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WHO ARE WE NOW? A STUDY OF THE CULTURAL IDENTITY
OF TURKISH MIGRANT WORKERS' CHILDREN RETURNING
FROM WESTERN EUROPE

Rengin Karahan

Master Thesis

Boğaziçi University

1984

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Boğaziçi University, 1980, B.A.

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the
Degree of Master of Arts
in
Social Psychology

Department of Psychology-Institute of Social Sciences

Bogazici University Library



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Boğaziçi University

1984

This thesis, submitted by Rengin Karahan to the Institute of Social Sciences of Boğaziçi University in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of Master of Arts is approved.

Thesis Advisor

Dr. Gündüz Vassaf



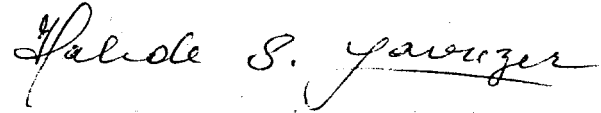
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Date, February, 1984.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my special thanks to Dr.Gündüz Vassaf, Dr.Ayhan LeCompte and Prof.Dr.Halide Yavuzer for their valuable help in the realization of this thesis.

I owe a special debt of gratitude to Selma Otuk (from Koca Mustafapaşa Lisesi), to İnci Yıldırım (from Vatan Lisesi), to Ümran Türkoğlu (from İstanbul Erkek Lisesi) and to Zeynep Özdamar (from Davutpaşa Lisesi) without whom it would have been impossible to collect data. My appreciation is also extended to all the students who participated in the administration of the questionnaires.

Thanks are also due to the "Haydar Furgaç" computer center of İstanbul University; and to Seher Şimşek who typed and xeroxed the questionnaires.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my family for all the patience they have shown and my grandmother for her precious encouragement.

A B S T R A C T

54 Turkish high school students who have returned from West European countries after living as families of migrant workers completed a questionnaire in the month of May, 1983. The questionnaire consisted of questions eliciting background information plus the four scales assessing the following psychological characteristics of these children.

1. Interaction with the culture of the host country - A culture contact scale (a modified form of the scale developed and used by LeCompte and LeCompte and White) was used for assessment.
2. Traditionalism level of both the children and their fathers (families) - LeCompte and LeCompte Tradition- alism scale was used to assess traditionalism.
3. Attitude toward the families - A new Family Evaluation scale was developed.
4. Cultural identity in terms of both host and home cultures - Short-Form Adjective Q-Sort was used to assess the cultural identities.

Except for the Family Evaluation scale, all the other scales had been previously developed and used in other research. They were indicated to be valid and reliable measures.

The degree of contact the children had with the host culture was found to be best predicted by the Family and the School variables. The children from highly conservative families reported similar traditional attitudes on the seven different issues of the traditionalism scale. These children had lower culture contact scores indicating little exposure to the host culture. The children who were exposed to segregated public education and intense religious education were found to have had less contact with the host culture.

The length of stay in the host countries failed to predict the degree of contact the children had with their culture, contrary to the expectations and the previous findings.

In the case of the cultural identity variable, all of the independent variables turned out to be nonsignificant in predicting the Turkish identity of the children (expressed by the 'Self and Turk' scores) possibly, due to the lack of variance in the scale.

Best predictors of cultural identity (expressed by the 'Self and Other' scores) were found to be the traditionalism of self variable followed by the length of stay and the

traditionalism of family variables. The degree of exposure to the host culture (culture contact variable) was found to have no predictive value on cultural identity.

Based on the above findings, it is concluded that cultural absorption (defined and operationalized in terms of perception of similarity between the self and the host country nationals) is not necessarily preceded by cultural integration (expressed as a function of the culture contact).

Ö Z E T

Batı Avrupa ülkelerinde işçi ailesi olarak yaşadıkları
sonra, geçmiş yıllarda yurda dönen 54 ortaöğrenim genci ile
yapılan bu araştırmanın ana amacı "ikinci kuşak", "kayıp ku-
şak" vs. diye adlandırılan bu gençlerin kültürel benlik so-
runlarına açıklık getirmek ve daha önce yapılmış olan LeCompte
and LeCompte (1983) çalışmasında ortaya çıkan "kültüre açıl-
ma" zamanla kültürel entegrasyona yol açar bulgusunun "kül-
türe açılma" kültürel asimilasyona da yol açar şeklinde ifade
edilip edilemeyeceğini aynı regresyon metodu ve benzer ölçek-
lerle ölçmektir.

