

Multiculturalism Defi(n)ed? Media Bias and Immigrant Party Formation in The Netherlands

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Introduction

The project of integrating newly-arrived immigrant groups into a host society is a multi-faceted one that takes place in both time and space. Immigrants groups and their descendants interface, among other things, with a country's economy, education system, citizenship laws, housing, and health care.¹ This paper focuses on the foundation of the political party Denk, and what the arrival of this immigrant-focused party might mean for the success or failure of the political integration of Turkish and Moroccan immigrants, and descendants of immigrants, in The Netherlands.

Political integration is not typically viewed as easy to categorize in one single quantitative metric. In the introduction to their book, *Civic hopes and political realities: immigrants, community organizations, and political engagement*, Ramakrishnan and Bloemraad lay out a potentially helpful differentiation between "political presence" and "political weight."² Political presence, broadly speaking, refers to the extent to which immigrant populations have the option to participate in the political system and, as a result, to be represented. Political weight, on the other hand aims to understand the relative power of immigrant groups within their political system and what opportunities they possess to make their voices heard.

Hochschild and Mellenkopf broadly outline the trajectory for immigrant populations' engagement with a new political system. First, immigrant groups step into their new political stage. Entry onto the political stage is necessarily the next step after the arrival of immigrant populations into their new country. This step includes "the articulation of interests or views" and involves, at least to an extent, recognition by those already in the political system.³ Second, immigrant groups become personally involved in the political arena: they act "as representatives, advocates, litigants, activists, or protestors."⁴ Finally, a two-way interaction occurs where the political system responds (or doesn't) to the new activity and the immigrants, in turn, again respond to it. Their "interests are met and values accommodated; the actors change the political process and are changed by it."⁵ It is important to note that the integration process can fail at any of these points, and in part this paper seeks to identify where in the process, if at all, such a failure is taking place with the foundation of Denk.

The question that this paper seeks to answer is how do Dutch newspapers *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf* portray two immigrant origin politicians who left the traditional labor party and founded their own immigrants-rights party, Tunahun Kuzu and Selçuk Öztürk? Understanding the

¹ Alba, Richard and Foner, Nancy. 2015. *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Immigrant Integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

² Ramakrishnan, Karthick, and Irene Bloemraad. 2008. "Introduction," in S. K. Ramakrishnan and I. Bloemraad (eds.), *Civic Hopes and Political Realities: Immigrants, Community Organizations and Political Engagement*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation

³ Hochschild, Jennifer, and John Mollenkopf. 2009. "Modeling Immigrant Political Incorporation," in Jennifer Hochschild and John Mollenkopf (eds.), *Bringing Outsiders In: Transatlantic Perspectives on Immigrant Political Incorporation*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 15.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

ways in which the two politicians and their immigrant-focused movement are portrayed is important because it shows how societies respond when immigrants and descendants of immigrants politicize issues relevant to them by asserting themselves within the political system. Is this viewed as a positive development, or are the politicians themselves blamed for not working with the system?

Literature Review

What does success look like in the context of political integration? Irene Bloemraad writes that success in integration might look like what has happened over time with women’s participation in politics. From this point of view, as immigrants become more integrated into society, there is less of an inclination to participate in identity politics as voters’ interests fan out across the political spectrum.⁶

Immigrants in the Dutch Political System

Alba and Foner evaluate several different western European systems. The Dutch system, in their eyes, presents immigrants with some distinct benefits as well as challenges. “A double edged sword,” the Netherlands is incredibly representative in its parliament, as only approximately 70,000 votes are necessary in any election to gain a seat.⁷ Furthermore, the preferential party-list system that exists enables any candidates of immigrant origin to gain support from their respective communities, even if they are placed relatively low on the party’s list by the overwhelmingly white, male party bosses. Those same bosses do retain a lot of power, however, and potential candidates are reliant on their approval to gain a spot on the list at all.

