik volg het Afghaanse nieuws	1	2	3	4	5
Ik volg het Nederlandse nieuws	1	2	3	4	5
Ik eet het liefst Afghaanse eten	1	2	3	4	5
Ik eet het liefst Nederlands eten	1	2	3	4	5

In mijn vrije tijd neem ik deel aan Afghaanse culturele activiteiten	1	2	3	4	5
In mijn vrije tijd neem ik deel aan Nederlandse culturele activiteiten	1	2	3	4	5

Deel 4: Geloofsovertuiging

Omdat de vragen in dit onderdeel te maken hebben met uw persoonlijke leven en uw geloofsovertuiging, is het mogelijk dat u sommige vragen te gevoelig of puur persoonlijk vindt. We respecteren deze gevoelens, maar willen u toch vragen om de vragen te beantwoorden. Als onderzoekers willen we alleen bekijken of er ten aanzien van geloofsovertuiging verschillen te vinden zijn tussen verschillende generaties, zonder daar oordelen over te vellen. Indien we vragen stellen die u kwetsen of die tegen uw persoonlijke geloof indruisen, willen we ons graag vooraf excuseren.

11) Omcirkel bij de volgende stellingen het cijfer dat het meest van toepassing is.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Ik ben een moslim	1	2	3	4	5
Ik weet veel af van de Islam	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ben goed op de hoogte van de Islamitische regels	1	2	3	4	5
Ik weet hoe ik mijn godsdienst behoor uit te oefenen	1	2	3	4	5
Ik voel een sterke band met moslims	1	2	3	4	5
De Islam betekend veel voor mij	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer mensen het over Moslims hebben voel ik me aangesproken	1	2	3	4	5

Ik ben een voorstander van een strikte toepassing van Islamitische regels	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer ik beslissingen maak in het dagelijkse leven, beïnvloeden Islamitische regels mij hierbij	1	2	3	4	5
De Islam moet een rol spelen in het sociale leven en op politiek gebied in Nederland	1	2	3	4	5
Islamitisch geloof is een persoonlijke zaak	1	2	3	4	5
De Islam is een inspiratiebron voor mij in het dagelijks leven	1	2	3	4	5
Ik leid mijn leven zonder prioriteit te geven aan islamitische regels	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ben een praktiserend moslim	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vast tijdens de maand Ramadan	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vier religieuze festiviteiten	1	2	3	4	5
Ik eet alleen Halal vlees	1	2	3	4	5
Ik vind dat het geloof een persoonlijke zaak is	1	2	3	4	5

Deel 5: Sociaal Netwerk

12) Omcirkel bij de volgende stellingen het cijfer dat voor u het meest van toepassing is.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
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Ik heb veel Afghaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Ik heb veel Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
In mijn vrije tijd ga ik naar bijvoorbeeld cafés, theehuizen en verenigingen om Afghaanse mensen te ontmoeten	1	2	3	4	5
In mijn vrije tijd ga ik naar bijvoorbeeld cafés en verenigingen om Nederlandse mensen te ontmoeten	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ben lid van een Afghaanse vereniging/organisatie	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ben lid van een Nederlandse vereniging/organisatie	1	2	3	4	5
Er wonen veel Afghanen in de wijk waar ik woon	1	2	3	4	5
Ik voel me het meest op mijn gemak bij Afghanen	1	2	3	4	5
Ik voel me het meest op mijn gemak bij Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ken Nederlanders goed	1	2	3	4	5
Ik ken Afghanen goed	1	2	3	4	5
Ik houd van de manier waarop Afghanen met elkaar omgaan	1	2	3	4	5
Ik houd van de manier waarop Nederlanders met elkaar omgaan	1	2	3	4	5
Ik heb een sterke band met mijn familie	1	2	3	4	5

Ik heb een sterke band met mijn Afghaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Ik heb een sterke band met mijn Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Ik heb veel Nederlandse vrienden die ik echte vrienden kan noemen	1	2	3	4	5
Ik heb veel Afghaanse vrienden die ik echte vrienden kan noemen	1	2	3	4	5
Persoonlijke zaken bespreek ik met mijn Afghaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Persoonlijke zaken bespreek ik met mijn Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer ik hulp nodig heb bij alledaagse zaken dan vraag ik hulp bij mijn Afghaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Wanneer ik hulp nodig heb bij alledaagse zaken dan vraag ik hulp bij mijn Nederlandse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Over het algemeen, heeft u meer contact met Afghanen of met Nederlanders?	Alleen met Afghanen	Meer met Afghanen	Allebei evenveel contact	Meer met Nederlanders	Alleen met Nederlanders

13) Met wie brengt u de meeste tijd door? Maak een rangschikking hiervan door middel van de cijfers 1 tot en met 5. Het cijfer 1 betekent dat u de meeste tijd met deze persoon doorbrengt, 5 is het cijfer dat aangeeft met wie u het minste tijd doorbrengt.

