

Halal Food and Social Integration: The Relationship Between the Meaning of Food and Social Integration of Turkish Refugees in the Netherlands

Hasan Hüseyin Akkuş

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Faculty of Religion, Culture & Society

University of Groningen

First supervisor: Dr. S. Kara

Second supervisor: Dr. E.K. Wilson

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Introduction

Migration is a complex and multidimensional process that reshapes the daily lives of individuals, including their social relations, cultural habits, and religious practices. For many migrants, integration into a new society involves not only adapting to structural systems but also redefining personal and communal identities. Among Muslim communities in Western Europe, food practices, particularly those related to halal, play a central role in this process. Food is a biological necessity and a powerful cultural and social symbol that can reflect values, beliefs, and boundaries. In the context of Turkish refugees in the Netherlands, this thesis explores how the meanings attached to food, especially through the lens of halal consumption, relate to their experiences of social integration. While the migration of Turkish guest workers to the Netherlands in the 1960s has been extensively studied, academic attention to the newer wave of Turkish refugees arriving since the mid-2010s remains limited. Given the changing motives and sociopolitical dynamics behind this recent migration, there is a growing need to better understand how these refugees integrate into Dutch society. This study focuses on the intersection of halal food, the sacred meaning of food, and the social integration of Turkish refugees applying for asylum in the Netherlands between 2015 and 2025. The chapters that follow will present the conceptual framework, describe the research methodology, and analyze field data collected through a structured survey. In doing so, this thesis aims to contribute to broader discussions on integration by highlighting how food, often overlooked in policy and theory, can serve as a meaningful site of connection or separation in the refugee experience.

1 Conceptual and Theoretical Framework

To understand the focus of this research, it is essential to define the key concepts that shape it by introducing the relevant terms, theories, and plan of the thesis. The following chapters define who the study focuses on, beginning

with migrants and refugees, to the Turkish refugees living in the Netherlands. It then explores the theories of integration, with a focus on social integration. Definitions and key integration theories, such as Berry's (1997) acculturation model and the six dimensions of integration coined by Harder et al. (2018), are briefly explained to provide a foundation. Next, how the Dutch integration policies have evolved over time, beginning from early guest worker programs to the 21st century's more individual approaches. It also discusses how Islam is often seen as a challenge to integration in Dutch politics. Finally, the 5 meanings of food defined by Arbit et al. (2017) and the role of halal consumption are explained.

1.1. Migrant, Refugee, and Target Group

Migration is defined as any kind of movement of individuals away from their place of usual residence, either by crossing international borders or moving to different locations inside a state (IOM 2019, 137). Migration with a fixed duration of 3 months to 1 year is called short-term migration, as migration over 1 year is called long-term migration (UN 1998, articles 31-32). According to the United Nations International Organization for Migration (IOM 2019, 132), the migrant word is an umbrella concept that encompasses moving people with all kinds of motivations, such as better living conditions, security, education, or economic opportunities, and refers to those who move for both voluntary and forced reasons. Within this broad framework, the concepts of refugee and asylum have a more specific meaning. According to the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees), asylum refers to the situation in which individuals flee their own country and seek international protection from another country due to persecution, war, or violence (IOM 2019, 13; 171). Within the framework of the 1951 Geneva Convention and relevant international law, asylum seekers are individuals who declare that they are at risk of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion (IOM 2019, 171). Thus, while migration refers to a general population movement, asylum represents the movement as a

consequence of the search for protection given by international law. The difference between the migrant profile, which includes everyone crossing the borders for at least 3 months, and the refugee profile, which includes migrants asking for protection due to the risk of persecution, can be observed between Turkish guest workers who migrated in the post-World War II era and Turkish refugees, whose numbers have increased sharply since 2016.

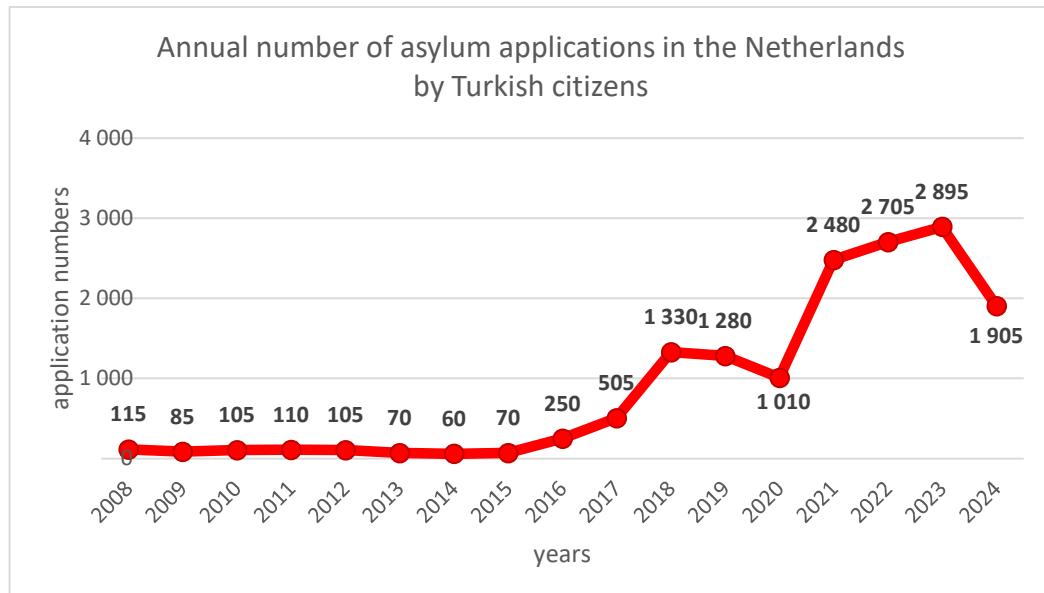
In the 1960s, Western European countries, including the Netherlands, signed labor agreements with various countries, including Turkey, in order to fill the labor shortage that emerged in their rapidly growing economies after World War II. In this context, a labor agreement was signed between Turkey and the Netherlands on August 19, 1964, and Turkish workers went to the Netherlands to work (YTB 2024). Within the scope of this agreement, approximately 57,000 Turkish workers arrived in the Netherlands between 1966 and 1973, and three-quarters of them were men (van Amersfoort and Surie 1987, 171).

The migration of the foreign workers, which was initially planned as temporary, has become permanent over time, and many Turkish workers have settled in the Netherlands (İyi and Cebe 2024). As the children of Turkish workers reached the age of marriage, there has been an increase in migration to the Netherlands through marriage since 1985 (Böcker 2000, 155). According to the 2022 data of the Netherlands Statistical Institute (CBS 2022), 52% of the Turkish migrants in the Netherlands are second-generation migrants, while the number of first-generation migrants has been steadily decreasing in proportion every year from 1996 to 2019. Some of the migrants also returned to Turkey (van Amersfoort and Surie 1987, 171). After the end of the workers shortage in the 1980s, a tendency towards asylum was observed in migration from Turkey, but this remained limited to a negligible level for a long time (Muyan 2021, 528). As a result, the mainstream migration type was economic migration, and some people moved to the Netherlands due to their family ties. Therefore, the main migration policy after World War II was to meet the shortage of workers and unite the families of the workers, and economic motivations were prominent.

However, the motivation of another group of migrants, the Turkish refugees after 2016, seemed to be different, considering the migration policies after 2000. The Dutch Aliens Act of 2000 granted the right to asylum only to those who would run a real risk of being subjected to torture or inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment (*Lower House of the States General 1999*, section 27; EMN et al. 2015, 31; 2017, 11). On the other hand, in economic migration, which is classified under “legal immigration”, the policy is seen to be aimed at highly skilled workers, and students who have completed their university education in the Netherlands, rather than unskilled factory workers as it was in 1960’s (EMN et al. 2015, 17-19). Following this policy shift, highly skilled workers and refugees, in greater or lesser numbers, have come to the Netherlands from various countries of the World due to war or political oppression; and Turkey is listed among these countries.

Considering the numbers given by Eurostat (2025), an average of 90 Turkish citizens applied for asylum in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2015. However, this number multiplied more than 17 times, and increased to 1,596 between 2016 and 2024. So, Turkey was placed among the top 3 countries of origin from which the most asylum applications were made to the Netherlands each year from 2020 to 2024. With a record of 2,895 applications, citizens of Turkey have taken the second place among those applying for asylum in the Netherlands, following the citizens of Syria in 2023. The distribution of the number of Turkish citizens applying for asylum in the Netherlands by year is presented in Chart 1. (Eurostat 2025)

Chart 1: Asylum applications in the Netherlands by Turkish citizens between 2008 and 2024



This study focuses on more than 14,875 Turkish refugees who applied for asylum between 2015 and 2025, regardless of their migration motivations (Eurostat 2025; Ministry of Justice and Security et. al. 2025). The aim is to determine whether the meaning of food and the halal concept are related to the integration of the refugees, especially social integration.

1.2. Theories of Integration

While migration refers to the physical movement of people across borders, integration addresses the social dynamics that follow, shaping the degree of belonging and participation in the host society. This complex process, in which culture and identity adapt to new geographies and societies, will be explained by introducing the definitions of integration, the acculturation framework introduced by John W. Berry (1997), and the 6 dimensions of integration coined by Harder and others (2018).

To begin with the definition of UN (United Nations), integration is a two-way adaptation between the migrants and the host society where they live (IOM 2019, 106). The purpose of integration is the full participation of immigrants in all aspects of life, including the social, economic, cultural, and political life of the

receiving community (Ager and Strang 2008, 166-167). In the context of migration, integration does not require migrants to settle permanently, but it does involve recognizing the rights and responsibilities of both migrants and the societies in transit or destination countries, including access to services and participation in the labor market. However, in the context of asylum, local integration is considered the durable solution, involving the permanent settlement and eventual acquisition of nationality in the country of first asylum, by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR 2006, 14). However, it is also possible for refugees who are expected to integrate locally to go through one of the stages of separation, assimilation, and marginalization, which John W. Berry (1997) theorized.

According to Berry (1997), integration does not necessarily entail the permanent settlement of migrants; it requires the acknowledgment of their rights and responsibilities, as well as those of the transit and destination societies, particularly concerning access to public services and participation in the labor market. His acculturation framework provides a comprehensive model for understanding how immigrants adapt to their new cultural environments. This model identifies four primary acculturation strategies: integration, assimilation, separation, and marginalization, each defined by the immigrant's orientation toward maintaining their heritage culture and engaging with the host society. Assimilation describes the process where individuals fully embrace the cultural practices and values of the host society while abandoning their original cultural identity. In contrast, separation refers to the choice to retain one's cultural heritage while rejecting engagement with the dominant culture, a situation often reinforced by living in culturally homogeneous communities. Marginalization occurs when individuals become disconnected from both their original culture and the culture of the host society, leaving them without a clear cultural affiliation. Integration, on the other hand, allows individuals to maintain their cultural roots while also adopting aspects of the host society's culture, often resulting in a bicultural identity (Worthy et al. 2020, 425). In short, Berry

states that integration occurs when individuals maintain their original cultural identity while also participating in the broader society.

In his further studies, Berry (2006, 327) posits that integration is often associated with positive psychological and sociocultural adaptation outcomes, as it allows individuals to navigate both cultural contexts effectively. While he strongly recommends staying away from forced assimilation, he emphasizes that separation could eventually lead to marginalization, no matter what benefits separation and assimilation have (Berry 2006, 328). Therefore, he insists that the ultimate goal of policies should be integration. However, an in-depth categorization of integration types and the development of the first objective integration measurement method were initiated by Harder and others (2018).

Defining the difference between integration and assimilation in the same way as Berry, Harder and others (2018, 11484) created a comprehensive, multidimensional approach to measure immigrant integration. In their studies, they aimed to evaluate the adaptation processes of immigrants to host societies in a more detailed and comparable way by addressing the integration in six basic dimensions: psychological, economic, political, social, linguistic, and navigational. In order to objectively measure how integrated migrants are in each 6 dimensions, they developed the IPL-12 index, consisting of 2 questions for each dimension, and the IPL-24 index, consisting of 4 questions for each dimension. Both of them direct questions about migrant's sense of belonging to that country for psychological integration, and about their employment status and earnings for economic integration. For political integration, they ask questions measuring how much they grasped the political situation of their new country, and for social integration, they ask questions about their relationships with neighbors and colleagues. The questions about the ability of a person to manage their daily tasks independently measures the navigational integration. For linguistic integration, the index uses a survey consisting of either 2 questions that measure reading and speaking, or 4 questions that include listening and writing skills too. Instead of stressful and expensive language exams, feelings and statements of

the migrant are taken into consideration (Harder et al. 2018, 11483-11484). Therefore, all of the questions are simple enough to be solved by the immigrant's own knowledge and skills, and it is recommended that they be translated conceptually in accordance with the immigrant's language and the culture of the country they live in (IPL 2024a). The inspiration for the preparation of the questions, the senses that were taken into consideration, and what was avoided in each question are explained in detail in the appendix (Harder et al. 2018, Appendix). These details in the appendix and other recommendations provided by the Immigration Policy Lab will be discussed under the Preparation of Survey Questions heading.

In short, it is implied that integration is a process that must be carried out by both the host society and the newly arrived immigrant when the UN's "two-way adaptation" definition is taken into account (IOM 2019, 106). Although the UN states that integration does not require full and permanent adaptation to the new country, it opens the door to assimilation by stating that refugees should be "locally integrated" and that the goal should be citizenship (UNHCR 2006, 14). Berry (1997), on the other hand, evaluated integration within his framework of acculturation and evaluated assimilation, separation, and marginalization methods as a process of acquiring a new culture, just like integration. Although these processes have different advantages and disadvantages, he recommended that governments determine the integration method (Berry 2006, 328). In accordance with Berry's definition of integration, Harder and others (2018) created a measurement tool and evaluated integration in 6 dimensions. In this study, the dimension to be addressed for the Turkish refugees will be the social dimension of integration, and the country will be the Netherlands.

1.3. Integration in the Netherlands

As in many countries throughout history, migration happened in the Netherlands, and people have immigrated to the Netherlands, both in large groups and as individuals. During and after these migrations, the state has pursued various policies in these migrations. The orientation of integration

policies of the state of the Netherlands, before and after 2015, will be summarized, and the approaches to integration and refugees will be evaluated in the frameworks of Berry and Harder.

Since the 16th century, the Netherlands has been known as a refuge for those fleeing persecution, including Huguenots in the 17th century and nearly 900,000 Belgians during World War I, and many Jewish refugees who fled from Germany and Austria to the Netherlands and faced death after the Nazi occupation in 1940 (van Selm 2019). In the post-World War II period, due to the labor shortage, young and unskilled manpower was invited to the country. This influx directed migration towards economic migration rather than asylum, and the underestimated number of refugees was also considered under the umbrella of migrant workers, in this period (van Selm 2019). It was considered that the so-called “guest” workers would return, and neither an integration nor assimilation-oriented policy was pursued, but a separatist approach was adopted in which migrants spoke their own languages and stayed in their own clusters (Muyan 2019, 177). Although this approach was initially welcomed under the name of multiculturalism, it was abandoned after the 1990s step by step due to the economic burden it imposed on the state, as the unemployment rate of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands was three times that of ethnic Dutch citizens (Vasta 2007, 719). In these years, participation in language and integration courses was made compulsory for new immigrants who were dependent on social benefits from the state due to unemployment. In 1998, the Integration of Newcomers Act (Wet Inburgering Nieuwcomers) made participation in these courses compulsory for all immigrants arriving since then. In 1999, the law was extended retrospectively to the rest of the immigrants already in the Netherlands (Muyan 2019, 178-185). Though this requirement conflicted with EU law and continued for EU countries, Norway, Liechtenstein, Liechtenstein, and Turkey until it was abolished in 2011 (European Commission 2025; Rijksoverheid 2020). At the beginning of the 21st century, state funding for schools, media, and mosques of migrant groups was terminated, and the decline

of multiculturalism was felt in the religious and cultural sphere (Entzinger 2003). The September 11 attacks, the murder of Dutch filmmaker and Islam critic Theo van Gogh, and the public debates of politicians have made Islam a target of the integration debates (Muyan 2019, 186; Scholten 2011, 87). Finally, with the New Style Integration Policy (Integratiebeleid 'Nieuwe Stijl'), which came into force in 2003, individual responsibility for integration was evaluated within the scope of adherence to Dutch norms and values, and the task of passing integration exams was given to the refugee (Verdonk 2003, 9-10). As a summary, the step-by-step transition from the separationist approach of the 1970s to the assimilationist migration policies of the 2000s, in which sociocultural differences are seen as an obstacle to integration, is given in Table 1 (Scholten 2011, 82).

Table 1: Policy Frames in Dutch immigrant Integration Policy since the 1970s (Scholten 2011, 82)

	No integration policy < 1978	Minorities Policy 1978 – 94	Integration Policy 1994 – 2003	Integration Policy New Style > 2003
Terminology	Integration with retention of identity	Mutual adaptation in a multicultural society	Integration, active citizenship	Adaptation, 'common citizenship'
Social classification	Immigrant groups defined by national origin and framed as temporary guests	Ethnic or cultural minorities characterized by socioeconomic and sociocultural problems	'Citizens' or 'allochthonous', individual members of specific minority groups	Immigrants are defined as policy targets because of socio-cultural differences
Causal stories	Social-economic participation and retention of social-cultural identity	Social-cultural emancipation as a condition for social-economic participation	Social-economic participation as a condition for social-cultural emancipation	Sociocultural differences as an obstacle to integration
Normative perspective	The Netherlands should not be a country of immigration	The Netherlands as an open, multi-cultural society	Civic participation in a de facto multicultural society	Preservation of national identity and social cohesion

As of 2015, the Integration Act 2013, which continued the approach of the Integration Act 2003, was still in effect by giving individual responsibility for integration to the refugee. While previously migrants were only required to attend integration courses, the new policy introduced a formal requirement to pass a series of integration exams including the A2 level Dutch language proficiency, ONA (Orientation on the Dutch Labour Market), and KNMI (The Knowledge of Dutch Society) exams (Roelofs et al. 2020, 3). Migrants who failed to meet such requirements faced financial penalties, reductions in social benefits, and restrictions on their residence permits (Roelofs et al. 2020, 4). In 2013, the time allowed to complete the integration exam was reduced from three and a half years to three years (Roelofs et al. 2020, 4). Additionally, the organization of integration courses and exams was transferred from the government and municipalities to independent but certified language courses. The migrants were expected to cover the costs of these services through the loan system of the Ministry of Education (DUO) up to €10.000. The refugees who pass all the integration exams within the 3-year period, do not have to pay the loan back (Roelofs et al. 2020, 4; Muyan 2019, 187). Integration Act 2013, which is in effect until 2021, has given the responsibility for integration entirely to the refugee. The three-year integration period began once the refugee received a residence permit, after which they were required to apply individually to the Ministry of Education for an integration loan. However, research shows that refugees typically applied for this loan with an average delay of six months, likely due to certain time-consuming administrative processes such as securing housing and applying for family reunification (Roelofs et al. 2020, 6). In summary, under the Integration Act 2013, refugees were made responsible to learn the language at A2 level and were offered a government-funded loan to use any of the certified Dutch language courses.