As tensions over immigration and multiculturalism have risen in the Netherlands in past years, according to Michon and Vermeulen those same party bosses who might grant those with immigrant background access to party lists have become more reticent in order to minimize backlash against the party.⁸ As a result, especially those of Turkish descent have found their political presence decreased as it has become more difficult to access power. As both politicians under study in this paper are ethnic Turks, one hypothesis will look at the importance newspapers place on that background, and what it might mean for their new party.

Understanding Political Presence in the Netherlands

As discussed previously, ‘political presence’ in a new host society is centered on access to politics. Access to the vote is crucial, and Alba and Foner also discuss this issue in their work. The Netherlands is relatively progressive in this respect, as only five years of established residency is required to vote in local and municipal elections. This is unlike many other countries, including the United States, which require citizenship to vote in any election at all.⁹

Citizenship is required to vote in national elections, and it can be gained after five years as well. Those born in the Netherlands are entitled to conditional *jus soli* citizenship upon reaching adulthood.¹⁰

⁶ Bloemraad, Irene. 2013. “Accessing the Corridors of Power: Puzzles and Pathways to Understanding Minority Representation” *West European Politics* 36(3): 652-670.

⁷ Alba, Richard and Foner, Nancy. 2015. *Strangers No More: Immigration and the Challenges of Immigrant Integration in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

⁸ Michon, Laure and Vermeulen, Floris. 2013 “Explaining Different Trajectories in Immigrant Political Integration: Moroccans and Turks in Amsterdam,” *West European Politics*, 36:3, 597-614,

⁹ Alba, Richard and Foner, Nancy. 2015. *Strangers No More*.

¹⁰ Ibid.

In terms of representation immigrant populations have fared rather well in Netherlands, especially when compared to other Western European countries. The numbers can be deceptive. In 2006, immigrants and those of immigrant descent filled only approximately 3 per cent of all town council seats in the Netherlands.¹¹ In the four major cities of Rotterdam, the Hague, Amsterdam, and Utrecht, however, the same demographic numbers 20.6 per cent.¹² When compared to the share of the total populations that immigrants represent, 8.9%, it is clear that immigrant political weight is centered on urban regions. What might such a relatively high presence of immigrant-background politicians in Dutch politics mean as newspapers analyze the foundation of Denk? A potential discursive angle the broadsheets might take is one which compares Kuzu and Öztürk to other immigrants in the system that have not decided to form their own party.

Moroccans and Turks in the Netherlands

Michon and Vermeulen investigated the differing presence of Moroccans and Turks in elected legislative city councils and in appointed executive positions. They found that, overwhelmingly, Turks were more likely to be elected to representative positions because of their stronger ethnic group ties. Moroccans, on the other hand, are less likely to be elected to office because they have pursued a more individualistic approach to integration generally, but are more likely to be present on executive committees, giving them more power in daily situations. The authors highlight that political integration is at least in part influenced by integration of immigrants into other elements of society. Since party leadership acts as “gatekeepers and facilitators of immigrant’s political participation,” the different ethnic groups experience that gatekeeping differently.¹³ Turks, for example, are asked to win the votes of their ethnic communities, but once elected, “councilors of Turkish origin often refrain from expressing ethnic group interests, despite their experience in Turkish organizations.”¹⁴ As a result, immigrant political action tied to “ethnic group interests” is at least to an extent constrained by the framework of the traditional labor party in the Netherlands. It is from this last aspect of Michon and Vermeulen’s argument that this project takes its inspiration for looking at the agency of the two political actors throughout the newspaper articles. It follows that if immigrants’ ability to act freely as political actors or politicians is limited, they may seek to free themselves from the confines of that restrictive political entity. Whether or not the newspapers authors agree with the decision to found a new political party, might they frame Kuzu and Öztürk’s actions along a discussion of agency? The distinction matters because it reflects greater society’s willingness to grant political actors of immigrant background agency in their own political process.

Hypotheses

There are four hypotheses laid out for this project, the last two of which are broken down into two sub-hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that *newspapers focus on Kuzu and Öztürk’s struggles with the labor party PvdA instead of their substantive and ideological differences*. Newspapers will most likely seek to highlight the rather sensational nature of the two men’s departure from the labor party, particularly since the party was in government at the time. A potentially interesting

¹¹ Institute for Political Participation. 2006. “Meer Diversiteit in de Gemeenteraden.” Nieuwsbrief, pp. 7-9

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Michon, Laure and Vermeulen, Floris. 2013 “Explaining Different Trajectories,” 597.