Araştırma değişik sosyo-ekonomik çevrelerdeki dört,
Devlet Lisesinden seçilen gençlere anket uygulanması sureti
ile gerçekleştirildi. Altı kısımdan oluşan ankette (bkz.
Appendiks A), ilk iki bölüm özgeçmişe ilişkin bilgileri su-
narken, diğer dört ölçek sırası ile, gençlerin Avrupa'daki
kültür ile temas derecelerini, kendilerinin ve ailelerinin
geleneksellik düzeylerini, ailelerine karşı tutumlarını ve
kültürel benliklerini ölçmeyi amaçlamaktaydı (Kültürel ben-
lik, gencin algıladığı kendikişilik özellikleri ile, algıla-
dığı tipik bir Türk ve tipik bir Avrupalı'nın kişilik özel-

likleri arasındaki fark puanları ile ifade edilmekte idi).

Araştırmanın hipotezleri şu şekilde özetlenebilir:

1. Dış ülkede geçirilen süre arttıkça, gencin kendini dış ülke insanına daha çok benzer algılaması beklenmektedir.

2. Dış ülke çocukları ile karışık bir eğitime tabi tutulan genç, kendini o ülke insanına daha benzer algılayacaktır (Dış ülke benliğine sahip olacak).

3. Altı oniki yaş dönemini ve ilkökul eğitimini Türkiye'de geçiren gençlerin Türk benlikleri daha kuvvetli olacaktır (algıladıkları kendi özellikleri ile tipik Türk özellikleri arasındaki fark azalacaktır).

4. Geleneksellik düzeyleri yüksek olan çocukların Türk benlikleri kuvvetli olacak, yani kendilerini Türk'e daha benzer algılayacaklardır).

5. Yurtdışında alınan dini eğitim gencin kendini, tipik bir Türk'e daha çok benzer algılamasına neden olacaktır.

6. Dış ülke kültürü ile yüksek düzeyde temas, gencin kendini o ülke insanına daha benzer algılamasına neden olacaktır.

7. Eğitim düzeyi yüksek olan babaların çocuklarının dış ülke kültürüne daha açık olmaları beklenmektedir.

8. Dış ülkede alınan, ayrımcı bir eğitim (sırf Türk çocukları için) ve yüksek düzeyde din eğitimi, yabancı ülke kültürüne açılma arasında ters bir ilişki beklenmektedir.

9. Dış ülkede geçen süre ile dış kültüre açılma arasında doğrusal bir ilişki beklenmektedir.

10. Geleneksel ailelerin çocuklarının dış kültüre daha az açılmış olmaları beklenmektedir.

11. Ailelerini olumlu değerlendiren gençlerin dış kültüre daha az açılmış olmaları beklenmektedir.

12. Altı oniki yaş dönemini dış ülkede geçiren gençlerin dış kültüre daha fazla açılmış olmaları beklenmektedir.

Verilerin değerlendirilmesi sonucu elde edilen bulgular ise şu sonuçları göstermiştir:

Aile ve gençlerin geleneksellik düzeyleri yüksek derecede birbirleri ile doğru orantılıdır. Geleneksellik değişkeni dış kültüre açılma ile ters yönde bir korelasyon göstermiştir. Fazla geleneksel olan gençlerin geldikleri ülkenin kültürü ile daha az temas ettikleri bulunmuştur. Eğitim türü ve dini eğitim derecesi, kısaca eğitim faktörü olarak alındığında, gençlerin dış kültür ile temasını belirlemede, geleneksellikten sonra ikinci önemli değişken olma özelliğini göstermiştir. Beklentilerin tersine, dış ülkede yaşanan yılların artması ile kültüre açılma oranı arasında doğrusal ve önemli bir ilişki bulunamamıştır.