In 2021, a new integration plan was introduced. With the Integration Act 2021, the responsibility and authority to arrange language courses were shifted from individuals to the municipalities, participation in the labor market was

emphasized more, the desired language proficiency level was raised to B1, and three different integration pathways were introduced based on the refugee's profile. These three tailored learning routes were: the B1 pathway, focusing on Dutch language skills and work participation; the educational pathway, aimed at young people preparing for further education; and the self-reliance pathway, designed for those with limited learning capacity, focusing on basic language level and minimal social participation (Government of the Netherlands 2022; European Commission 2025). As of 2025, the Integration Act 2021 is in force. The differences between the integration policies between 2015 and 2025, and their backgrounds, are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Policy Frames in Dutch immigrant Integration Policy before 2025

	Integration policies < 2013	Individual Policy 2013 – 21	Migrant Profile Policy > 2022
Terminology	From multiculturalism to common citizenship, active participation	Labor participation, self-responsibility	Active participation, Personalized pathways
Social classification	From guest workers and minorities to 'allochthonous' citizens	Individual clients with responsibilities	Immigrants were grouped by their age and potential for learning language
Causal stories	Social and economic participation gradually tied to cultural adaptation	Insufficient effort penalized with sanctions, a cost burden on the individual	Early intervention, support through municipalities, and tailored learning paths
Normative perspective	From avoiding being an immigration country to promoting national cohesion	Market-based, individual responsibility, limited state role	Collective responsibility, improved state coordination, and early activation

Comparing both integration acts in 2013 and 2021, the Integration Act 2021, which canalize young adults to education, middle-aged people to labor, and elderly or hard-to-integrate people to the minimal integration to meet their basic needs, allows for Berry's three types of acculturations at the same time: integration, separation and assimilation. The 2013 Act, on the other hand, allows only integration or assimilation of refugees. However, none of the policy texts pronounced or even hinted at words assimilation or segregation, which sounds

disturbing; instead, the concept of “participation” is emphasized (Government of the Netherlands 2022). To compare these integration acts according to the framework of Harder et al. (2018), both of them focused on the two dimensions of integration: linguistic and economic ones. Although navigational and political dimensions of integration were stressed through the KNMI exam, policies and clear measurement methods for the psychological and social integration of refugees have not been found in policy texts. Perhaps it is not within the ability of legislators to increase psychological integration, which is about people's sense of belonging to a country, and social integration, which is related to the organic connection to their social environment. Comparing the folks to whom the integration obligation was applied during the period from 2015 to 2025, it is stated that no one migrating from the EU, Liechtenstein, Norway, Iceland, or Switzerland is obliged to integrate (Government of the Netherlands 2022). Just like citizens of the EU and the four countries mentioned above, migrants from Turkey were also not obliged to integrate until 2020 (Rijksoverheid 2020). However, all Turkish immigrants, except for highly skilled migrants, students, temporary visitors, and workers, were required to meet the integration requirements after the decision of the House of Representatives in 2020 (Tweede Kamer 2020, 6; Rijksoverheid 2024). Therefore, recent Turkish refugees, who are the target group of this study, are also obliged to integrate as of 2020.

To sum up, in the post-World War II period, immigration is encouraged and a policy of separation were pursued with the idea that the “guest” workers would return; beginning from the 1980s, when the economic downturn was felt, idea of multiculturalism lost its effect, and a policy between integration and assimilation was pursued by imposing the obligation to attend integration courses and exams. Following this period, in which the responsibility was given to the refugee, beginning from 2021, municipalities have taken the responsibility and authority, and different integration routes were preferred according to the refugees' profiles. In the meantime, refugees with a citizenship of Turkey were also separated from the other migrants with Turkish citizenship. However, none

of the refugees from EU countries and Liechtenstein, Norway, Iceland, and Switzerland had to meet such a requirement, according to the policies. It is a question of whether this difference is due to the gap between the number of asylum applications and their religious identities.

1.4. Asylum, Integration, and Religion

In the 2010s, more than two-thirds of asylum applications in the Netherlands were made by citizens of countries with a prominent Islamic identity (Eurostat 2025; Pew Research Center 2012). In parallel, far-right political parties, which have been on the rise since the beginning of the 21st century, have combined their rhetoric with anti-immigration and anti-Islam sentiment, and they have gained support from society, as can be seen from their increasing votes (Bostas 2023). Possible connections between these two facts are to be discussed, in light of statistics on asylum numbers, cultural differences, and politicians' statements.

The distribution of refugees who sought asylum in the Netherlands between 2008 and 2024 by country of origin is given in Table 3. Almost a quarter of the nearly 400,000 refugees who arrived in the Netherlands in the past 16 years came from Syria. When other countries, namely Iraq, Eritrea, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Morocco, and Yemen, are included, refugees from the 10 countries with the most asylum applications constitute 66% of the total number. The civil war in Syria from 2011 to 2024, which displaced 7.4 million people in total (UNHCR 2025b); the US-led invasion of Iraq in 2003, sectarian conflict and the rise of the terrorist organization ISIS (Larnerd, Yayboke, and Gigauri 2023); compulsory and indefinite military service, human rights violations and political repression in Eritrea (Poole and Riggan 2025); Humanitarian crises such as the protracted civil war, terrorism, drought and famine in Somalia (UNHCR 2023); the 40-year-long war in Afghanistan and the resurgence of the Taliban (UNHCR 2024); political repression, rising inflation and unemployment due to economic sanctions, and discrimination against minorities in Iran (Amnesty International 2024a); increasing political repression, restrictions

on freedom of expression and human rights violations following the 2016 coup attempt in Turkey (Amnesty International 2024b); youth unemployment and restrictions on freedom of expression in Algeria and Morocco (BTI 2024; World Bank 2022); and the civil war, humanitarian crisis, hunger and lack of access to health care that began in 2014 in Yemen (UNHCR 2025a); may have contributed to these numbers. However, in the public's mind, the refugee's clothing, skin color, and religion might be more distinguishing than events that occur thousands of kilometers away.

Table 3: Annual asylum applications in the Netherlands per citizenship of the asylum seeker (Eurostat 2025)

Country of origin	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022	2023	2024	Total ('08-'24)
1 Syria	80	130	155	200	575	2 265	8 790	18 690	2 910	3 010	3 070	3 840	4 155	8 520	12 750	13 110	11 655	93 905
2 Iraq	5 310	2 165	1 905	2 005	1 885	955	1 320	3 240	1 115	1 095	1 400	925	510	870	805	1 600	2 310	29 415
3 Eritrea	250	485	410	500	480	920	3 910	7 455	1 925	1 650	1 515	585	435	845	1 410	2 405	1 510	26 690
4 Somalia	3 960	6 025	3 670	1 985	1 425	1 215	595	450	250	200	235	290	235	970	1 500	1 850	1 115	25 970
5 Afghanistan	705	1 400	1 585	2 395	1 620	1 365	880	2 875	1 385	785	960	790	570	3 310	2 785	680	505	24 595
6 Iran	420	585	865	1 180	1 195	1 020	665	2 030	995	895	2 300	1 795	550	485	920	1 215	740	17 855
7 Türkiye	115	85	105	110	105	70	60	70	250	505	1 330	1 280	1 010	2 480	2 705	2 895	1 905	15 080
Unknown	465	605	660	735	550	325	555	415	525	635	720	900	605	850	1 140	1 250	1 445	12 380
8 Algeria	25	40	30	15	35	40	20	45	985	925	1 335	1 315	1 060	1 165	1 260	1 645	1 195	11 135
9 Morocco	20	25	30	25	35	70	65	90	1 280	1 015	1 160	1 190	845	980	775	1 035	720	9 360
10 Yemen	10	10	10	20	30	35	40	65	55	180	530	650	440	1 205	2 435	1 985	1 085	8 785
Total (all countries)	15 250	16 135	15 100	14 590	13 095	13 060	24 495	44 970	20 945	18 210	24 025	25 260	15 320	26 555	37 060	39 755	33 515	397 340

As shown in Table 3 and Table 4, most of the top 10 countries of nationality of asylum seekers in the Netherlands from 2008 to 2024 are countries with a prominent Muslim identity, located geographically between Afghanistan and Morocco from east to west and Yemen to Turkey from south to north. Among these countries, Islam is the official state religion in 7 of these countries as of 2015 (Pew Research Center 2017). Moreover, despite being constitutionally secular, both Syria and Turkey have been described as favoring Islam, particularly due to its influence on shaping state policies (Pew Research Center 2017, 14;16;23). In all of them, except Eritrea, the proportion of the population who identified themselves as Muslim in 2010 was over 90% (Pew Research Center

2012, 45-50). Although the Christians make up 63% of the Eritrean population, Christianity in Eritrea is different from the understanding of Christianity in Western Europe in terms of its external appearance. For example, women wear a white headscarf, those entering the church take off their shoes as if they were entering a mosque, women do not come to church during their menstrual periods, and sit separately from men during prayers (Eritrean Orthodox Tewahedo Church Diocese of the U.S.A and Canada 2021). For these reasons, Eritrean Christians may give the impression of being Muslims by appearance. In addition, some of the citizens of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and Syria, who have asked for asylum, belong to religions other than Islam. Nevertheless, their country of origin is closely linked to Islamic rule. It is also known that their reasons for seeking asylum, in some cases, are the religious oppression they are subjected to in their countries, which are famous for Islamic identity (USCIRF et al. 2022). When all these reasons are brought together, even if the primary motivations of the asylum seekers are political, economic, or humanitarian crises in their countries, at least two-thirds of those who have sought asylum in the Netherlands in the last 16 years can be linked to Islam, Islamic rule, or Islamic culture. This connection is also strongly felt in the political arena.

Table 4: Total asylum application numbers between 2008 and 2024 per citizenship, state religion, and Muslim population rates of the countries of origin in the Netherlands (Eurostat 2025; Pew Research Center 2012, 45-50; 2017, 32-34)

	Country of origin	Total number of applications	Percentage in total applications (%)	Country's Muslim population rate in 2010 (%)	State Religion in 2015
1	Syria	93 905	23.6	92.8	Islam (preferred or favored)
2	Iraq	29 415	7.4	99.0	Islam (official)
3	Eritrea	26 690	6.7	36.6	Multiple (preferred or favored)
4	Somalia	25 970	6.5	99.8	Islam (official)
5	Afghanistan	24 595	6.2	99.7	Islam (official)
6	Iran	17 855	4.5	99.5	Islam (official)
7	Turkey	15 080	3.8	98.0	Islam (preferred or favored)
8	Algeria	11 135	2.8	97.6	Islam (official)
9	Morocco	9 360	2.4	99.9	Islam (official)
10	Yemen	8 785	2.2	99.1	Islam (official)
Top 10 countries		262 790	66.1		
Total All countries		397 340	100		

Beginning with the September 11 attacks in 2001, public debates made Islam a target of the integration debates in the 21st century in the Western media (Becker and El-Mennouar 2012; Boztas 2023). In 2023, PVV (Partij Voor Vrijheid), a far-right political party led by Geert Wilders, was elected with 23.5% of the voters ranking the first place (Kiesraad 2023). In the following paragraphs, the statements of Pim Fortuyn, Theo van Gogh, and Geert Wilders, which interacted with Dutch society's approach to the integration of Muslim refugees, are presented.

Pim Fortuyn (1948–2002) was a Dutch politician, sociologist, and public intellectual who emerged as a significant figure in the Netherlands' political landscape in the early 2000s. He is best known for his critical views on the immigration of Muslims. Despite representing the far-right wing, Fortuyn insisted that he was not an anti-immigrant or xenophobic politician, but he emphasized that the Muslim groups of immigrants failed to integrate into mainstream Dutch society (Dorussen 2024, 139). He advocated that Muslims were unable to go

along with the moral values of Western Europe, especially when it comes to the position of women and non-binary genders (van der Veer 2006, 120). More than half of the voters of his party, LPF, supported a policy of sending immigrants back, and about a third insisted that they would have to integrate, and some were in favor of assimilation (Dorussen 2024, 140).

Another important figure, Theo van Gogh (1957–2004), was a Dutch filmmaker, author, and columnist known for his provocative critiques of religion, particularly on Islam (Vermeulen 2010, 247). He argued that Islam clashes with liberal Dutch values such as freedom of expression and gender equality, and in his short film *Submission*, he depicted the oppression of women in Islamic societies (Van Gogh and Ali 2004). The film featured an actress with Quranic verses painted on her body. However, this portrayal sparked a controversy and ended with blasphemy by many in the Muslim communities (Uitermark 2010, 1332). After his controversial short film, he was murdered in Amsterdam in 2004, and the murderer pinned a letter on his corpse containing criticisms of Western societies and threats against the other filmmaker Hirsi Ali (Castle 2005). The murder shocked the Netherlands and led to intense debates about freedom of speech and religious tolerance in Islamic civilization as clashing with Western civilization (Uitermark 2010, 1326).

The third important figure known for a strong anti-Islam stance is PVV leader Geert Wilders. He has made numerous statements suggesting that Islam is incompatible with Western values. Wilders has called for the banning of the Quran, closure of mosques, and a halt to immigration from Muslim-majority countries. In his political manifesto, he proposed measures such as closing all mosques and Islamic schools and banning Islamic attire in public spaces (Özkan 2024). His party, which has policies that include banning Islam and mosques, has gained increasing support throughout the 21st century, but has withdrawn some of its radical proposals during the attempts to form the coalition and running political debates in the parliament as the leading party after 2023 (Özkan 2024). Nevertheless, Wilders and his party, the PVV, which will have the most seats in

the Dutch parliament from 2024 onwards, can be considered to shape the Netherlands' immigration and Islam policies.

As shown in Table 5, the acceptance rate for asylum applications has fallen from 78% in 2022 to 58% by the end of 2024, and average waiting times have increased by 70%, from 31 weeks to 53 weeks, even though the number of applications has not changed much. Looking at the numbers, it can be suggested that the policies of the Ministry of Immigration and Naturalization (IND) have interacted with Wilders' rise (IND 2025, 2). Also, it was considered that all parties in the parliament had already shifted closer to his views on refugees, immigration, and language requirements (Darroch 2017).

Table 5: General procedure or extended asylum procedure (IND 2025)

	2022	2023	2024
Applications	37 450	42 500	36 830
Decisions	23 900	27 680	33 160
Pending	32 420	47 240	50 910
Positive decisions	78%	61%	58%
Timeliness of decisions	40%	64%	57%
Processing time of decisions (in weeks)	31 weeks	43 weeks	53 weeks

As the discourses of these three famous actors shaping Dutch politics and known for their statements against Islam, are taken into consideration, the prominent argument regarding Muslim refugees is that their religion is not compatible with Dutch and Western values, especially in terms of freedom of expression, gender equality and the value given to women. Although theories about incompatibility oscillate between recent shocking events and the sacred texts in distant history within an ideological and historical framework, some most effective cultural norms are often neglected, such as food culture.

1.5. The Meanings of Food

Migration is not merely a geographical shift, but also a deep cultural and identity challenge. One of the less frequently discussed yet potentially significant

aspects of culture that shapes the integration experience is food. Food carries complex symbolic meanings related to morality, religion, cultural identity, and social belonging. Therefore, its potential links with both migration and integration deserve closer examination. The following paragraphs explore the various meanings attributed to food and their relationships to religious and cultural identity, with a particular focus on the concept of halal.

Research on the meaning of food has evolved over at least four decades. The earliest study among them in the 20th century was the Dutch Eating Behavior Questionnaire (DEBQ), developed by van Strien et al. (1986), which examined the psychological reasons behind eating or not eating, especially in relation to disordered eating patterns. The study identified three main factors influencing eating behavior: restrained eating, emotional eating, and external eating (Van Strien et al. 1986, 305). Building on this foundation, Ogden and others (2011) developed the Meaning of Food Questionnaire to quantitatively assess the symbolic and emotional significance of food in daily life. Their study identified eight distinct meanings: food and sex, emotional regulation, treat, guilt, social interaction, control over life, control over food, and family (Ogden et al. 2011, 425). Later, Arbit et al. (2017) refined this work by conducting similar research. Using exploratory factor analysis, they simplified the structure and developed the Meaning of Food in Life Questionnaire, which identified five primary meanings of food, which can be measured with 22 questions. Chinea et al. (2020) further tested this model in the Spanish context using confirmatory factor analysis. While they confirmed the overall validity of Arbit and others' factor structure, their results indicated that four specific questions were less effective in capturing meaning, particularly due to food's strong associations with family, social life, and celebration within the Spanish cultural context (Chinea et al. 2020, 3336).