¹⁴ Ibid., 604.

question is whether their departure will be framed as a further fragmentation of the Dutch political left, or as an assertion of Kuzu and Öztürk’s independence.

The second hypothesis is that *newspapers focus on potential threats posed by Kuzu and Öztürk, namely Turkish influence from Ankara and the potential formation of a national Islamic party*. The third hypothesis can be split between the two newspapers being studied. Hypothesis 3a is that *De Volkskrant will generally be more positive than De Telegraaf, and focused on policy issues*. The logical foundation for this hypothesis is that *De Volkskrant* is generally regarded as more left-leaning than *De Telegraaf*. Hypothesis 3b is that, conversely, *De Telegraaf will generally portray Kuzu and Öztürk more negatively, than De Volkskrant does, and focus on issues of security and Islam*. Hypothesis four, regarding the agency given to the two actors throughout the process of separation from the labor party, can also be separated into the two different newspapers. Hypothesis 4a is that *De Volkskrant will portray Kuzu and Öztürk as subjects more frequently than De Telegraaf*. Hypothesis 4b, on the other hand, is that *De Telegraaf will portray Kuzu and Öztürk as objects to be discussed more frequently than De Volkskrant*.

Research Design

The articles analyzed in this project are from the two largest newspapers in the Netherlands, *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*. Collectively, the two newspapers generally cover much of the spectrum of Dutch newspaper journalism. They are both broadsheets with somewhat different histories and varying contemporary political orientations, which might influence their portrayal of Kuzu and Öztürk. According to the *World Press Encyclopedia*, *De Telegraaf*, the most read daily newspaper in the Netherlands by circulation, generally aims to remain neutral editorially, but its reliance on flashy headlines and provocative cover pages occasionally incites or inflames right wing politicization. *De Volkskrant*, on the other hand, was historically the main newspaper for the Dutch catholic population. Since the 1960’s, however, it has sought to increase its circulation by capturing certain more educated groups, especially in Amsterdam.¹⁵

The dates under consideration in the analysis of the two newspapers span a relatively long period of time, from November 1st, 2014 until February 9th, 2016. The original aim of this project was to focus on a much narrower time-span, however arriving at a suitable sample size required expanding the date range by a few months. The one-and-a-quarter years bookmarked by the above dates represent the development and foundation of the *DENK* political party in the Netherlands. The timeline begins with the conflict within the governing *Partij van de Arbeid* (Labor), which was at the time in coalition with the center-right VVD. An intraparty struggle around integration resulted in the expulsion of two elected representatives in parliament of Turkish descent. Those two parliamentarians, originally relatively unknown, then gained national fame for their foundation of the *DENK*, the Immigrant-Rights based political party whose name means “Think” in Dutch and “Equality” in Turkish. Finally, the dates include the first full year of the party’s existence in parliament and does not include their first participation in a national election. The purpose of this restriction is to focus the data analysis on the actual foundation of the party, and the decision of its leaders to do so. The hope in doing so was to provide further insight into their ambitions and how they were received by the media, their self-professed representation of

¹⁵ Bechtold, Brigitte H. "Netherlands." In *World Press Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., edited by Amanda C. Quick, 644-656. Vol. 2. Detroit: Gale, 2003. Gale Virtual Reference Library (accessed February 12, 2018). http://link.galegroup.com.libproxy.lib.unc.edu/apps/doc/CX3409900158/GVRL?u=unc_main&sid=GVRL&xid=895780f6.

immigrant communities and interests, and above all their own and the media’s portrayal of the party’s future viability.