<p>..... Met familie</p> <p>..... Met Afghaanse vrienden</p> <p>..... Met Nederlandse vrienden</p>
--

..... Met Afghaanse kennissen (kennissen zijn 'bekenden' waarmee u vaak omgaat)

..... Met Nederlandse kennissen

14) Omcirkel bij de volgende stellingen het cijfer dat voor u het meest van toepassing is.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Afghanen die stoppen met het spreken van de Afghaanse talen verliezen hun Afghaanse identiteit	1	2	3	4	5
Afghanen in Nederland die stoppen met het praktiseren van de Islam verliezen hun Afghaanse identiteit	1	2	3	4	5
Afghanen in Nederland die hun Afghaanse normen en waarden verliezen, verliezen hun Afghaanse identiteit	1	2	3	4	5
Afghanen in Nederland kunnen als een groep naar buiten treden	1	2	3	4	5
Afghanen in Nederland hebben een sterke band als groep	1	2	3	4	5
Afghanen in Nederland hebben genoeg organisaties en instanties om hun belangen te behartigen	1	2	3	4	5
Afghaanse organisaties en instanties bezorgen een positieve bijdrage aan de Afghaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
De Afghanen in Nederland komen altijd voor elkaar op	1	2	3	4	5
De Afghaanse gemeenschap is goed vertegenwoordigd in de Nederlandse politiek	1	2	3	4	5

Nederlanders denken doorgaans negatief over Afghanen	1	2	3	4	5
Nederlanders waarderen de Afghaanse taal en cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
Nederlanders denken negatief over de Afghaanse taal en cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
Nederlanders discrimineren Afghanen	1	2	3	4	5
Er zijn voldoende instanties die lesgeven in Afghaanse talen	1	2	3	4	5
In de wijk waar ik woon zijn voldoende Afghaanse buurthuizen, winkels etc.	1	2	3	4	5
De Afghaanse gemeenschap in Nederland beschikt over voldoende Afghaanse media (kranten, televisie etc)	1	2	3	4	5
Als een Afghaan een probleem heeft, dan weet hij/zij dat de Afghaanse gemeenschap zal helpen	1	2	3	4	5
Binnen 20 tot 30 jaar zullen de Afghanen in Nederland beter georganiseerd zijn en zal er meer saamhorigheid bestaan binnen de Afghaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
Binnen 20 tot 30 jaar zullen de Afghanen in Nederland niet meer een gemeenschap vormen en zal een gezamenlijke groepsidentiteit niet meer bestaan	1	2	3	4	5

Deel 6: Allochtonen in Nederland

15) Omcirkel bij de volgende stellingen het cijfer dat voor u het meest van toepassing is.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Allochtonen in Nederland moeten Nederlands spreken	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland moeten de Nederlandse normen en waarden belangrijker vinden dan normen en waarden van andere culturen	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland mogen in hun eigen moedertaal (bijvoorbeeld Arabisch of Afghaans) spreken	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland mogen leven volgens de normen en waarden van hun eigen cultuur	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland mogen de normen en waarden van hun eigen cultuur waarderen	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland horen te leven volgens de normen en waarden van de Nederlandse cultuur	1	2	3	4	5

In het openbaar, op het werk en op school.

De volgende stellingen gaan alleen over situaties in het openbaar, op het werk en op school, dus niet over thuissituaties.

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Allochtonen in Nederland moeten altijd Nederlands spreken in het openbaar, op het werk en op school	1	2	3	4	5

Allochtonen in Nederland mogen in hun eigen moedertaal spreken in het openbaar, op het werk en op school	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland moeten de Nederlandse normen en waarden respecteren in het openbaar, op het werk en op school	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen mogen zich naar hun eigen (niet-Nederlandse) normen en waarden gedragen in het openbaar, op het werk en op school	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland moeten zich gedragen naar de Nederlandse normen en waarden in het openbaar, op het werk en op school	1	2	3	4	5

Thuis

	Geheel mee oneens	Mee oneens	Neutraal	Mee eens	Geheel mee eens
Allochtonen in Nederland mogen thuis in hun eigen moedertaal spreken	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland moeten thuis de Nederlandse normen en waarden respecteren	1	2	3	4	5
Allochtonen in Nederland mogen zich thuis naar hun eigen (niet-Nederlandse) normen en waarden gedragen	1	2	3	4	5

Allochtonen in Nederland moeten thuis Nederlands spreken	1	2	3	4	5
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DEEL 7: TAALGEBRUIK (AFGHAANS VERSUS NEDERLANDS)

16) Omcirkel bij de volgende beweringen het cijfer dat voor u het meest van toepassing is.