From a religious and spiritual point of view, food represents far more than biological necessity. It is a symbolically rich concept tied to identity, morality, and belonging. Anthropologist S.J. Tambiah (1969) emphasized how food taboos,

such as those found in Buddhist and Hebrew traditions, help define moral and social boundaries, linking what people eat to broader cultural systems of purity, pollution, and identity (Tambiah 1969, 424). It is often believed that food incorporates and affects the body when it comes to the body in parallel to a German saying “Man is what man eats” (Fischler 1988, 279). In a similar way, Nemeroff and Rozin (1989) demonstrate that the belief “you are what you eat” operates across cultures, from Jewish kosher laws aimed at weakening of “animal nature” in humans to the social practices, where food mediates social relationships and identity (Nemeroff & Rozin 1989, 51).

Besides, it is known that food practices are central to religious identity formation and maintenance. As Abbey (2024, 381) points out, food choices within religious communities are not only shaped by health concerns or cultural traditions but also reflect deep commitments to faith and communal values. For many believers, religious dietary practices, such as avoiding pork, alcohol, or non-halal meat, serve as visible markers of group membership and personal piety (Brown 2016, 189). These practices can support a sense of belonging, but they can also complicate integration if religiously appropriate food is not readily available in the host society, or cause an enmity, if religiously appropriate food bears offensive discussions between the immigrants and the host society. Regarding that the halal concept draws a border between the food preferences of the host society and the majority of the immigrants of the last decade, its possible links deserve to be analyzed.

1.6. Halal Food Concept in Scriptures

From an Islamic perspective, the way of assigning a meaning to food can be made by evaluating whether it is halal. The term halal means “permissible” or “lawful” in Arabic, and it refers to food that complies with Islamic dietary laws, while the term haram is the opposite (Asnawi et al. 2018, 1274; Kamali 2021, 35). The scriptural basis of these laws can be found in the Quran, which specify permissible (halal) and impermissible (haram) substances, as well as rules regarding animal slaughter and food preparation, such as prohibition of blood,

pork, and animals not slaughtered in the name of God, forming the theological basis of halal dietary practice (Riaz and Chaudry 2004, 187-191).

The Qur'an, which forms the scriptural basis of Islam, sets out the boundaries of halal and haram in a number of verses. Chapters 2, 5, 6 and 16 of the Qur'an, which respectively mean "cattle" (Al-Baqarah), "dining table" (Al-Ma'idah), "domestic animals" (Al-An'am), and "honeybee" (An-Nahl), forbid carrion, blood, pork and anything slaughtered in the name of anyone other than Allah (Quran 2:173; 5:3; 6:145; 16:115). Among these, Chapter 5 gives a longer explanation of carrion, including animals that have been eaten by a predator, except those that have been shot, fallen from a high place, gored, and slaughtered while still alive; that Allah is to be feared, not infidels; and that Allah has perfected and chosen Islam as the religion (5:3). Thus, the Quran draws a border between Muslims and non-Muslims based on their food choices. On the other hand, in all of these chapters, the boundary was also made transitive by stating that those who are in need or obliged may eat them (Quran 2:173; 5:3; 6:145; 16:115).

Another concept related to the concept of halal is "tayyeb", which means "clean", "wholesome" or "good" (Regenstein et al. 2003, 112). Also, many verses use the words halal and tayyeb consecutively, demanding that the food be halal and clean (Quran 2:168; 5:88; 8:69; 16:114). However, since it does not give details of which animals or foods are clean and which are unclean, the leading sects of Islam have declared different foods halal and haram (Regenstein et al. 2003, 121). For example, the Hanafi sect, which constitutes the majority in Turkey, considers seafood other than fish such as mussels, oysters, shrimps, squid, and lobsters to be unclean, whereas the Shafi, Maliki, and Hanbali sects consider all sea creatures that die when taken out of the water to be clean and halal, just like fish (Öz 2015; Kamali 2021,16). There are differences between sects within Islam on the issue of clean foods that the Qur'an does not explain.

However, in contrast to the differences between sects, Surah 5 provides some verses suggesting that even the differences between Abrahamic religions should disappear. It is stated that what the “Ahl-al-Kitab” eat is halal for the readers of the Qur'an, and what the readers of the Qur'an eat is halal for them (Quran 5:5; Regenstein et al. 2003, 122). “Ahl-al Kitab” means “the People of the Book” and is thought to refer to Christians and Jews. The books of “Ahl-al Kitab” give detailed definitions for clean and unclean food. For example, Chapter 11 of the book of Leviticus and Chapter 14 of the book of Deuteronomy in the Torah, which form the basis of Jewish kosher rules, detail the characteristics of animals considered clean and unclean by giving examples (Moskala 2001, Regenstein et al. 2003, 113). In a general view, the animals chewing the cud and having a divided hoof are regarded as clean, while pork and some other domestic animals, like camels, are classified as unclean. Moreover, many sea creatures apart from fish are listed as unclean, similar to the perspective of the Shafi, Maliki, and Hanbali sects (Öz 2015).

On the other hand, the scripture that Christians have taken as the basis makes it possible to interpret the clean food in a more philosophical way. Due to Jesus' words in the New Testament that food entering the body from the outside goes into the stomach and then into the toilet and does not defile the body, Christian theology generally tends to eliminate the halal-haram or clean-dirty distinction in food in material scales (New Testament, Mark 7:19, Laia 2022). After Jesus, certain visions experienced by the apostle Peter, such as the divine command “Kill and eat” (New Testament, Acts 10:13) and “Do not call anything impure that God has made clean” (New Testament, Acts 10:15), have been interpreted to mean that all foods are inherently clean or have been cleansed by God. Similarly, by saying “Food does not bring us near to God”, the apostle Paul ignores the spiritual meaning of defiled food, and he suggests that even the meat offered to other deities is not inherently impure and may be consumed (New Testament, 1 Corinthians 8:8). Nevertheless, despite holding this view, Paul

states that he chooses to abstain from eating meat so as not to cause a fellow believer with weaker faith to stumble (New Testament, 1 Corinthians 8:9–13).

Considering all the different scriptures accumulated through millennials and their multiplying interpretations, it might be hard to compose a list of halal and clean foods from the scriptures (Regenstein et al. 2003, 122). The Quran states that the same prohibitions are imposed on both Jews and Muslims (Quran 16:118). It also states that Jakob and Jesus proclaimed some foods and things halal, which were previously made haram (Quran 3:50; 3:93). Therefore, from the Quran's perspective, it is clear that religious dietary regulations have changed throughout history. According to the Quran, this change should only be within the command of Allah (Quran 5:87). It is stated that those who attribute their lies about halal and haram to Allah will not be able to attain salvation (Quran 16:116).

In conclusion, the Qur'an, the scriptural base of Islam, contains numerous verses related to dietary restrictions. The differences in interpretation of these verses have led to variations and discussions in practice among Islamic sects. As the discussions are primarily guided by clerics and tend to occur at an academic or theological level, the semantic understandings of the concept of halal among the public also has significant importance.

1.7. The Societal Implications of the Halal Concept

While religious authorities define what counts as halal based on religious law, it remains unclear how believers themselves interpret and relate to halal food on a personal level (Asnawi et al. 2018, 1276). Below, some theories on how faith-based food practices are effective in people's decision-making processes and how food rules create social identity in relation to the halal concept are summarized. Having a faith basis, halal food rules also affect society (Arslan and Aydin 2024, 3271).

Firstly, a notable study that examines the relationship between halal food consumption and religiosity is that of Asnawi et al. (2018), which draws on the

Theory of Planned Behavior and its predecessor, the Theory of Reasoned Action. Aiming to investigate how individual intentions shape halal food consumption in the marketplace, the researchers conducted a survey with Muslim students in Indonesia. The findings reveal that religiosity significantly enhances the intention to consume halal products and that this intention translates into actual consumption behavior (Asnawi et al. 2018, 1281). In other words, there is a directly proportional relationship between halal preference and religiosity.

Another study by Ersanili (2010) points out that this direct proportion is also valid in three different Western European countries where Turkish immigrants reside in large numbers. In measuring the level of integration of Turkish immigrants living in France, Germany and the Netherlands, the religiosities of the respondents were measured regarding how often they eat halal food, participation in Ramadan, whether they or their spouses wear a headscarf, and their mosque participations; and it was observed that these measures were directly related to each other (Ersanili 2010, 53). In all three countries, it was observed that the majority of those who always eat halal food are in the majority. It was also observed that the highest proportion of individuals who always consume halal food among these three countries live in the Netherlands, with a rate of 71% (Ersanili 2010, 57). However, the study did not aim to link halal practices with the integration and social relations of the migrants.

The societal and psychological insights of the religious dietary practices were outlined by Arslan and Aydin (2024, 3263) through a framework based on five theories. The theories affecting religious dietary practices were listed as cognitive dissonance, social identity, self-determination, social support, and moral licensing theories, as shown in Figure 1.

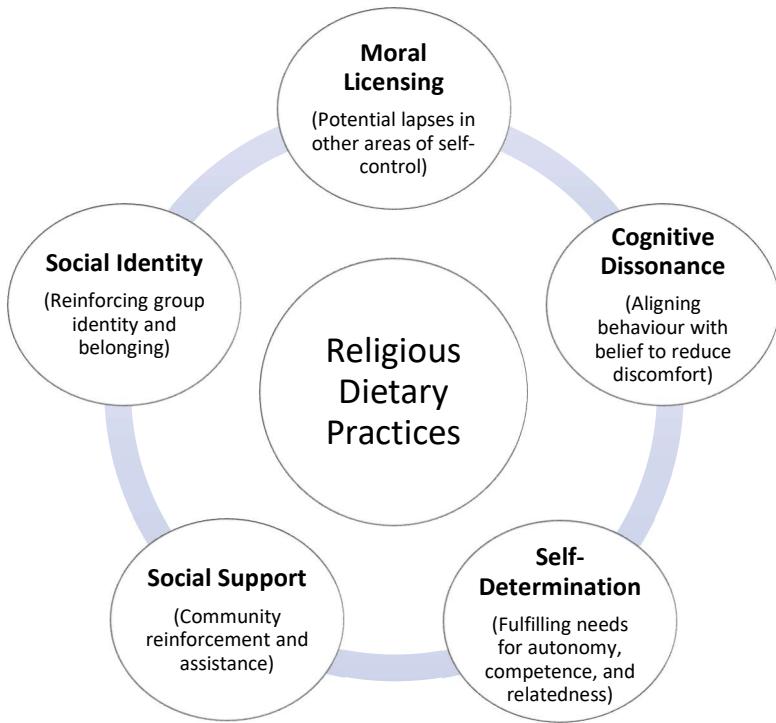


Figure 1: Religious Dietary Practices (Arslan and Aydin 2024, 3263)

Cognitive Dissonance Theory, which was coined by Festinger (1957, 1-7), claims that individuals experience psychological discomfort when their actions conflict with their religious dietary beliefs. To resolve this tension, they modify behavior to align with belief, thus reinforcing religious commitment and reducing stress (Morvan and O'Connor 2017). Considering this theory, it can be said that regardless of being an asylum seeker or minority, any Muslim may strengthen their halal restrictions to keep integrity and reduce stress.

A second theory in the framework of Arslan and Aydin (2024) is Social Identity Theory, which claims that dietary laws function as markers of group identity. By following religious food rules, individuals strengthen their sense of belonging within their faith community, affirming both personal and collective identity while gaining social support and increased self-esteem (Arslan and Aydin 2024, 3261). In line with this theory, it can be asserted that refugees in the Netherlands form a collective identity by following the halal regulations, so that they provide social support, enhance their self-esteem, and encourage solidarity within their groups as minorities.

Thirdly, Self-Determination Theory, coined by Deci and Ryan (2012) argues that religious dietary practices can fulfill essential psychological needs, such as autonomy, competence, and relatedness. Choosing to follow certain religious dietary laws freely supports a sense of autonomy, while successfully applying those rules builds competence (Deci and Ryan 2012, 1-4). Therefore, shared food practices also enhance relatedness by strengthening social bonds within the religious community, and adherence becomes a self-motivated act that reinforces both personal identity and communal connection (Arslan and Aydin 2024, 3263). Regarding this theory, it can be said that following any strict halal regulation would be the self-motivated choice of the Muslim refugees to meet their psychological needs.

On the other hand, the concept of moral licensing offers insight into the complex relationship between religious dietary adherence and moral behavior. This phenomenon occurs when individuals permit themselves to engage in questionable actions after performing a morally positive act. In the context of religious diets, strict observance may generate a sense of moral accomplishment, which can unintentionally reduce self-control in other areas (Blanken et al. 2015). This reflects psychological balancing that can occur within religious observance. In the context of halal food preferences, sticking to any halal regulations might be a result of the other moral actions of the refugees in their lives.

Lastly, Social Support Theory suggests that religious dietary practices create a cohesion in communities similar to what was mentioned in Social Identity Theory, by yielding significant communal benefits (Arslan and Aydin 2024, 3263). Shared rituals, such as collective fasting or festive meals, reinforce group identity and social cohesion. These practices foster a sense of belonging, strengthen interpersonal bonds, and contribute to emotional resilience (Arslan and Aydin 2024, 3263). In the context of Muslim migrants in the Netherlands, halal products, certification institutes, restaurants, and even one-month-long Ramadan fasting might foster the Social Support Theory.

To summarize the above-mentioned anthropological studies on the social implications of halal food, halal consumption is both a cause and a consequence of the religiosity of Muslims and Turkish refugees living in Western Europe. Halal food plays a positive role in shaping migrants' identities, fostering group cohesion, and is a helpful tool in reducing psychological stress by enhancing their sense of integrity, providing moral licensing in daily behaviors. Another relevant research, though not directly focused on halal food or religious dietary rules, is the Meanings of Food framework advanced by Arbit et al. (2017). Even though it is proposed that five core meanings are attributed to food, namely morality, health, social connection, aesthetic value, and the sacred, it is not yet known which of these meanings halal food specifically represents for Muslim individuals. This gap in the literature points to the need for further field research. In particular, it is necessary to examine what kind of meaning halal food holds for its consumers, and to investigate how both the practice of eating halal and the meanings attributed to food relate to the social integration of refugees. This study responds to that need by exploring these connections in the context of Turkish refugees in the Netherlands.

1.8. Summary

The conceptual framework explained the relevant academic literature to clarify the position of refugees within broader migrant categories, and the differences of Turkish asylum seekers in the Netherlands since 2016, the role of integration among four different forms of acculturation, and the possible place of the halal concept in meanings attributed to food. In addition, the chapter discusses major theories and policies of integration proposed by scholars such as John W. Berry (1997) and Harder et al. (2018), in light of the definitions made by international organizations like the UN and the official authorities of the Netherlands. The possible links between migration and Islam in the Netherlands are detailed using statistical data, while public narratives that combine anti-immigrant and anti-Islamic rhetoric are summarized through the views of influential figures who argue that Muslims are inherently unable to integrate. As

a result, this chapter proposes that debates surrounding migration, integration, and religion are not only shaped by historical or textual contexts, but also by cultural practices such as food. It advocates that the meanings attributed to food, as a core aspect of cultural identity, may be closely connected to how Muslim migrants experience and navigate integration. However, despite growing interest in the cultural dimensions of integration, no known studies have examined the relationship between the meanings that Muslim refugees attribute to food and their integration experiences. To address this gap, a field study was conducted with Turkish refugees living in the Netherlands. The methodology and findings of that research are presented in the following chapters.

2 Methodology

A quantitative field study was conducted with 60 participants using a survey designed to measure three main topics: the integration of Turkish refugees who sought asylum in the Netherlands, the meaning they attribute to food, and their halal consumption. The first section of the survey employed systematic questions developed by Harder and others (2018) to assess the participants' integration across six dimensions. The IPL-12 index, consisting of two questions for each dimension, was used to measure psychological, navigational, economic, political, and linguistic integrations. The IPL-24 index, which includes four detailed questions, was used to evaluate social integration. To explore the meanings that participants associate with food, the Meaning of Food in Life Questionnaire, originally developed by Ogden and others (2011) and later improved by Arbit and others (2017), was used. Also, participants' halal consumption habits were measured using the Do You Think You Are Eating Halal survey, implemented by the Turkey-based halal certification and accreditation organization, the World Halal Council (2022; 2025). The following paragraphs provide details on the data collection method, preparation of the survey, participant recruitment, and data analysis procedures.

2.1. Data Collection

The field research, which synthesizes three different surveys, required a careful and ethically sensitive approach to data collection, given that the target group is some asylum seekers bearing the stress of legal procedures and security concerns. Policies on the research design prioritizing a neutral and secure data collection environment, ensuring the anonymity and informed consent of participants, besides storing, accessing, and erasing the data were explained in the following paragraphs.

To ensure that data could be collected efficiently, objectively, and without the need for direct interaction between the researcher and participants, a fully-

structured online survey was developed using an online platform. This survey was given in Appendix-1A in Turkish, the original language, and in Appendix-1-B with its English translation. The survey consisted of multiple-choice questions designed for quantitative analysis. Participants could access the questionnaire through messages, emails, links, or QR codes, enabling them to respond quickly and conveniently. The questions were presented in writing, eliminating ambiguity and supporting objectivity. In addition, the fact that the survey was completed on an online platform contributed to securing the identity of the participants who may prefer not to reveal their identities or not to engage directly with the researcher.

Considering that a portion of Turkish refugees in the Netherlands have applied for asylum due to political repression and restrictions on freedom of expression in Turkey, it was anticipated that many potential participants might feel reluctant to take part in the field research (Amnesty International 2024b). In response, a clear and concise information text was prepared, explaining the research purpose, the identity of the researcher, the fact that the study had no financial incentive, and that it would not affect participants' official procedures related to asylum or citizenship. This text also clarified the confidentiality of their responses and outlined the intended use of the research results. To be clear, a FAQ (Frequently Asked Questions) section was prepared in a question-and-answer format, anticipating seven key concerns participants might have. For any additional questions, participants were informed, both in the FAQ sheet and in the introduction of the survey, that they could contact the student researcher via the email address provided, along with his name and university affiliation. The original Turkish version of the FAQ is attached in Appendix-2A, and the English translation is provided in Appendix-2B.