The search terms used in the LexisNexis Academic research system were rather simple. Originally, the planned search term was simply the name of the political party, Denk. However, the temporal development of Kuzu and Öztürk’s movement from separation with the PvdA to the establishment of new political party would not have lended itself to a successful analysis with that search term. As mentioned above, Kuzu and Öztürk left the labor party in November of 2014, but did not officially found Denk until February of 2015. No newspaper articles would have come up in a search for “Denk” in that pivotal moment of political separation. Furthermore, simply searching for “Denk” would have ignored the highly personal element of the two politicians’ separation from the PvdA. As a result, the search terms finally decided upon were simply “Tunahun Kuzu” and “Selçuk Öztürk.” Any articles in the two newspapers mentioning either of the two men during the study time period were included in the study.

Every newspaper article sampled in this study was analyzed as a whole for article type, favorability/tone, portrayal, and policy focus. Every article was also analyzed on a paragraph-by-paragraph basis for thematic content. Article types were included in data analysis primarily to explore differences in portrayal between opinion pieces and news articles. Favorability/tone was analyzed as either a positive portrayal, a negative portrayal, or a neutral portrayal in a news piece, or positive, neutral, or negative opinion in an op-ed. Often the decision to code an article between the three categories of favorability was made based on the adjectives used in the article, as well as the nature of the thematic elements discussed in the piece. The portrayal of the actors, Kuzu and Öztürk, in the articles was coded as either a portrayal as subjects, or a portrayal as objects. The mechanism which differentiated between subjects and objects was whether or not the actors’ were allowed to speak for themselves in the article, or if the portrayals did not engage with Kuzu or Öztürk’s own words. If an article discussed substantive policies at any point, it was coded as having a policy focus. Only articles that did not mention policies at all were coded as not having any policy focus whatsoever. Every theme discussed in an article was noted on an article-by-article bases in an excel worksheet for analysis. When highly-specific issues were discussed and similar objects were present, they were counted together. An example of this is the various Turkish civil organizations mentioned in the articles, they were combined under the theme “Turkish Organizations.”

There are several important limitations to this study. First of all, there were simply not enough articles published in the two largest Dutch newspapers to allow a narrower timeframe of study. Studying a shorter period of time would have allowed for a more in-depth analysis of less variables. For the purposes of this study, it was not possible to focus in on either the split with the PvdA or the foundation of the new party, both of which are topics that would ideally be studied independently of one another. Furthermore, the larger time-frame may skew what aspects of the two politicians’ journey are focused on, and perhaps not be as representative of how the papers actually view them. It is logical that at the moment of Kuzu and Öztürk’s separation from the labor party, the majority of articles mentioning the two men would include discussion of that split in detail, as opposed to a more in-depth analysis of their substantive claims. On the other end, articles published a year after the party’s foundation will most likely not discuss the labor party split any longer.

Results

Before analysis, three articles were discarded from the sample for not actually discussing either Tunahan Kuzu or Selçuk Öztürk. The final total count of articles analyzed was 99.

Article Type	<i>De Telegraaf</i>	<i>De Volkskrant</i>
Entertainment News	2%	6%
Interview	0%	4%
News	72%	55%
Opinion	26%	40%
Profile	0%	4%
Total Count	47	52

Table 1: Percentage of Articles by Type

Table 1 looks at the types of articles published in the two newspapers. Notably, *De Telegraaf* published significantly more news pieces than *De Volkskrant*, which provided more varied coverage of Kuzu and Öztürk, including more opinion pieces, two interviews, and two profiles.

Coverage Tone	<i>De Volkskrant</i>	<i>De Telegraaf</i>
Positive	21%	0%
Neutral	60%	21%
Negative	19%	79%

Table 2: Percentage of Articles by Coverage Tone

The majority of articles published in *De Volkskrant* were neutral in tone, as table 2 highlights, and approximately evenly distributed between positive and negative coverage. *De Telegraaf*, on the other hand, was overwhelmingly negative in its coverage of Kuzu and Öztürk, with almost 80% of its articles falling into that category. An example of coverage that is ostensibly “news” but with negative tone is a line from *De Telegraaf* arguing that “Turkish influences destroy the Dutch integration dream,” in an article titled “Turkish lobby operates as a black cat in the dark”¹⁶ (Author translation).