İki ayrı kıyaslama sonucu elde edilen "Kendim ve Türk" ve "Kendim ve Dış ülke insanı" kültürel benlik göstergeleri ise, "Kendim ve Türk" ölçeğinde diğer bağımsız değişkenlerle hiçbir anlamlı korelasyon ve ilişki göstermemiştir. Sonuçların anlamsız ve gelişigüzel olduğu varsayılarak, yalnızca "Kendim ve Dış ülke insanı" puanları ve ilişkileri kültürel benlik değişkeninin değerlendirilmesinde kullanılmıştır. Kültürel benliğin en iyi belirleyicileri ise dış ülkede geçen zaman ve aile ve gencin geleneksellik düzeyi olarak ortaya çıkmıştır. Dış ülkenin kültürüne açılma oranı ile o ülkenin kültürel benliğini edinme olgusu arasında ise beklentilerin tersine hiçbir anlamlı ilişki olmadığı bulunmuştur. Bundan da LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) çalışmasına atıf yapılarak, yabancı bir kültüre açılmanın kültürel entegrasyona yol açabileceği ancak kültürel asimilasyon için yeterli bir koşul olmadığı sonucuna varılabilir.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Die vorliegende Untersuchung befaßt sich mit den Identifikationsproblemen der als "zweite Generation" oder auch "verlorene Generation" genannten Jugendlichen. Auf vier verschiedenen Gymnasien wurden insgesamt 54 Jugendliche aus unterschiedlichen Milieus befragt, die nach einem längeren Aufenthalt in westeuropäischen Ländern in ihre Heimat zurückgekehrt sind.

Eine Untersuchung von LeCompte/LeCompte aus dem Jahre 1983 kam zu der Aussage: "Eine Öffnung zur Kultur des Gastlandes verursacht mit der Zeit eine kulturelle Integration". In der vorliegenden Untersuchung sollte geprüft werden ob auch die Aussage stimmt "eine Öffnung zur Kultur des Gastlandes verursacht mit der Zeit eine kulturelle Assimilation". Dazu wurde die gleiche Regressionsmethode und ähnliche Skalen verwendet, wie bei der von LeCompte/LeCompte durchgeführten Untersuchung.

Die Umfrage besteht aus sechs Teilen, in den ersten zwei Teilen werden die persönlichen Daten und der Werdegang der Jugendlichen ermittelt; durch die vier übrigen Teile

wurden der Reihe nach,

- der Grad des Kontaktes der Jugendlichen mit der europäischen Kultur,
- die Bewußtseinsstufe ihrer eigenen Tradition und der ihrer Eltern,
- ihr Verhalten gegenüber ihren Eltern, sowie
- ihre kulturelle Identifikation gemessen (ihre kulturelle Identifikation wurde durch die Differenz zwischen den von ihnen selbst wahrgenommenen eigenen Persönlichkeitseigenschaften, den von ihnen wahrgenommenen Eigenschaften eines typischen Türken, sowie eines typischen Europäers dargestellt). Die Hypothesen der Forschung können wie folgt zusammengefaßt werden:

1- Je mehr Zeit im Ausland verbracht wird, desto höher wird die Erwartung, daß der Jugendliche sich mit dem Menschen desjenigen Landes identifiziert, in dem er nun lebt.

2- Der Jugendliche, der im Ausland zusammen mit dessen Kindern erzogen wird, wird sich eher mit dem Menschen desjenigen Landes identifizieren.

3- Die Jugendlichen die zwischen dem sechsten und zwölften Lebensjahr in der Türkei gelebt haben, d. h. die türkische Grundschulerausbildung erlebt haben, werden eine stärkere türkische Identifikation besitzen (d. h. der Unterschied zwischen ihren eigenen Eigenschaften und den typisch türkischen Eigenschaften ist gering).

4- Die Kinder, die ein hohes traditionell türkisches Identifikationsbewußtsein haben, werden sich auch im Ausland mit der Bevölkerung ihres Heimatlandes identifizieren.

5- Eine im Ausland genossene Erziehung in seiner Religion wird bewirken, daß der Jugendliche sich eher mit einem typischen Türken identifiziert.

6- Ein stärkerer Kontakt mit der Auslandskultur wird bewirken, daß sich der Jugendliche eher mit dem Menschen desjenigen Landes identifiziert, in dem er nun lebt.

7- Es wird erwartet, daß Kinder, deren Väter einen höheren Bildungsgrad besitzen, der Auslandskultur gegenüber aufgeschlossener sind.

8- Eine von der Bevölkerung des Gastlandes isolierten Ausbildung im Ausland und eine Erziehung höheren Grades in der eigenen Religion wird eine Öffnung gegenüber der Auslandskultur eher behindern, wenn nicht sogar verhindern.

9- Es wird erwartet, daß die Länge der im Ausland verbrachten Zeit und die Öffnung gegenüber der Auslandskultur linear abhängig sind.

10- Es wird erwartet, daß Kinder aus traditionsbewußten Familien sich weniger der Auslandskultur zuwenden.

11- Es wird erwartet, daß die Jugendlichen, die ihre Familien positiv bewerten, sich der Auslandskultur weniger zuwenden.