For collecting and securing data, Google Workspace services were used in the research process: Google Forms for data collection and Google Drive for storing in the cloud (Google Workspace 2025). Both platforms were accessed exclusively through the student's university-registered account at the University

of Groningen. The raw data were not shared with anyone. Only anonymized data were shared with the academic supervisor for analysis purposes, after removing timestamps. It is planned that the data will be deleted eight months following the master's thesis is officially approved.

2.2. Preparation of Survey Questions

Since the survey used in the field study incorporated three distinct questionnaires, the list of questions was modified to ensure consistency and coherence. The questions were kept concise and modified to suit both the geographical context of the Netherlands and the linguistic and cultural background of Turkish respondents. The process of adapting the three measurement tools, which focus on integration, food, and halal consumption, respectively, is explained in detail in subsequent paragraphs.

The first section of the questionnaire was based on the integration test developed by Harder and others (2018). This test had previously been administered to Asian and Hispanic migrants in the United States, European migrants in Switzerland, and European language-speaking migrants in Brazil, the Dominican Republic, and Peru. Some of the results and multilingual versions of the survey were made publicly available (IPL 2024b). However, no prior application or adaptation of this test for Turkish migrants or the Dutch context was identified. Therefore, the researchers relied on the extensive supplementary materials provided by Harder et al. (2018, appendix), as well as their presentations to guide the cultural and contextual adaptation process (IPL 2024a; Laitin et al. 2024).

Using the adaptation guides made available on the Immigration Policy Lab's website, the survey questions were revised for Turkish refugees residing in the Netherlands. For example, in the economic integration category, questions regarding monthly income were recalculated: the unit of currency was changed from U.S. dollars to Euros, and rather than using the country's gmeh (gross median equivalized household income) shown in Formula 1, numerical

similarities were considered, and a linear extrapolation using OECD 2023 data for the Netherlands' gross adjusted disposable income per capita of households. This recalculation was executed according to the suggestions of the European Central Bank and Harder and others, as the results were presented in Table 6. (OECD 2025; CBS 2025; Harder et al. 2018, Appendix 11; ECB 2025)

Formula 1: Calculation of gmeh (gross median equivalized household income) (Harder et. al. 2018, appendix)

$$gmeh = \frac{\text{household's total income}}{\sqrt{\text{number of household}}}$$

Table 6: Grading of I.Eco1 question

IPL suggestion on gmeh	Annual incomes for the USA in 2014 in USD	Monthly incomes for the Netherlands in 2024 in EUR	IPL-12 Grade
$[0, \frac{gmeh}{3}]$	$[0 - 22,666]$	$[0, 16\,000]$	1
$[\frac{gmeh}{3}, \frac{gmeh}{1.5}]$	$[22,666 - 45,333]$	$[16\,000, 32\,000]$	2
$[\frac{gmeh}{1.5}, gmeh]$	$[45,333 - 68,000]$	$[32\,000, 48\,000]$	3
$[gmeh, (gmeh + \frac{gmeh}{3})]$	$[68,000 - 90,666]$	$[48\,000, 64\,000]$	4
$> gmeh + \frac{gmeh}{3}$	$> 90,666$	$> 64\,000$	5

In the category of social integration, the term “Americans” used in the original survey was not directly replaced with “Dutch people” but instead substituted with “Dutch citizens,” which is a more inclusive term that avoids assumptions based on physical appearance, religious beliefs, or immigrant background. This naming was chosen to reduce potential discomfort about the identity and to ensure greater clarity in the questions. In questions related to participants’ religious group participations, places of worship more commonly recognized in the Turkish context, such as mosques, churches, and cemevis, were included, instead of synagogues.

The questions concerning the meaning of food had already evolved conceptually and theoretically over nearly four decades of research, and were

most recently refined in the methodology developed by Arbit et al. (2017). Moreover, Chinea and others (2020, 3336) found that this method was valid in the Spanish cultural context, even though four of the questions lacked sufficient discriminative power. Therefore, the questionnaire list developed by Arbit and others (2017) was used as the primary reference for translation into Turkish, but particular attention was given to the questions flagged as weak. Most of the questions were translated using secular language, similar to the Arbit. For example, rather than the term “Allah” which could be perceived as Islamic, the more neutral “Tanrı” (God) term was used. At the same time, terms that may sound unusual or foreign in Turkish, such as “spirituel” (spiritual) were avoided in favor of culturally familiar alternatives like “manevi”, which is a term more aligned with Islam and old culture. All questions were presented in a list using a five-point Likert scale, and care was taken to ensure visual clarity and a user-friendly user interface for participants.

For the evaluation and translation of the third questionnaire made by the World Halal Council, which is a Turkey-based halal certification and accreditation organization, no academic study was found (World Halal Council 2022). Among the questions, the ones about customer habits and repeated questions were eliminated, and questions discerning whether people consume halal food were included. Some questions were restructured according to the topic and location of the research: for example, a question asking about opinions on the necessity of Halal certification was localized as to whether the certification is required in the Netherlands.

At the end of the survey, one more section about the socio-demographic variables was also added. In this section, the confidentiality of the respondents' personal information was prioritized. No questions were asked about their date of birth, educational and professional backgrounds, and beliefs; instead, their genders and age groups falling in 10-year ranges were asked. Considering that they would have a major impact on integration, participants' first arrival dates in the Netherlands, the stage of their asylum procedures, and their accommodation

types were also asked. The number of households, which is normally a sub-question of economic integration, was also added to the socio-demographic data section to keep the survey coherent.

In order to make the questionnaire more streamlined, measures such as dropping some questions and adding moving pictures were also taken. For example, Arbit et al. (2017, 38) preferred to include questions testing participants' attentions, such as "The world's shape is a cube" or "I regularly eat rocks," in order to determine whether the participants filled out the questionnaire randomly. In the survey administered to Turkish refugees, such questions were also planned at first, but later they were avoided due to the possibility that the participants might feel that they were being made fun of. On the other hand, animated pictures (GIFs) were created and added to the questionnaire to remind participants to turn their phones to landscape, due to the horizontal length of some tables. Also, the entire questionnaire was designed in a modern and fluent Turkish language, so that the participants can read and understand in their first glance.

Shortly, questions were prepared considering the participants' security concerns, cultural backgrounds, geographical environments, and their abilities. In the end, a total of 58 questions were prepared for the survey as given in Appendix-1A and Appendix-1B.

2.3. Sample Selection and Target Group

The process of delivering the questionnaire to the participants is as critical as creating it. Given that the participants were consisted of individuals who are waiting for official procedures in obtaining residence permit or citizenship, besides possible political or humanitarian challenges they faced in their current and previous countries, it was essential to select a recruitment strategy that minimize stress for both the researcher and participants, while ensuring a strong representation. In this context, the methods used to contact refugees, the individuals and institutions excluded from the outreach process, and the extent

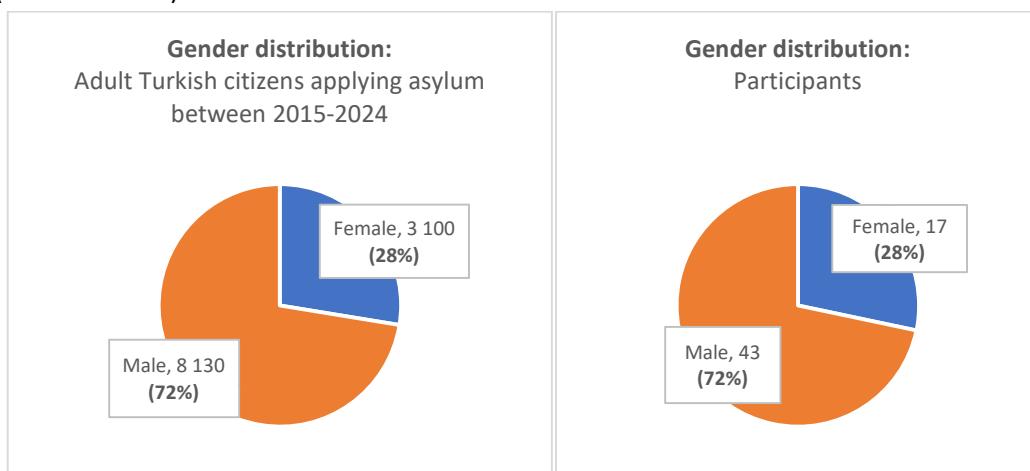
to which the participants reflect the broader target group are discussed in detail in the subsequent paragraphs, supported by relevant data.

Firstly, personal connections were prioritized in introducing the survey. The researcher promoted the survey by visiting refugee camps across the Netherlands and engaging directly with Turkish refugees at refugee camps, language cafés, and social events where refugee participation was high. More than 90 individuals were invited to participate in the study directly. Survey links were sent via personal messages and emails, and participants were encouraged to share the link with other Turkish refugees in their networks or within the same camp. Based on the brainstorming with Turkish refugees contacted during the early stages of survey design, the researcher created the FAQ section to address participants' concerns. In light of those conversations, support was not requested from refugee support institutions such as the Central Agency for the Reception of Asylum Seekers (COA), the Immigration and Naturalization Ministry (IND), or local and national NGOs like Vluchtelingenwerk (VWN) and Humanitas. Instead, outreach was limited to personal networks.

Efforts were also made to ensure diversity among participants comparable to the diversity within the broader refugee population. For example, if the researcher primarily engaged with male refugees, those individuals were asked to forward the survey to their spouses. Similarly, although political and religious affiliations were not explicitly discussed, when it appeared that certain political or religious groups were underrepresented, individuals from those minority groups were approached, and they willingly assisted by sharing the survey link within their own circles. Care was taken to avoid any behavior that might disclose participants' identities or cause discomfort. Participation was voluntary and pressure-free. Individuals under the age of 18 and those undergoing psychiatric treatment were asked not to complete the survey, even if the link reached them.

A comparison between the research sample and the broader refugee population suggests that the demographic characteristics of participants were largely representative. The fieldwork aimed to examine Turkish refugees who applied for asylum between 2015 and 2025, which has a population exceeding 14,875 individuals (Eurostat 2025; Ministry of Justice and Security et. al 2025). Given that the study involved 60 participants, representing approximately 0.4% of this population, the gender, age, and year of asylum application distributions in the sample were expected to reflect those of the broader group. According to Eurostat data, among Turkish citizens over the age of 18 who applied for asylum between 2015 and 2024, 28% were women and 72% were men. The exact proportions were also observed among the participants perfectly. No respondents, either in the Eurostat data or in the study sample, identified with a gender other than male or female (Eurostat 2025). The gender distribution of both the target population and the participants is presented in Chart 2.

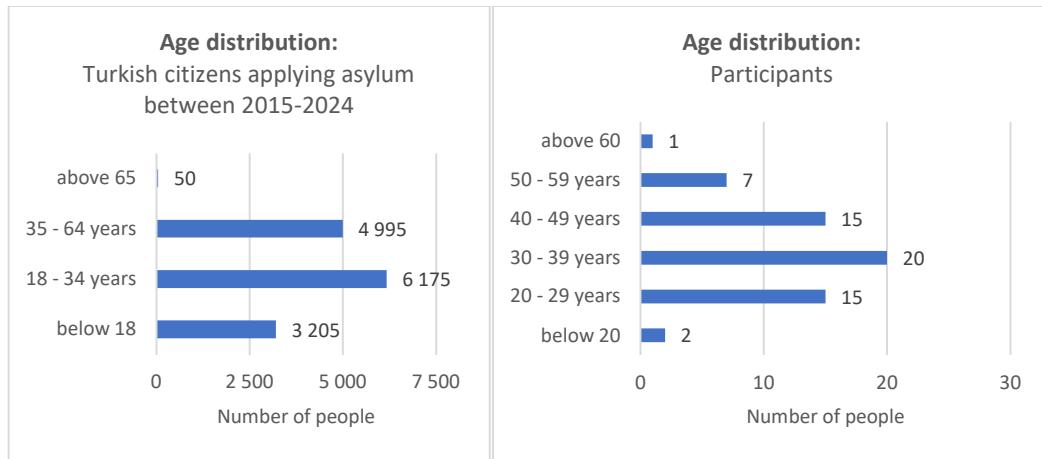
Chart 2: Comparison of gender distributions between the target group and participants (Eurostat 2025)



Another key demographic variable expected to be proportionally represented by the participants is age distribution. The age groups of the broader refugee population targeted by the study are presented on the left side of Chart 3, while the age distribution of the survey participants is shown on the right side. A comparison of the two charts indicates that the target population is also well represented in terms of age. One important note regarding the

interpretation of age-related data is that Eurostat collects age information at the time of the asylum application. However, the field study was conducted with individuals who, on average, had been living in the Netherlands for approximately four years, and persons under the age of 18 were not included in the research.

Chart 3: Comparison of age distributions between the target group and participants (Eurostat 2025)

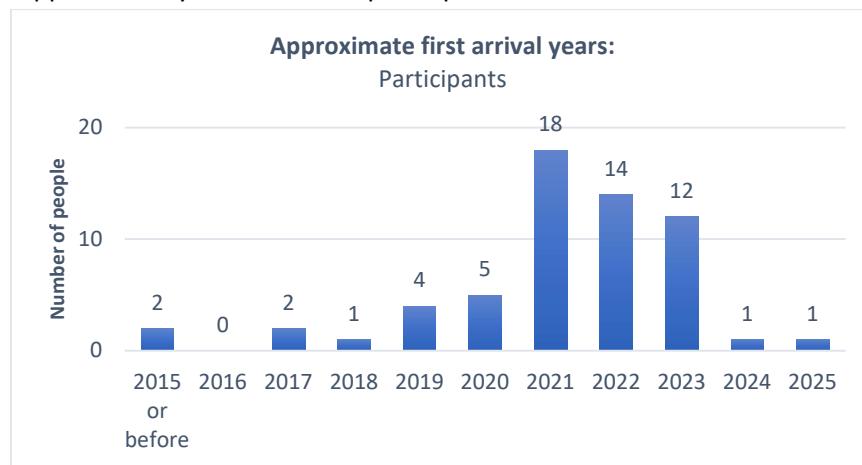


Another variable that respondents are expected to represent the target group in a balanced way is their dates of arrival or application for asylum in the Netherlands. Chart 4 shows the number of asylum applications of Turkish citizens over the age of 18 distributed over the years, and Chart 5 shows the approximate years of arrival of the respondents in the Netherlands (Eurostat 2025). Looking at the participant statistics, it can be said that they roughly represent the target group, although there are some clusters in some years. In the evaluation of this data, it should be kept in mind that some refugees may have lived in the Netherlands before applying for asylum; some refugees may have had to wait in the Netherlands for a while before officially applying for asylum due to their residence, visa or transit countries, as a consequence of the Dublin procedure (EU 2013, Art. 12-14).

Chart 4: Annual application numbers of citizens of Turkey above 18 years old between 2015 and 2024 (Eurostat 2025)



Chart 5: Approximate years when the participants first arrived in the Netherlands



Although the only major issue that could have a direct impact on the research and raise questions about equal participation was the religious and political backgrounds of the participants, no specific questions were asked about this issue. Although it was not explicitly asked and data was not collected during the research, it is estimated by the researcher that the target group was well represented by the participants in terms of asylum motivations, political and religious views.

In short, considerable effort was made to reach participants in the most appropriate way and to ensure that the sample accurately reflected the target population. Care was also taken to ensure that the study caused no difficulties for either the participants or the researcher.

2.4. Data Analysis

The data collected from 60 participants were analyzed according to the methodological frameworks outlined before. The processes of data collection and evaluation are briefly described.

The survey was filled out through an online form in Google Forms between 11 April 2025 and 22 May 2025, and the answers were transferred to a spreadsheet in the Google environment provided by the University of Groningen. The data was downloaded on the personal computer of the researcher and analyzed in local, using functions of both Microsoft Excel and Factor, which is a free software developed for factor analysis at Taragona University (Lorenzo-Seva and Ferrando 2006). All responses were translated into numerical expressions related to their topics and graded. Questions about integration were graded according to the grading system of Harder et al. (2018, appendix). The grades between 1 and 5 were given in brackets for each option in Appendix-1A and Appendix1-B. Required calculations were made in Microsoft Excel, such as the one in Formula 1. On the other hand, the options for the questions regarding the meaning of food have already been prepared in a 5-point Likert scale, which requires no calculation at all. Questions regarding the halal consumption were graded as shown in the Appendix-1A and Appendix-1B. Then, all of the grades between 1 and 5 were rescaled between 0 and 100, and the equally weighted average of all categories was calculated. All categories and subcategories were analyzed using exploratory factor analysis. Correlations between all questions were also inspected using the data tools of Microsoft Excel and Factor software. The overviews of the above-mentioned analyses were presented in related appendix sections, and their interpretations were given in the results section.

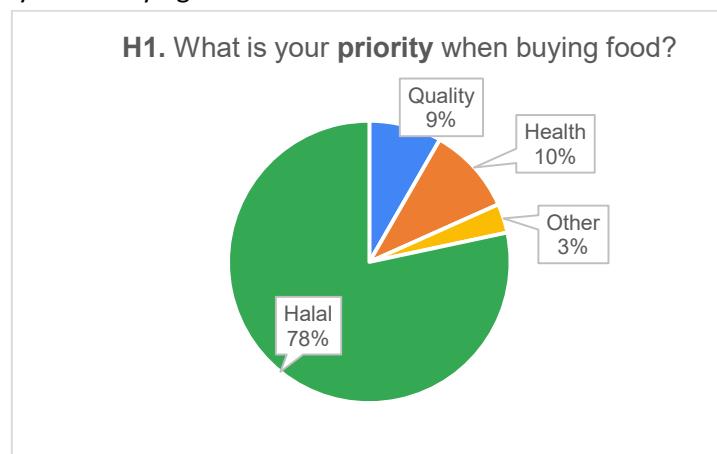
3. Results

The answers of the 60 participants were graded and rescaled according to the criteria of the relevant studies and subjected to correlation and factor analyses, both on a question basis and on a subcategory basis. Overall insights on halal consumption, integration, and the meanings of food were summarized together with their charts. Besides, tables and interpretations of correlations and factor analyses are presented in the following paragraphs.