Coverage Tone	Entertainment News	Interview	News	Opinion	Profile
Positive	0%	100%	8%	37%	0%
Neutral	67%	0%	85%	16%	100%
Negative	33%	0%	8%	37%	0%
N/A	0%	0%	0%	11%	0%
Count	3	2	26	19	2

Table 3: *De Volkskrant* articles sorted by tone and article type

¹⁶ Olmer, Bart. 2014. Turkse lobby opereert als zwarte kat in het donker; clubs zijn uit op macht voor eigen (religieuze) belangen. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

De Volkskrant's coverage of Kuzu and Öztürk appears to speak favorably of the paper's journalistic neutrality. The articles categorized as News and Opinion, the two sections with a significant enough count for analysis, are evenly balanced between positive and negative portrayals.

Coverage Tone	Entertainment News	News	Opinion
Positive	0%	0%	0%
Neutral	100%	24%	8%
Negative	0%	76%	92%
Count	1	34	12

Table 4: *De Telegraaf* articles sorted by tone and article type

De Telegraaf, on the other hand, portrays the two men far more negatively. Above three-quarters of all News articles and the vast majority of opinion pieces portray Kuzu and Öztürk in a negative sense.

Actor Portrayal	<i>De Volkskrant</i>	<i>De Telegraaf</i>
Subjects	60%	21%
Objects	31%	77%
N/A	9%	2%
Count	52	47%

Table 5: Percentage of articles by Actor Portrayal

De Volkskrant was significantly more likely to portray the two politicians as subjects in the political process than *De Telegraaf*, which frequently portrayed them without actually engaging their voices. A particularly egregious example of this was an article titled “The Turkish Trojan Horses” which argued they had simply been “voting cattle” for the PvdA and had “become more radical by the week.”¹⁷

Policy Focus?	<i>De Volkskrant</i>	<i>De Telegraaf</i>
Yes	27%	17%
No	73%	83%

Table 6: Percentage of Articles by Policy Focus

Table 6 highlights that neither newspaper was very willing to engage with Kuzu, Öztürk, and other immigrant groups on questions of substantive policy issues. The majority of articles, instead, focused on the two politicians, their actions and attitudes, and what the foundation of the party might mean for the Netherlands. This number is potentially skewed upwards because several of the articles counted in this metric discuss parliamentary proceedings in which Denk participated, which were inherently about policy. Very few articles actually discussed Denk's policy goals.

¹⁷ de Winther, Paul Jansen en Wouter. 2014. De turkse paarden van troje; PvdA'ers schetsen een onthutsend beeld van hun voormalige partijgenoten tunahan kuzu en selzuk öztürk. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

<i>De Volkskrant</i>	Count	Percentage	<i>De Telegraaf</i>	Count	Percentage
Labor split	16	31%	Labor split	17	35%
Seat theft	11	21%	Behavior	14	29%
Integration policy	8	15%	Turkish government connection	13	27%
Policy	7	13%	Seat theft	8	17%
Behavior	5	10%	Integration policy	5	10%

Table 7: Most discussed theme by newspaper

Finally, table 7 explores the thematic differences between the two newspapers. In line with table 6, neither newspaper appears to engage with questions of policy on a significant level. The split with the PvdA was the most frequently discussed issue in both *De Volkskrant* and *De Telegraaf*. Following on tables 2 and 4, *De Telegraaf* discusses the behavior of Kuzu and Öztürk much more frequently, and comments on the two men’s potential ties to the Erdogan regime in Turkey in more than a quarter of articles analyzed.

Discussion

The results confirm several of the hypotheses suggested at the beginning of this paper, and reject at least one of them. In the study period examined, both newspapers wrote the most about the decision of Tunahan Kuzu and Selçuk Öztürk to leave the PvdA and take their seats with them. *De Telegraaf* in particular frequently repeated that Öztürk had said “may Allah punish you” to a fellow member of the PvdA before leaving their last meeting as PvdA parliamentarians. Hypothesis two, regarding Turkish influence, is generally rejected. Whereas *De Telegraaf* dedicated approximately a quarter of its articles to discussing potential influence from Ankara, *De Volkskrant* barely touched the issue at all.