Taalgebruik – Welke taal spreekt u meestal met de volgende personen?	Altijd Nederlands	Meestal Nederlands	Beiden evenveel	Meestal Afghaans	Altijd Afghaans
Met uw vader?	1	2	3	4	5
Met uw moeder?	1	2	3	4	5
Met uw broers en zussen?	1	2	3	4	5
Met uw Afghaanse vrienden?	1	2	3	4	5
Met Afghaanse mensen uit de buurt?	1	2	3	4	5
Met Afghaanse mensen die een winkel hebben?	1	2	3	4	5

Taalgebruik – Welke taal spreekt u meestal met de volgende personen?	Altijd Nederlands	Meestal Nederlands	Beiden evenveel	Meestal Afghaans	Altijd Afghaans
Met mensen in het theehuis?	1	2	3	4	5
Met mensen in de moskee?	1	2	3	4	5
Met Afghaanse mensen die u aan de telefoon spreekt?	1	2	3	4	5

Als de volgende mensen tegen u spreken, welke taal gebruiken zij dan?	Altijd Nederlands	Meestal Nederlands	Beiden evenveel	Meestal Afghaans	Altijd Afghaans
Uw vader?	1	2	3	4	5
Uw moeder?	1	2	3	4	5
Uw broers en zussen?	1	2	3	4	5
Uw vrienden?	1	2	3	4	5
Uw andere familieleden?	1	2	3	4	5
Uw Afghaanse burenen?	1	2	3	4	5

Welke taal gebruikt u meestal als u... ?	Altijd Nederlands	Meestal Nederlands	Beiden evenveel	Meestal Afghaans	Altijd Afghaans
Denkt?	1	2	3	4	5
Droomt?	1	2	3	4	5
Rekent en telt?	1	2	3	4	5
Boeken leest?	1	2	3	4	5
De krant leest?	1	2	3	4	5

Tv kijkt?	1	2	3	4	5
Naar de radio luistert?	1	2	3	4	5
Schrijft?	1	2	3	4	5

Welke taal gebruikt u het liefst als u... ?	Altijd Nederlands	Meestal Nederlands	Beiden evenveel	Meestal Afghaans	Altijd Afghaans
Moe bent?	1	2	3	4	5
Gespannen bent?	1	2	3	4	5
Boos bent?	1	2	3	4	5
Haast heeft?	1	2	3	4	5
Ruzie maakt?	1	2	3	4	5
Vrolijk bent?	1	2	3	4	5
Verward bent?	1	2	3	4	5

Welke taal gebruikt u het liefst als u over de volgende onderwerpen spreekt?	Altijd Nederlands	Meestal Nederlands	Beiden evenveel	Meestal Afghaans	Altijd Afghaans
Over alledaagse zaken?	1	2	3	4	5

Over de zaken die op school of op het werk gebeuren?	1	2	3	4	5
Over politieke zaken?	1	2	3	4	5
Over zaken die te maken hebben met populaire cultuur? (zoals muziek, televisie etc)	1	2	3	4	5
Over zaken die te maken hebben met het geloof?	1	2	3	4	5
Over onderwijs in de eigen taal en cultuur?	1	2	3	4	5

Hoe belangrijk is de Afghaanse taal om de volgende zaken in Nederland te bewerkstelligen?	Heel onbelangrijk	Onbelangrijk	Neutraal	Belangrijk	Heel belangrijk
Vrienden maken	1	2	3	4	5
Geld verdienen	1	2	3	4	5
Studeren	1	2	3	4	5
Een baan vinden	1	2	3	4	5
Beter onderwijs krijgen	1	2	3	4	5

Wonen	1	2	3	4	5
Iets te zeggen hebben in de maatschappij	1	2	3	4	5
Kinderen opvoeden	1	2	3	4	5
Geaccepteerd worden in de Afghaanse gemeenschap	1	2	3	4	5
Praten met Afghaanse vrienden	1	2	3	4	5
Geaccepteerd worden door Nederlanders	1	2	3	4	5
Praten met collega's	1	2	3	4	5
Reizen	1	2	3	4	5
Handel bedrijven	1	2	3	4	5

Wat vind u van het Afghaans en het Nederlands?	Dat vind ik alleen van het Nederlands	Dat vind ik meer van het Nederlands dan van het Afghaans	Dat vind ik voor beide talen	Dat vind ik meer voor het Afghaans dan het Nederlands	Dat vind ik alleen van het Afghaans
Het klinkt leuk	1	2	3	4	5
Het klinkt vriendelijk	1	2	3	4	5
Het klinkt deftig	1	2	3	4	5

Het klinkt beleefd	1	2	3	4	5
Het klinkt gezellig	1	2	3	4	5
Het klinkt modern	1	2	3	4	5

EINDE VAN DE VRAGENLIJST. DANK U VOOR UW MEDEWERKING!