3.1. Halal Consumption

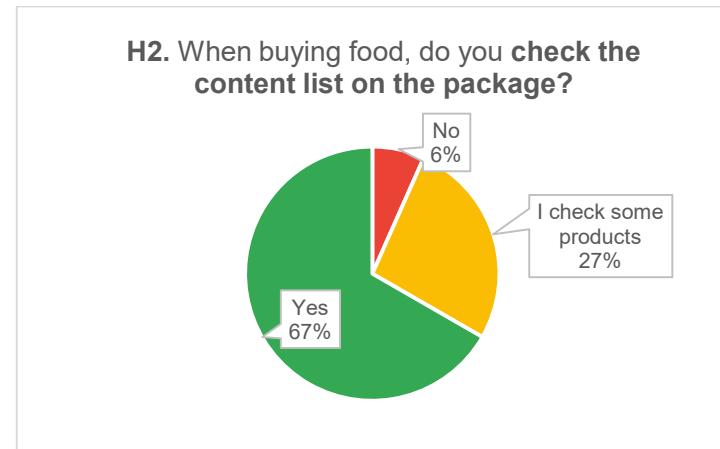
An overview of the participants' halal consumption habits shows that the great majority regularly adhere to halal dietary practices. 78% of the participants stated that their top priority when purchasing food was whether it was halal. Those who did not rank halal as their primary concern indicated that they prioritized products that were high-quality, healthy, or the least harmful ones to the environment, or combinations of them, as shown in Chart 6.

Chart 6: Priority when buying food



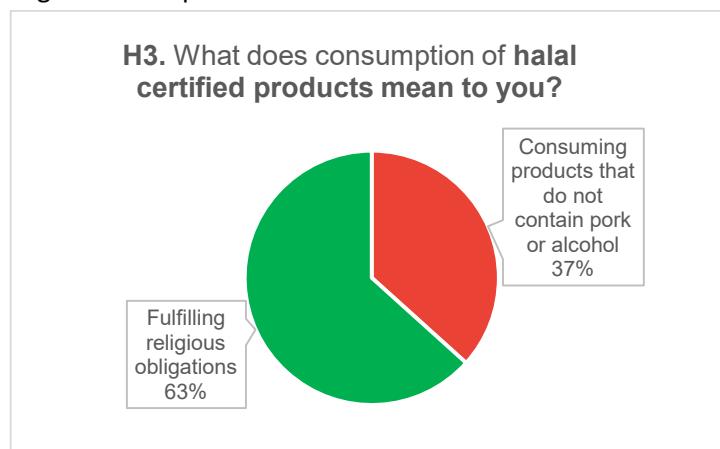
As it can be seen in Chart 7, 94% of the participants reported that they check the ingredient list on some or all product packagings. Considering that only 78% identified halal as their top priority when choosing food, it can be inferred that ingredient lists are consulted not solely for halal verification purposes.

Chart 7: Checking the content list on the package



As shown in Chart 8, 63% of the participants associated the consumption of halal-certified products with religious obligations, while 37% defined halal consumption simply as the absence of pork and alcohol, viewing it primarily in material terms, not spiritual or religious. Some participants also emphasized a scriptural foundation by describing the meaning of halal food as “consuming whatever is pure and permissible” (the Quran 2:168; 5:88; 8:69; 16:114).

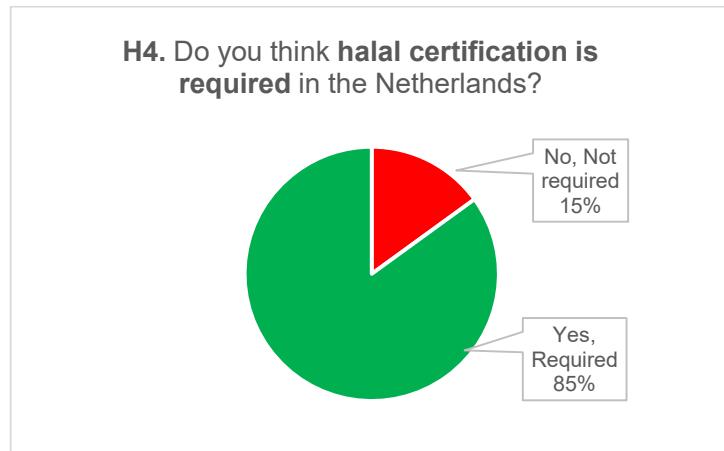
Chart 8: Meaning of consumption of halal food



As indicated in Chart 9, 85% of the participants stated that halal certification is necessary in the Netherlands. Three participants elaborated on their reasoning, noting that they do not yet speak the local language well and that even if they do not strictly follow halal guidelines, pork products cause them physical discomfort. One participant expressed a desire for certification but

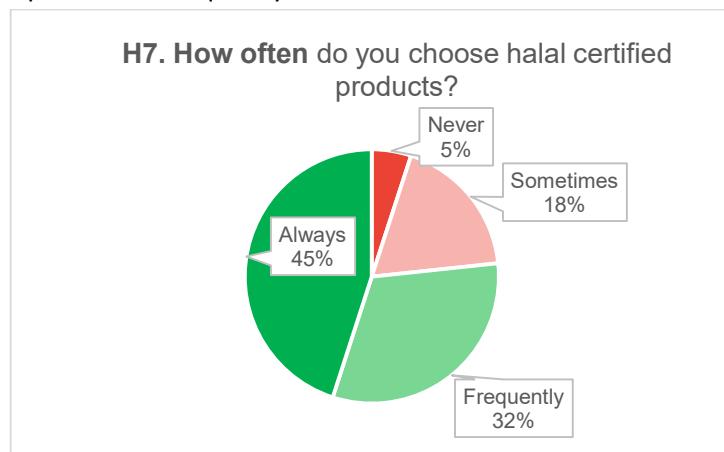
admitted to having limited trust in existing certification systems. Regarding the higher number of extra explanations in this question, it can be inferred that certification is a topic open to discussion.

Chart 9: Need for a halal certification in the Netherlands



Participants' use of halal certifications in daily life aligns with their perceived need for such certification. Approximately 15% of participants reported that they do not inquire about halal certification both during grocery shopping and dining at restaurants. As shown in Chart 10, a total of 77% stated that they always or frequently prefer products with halal certification.

Chart 10: Halal preference frequency

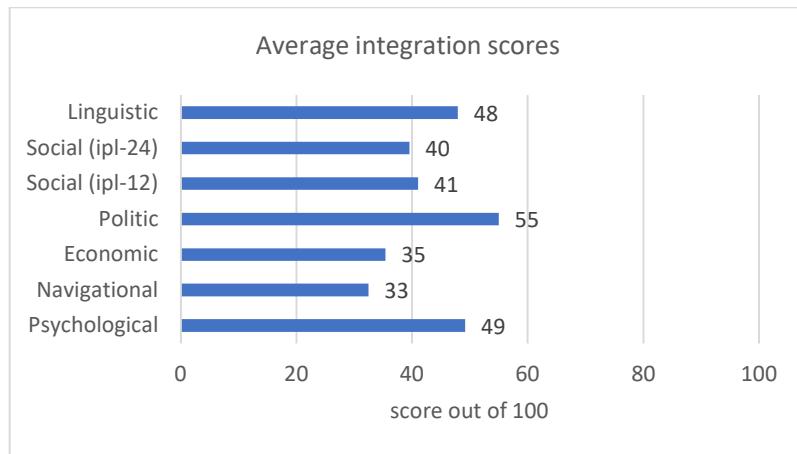


3.2. Integration

As shown in Chart 11, the average scores of the refugee participants across all categories range between 33 and 55 out of 100. The highest average score, 55, was recorded in the category of political integration. In contrast, the lowest

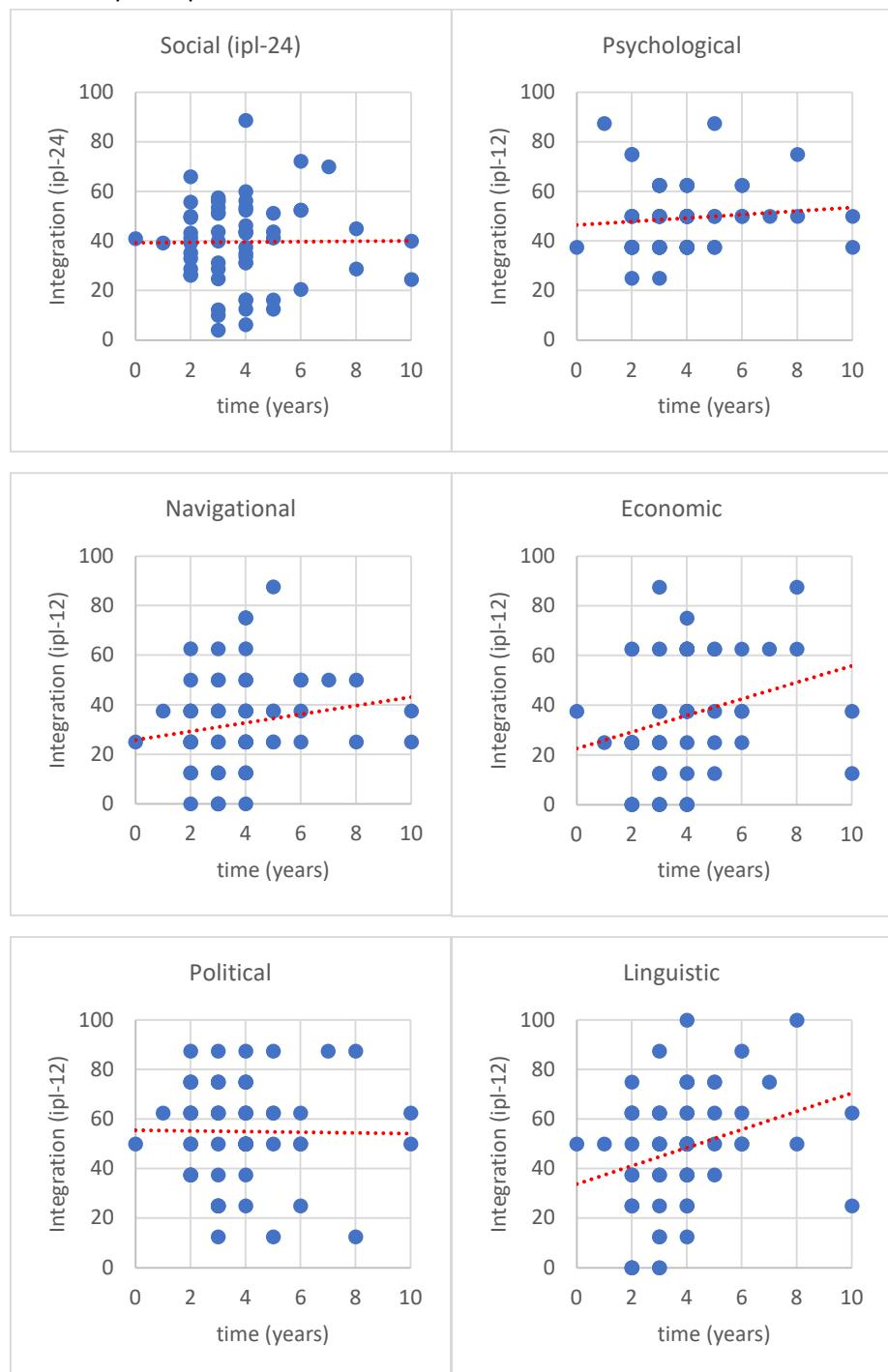
average score, which is 33, was observed in navigational integration, which measures refugees' ability to independently manage personal affairs in their new home country. Additionally, 45% of all participants achieved their highest individual scores in the area of political integration, which shows that the refugees frequently learn and discuss about the political situation of their country beginning from the early phases of their arrival.

Chart 11: Average integration scores of the participants



Given that time is one of the most significant variables helping integration, success should also be assessed in relation to duration. Chart 12 visualizes the extent to which the refugee participants have integrated into the host country over time, along with their scores across different categories. While linguistic, economic, and navigational integration show a clear improvement as time spent in the country increases, political and social integration do not exhibit the same expected upward trend over time. Because average scores in political integration are higher than any other type, it can be inferred that Turkish refugees in the Netherlands can complete their political integration early. However, social integration scores are low and they stay low, which shows that improvement is not observed within 10 years. Therefore, the reasons for these low scores should be inspected. In this study, it will be inspected considering the halal consumption and the meanings given to food.

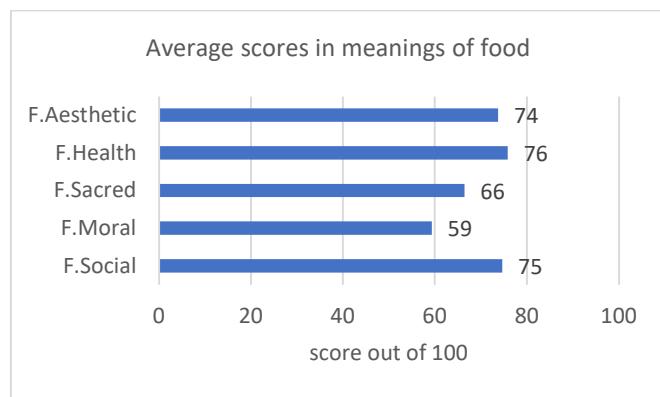
Chart 12: Social, psychological, navigational, economic, political, and linguistic integrations of participants in time



3.3. Meanings of Food

Participants' responses regarding the meanings they attribute to food show considerable variation and, as seen in Appendix 3 and Appendix 4 and discussed in the following section, offer important clues about relationships between integration and the halal concept. The overall average scores are between 59 and 76, as seen in Chart 13.

Chart 13: Average scores of the participants in the meanings of the food questionnaire



The question "**F. Hea2.** *I get satisfaction from knowing that the foods I eat are good for my health*" has got the most positive answers with 83% in the overall average, while question "**F.Mor2.** *My food choices are an important way I impact the world*" has got the least support with 55% in the overall average. Nearly half of the participants found the meaning of food primarily in the social domain. However, not a single participant identified morality as the most significant meaning they associated with food. The moral dimension of food, often linked to liberal values such as environmentalism and respect for nature, may not be strongly represented within the framework of Turkish cultural values.

3.4. Correlations Between Subcategories

Apart from the analysis of average survey responses, the study also investigates how each category and subcategory relate to one another, revealing meaningful connections within the data. The correlation analysis by subcategory is presented in Table 7 and Appendix-3, and the correlation analysis by question is presented in Appendix-4A with shortened Turkish question texts and in

Appendix-4B with shortened English question texts. There are 4 main categories: integration dimensions, meanings of food, halal preferences, and socio-demographic variables. The interconnectedness of these categories and their subcategories is presented on a scale ranging from -100% to +100%. Values approaching +100% indicate a directly proportional relationship, while values approaching -100% indicate inverse proportions. Values approaching 0% indicate that there is no relationship between the variables. In this context, values between 0% and 15% will be labeled as unrelated, values between 15% and 30% as weakly related, values between 30% and 50% as moderately related, and values between 50% and 99% as strongly related (Akoglu 2018, 92; Dancey and Reidy 2007). To enhance readability, the font color and background of the numbers were adjusted according to the level of relationship they represent. To make it easier to follow the variables in the table, the categories of integration dimensions, food meanings, halal consumption, and socio-demographic were color-coded as orange, blue, green, and gray colors, respectively.

Table 7: Correlations between subcategories

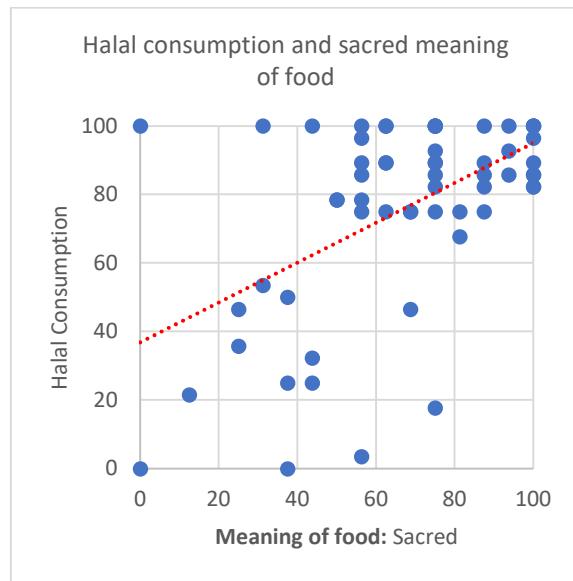
	Integration Dimensions						Meanings of Food				H: Halal	Socio-demographic					
	I.Psy	I.Nav	I.Eco	I.Pol	I.Soc (ipl-12)	I.Soc (ipl-24)	F.Social	F.Moral	F.Sacred	F.Health		SD1: Gender	SD2: Age	SD3: Time	SD4: Residence	SD5: Accom.	SD6: Household
Int: Psychological	100																
Int: Navigational	42	100															
Int: Economic	22	40	100														
Int: Politic	26	1	6	100													
Int: Social (ipl-12)	22	27	23	19	100												
Int: Social (ipl-24)	27	24	25	27	86	100											
Int: Linguistic	20	13	27	16	35	33	100										
Food: Social	21	3	2	17	6	-5	29	100									
Food: Moral	20	7	5	6	2	-2	9	55	100								
Food: Sacred	13	-4	11	0	-6	-9	13	61	47	100							
Food: Health	15	-11	8	15	23	17	32	60	57	52	100						
Food: Aesthetic	5	-6	11	6	-17	-25	8	57	51	55	50	100					
Halal consumption	-13	-10	-8	-11	-29	-24	-5	18	11	53	-11	18	100				
SD1: Gender	-10	-27	-6	-28	5	9	19	-12	-12	9	-13	13	100				
SD2: Age	12	8	-8	-8	-28	-24	-1	3	20	-13	-9	-12	6	13	100		
SD3: Time	10	17	26	-1	-2	1	29	-2	0	-32	2	-20	-38	5	42	100	
SD4: Residence	18	19	24	-9	6	-1	38	12	-2	-10	13	-12	-38	-3	22	77	100
SD5: Accommodation	19	9	35	-21	11	3	33	11	-4	4	2	6	-15	3	8	43	59
SD6: Household	25	0	-8	-9	-18	-9	-9	1	4	22	2	11	36	13	26	-15	-8

As shown in Table 7, the categories generally display internal coherence. The integration dimensions, marked in orange, were found to be moderately correlated with one another, while almost all questions about the meanings of food, shown in blue, exhibited a strong relation with each other. Among the socio-demographic variables, only some of the variables are found to be strongly related. It was observed that individuals who had spent more time in the Netherlands were more likely to have progressed in their asylum procedures, such as obtaining residence permits or citizenship (77% related), and people who obtained a residence permit or citizenship were more likely to live in their own homes rather than in refugee camps (59% related).