Hypothesis three is supported in part, with *De Volkskrant* portraying Öztürk and Kuzu in a relatively much more positive light than *De Telegraaf*. Contrary to what was hypothesized, however, *De Volkskrant* did not engage the politicians on substantive policy issues in the vast majority of its articles. Hypothesis four is confirmed by the data, as *De Volkskrant*, the more liberal paper, was far more likely to let Denk’s founders speak for themselves in its portrayal of them than *De Telegraaf*.

An unanticipated trend which came up frequently in the coverage of the two politicians was the concept of seat-theft and an in-depth discussion of what it means for Dutch politics. In both papers, close to 20% of articles discussed the issue. This may be a result of the rather extended time-frame discussed as a limitation of the research. During the period of study, Norbert Klein also left the *50Plus* party, bringing the question of seat-theft back into the newspapers where Kuzu and Öztürk would be brought up again.

Returning to the literature review and what this study might imply for the larger discussion on integration, it appears that the left-leaning newspaper is more willing to grant Kuzu, Öztürk and perhaps by extension immigrant communities at large, more agency in the political process in The Netherlands. One article in *De Volkskrant* actually discussed their seat theft as a consummate act of integration into Dutch political society.¹⁸ Granting them a certain subjectivity at least

¹⁸ Korteweg, Ariejan 2014. De splinterkamer. *de Volkskrant*, 19 november, 2014.

acknowledges that they have the right to form a party if they so desire, and signals that perhaps the left-of-center side of the political spectrum is willing to grant immigrants greater political room for maneuver. Curiously, little attention was paid at all to the presence of other immigrants or descendants of immigrants in parliament. The elevated political presence of immigrants in the Netherlands did not appear to factor into the coverage of Denk.

De Telegraaf, however, focused quite heavily on Kuzu and Öztürk’s Turkish background. Denk was characterized in that paper as “The long arm of Ankara,”¹⁹ supporting Michon and Vermeulen’s hypothesis that Turkish politicians are especially stigmatized for their ethnic connections in The Netherlands.

In the most recent Dutch election in 2017, Kuzu and Öztürk managed not only to maintain their own seats in parliament, but Denk also won a third seat which would be filled by a politician of Moroccan descent, Farid Azarkan. This paper has sought to contextualize the arrival of Denk in the Dutch political arena through the lens of the two mainstream papers in the country. Although acceptance of the party’s existence appears to be filtered along left-right political leanings in the Dutch media it is clear that Denk has at least some mandate from immigrant populations in The Netherlands and will remain a voice in Dutch politics and immigrant integration in the future. Finally, returning to Hochschild and Mellenkopf’s framework of immigrant integration, the partial acceptance of Kuzu and Öztürk’s departure from the PvdA and foundation of Denk by at least the left-leaning newspaper in the Netherlands indicates that immigrant populations in the Netherlands may now exist within the theoretical third stage of political integration: the actors have been changed by the political system and they, at least in part, have changed it.²⁰

Appendix 1: Articles analyzed

[Aldus kamerleden selçuk öztürk en tunahan kuzu , di...]. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 20 januari, 2015.

[Kwik-fitzorg wat een indrukwekkende reportage over...]. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 14 februari, 2015.

Buitenlandse komaf en correct taalgebruik. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 14 februari, 2015.

Felle aanklacht van opstandige PvdA'ers; 'afscheid nemen van neoliberale politiek'. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 9 april, 2015.

'In de geest van ankara'; handelsmerk 'denk' is zwartmakerij en preken voor eigen parochie. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 23 september, 2015.

Kamer voor hoger minimumjeugdloon. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 9 september, 2015.

Kamer: Kolencentrales zo snel mogelijk dicht. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 27 november, 2015.

¹⁹ Mikkers, Ruud 2014. PvdA krijgt klap; partij zou elf zetels overhouden. *De Telegraaf*, 17 november, 2014.

²⁰ Hochschild, Jennifer, and John Mollenkopf. 2009. “Modeling Immigrant Political Incorporation,” 15

Nervositeit groeit bij PvdA; prominent duo kondigt aan de boel op scherp te zetten. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 13 januari, 2015.