About the variables related to halal consumption, the findings suggest that the longer refugees had lived in the Netherlands and the further they had advanced in processes leading to citizenship, the less likely they were to maintain halal consumption habits (both correlations at -38%). Conversely, an increase in the family members was moderately related to an increase in halal consumption (36% correlation).

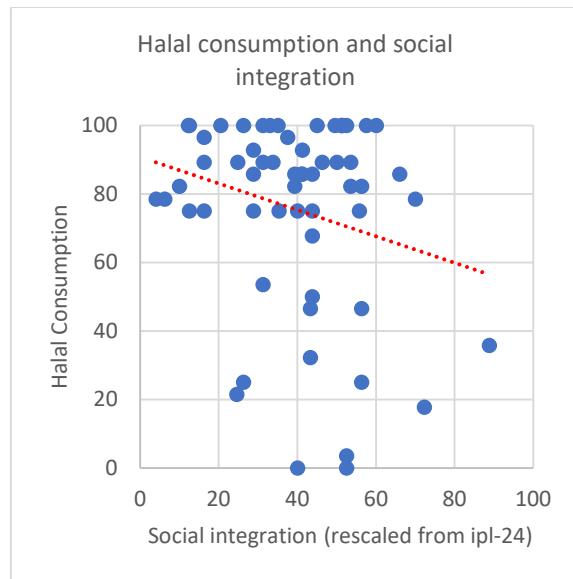
The relationships among halal consumption, the sacred meaning of food, and social integration, which form the core focus of this study, were highlighted with red borders in Table 7. Among them, the most prominent correlation is between halal consumption and the sacred meaning of food, which showed a strong direct correlation of 53%. Halal consumption was found to be unrelated to all other meanings of food, with the exception of sacred and aesthetic meanings. The distribution and trend line of halal consumption and the sacred meaning of food are presented in Chart 14.

Chart 14. Distribution and trend line for halal consumption and the sacred meaning of food.



The second focal relationship examined in this study is between halal consumption and integration, which also yielded expected results. Halal consumption was found to be negatively correlated only with the social dimension of integration (–29% and –24% correlations), while showing no significant association with any other integration dimensions. The distribution of scores for these two categories is presented in Chart 15.

Chart 15. Distribution and trend line of halal consumption and social integration grades.



In the final focal relationship, no significant correlation was found. The correlation analysis revealed that the sacred meaning of food was not associated with social integration (−6% and −9% correlations). Despite halal consumption being correlated with both social integration and the sacred meaning of food, these two categories themselves showed no direct relationship. To clarify this finding, the individual items within each category were examined first, then the results from the factor analyses were compared.

3.5. Correlations Between Questions

The table showing the correlation of each question with each other is presented in Appendix-4A and Appendix-4B together with the question codes and abbreviated question texts in Turkish and English, respectively. As can be seen in these tables, responses under the same categories and subcategories show similar relations to each other, generally. However, the two questions coded I.S4.b1 and I.S4.b2 about the frequency of refugees' participation in a group related to their religious beliefs show a different orientation than all other questions on social integration. As halal consumption increases, participation in religious groups increases, which affects social integration scores positively. On the other hand, those who do not consume halal food are more likely to participate in professional or political groups, and this is where they usually get their social integration scores. Nevertheless, since these correlations are not strong enough, an individual rather than a question-by-question analysis is needed. This is possible with explanatory factor analysis.

3.6. Exploratory factor analyses

Factors likely to influence the links between main categories and subcategories were examined on a case-by-case basis using the Factor program of Taragona University, and the results are presented in Table 8 and Appendix-5. Exploratory factor analysis is a statistical technique used to simplify complex datasets by examining the pattern of correlation between observed variables (Alavi et al. 2020, 3). As the name suggests, exploratory factor analysis aims to reveal the unobserved variables behind the data (Karaman 2023, 47). Therefore,

the factors numbered from F1 to F5 in Table 8 will be named and speculated about what they represent, in the following paragraphs.

Table 8: Exploratory Factor Analysis Between Subcategories

Factors →	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	Communality
Speculation →	Food - Integration	Halal - Time	Social talent	Navigation - Health - Woman	Halal - Gender - Age	
Variable↓						
Int: Psychological	39.6	-22.7	4.1	36.6	-19.5	38.2
	21.2	-35.6	6.1	57.8	-15.2	53.3
	30.6	-33	-0.7	18.2	-10.6	24.7
	20.7	-6.4	25.9	15	19.6	17.5
	34.2	-50.6	64.5	-11.9	-7.2	80.9
	28.7	-52.5	70	-8.4	-19.2	89.3
	46.9	-34.5	-1.4	-21.6	-16.3	41.2
Food: Social	75.1	27.9	-12.5	-2.6	10.2	66.8
	59.8	26.7	-10.2	5	9.4	45.1
	63.3	54	-1.8	3.8	-17	72.2
	75.5	13.7	3.3	-33.7	16.6	73.1
	55.4	46.6	-12.2	1.5	17.7	57.1
Halal consumption	2.2	60	-3.2	6.4	-49.5	61.1
SD1: Gender	-10.8	-3.1	-3.4	-56.5	-44.3	52.9
	-3.5	-6.7	-45.5	8.6	-21.1	26.5
	10.7	-66.3	-58.3	-6.3	4.9	79.7
	26.8	-62.3	-56.8	-6.9	1.6	78.8
	24.8	-39.8	-34.5	-6.4	-10.7	35.5
	4	25.2	-12.3	12.6	-44.4	29.3

To begin with the evaluation of Factor 1 (F1), which is the most eminent one, it is evident that it is strongly associated with all meanings of food, unrelated to halal consumption, and moderately or weakly correlated with all dimensions of integration. While its exact nature cannot be identified clearly, the factor appears to be food-related, and therefore it has been provisionally labeled “food-integration.”

Factor 2 (F2), on the other hand, is directly related to the concept of halal. This factor appears to increase halal consumption but hinder integration, particularly in the social dimension, though not in the political one. It is strongly associated with the sacred meaning of food, but unrelated to its health-related meaning, and it decreases over time as refugees progress in their asylum and citizenship processes. Therefore, this factor has been named “halal-time.” The

fact that the influence of this factor, previously evident in the correlation analysis, is ranked in the second order rather than the first may explain why the sacred meaning of food is not correlated with social integration. While the strongest relationships in F1 were observed between food meanings and integration, the most prominent links in F2 lie between halal consumption and time spent in the Netherlands. This might mean either that refugees change their halal consumption habits in time, or the refugees who came to the Netherlands earlier do not have halal consumption habits. To sum up, this factor shows that halal consumption is not the only variable affecting social integration, but time plays an important role.

Factor 3 (F3) appears to reflect a group or underlying feature characterized by exceptionally high social integration, despite having only recently arrived in the Netherlands, not yet securing a residence permit, and still residing in refugee camps. Although this group does not show any consistent patterns in the meanings of food or halal consumption, it performs well in both social and political integration. This factor is also associated with youth and has therefore been labeled “social talent.”

Factor 4 (F4) likely corresponds to gender. It may represent the tendency for women to attribute more health-related meanings to food and to be less successful than men in navigational integration. For instance, men scored an average of 36% in navigational integration, compared to 24% among women. Thus, this factor has been named “navigation-health-woman.” It shows no correlation with social integration. Therefore, this factor falls outside the scope of the research.

Factor 5 (F5) is associated with halal consumption, gender, and age. It seems to describe a group that consumes less halal food, is predominantly male, and is relatively young. However, this factor shows weak associations with both meanings of food and dimensions of integration, and no clear interpretation could be drawn from its structure, within the scope of the research.

Additionally, a deeper exploratory factor analysis regarding each question shows similar features for Factors 1, 2, and 3, shown in Appendix-6. However, Factors 4 and 5 appear to divide a group of participants who do not consume halal food into two subgroups based on age. The data suggest that older participants who assign moral meaning to food may face challenges in social integration. However, due to the weakness of the correlations leading to this conclusion and the small number of non-halal-consuming participants, no definitive interpretation was made regarding this group.

In conclusion, when all five factors affecting subcategories are considered together, the findings suggest that the meanings attributed to food are linked to both various forms of integration and to halal consumption. However, halal consumption itself appears to be more strongly associated with the refugees' time spent in the Netherlands and their progress in the asylum-to-citizenship process, rather than with the sacred meaning of food. This indicates that limited social integration should not be viewed solely as a consequence of halal consumption. Instead, choosing to eat halal may also reflect a refugee's shorter length of stay in the host country. Moreover, Factor 3, labeled "social talent," reveals the existence of a group that, despite being recent arrivals and still awaiting legal status, demonstrates exceptionally high levels of social integration. This group is generally composed of younger participants, and as shown in Factor 5, younger individuals tend to consume less halal food. These dynamics may have slightly skewed the overall statistical relationship between halal consumption and social integration, making it appear weaker or more complex than it truly is.

4. Conclusion

This study analyzes the profile of Turkish refugees who began arriving in increasing numbers in the Netherlands after 2016, highlighting their attitudes towards halal food. It investigates whether migration- and religion-based debates have an impact on food, a significant element of culture. In this regard, the meanings attached to food and the significance of halal consumption among migrants are discussed.

Considering all these concepts, the study conducts a field research project that focuses on the concept of halal food to explore the link between Islam and integration. The quantitative fieldwork involved 60 participants of Turkish refugee background. Participants were asked questions about their level of integration, the meaning they attribute to food, their halal consumption habits, and their socio-demographic backgrounds. The data were graded using relevant statistical methods, and correlations were analyzed, besides factor analyses to identify possible underlying variables. The study investigates the basis of claims suggesting a link between migrants' integration challenges and Islamic culture or religion. Supporting statistics are presented, and the connection between the cultural meaning of food and social integration is explored, with a specific focus on the halal concept.

The fieldwork revealed that refugees who adhere strictly to halal consumption tend to be slightly less socially integrated compared to other refugees. However, factor analysis indicated that other meanings attached to food and the presence of social skills also play important roles in determining integration outcomes. Furthermore, halal consumption was found to be not only a potential cause of limited integration but also a consequence of being newly arrived, since refugees' halal consumption practices tend to evolve and decrease over time.

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LVA%2BLTU%2BLUX%2BMEX%2BNLD%2BNZL%2BNOR%2BPOL%2BPRT%2B
SVK%2BSVN%2BESP%2BSWE%2BCHE%2BTUR%2BGBR%2BUSA.B7GS1M_P
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APPENDIX-1A: Survey Questions in Turkish

Hollanda'da Yemek ve Entegrasyon

Groningen Üniversitesi, İlahiyat ve Din Bilimleri alanındaki bir yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında saha araştırması yürütülmektedir. Tezin başlığı şu şekildedir:

- "Helal Yemek ve Sosyal Entegrasyon: Hollanda'daki Türk Mültecilerin Yemeğe Verdikleri Anlamın Sosyal Entegrasyon ile İlişkisi"

Ayrıntılar için  ilerleyen sayfalara bakınız.

"Paylaşılmıyor" (not shared) ibaresi varsa e-posta adresiniz görünmez.



Hollanda'da Yemek ve Entegrasyon

Araştırma kapsamında, Hollanda'daki Türk mülteciler ile **yaklaşık 15 dakika** süren bir anket yapılmaktadır. Anket esnasında çoğu derecelendirme isteyen çoktan seçmeli sorular sorulur.

Anket 3 bölümden oluşmaktadır:

1. Entegrasyon çeşitleri
2. Yemeğe yüklenen anlam
3. Sosyo-demografik veriler

Bu sorular, katılımcıların sosyal entegrasyon başta olmak üzere **Hollanda'ya ne kadar entegre olduklarını** ve bunun helal kavramı dahil olmak üzere **yemeğe yükledikleri anamlar ile muhtemel bağlantılarını** irdeler.

Araştırmaya katılanlarda **2 şart aranır**:

1. **Son 10 yıl içerisinde** Hollanda'ya iltica etmiş olmak
2. **Türkiye Cumhuriyeti vatandaşısı** olarak hayatının bir bölümünü Türkiye'de geçirmiştir

18 yaşından küçüklerin ve psikiyatrik tedavi alanların araştırmaya katılmamalarını rica ederiz.

- **Sıkça sorulan sorular için:**  <https://forms.gle/DU64Wc31Eh1Po1dW9>

Araştırmaya katılma şartlarının **her ikisini de** karşılıyor musunuz?

- a) Evet. 2 şartı da karşılıyorum. (Next section)
- b) Hayır. Karşılamıyorum. (Stop the survey)

BÖLÜM 1. ENTEGRASYON (7 dakika)

Bu bölümde Hollanda'ya hangi kategoride ne kadar entegre olduğunuzu ölçen soruları bulacaksınız.

Entegrasyon, yalnızca dil öğrenmekten ve iş bulmaktan ibaret değildir.

Araştırmmanın bu bölümünde Hollanda'ya entegrasyonunuz **6 boyutıyla** incelenecuk, en çok da **sosyal boyut** ele alınacaktır. Araştırmada incelenen entegrasyon boyutları:

1. Psikolojik entegrasyon
2. Navigasyonel entegrasyon
3. Ekonomik entegrasyon
4. **Sosyal entegrasyon**
5. Dilbilimsel entegrasyon
6. Politik entegrasyon

Entegrasyon 1

İlk 2 soru: *Psikolojik Entegrasyon*

Ardından çiftet çifter gelen sorular sırasıyla: *Navigasyonel, ekonomik, politik ve sosyal entegrasyon*

I.Psy1. Hollanda ile aranızdaki bağı nasıl tanımlarsınız?

- a) Hiçbir bağ yok. (1)
- b) Zayıf bir bağ var. (2)
- c) Orta derecede bir bağ var. (3)
- d) Sıkı bir bağım var. (4)
- e) Çok sıkı bir bağım var. (5)

I.Psy2. Hollanda'ya dışarıdan gelen biri olduğunuzu ne sıklıkla hissediyorsunuz?

- a) Hiçbir zaman (5)
- b) Nadiren (4)
- c) Bazen (3)
- d) Sık sık (2)
- e) Daima (1)

I.Nav1. Bu ülkede doktor işlerinizi halletmede ne kadar zorlanıyorsunuz?

- a) Çok zorlanıyorum. (1)
- b) Zorlanıyorum. (2)
- c) Ne kolay geliyor ne de zor. (3)
- d) Kolay geliyor. (4)
- e) Çok kolay geliyor. (5)

I.Nav2. Bu ülkede iş arama süreci size ne kadar zor geliyor?

- a) Çok zor geliyor. (1)
- b) Zor geliyor. (2)
- c) Ne kolay geliyor ne de zor. (3)
- d) Kolay geliyor. (4)
- e) Çok kolay geliyor. (5)

I.Eco1. Bir ayda hanenize giren toplam gelir ne kadardır?

(bütün yardımlar dahil, eşinizin geliri dahil, vergi kesintileri hariç)

Hane halkınız, evlilik, doğum veya evlatlık ile bağı kurup aynı çatı altında yaşadığınız kişileri kapsar.

- a) €1,000'dan daha az (500)
- b) €1,000 - €2,000 (1500)
- c) €2,001 - €3,000 (2500)
- d) €3,001 - €4,000 (3500)
- e) €4,001 - €5,000 (42500)
- f) €5,001 - €6,000 (5500)
- g) €6,001 - €7,000 (6500)
- h) €7,001 - €8,000 (7500)
- i) €8,001 - €9,000 (8500)
- j) €9,001'dan daha fazla. (9500)

(grading needs a calculation with the number of household (SD7) which was asked in the last question)

I.Eco2. Son dört haftadır yaptıklarınıza göre aşağıdakilerden hangisi sizi en iyi şekilde tanımlıyor?

(Lütfen sadece bir tane seçin)

- a) Ücretli çalışan (tatilde bile olsa) (5)
- b) Öğrenci (tatilde bile olsa) (3)
- c) Çalışmıyor, ama aktif olarak iş arıyor (1)
- d) Çalışmıyor, aktif olarak iş de aramıyor (1)
- e) Kalıcı olarak hasta veya engelli (3)
- f) Emekli (3)
- g) Askerde (3)
- h) Kamu hizmeti cezası çekmekte (3)
- i) Ev hanımı / Ev adamı (çocuklara veya diğer kişilere bakar, ücretiz ev işi yapar) (3)
- j) Gönüllü çalışan (3)
- k) Diğer (please specify)

I.Pol1. Hollanda'nın içinde bulunduğu önemli siyasi meseleleri ne kadar iyi anlıyorsunuz?

- a) Hiç anlamıyorum (1)
- b) Anlamıyorum (2)
- c) Orta derecede anlıyorum (3)
- d) İyi anlıyorum (4)
- e) Çok iyi anlıyorum (5)

I.Pol2. Son 12 ayda, Hollanda'nın içinde bulunduğu önemli siyasi meseleleri başkalarıyla ne sıklıkla tartışınız?

- a) Hiç (1)
- b) Yılda 1 kez (2)
- c) Ayda 1 kez (3)
- d) Haftada 1 kez (4)
- e) Neredeyse her gün (5)

I.S1. Son 12 ayda aileniz hariç Hollanda vatandaşlarıyla ne sıklıkla akşam yemeği yediniz?

- a) Hiç (1)
- b) Yılda 1 kere (2)
- c) Ayda 1 kere (3)
- d) Haftada 1 kere (4)
- e) Neredeyse her gün (5)

I.S2. Lütfen rehberinizdeki veya adres defterinizdeki Hollanda vatandaşlarını düşünün.

Son 4 haftada bu kişilerle kaç kere görüşmeler yaptınız? (telefonlaşma, mesajlaşma gibi)

- a) 0 (1)
- b) 1 - 2 kere (2)
- c) 3 - 6 kere (3)
- d) 7 - 14 kere (4)
- e) 15 veya daha çok kere (5)

I.S3. Birçok insan, parasını, bisikletini ya da arabasını ödünc verme veya başkasının çocuğuna bakıcılık yapma gibi günlük işlerde birbirine yardımcı olur.

Son 12 ayda, Hollanda vatandaşlarına ne sıklıkla bu tür iyiliklerde bulundunuz?

- a) Neredeyse her gün (5)
- b) Haftada 1 kere (4)
- c) Ayda 1 kere (3)
- d) Yılda 1 kere (2)
- e) Hiçbir zaman (1)

Entegrasyon 2

- Anketi cep telefonundan dolduruyorsanız,

Bundan sonraki sorular telefon ekranınıza siğmayabilir.
Lütfen seçeneklerin tamamını görmek için:

- Seçenekleri **sağa doğru kaydırın**
- Veya **telefonunuzu yan çevirin.**



İnsanlar bazen çeşitli grup ve derneklerde katılırlar.

Aşağıdaki grup etkinliklerine **en az** ne sıklıkla katılıyorsunuz?

	Yılda 1 kere	Ayda 1 kere	Haftada 1 kere	Üyeyim fakat katılmıyorum.	Üye değilim ve katılmıyorum
I.S4a1. Mesleğinizle ilgili bir grup (sendika, oda, lobi gibi)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4b1. Dini inançlarınızla ilgili bir grup (camii, kilise, cemevi gibi)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4c1. Hobilerinizle ilgili bir grup (spor, kültür, eğlence klubleri gibi)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4d1. Sosyal veya politik bir amaçla ilgili bir grup (dernek, siyasi parti gibi)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4e1. Gönüllü bir kuruluş	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)

Katıldığınız grupların üyelerini düşündüğünüzde, bunların kaçının Hollanda vatandaşı?

	Hiçbir i	Küçük bir kısmı	Yaklaşık yarısı	Çoğu	Hepsi	Üye değilim, katılmıyorum
I.S4a2. Mesleğinizle ilgili bir grup (sendika, oda, lobi gibi)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4b2. Dini inançlarınızla ilgili bir grup (camii, kilise, cemevi gibi)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4c2. Hobilerinizle ilgili bir grup (spor, kültür, eğlence klubleri gibi)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4d2. Sosyal veya politik bir amaçla ilgili bir grup (dernek, siyasi parti gibi)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4e2. Gönüllü bir kuruluş	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)

Lütfen kendi Hollandaca becerilerinizi değerlendiriniz.

Hollandaca dilini kullanırken:

	Hiç iyi değilim	İyi değilim	Orta derecede iyiim	İyiim	Cok iyiim
I.Lin1. Haber okurken bildiğim konularla ilişkin basit köşe yazılarını OKUMA ve ana fikirlerini anlamada	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I.Lin2. Bir sohbette bildiğim konular hakkında KONUSMADA ve görüşlerimi ifade etmede	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

BÖLÜM 2. YEMEĞE YÜKLENEN ANLAM (7 dakika)

Bu bölümde yemek tercihlerinize ve yemeğin sizin için ne anlam ifade ettiğine dair sorularla karşılaşacaksınız.

Yemeğe yüklediğiniz anlamlar aşağıdaki 5 boyut ile inceleneciktir:

1. Sosyal anlam
2. Ahlaki anlam
3. Manevi anlam
4. Sağlık temelli anlam
5. Estetik anlam

İlk sorular **herhangi bir yemek** ile ilgili, sonraki sorular **helal yemek** ile ilgili olacaktır.

2.1 Herhangi Bir Yemeğin Anlamı

Ekranınızı yan çevirerek tüm seçenekleri kolayca görebilirsiniz.

Yediğiniz **herhangi bir yemek için** aşağıdaki ifadelere ne ölçüde katılıyorsunuz?

	Kesinlikle Katılmıyorum	Katılmıyorum	Ne Katılıyorum Ne katılmıyorum	Katılıyorum	Kesinlikle Katılıyorum
F.Soc1. Yemek yerken, birlikte yediğim insanlarla bağ kurduğumu hissederim.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc2. Yemek, başkalarıyla olan ilişkilerimle yakından bağlantılıdır.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc2. Başkalarıyla yemek paylaşmak, kendimi onlara daha yakın hissetmemi sağlar.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc3. Başkaları için yemek yapmam, onlara değer verdığımı göstermenin önemli bir yoludur.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc4. Yemek, kültürel geleneklerimle bağ kurmanın bir yoludur.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor1. Yemek yerken, yemeğin nereden geldiğini düşünürüm.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor2. Yiyecek seçimlerim, dünyayı etkilemenin önemli bir yoldur.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor3. Yiyecek seçimlerimin dünya üzerindeki etkisini önemsiyorum.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor4. Dünyaya özen gösterdiğim ifade eden bir şekilde besleniyorum.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor5. Yemek tercihlerim doğayla olan bağlantımı yansıtır.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac1. Bazi yiyecekler manevi açıdan kırleticidir.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac2. Manevi bir bakış açısından, bazi yiyecekler diğerlerinden daha iyidir.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac3. Yemek tercihlerim Tanrı'yla bağlantı kurmanın bir yoludur.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac4. Yediklerim inancımın bir yansımasıdır.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

F.Hea1. Vücutum için iyi olduğunu bildiğim yiyecekleri yemek bana huzur verir.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Hea2. Yediğim yiyeceklerin sağlığım için iyi olduğunu bilmekten memnuniyet duyarım.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Hea3. Vücutuma özen gösterdiğim gösterecek şekilde beslenirim.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Hea4. Vücutumu beslemenin anlamlı bir aktivite olduğunu düşünüyorum.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Aes1. İyi bir yemek hazırlamak, bir sanat eseri yaratmak gibidir.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Aes2. İyi bir yemek, sanat eseri gibidir.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Aes3. İyi bir yemek yemek, iyi bir konser gitmek veya iyi bir roman okumak gibi estetik bir deneyimdir.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

2.2 Halal Yemeğe Verilen Anlam

H1. Yiyecek satın alırken önceliğiniz nedir?

- a) Halal olması(5)
- b) Kaliteli olması (1)
- c) Sağlıklı olması (1)
- d) Diğer (please specify)

H2. Yiyecek satın alırken, paketin üzerindeki içerik bilgisini (içindekileri) kontrol ediyor musunuz?

- a) Evet (5)
- b) Bazı ürünleri kontrol ediyorum (3)
- c) Hayır (1)
- d) Diğer (please specify)

H3. Halal sertifikalı ürün tüketmek sizin için ne anlama gelir?

- a) Dini vecibeleri yerine getirmek (5)
- b) Domuz ve alkolün olmadığı ürünleri tüketmek (1)
- c) Diğer (please specify)

H4. Halal sertifikasının Hollanda'da gerekli olduğunu düşünüyor musunuz?

- a) Evet (5)
- b) Hayır (1)
- c) Diğer (please specify)

H5. Marketten yiyecek satın alırken halal sertifikasını kontrol ediyor musunuz?

- a) Evet (5)
- b) Bazen (3)
- c) Hayır (1)

H6. Dışarıda yemek yerken halal sertifikası olup olmadığını soruyor musunuz?

- a) Evet (5)
- b) Bazen (3)
- c) Hayır (1)

H7. Ne sıklıkla halal sertifikalı ürünleri seçiyorsunuz?

- a) Her zaman (5)
- b) Sıklıkla (4)
- c) Bazen (2)
- d) Hiçbir zaman (1)

3. Demografik bilgiler (1 dk)

Son bölüm

SD1. Cinsiyetiniz

- a) Kadın (5)
- b) Erkek (1)
- c) Diğer (please specify)

SD2. Yaş aralığınız

- a) 20 yaş altı (19)
- b) 20 - 29 (25)
- c) 30 - 39 (35)
- d) 40 - 49 (45)
- e) 50 - 59 (55)
- f) 60 yaş üstü (70)

SD3. Hollanda'da en az kaç yıl geçirdiniz?

- a) 1 yıldan az (0)
- b) 1 yıl (1)
- c) 2 yıl (2)
- d) 3 yıl (3)
- e) 4 yıl (4)
- f) 5 yıl (5)
- g) 6 yıl (6)
- h) 7 yıl (7)
- i) 8 yıl (8)
- j) 9 yıl (-)
- k) 10 yıl (10)

SD4. İkamet durumunuz nedir?

- a) Kaçak veya kayıt dışıyım. (1)
- b) Henüz oturum almadım. (2)
- c) Red veya deport kararı aldım. (0)
- d) Oturum aldım. (3)
- e) Öğrenci vizesine sahibim. (-)
- f) Çalışan vizesine sahibim. (4)
- g) Hollanda vatandaşlığı oldum. (5)

SD5. Yaşadığınız barınak türü

- a) Kamp (2)
- b) Ev (5)
- c) Tanıdık yanı veya evsiz (1)

SD6. Hane halkı sayınız

Hane halkınız, evlilik, doğum veya evlatlık ile bağ kurup aynı çatı altında yaşadığınız kişileri kapsar.

- a) 1 kişi (1)
- b) 2 kişi (2)
- c) 3 kişi (3)
- d) 4 kişi (4)
- e) 5 kişi (5)
- f) 6 kişi (-)
- g) 6'dan fazla kişi (-)

Bitmek üzere

Araştırmaya katkıdığınız için teşekkürler.

- Sorularınız için Hasan Akkuş ile iletişime geçebilirsiniz: h.h.akkus@student.rug.nl

Lütfen anketi tamamlamak için aşağıdaki **TESLİM ET (Submit) butonuna basınız.**

APPENDIX-1B: Survey Questions in English

Food and Integration in the Netherlands

Field research is being conducted within the scope of a master's thesis in Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Groningen. The title of the thesis is:

- “Halal Food and Social Integration: The Relationship Between the Meaning of Food and Social Integration of Turkish Refugees in the Netherlands”

For details ↗ see following pages.

“Not shared” is written, then your email address will not be visible.



Food and Integration in the Netherlands

A survey is conducted with Turkish refugees in the Netherlands taking **approximately 15 minutes**. During the survey, multiple choice questions, most of which require ratings, are asked.

The survey consists of 3 parts:

1. Types of integration
2. The meaning attributed to food
3. Socio-demographic data

These questions examine **how integrated the participants are into the Netherlands**, particularly in terms of social integration, and its possible connections to the meanings they attribute to food, including the concept of halal.

There are two conditions required for participants in the research:

1. Having sought asylum in the Netherlands **within the last 10 years**
2. Having spent a part of one's life in Turkey as **a citizen of the Republic of Turkey**

We kindly request that people under the age of 18 and those receiving psychiatric treatment do not participate in the research.

- For frequently asked questions: ↗ <https://forms.gle/DU64Wc31Eh1Po1dW9>

Do you meet the **both** requirements for participation?

- a) Yes. I meet both conditions. (Next section)
- b) No. I don't agree. (Stop the survey)

PART 1. INTEGRATION (7 minutes)

In this section, you will find questions that measure how integrated you are with the Netherlands in each category.

Integration is not just about learning a language and finding a job.

In this part of the research, your integration into the Netherlands will be examined in **6 dimensions**, especially **social one**.
Integration dimensions examined in the research are:

1. Psychological integration
2. Navigational integration
3. Economic integration
4. **Social integration**
5. Linguistic integration
6. Political integration

Integration 1

First 2 questions: *Psychological Integration*

The questions that follow in pairs are: *Navigational, economic, political and social integration, respectively.*

I.Psy1. How would you describe your connection with the Netherlands?

- a) There is no connection. (1)
- b) There is a weak connection. (2)
- c) There is a moderate degree of connection. (3)
- d) I have a close connection. (4)
- e) I have a very close connection. (5)

I.Psy2. How often do you feel like you are an outsider in the Netherlands?

- a) Never (5)
- b) Rarely (4)
- c) Sometimes (3)
- d) Frequently (2)
- e) Always (1)

I.Nav1. How difficult do you find to see a doctor in this country?

- a) I'm having a very hard time. (1)
- b) I'm having a hard time. (2)
- c) It is neither easy nor difficult. (3)
- d) It seems easy. (4)
- e) It seems very easy. (5)

I.Nav2. How difficult do you find the process of searching a job in this country?

- a) It seems very difficult. (1)
- b) It seems difficult. (2)
- c) It is neither easy nor difficult. (3)
- d) It seems easy. (4)
- e) It seems very easy. (5)

I. Eco1. What is the total income of your household monthly?

(including all benefits, including your spouse's income, excluding tax deductions)

Your household includes people linked to you by marriage, birth, or adoption and living under the same roof.

- a) Less than €1,000 (500)
- b) €1,000 - €2,000 (1500)
- c) €2,001 - €3,000 (2500)
- d) €3,001 - €4,000 (3500)
- e) €4,001 - €5,000 (42500)
- f) €5,001 - €6,000 (5500)
- g) €6,001 - €7,000 (6500)
- h) €7,001 - €8,000 (7500)
- i) €8,001 - €9,000 (8500)
- j) More than €9,001. (9500)

(grading needs a calculation with the number of household (SD7) which was asked in the last question)

I.Eco2. Based on what you have done in the last four weeks, which of the following options describes you best?

(Please choose only one)

- a) In paid work (even if on vacation) (5)
- b) Student (even if on vacation) (3)
- c) Not working, but actively looking for a job (1)
- d) Not working, not actively looking for a job (1)
- e) Permanently sick or disabled (3)
- f) Retired (3)
- g) In military service (3)
- h) In a community service as a sentence (3)
- i) Housewife / Houseman (takes care of children or other people, does housework without pay) (3)
- j) Volunteer worker (3)
- k) Other (please specify)

I.Pol1. How well do you understand the important political issues facing the Netherlands?

- a) I don't understand at all (1)
- b) I don't understand (2)
- c) I understand moderately (3)
- d) I understand well (4)
- e) I understand very well (5)

I.Pol2. In the last 12 months, how often have you discussed important political issues facing the Netherlands with others?

- a) Never (1)
- b) Once a year (2)
- c) Once a month (3)
- d) Once a week (4)
- e) Almost every day (5)

I.S1. How often have you had dinner with Dutch citizens other than your family in the last 12 months?

- a) Never (1)
- b) Once a year (2)
- c) Once a month (3)
- d) Once a week (4)
- e) Almost every day (5)

I.S2. Please consider Dutch citizens in your contacts or address book.

How many times did you contact to them in the last 4 weeks? (phone calls, texts etc.)

- a) 0 (1)
- b) 1 - 2 times (2)
- c) 3 - 6 times (3)
- d) 7 - 14 times (4)
- e) 15 or more times (5)

I.S3. Many people help each other with everyday tasks, such as lending money, bicycle, and car or babysitting someone else's child.

In the last 12 months, how often have you shown this type of kindness to Dutch citizens?

- a) Almost every day (5)
- b) Once a week (4)
- c) Once a month (3)
- d) Once a year (2)
- e) Never (1)

Integration 2

- If you are filling out the survey on a mobile phone,

The following questions may not fit on your phone screen.
To see all options please:

- **Swipe** the options to the right
- Or **turn your phone sideways**.



People sometimes participates in different groups and associations.

How often do you participate in the following group activities **at least**?

	Once a year	Once a month	Once a week	I am a member but I do not participate.	I am not a member and I do not participate
I.S4a1. A group related to your profession (such as a union, chamber, lobby)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4b1. A group related to your religious beliefs (such as a mosque, church, cemevi)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4c1. A group related to your hobbies (such as sports, culture, entertainment clubs)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4d1. A group (such as an association or political party) related to a social or political cause	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)
I.S4e1. A voluntary organization	(3)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(1)

If you think about members of the groups you join, how many of them are Dutch citizens?

	None	A small part	About half	Most	All	I am not a member; I do not participate
I.S4a2. A group related to your profession (such as a union, chamber, lobby)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4b2. A group related to your religious beliefs (such as a mosque, church, cemevi)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4c2. A group related to your hobbies (such as sports, culture, entertainment clubs)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4d2. A group related to a social or political purpose (such as an association, political party)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)
I.S4e2. A voluntary organization	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)

Please evaluate your own Dutch skills.

When using the Dutch language:

	I'm NOT good at all	I am NOT good	I am moderately good	I am good	I am very good
I.Lin1. READING simple columns on topics I know and understanding their main ideas	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
I.Lin2. TALKING about topics I know and expressing my opinions in a conversation	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

CHAPTER 2. THE MEANING ADDED TO FOOD (7 minutes)

In this section, you will be asked questions about your food preferences and what food means to you.

The meanings you attribute to food will be examined in the following 5 dimensions:

1. Social meaning
2. Moral meaning
3. Spiritual meaning
4. Health based meaning
5. Aesthetic meaning

The first questions will be about **any food**, the next questions will be about **halal food**.

2.1 Meaning of Any Food

You can easily see all the options by **turning your screen landscape**.

For any food you eat, to what extent do you agree with the following statements?