Nieuwe partij denk: Arabisch op scholen; ex-PvdA'ers kuzu en öztürk presenteren ideeën. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 10 februari, 2015.

Turkse partij beloont stem uit nederland; premie op geboorten en dienstplicht afgekocht. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 17 oktober, 2015.

Turkse woede. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 24 juni, 2015.

De vastgelopen morph. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 30 april, 2015.

Verzoendag. 2015. *de Volkskrant*, 18 december, 2015.

Zetelroof. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 20 maart, 2015.

Zomerse terugblik; EenVandaag barbecuet met mensen die opvielen. 2015. *De Telegraaf*, 13 juli, 2015.

Geachte redactie. 2014. *de Volkskrant*, 18 november, 2014.

PvdA'ers zijn al veel op straat. 2014. *de Volkskrant*, 15 november, 2014.

Achterhuis, Hans. 2014. Nee: Francis Fukuyama is geen groot denker meer. *de Volkskrant*, 29 november, 2014.

Albert, Serman, Jan. 2014. 'Moge Allah je straffen'; Turkse PvdA'ers scheldend de fractie uit. *De Telegraaf*, 14 november, 2014.

Bart, Olmer,. 2014. Turkse lobby opereert als zwarte kat in het donker; clubs zijn uit op macht voor eigen (religieuze) belangen. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

Broeke, Asha Ten. 2015. Muren tussen 'wij' en 'zij'. *de Volkskrant*, 13 februari, 2015.

Coosje, Hiskemuller,. 2014. Geachte lezer, *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

Cultuurhistoricus., René Cuperus is. 2015. Hoezo feestje voor de democratie? *de Volkskrant*, 23 maart, 2015.

De Jong, Laura. 2015. [Heeft de politieke beweging van oud-PvdA-kamerlede...]. *de Volkskrant*, 11 februari, 2015.

———. 2014. Tussen koe en KLEIN. *de Volkskrant*, 9 december, 2014.

De Vries, Joost. 2016. Ex-PVV'ers halen 2,5 ton PVV-subsidie binnen. *de Volkskrant*, 15 januari, 2016.

———. 2015. Burger wilders meldt zich: Hij is tegen het azc. *de Volkskrant*, 4 september, 2015.

De Vries, Van Onze Verslaggever Joost. 2015. Beweging denk wil uit 'zielige hoekje'. *de Volkskrant*, 14 november, 2015.

de Winther, Paul Jansen en Wouter. 2014. De turkse paarden van troje; PvdA'ers schetsen een onthutsend beeld van hun voormalige partijgenoten tunahan kuzu en selzuk öztürk. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

———. 2014. VVD in spagaat; partij worstelt op congres met de vraag hoe de band met achterban kan worden versterkt. *De Telegraaf*, 29 november, 2014.

de, Winther, Wouter. 2016. Zetelrovers zitten er vooral voor zichzelf. *De Telegraaf*, 19 januari, 2016.

———. 2014. Binnenhof witheet om beschuldigingen; asscher: 'onjuiste, ongeïnformeerde en ongepaste inmenging'. *De Telegraaf*, 27 november, 2014.

———. 2014. PvdA-leider lijkt grip te verliezen; briesende samsom houdt woeste tirade over haagse werkelijkheid. *De Telegraaf*, 4 december, 2014.

———. 2014. Rampzalige dag voor PvdA-fractie; turkse kamerleden zorgen voor crisissfeer. *De Telegraaf*, 14 november, 2014.

———. 2014. Rillingen bij samsom na gescheld; 'ik vond het doodeng'. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

———. 2014. Samsom mag alleen nog maar hopen; PvdA-leider denkt dat kiezers trouw blijven na rel. *De Telegraaf*, 16 november, 2014.

———. 2014. Turkse PvdA'ers radicalen; tegenspraak van vrouwen in fractie niet geduld. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

———. 2014. Verongelijkte turken geven af op PvdA; 'kritiek moet toch mogelijk zijn?'. *De Telegraaf*, 15 november, 2014.

———. 2014. Verstoppertje oud-PvdA'ers. *De Telegraaf*, 25 november, 2014.

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