	I strongly disagree	I disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	I agree	I strongly agree
F.Soc1. When I eat, I feel connected to the people I eat with.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc2. Food is closely linked to my relationships with others.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc2. Sharing food with others makes me feel closer to them.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc3. Cooking for others is an important way to show that I care about them.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Soc4. Food is a way for me to connect with my cultural traditions.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor1. When I eat, I think about where the food comes from.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor2. My food choices are an important way I impact the world.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor3. I care about the impact my food choices have on the world.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor4. I eat in a way that expresses my care for the world.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Mor5. My food choices reflect my connection with nature.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac1. Some foods are spiritually polluting.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac2. From a spiritual perspective, some foods are better than others.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac3. My food choices are a way for me to connect with God.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Sac4. What I eat is a reflection of my faith.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Hea1. Eating foods that I know are good for my body brings me comfort.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Hea2. I get satisfaction from knowing that the foods I eat are good for my health.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

F.Hea3. I eat in a way that shows that I take care of my body.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Hea4. I think that nourishing my body is a meaningful activity.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Aes1. Preparing a good meal is like creating a work of art.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Aes2. A good meal is like a work of art.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
F.Aes3. Eating a good meal is an aesthetic experience, like going to a good concert or reading a good novel.	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)

2.2 Meaning Given to Halal Food

H1. What is your priority when buying food?

- a) Halal (5)
- b) Quality (1)
- c) Health (1)
- d) Other (please specify)

H2. When buying food, do you check the content list on the package?

- a) Yes (5)
- b) I check some products (3)
- c) No (1)
- d) Other (please specify)

H3. What does consumption of halal certified products mean to you?

- a) Fulfilling religious obligations (5)
- b) Consuming products that do not contain pork or alcohol (1)
- c) Other (please specify)

H4. Do you think halal certification is required in the Netherlands?

- a) Yes (5)
- b) No (1)
- c) Other (please specify)

H5. Do you check the halal certificate when buying food from the market?

- a) Yes (5)
- b) Sometimes (3)
- c) No (1)

H6. When eating out, do you ask if it is halal certified?

- a) Yes (5)
- b) Sometimes (3)
- c) No (1)

H7. How often do you choose halal certified products?

- a) Always (5)
- b) Frequently (4)
- c) Sometimes (2)
- d) Never (1)

3. Demographic information (1 min)

Last section

SD1. Your gender

- a) Women (5)
- b) Male (1)
- c) Other (please specify)

SD2. Your age

- a) Under 20 (19)
- b) 20 - 29 (25)
- c) 30 - 39 (35)
- d) 40 - 49 (45)
- e) 50 - 59 (55)
- f) Over 60 (70)

SD3. How many years have you spent in the Netherlands at least?

- a) Less than 1 year (0)
- b) 1 year (1)
- c) 2 years (2)
- d) 3 years (3)
- e) 4 years (4)
- f) 5 years (5)
- g) 6 years (6)
- h) 7 years (7)
- i) 8 years (8)
- j) 9 years (-)
- k) 10 years (10)

SD4. What is your residence status?

- a) I am illegal or unregistered. (1)
- b) I haven't been granted residence permit yet. (2)
- c) I received a decision of rejection or deportation. (0)
- d) I received a residence permit. (3)
- e) I have a student's visa. (-)
- f) I have a worker's visa. (4)
- g) I became a Dutch citizen. (5)

SD5. Type of accommodation you live in

- a) Camp (2)
- b) House (5)
- c) Acquaintance or homeless (1)

SD6. Number of household members

Your household includes people related to you by marriage, birth, or adoption and living under the same roof.

- a) 1 person (1)
- b) 2 people (2)
- c) 3 people (3)
- d) 4 people (4)
- e) 5 people (5)
- f) 6 people (-)
- g) More than 6 people (-)

About to end

Thank you for participating in the research.

- For your questions, you can contact to Hasan Akkus: **h.h.akkus@student.rug.nl**

click the **SUBMIT (Teslim et) button** below to complete the survey .

APPENDIX-2A: Frequently Asked Questions in Turkish

Sıkça Sorulan Sorular

"Hollanda'da Yemek ve Entegrasyon" konulu araştırma

1. Araştırmayı kim yapmaktadır?

Araştırma Groningen Üniversitesi'nde *İlahiyat ve Din bilimleri: Din, Çalışma ve Küreselleşme* alanında yüksek lisans öğrencisi Hasan Akkuş tarafından yapılmaktadır.

2. Araştırmancın amacı nedir?

Araştırma, göç eden bireylerin yemeğe yükledikleri anlamın, entegrasyon ile doğrudan bir bağlantısı olup olmadığını tespit etmeyi amaçlar. Yemek seçimleri arasında helal yemeğe, entegrasyon türleri arasında da sosyal entegrasyona din, çalışma ve küreselleşmeyle olan bağlantıları sebebiyle diğerlerinden daha fazla odaklanılmıştır.

3. Araştırmaya katılım zorunlu mudur?

Hayır. Araştırmaya katılım tamamen gönüllülük esasına dayanır. Soruları cevaplarken kendini rahatsız hissedilen veya sorulara cevap vermek istemeyen herkes soruları cevaplandırmaksızın anketi yanında bırakabilir. Katılım için herhangi bir ücret ödenmez.

4. Bu araştırmaya katılım IND, COA ve belediye gibi resmi kurumlardaki oturum alma, eve çıkma gibi süreçleri etkiler mi?

Hayır. Araştırmaya katılımın oturum alma, eve çıkma gibi resmi hiçbir süreçle ilgisi yoktur. Verilen cevaplar yalnızca üniversitede yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında kullanılacaktır.

5. Araştırma için adres, isim, e-posta adresi, telefon gibi kişisel bilgilerin verilmesi gerekiyor mu?

Hayır. Ankete katılım anonimdir. Kimsenin kişisel bilgileri toplanmaz. Yalnızca yaş grubu veya cinsiyet gibi genelleyici sosyo-demografik bilgiler anketin 3'üncü bölümünde katılımcının beyanı ile toplanır.

6. Verilen cevaplara kimler erişebilir? Cevaplar ne kadar süre saklanır?

Cevaplara yalnız araştırmacı erişir. Cevaplar Google Forms ve ilgili Google Drive dosyasında depolanır. Kişiilerin e-posta ve IP adresi gibi verileri toplanmaz, araştırmaciya ulaşmaz.

Anonim bir şekilde üniversiteye kayıtlı Google ekosisteminde saklanan veriler araştırmayı tamamlanmasının ardından 8 ay içinde Google Forms ve Google Drive dosyalarından silinir.

7. Araştırmayı sonuçlarına ne zaman ve nereden erişilebilir?

Araştırmayı sonuçları, tezin tamamlanmasının ardından (tahminen 2025 yılının son çeyreğinde) Groningen Üniversitesi'nin tez ve savunma veri tabanında umuma açık şekilde paylaşılır.

- **Tez başlığı:** "*Halal Food and Social Integration: The Relationship Between the Meaning of Food and Social Integration of Turkish Refugees in the Netherlands*"
- **Veritabanı:** <https://www.rug.nl/library/where-can-i-find/theses-and-dissertations>

8. Araştırma ile ilgili başka sorular için:

h.h.akkus@student.rug.nl adresine mail gönderebilirsiniz.

Araştırmaya katılmak ve anketi doldurmak
için:  <https://forms.gle/dwU1AJLdusAqzmdv7>

APPENDIX- 2B: Frequently Asked Questions in English

Frequently Asked Questions

Research on "Food and Integration in the Netherlands"

1. Who conducts the research?

The research is conducted by Hasan Akkuş, a master's student in *Theology and Religious Studies: Religion, Conflict and Globalization* at the University of Groningen.

2. What is the purpose of the research?

The research aims to determine whether the meaning that migrants give to food has a direct connection with integration. Among food choices, halal food and among integration types, social integration have been focused on more than others due to their connections with religion, conflict and globalization.

3. Is participation in the study mandatory?

No. Participation in the survey is completely voluntary. Anyone who feels uncomfortable answering the questions or does not want to answer them can leave the survey without answering the questions. No fee will be paid for participation.

4. Does participation in this research affect official processes in IND, COA and municipality such as obtaining residence permits and moving into a house?

No. Participation in the research has no relation to any official process such as receiving a residence permit or moving home. The answers given by participants will only be used within the scope of the master's thesis at the university.

5. Is it necessary to provide personal information such as address, name, e-mail address, or phone number for the research?

No. Participation in the survey is anonymous. No personal information is collected. Only general socio-demographic information such as age group or gender is collected in the 3rd section of the survey, according to the participant's declaration.

6. Who can access the answers given and how long are the answers stored?

Only the researcher has access to the answers. The answers are stored in Google Forms and the relevant Google Drive file. Individuals' data such as email address and IP address are not collected and cannot be seen by the researcher. The data stored anonymously in the Google ecosystem registered to the university, and it will be deleted from Google Forms and Google Drive files within 8 months after the completion of the research.

7. When and where can the results of the research be accessed?

The results of the research will be made publicly available in the theses and defence database of the University of Groningen, after the thesis has been completed (estimated to be in the last quarter of 2025).

- **Thesis title:** "*Halal Food and Social Integration: The Relationship Between the Meaning of Food and Social Integration of Turkish Refugees in the Netherlands*"
- **Database:** <https://www.rug.nl/library/where-can-i-find/theses-and-dissertations>

8. For further questions regarding the research:

h.h.akkus@student.rug.nl.

To participate in the research and fill out the survey:

👉 <https://forms.gle/dwU1AJLdusAqzmdv7>

APPENDIX-3: Correlations Between Categories and Subcategories

		Integration Dimensions						Meanings of Food				Socio-demographic										
		I.Psy	I.Nav	I.Eco	I.Pol	I.Soc (ipl-12)	I.Soc (ipl-24)	I.Lin	F.Social	F.Moral	F.Sacred	F.Health	F.Aesthetic	H: Halal	SD1: Gender	SD2: Age	SD3: Time	SD4: Residence	SD5: Accom.	SD6: Household		
Integration Dimensions	Int: Psychological	100																			Integration Dimensions	
	Int: Navigational	42	100																		Meanings of Food	
	Int: Economic	22	40	100																	Socio-demographic	
	Int: Politic	26	1	6	100																Food	
	Int: Social (ipl-12)	22	27	23	19	100															Meanings of Food	
	Int: Social (ipl-24)	27	24	25	27	86	100														Integration Dimensions	
	Int: Linguistic	20	13	27	16	35	33	100													Socio-demographic	
Meanings of Food	Food: Social	21	3	2	17	6	-5	29	100												Food	
	Food: Moral	20	7	5	6	2	-2	9	55	100											Meanings of Food	
	Food: Sacred	13	-4	11	0	-6	-9	13	61	47	100									Integration Dimensions		
	Food: Health	15	-11	8	15	23	17	32	60	57	52	100								Socio-demographic		
	Food: Aesthetic	5	-6	11	6	-17	-25	8	57	51	55	50	100							Food		
	H: Halal consumption	-13	-10	-8	-11	-29	-24	-5	18	11	53	-11	18	100						Meanings of Food		
Socio-demographic	SD1: Gender	-10	-27	-6	-28	5	9	19	-12	-12	-12	9	-13	13	100					Meanings of Food		
	SD2: Age	12	8	-8	-8	-28	-24	-1	3	20	-13	-9	-12	6	13	100				Integration Dimensions		
	SD3: Time	10	17	26	-1	-2	1	29	-2	0	-32	2	-20	-38	5	42	100			Socio-demographic		
	SD4: Residence	18	19	24	-9	6	-1	38	12	-2	-10	13	-12	-38	22	77	100			Food		
	SD5: Accom.	19	9	35	-21	11	3	33	11	-4	4	2	6	-15	3	8	43	59	100	Food		
	SD6: Household	25	0	-8	-9	-18	-9	-9	1	4	22	2	11	36	13	26	-15	-4	-8	100	Meanings of Food	

APPENDIX-4A: Correlations Between Questions in Turkish

APPENDIX-4B: Correlations Between Questions in English

APPENDIX-5: Exploratory Factor Analysis in Categories and Subcategories

Factors →	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	Communality
Speculation →	Food - Integration	Halal - Time	Social talent	Navigation - Health - Woman	Halal - Age	
Int: Psychological	39.6	-22.7	4.1	36.6	-19.5	38.2
Int: Navigational	21.2	-35.6	6.1	57.8	-15.2	53.3
Int: Economic	30.6	-33	-0.7	18.2	-10.6	24.7
Int: Politic	20.7	-6.4	25.9	15	19.6	17.5
Int: Social (ipl-12)	34.2	-50.6	64.5	-11.9	-7.2	80.9
Int: Social (ipl-24)	28.7	-52.5	70	-8.4	-19.2	89.3
Int: Linguistic	46.9	-34.5	-1.4	-21.6	-16.3	41.2
Food: Social	75.1	27.9	-12.5	-2.6	10.2	66.8
Food: Moral	59.8	26.7	-10.2	5	9.4	45.1
Food: Sacred	63.3	54	-1.8	3.8	-17	72.2
Food: Health	75.5	13.7	3.3	-33.7	16.6	73.1
Food: Aesthetic	55.4	46.6	-12.2	1.5	17.7	57.1
Halal consumption	2.2	60	-3.2	6.4	-49.5	61.1
SD1: Gender	-10.8	-3.1	-3.4	-56.5	-44.3	52.9
SD2: Age	-3.5	-6.7	-45.5	8.6	-21.1	26.5
SD3: Time	10.7	-66.3	-58.3	-6.3	4.9	79.7
SD4: Residence	26.8	-62.3	-56.8	-6.9	1.6	78.8
SD5: Accom.	24.8	-39.8	-34.5	-6.4	-10.7	35.5
SD6: Household	4	25.2	-12.3	12.6	-44.4	29.3

APPENDIX-6: Exploratory Factor Analysis in Questions

Factors →	F 1	F 2	F 3	F 4	F 5	Communality
Speculation →	Food	Halal - Time	Social talent	Young talent	?	
I.Psy1	17.9	28.1	24.4	-2	-5.7	17.4
I.Psy2	11.6	13.1	21.6	-15.1	-34.1	21.7
I.Nav1	2.6	12.4	18.7	-15.3	-34.6	19.4
I.Nav2	-5.8	28.3	7.5	-9.6	-10.3	10.9
I.Eco1	3.6	30.5	9.7	-21.9	-3.2	15.3
I.Eco2	9.1	20.1	14.6	-26.6	-15.1	16.4
I.Pol1	24.5	26.1	-9.4	-34.6	-4.7	25.9
I.Pol2	-3	18.3	-12.1	-11.7	16.7	9
I.S1	-10.5	48.4	2.8	-37.5	-4.9	38.9
I.S2	9.7	27.3	16	-30.6	-1.8	20.4
I.S3	-13.1	21	8.7	-36.3	-16.8	22.9
I.S4.a1	12.5	30.6	-27.3	-33.7	18	32.9
I.S4.b1 (religious)	21.2	-28.2	-12.7	-17	9.9	17.9
I.S4.c1	-20.3	2	-49.8	-35.7	-16.1	44.3
I.S4.d1	0.4	33.2	-65.2	-8.4	-10	55.2
I.S4.e1	14.1	0.6	-21.3	-55.7	-10.7	38.6
I.S4.a2	3.1	32.4	-21.2	-28.6	11.2	24.5
I.S4.b2 (religious)	17.3	-24.6	-7.6	-18	7.6	13.4
I.S4.c2	-17.9	7.3	-41.4	-38.4	-18	38.9
I.S4.d2	-1.8	32.8	-70.4	-5.6	-12.6	62.2
I.S4.e2	14.8	25.3	-7.7	-44.6	-6.2	29.4
I.Lin1	23.4	31.9	39.1	-46.8	-11.2	54.1
I.Lin2	26.1	36.5	36.1	-38.9	-11.9	49.7
F.Soc1	69.8	20.4	20.5	0.6	11.7	58.4
F.Soc2	71.2	5.6	22.9	-3.3	12.2	57.9
F.Soc3	75.1	26.2	15	5.8	7	66.4
F.Soc3	69.7	8.2	13.9	4.9	10.8	52.6
F.Soc4	65.2	4.3	5.6	3.7	1.9	43.2
F.Mor1	79	-2.3	-13.2	-3.5	0.2	64.4
F.Mor2	58.8	11.6	-10.3	26.7	-30.3	53.3
F.Mor3	59.6	21.9	-9.9	33.4	-38.1	66.9
F.Mor4	59.8	24.4	-14.9	36.1	-56.5	88.9
F.Mor5	53.5	24.5	-29.1	25.6	-42.6	67.7
F.Sac1	60.5	-24.9	23	-14.3	18.8	53.8
F.Sac2	82.4	-21.6	1.6	-6.7	25.8	79.7
F.Sac3	75	-16.8	1.9	-1.8	2.8	59.2
F.Sac4	71.4	-40.7	11.2	-23.2	-3.4	74.3
F.Hea1	58.5	33	6	4.9	14.4	47.8
F.Hea2	67.8	31.9	-4	-4.6	10.2	57.6
F.Hea3	50.9	35.6	-19.5	16.3	-7.9	45.7
F.Hea4	67	34.2	-3.5	-1.8	11.3	58
F.Aes1	70	-4.2	-24.8	9.5	21.2	60.7
F.Aes2	72.3	2.8	-24.9	4.3	14.7	60.9
F.Aes3	67.8	5.8	-17.5	19.6	26.5	60.3
H1: Priority	18	-69.9	18.8	-14.6	-17.8	60.9
H2: Package	35.8	-59.3	-9.4	-14.3	-28.8	59.1
H3: Meaning	30.7	-38.6	-13	-19.1	-2.7	29.7
H4: Required	24	-50.7	-25.7	-25.6	-5.9	45
H5: Markt	23.5	-71.2	6	-6.3	-27.4	64.4
H6: Restaurant	24.2	-64.3	10	-22.6	-9	54.1
H7: Frequency	29.7	-71.4	17.2	-15.2	-23.8	70.7
SD1: Gender	-9.7	-9.8	-0.1	-7.5	-17.7	5.6
SD2: Age	-2.1	0.4	8.6	25.9	-45.5	28.2
SD3: Time	-17.6	51.8	25.5	8.5	-28.2	45.1
SD4: Residence	-3.2	48.4	46.4	4.9	-10.9	46.4
SD5: Accom.	4.4	25.3	39.9	-8.7	-2.8	23.3
SD6: Household	14.1	-34.5	-3.2	-2.4	-25.6	20.6