12- Es wird erwartet, daß Kinder, die zwischen dem sechsten und zwölften Lebensjahr im Ausland gelebt haben, sich eher der Auslandskultur zwenden.

Die Auswertung der erhobenen Daten führte zu folgenden Ergebnissen:

Das Traditionsbewußtsein der Jugendlichen und der Familien sind in hohem Maße linear voneinander abhängig. Die Variable "Traditionsbewußtsein" korreliert negativ mit der Variablen "Öffnung gegenüber der ausländischen Kultur". Die Untersuchung zeigt, daß sehr stark traditionsbewußte Jugendliche mit der Kultur ihres Herkunftslandes nur wenig direkten kontakt hatten. Zieht man die "Art der Ausbildung" und den "Grad der religiösen Erziehung" zu einem 'Ausbildungsfaktor' zusammen, so wird dieser nach dem Traditionsbewußtsein zur zweitwichtigsten Variante bei der Bestimmung des Kontakts der Jugendlichen mit der Auslandskultur.

Es wurden zwei getrennte Vergleichsskalen ermittelt "Ich und der Türke" sowie "Ich und der Auslandsmensch". Zwischen der Skala "Ich und der Türke" und den anderen freien Variablen gab es überhaupt keinen sinnvollen Zusammenhang und keine Korrelation.

Daher wurde nur die Skala "Ich und der Auslandsmensch" für eine Auswertung der kulturellen Identifikation verwendet. Als beste Determinanten der kulturellen Identifikation haben

sich die im Ausland verbrachte Zeitdauer sowie der Grad des Traditionsbewußtseins der Familie und des Jugendlichen gezeigt. Entgegen allen Erwartungen wurden zwischen dem "Öffnungsgrad gegenüber der Auslandskultur" und der kulturellen Identifikation des in Frage kommenden Landes überhaupt kein sinnvoller Zusammenhang gefunden. So kann hiermit die Aussage von "LeCompte and LeCompte" (1983) unterstützt werden, daß die Hinwendungen zu einer fremden Kultur, die kulturelle Integration zur Folge haben kann, aber für die kulturelle Assimilation keine ausreichende Voraussetzung bildet.

CHAPTER 1

BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

in

History of the Turkish Workers Migration Movement to Western Europe

Prior to a detailed report of the present investigation it would be useful to give a short synopsis of the history of the Turkish migrant movement to Western Europe. The present research has focused on the phenomenon of migration to Western Europe and some of its consequences. Since 1973, however, Turkish workers have migrated to Middle Eastern countries and Australia, as well. Neither the history nor the consequences of the latter will be included since these population movements are quite different from those to Western Europe. For example, companies recruiting workers for the Middle Eastern countries do not provide facilities for families and there is apparently no interest on the part of the workers for permanent migration. Immigration to Australia, on the other hand, is more of a permanent nature. Hence, the phenomenon of the so called "second generation" returnees is much less important in these cases.

International labor migration has been taking place in Europe since the beginning of the 19th century. It is by no means a new phenomenon of our day; however, the characteristics of the migratory movements in the second half of the 20th century differ from those of the previous flows. Former intra-continental movements are leaving their places to intercontinental ones and large amounts of workers move towards European immigration countries from distant regions. Besides, in terms of time, the current flows tend to be more temporary in nature; therefore theoretically, the recent migratory movement starts and ends in the country of origin of the migrant worker. Especially in the 1980's the "return home" aspect of the migratory chain has become the most important and critical issue of debate among the immigration and emigration countries. Undoubtedly, this issue is of utmost importance to Turkey because of its highly specific place among the emigration countries.

Turkey, unlike many other labor exporting countries, started to experience significant migratory flows only after the late 1950's. In the 1950's, an exodus from rural areas to urban centers was in process due to the population explosion, mechanization of agriculture, changes in the form of production and in the traditional structure of the society. The first out-flow from Turkey coincided with the end of this decade. The first group of 12 technicians and their families who left for West Germany for vocational training in 1957 were soon followed

by a group of 150 workers (Abadan-Unat et al., 1976). While being easily assimilated into the German economy, this trickle soon changed to a torrent of massive proportions. When the first bilateral agreement on the recruitment of workers was signed in 1961 with the Federal Republic of Germany, the phenomenon became a matter of governmental policy. Between 1964 and 1967, Turkey concluded recruitment agreements with various West European countries. The most important issue emphasized in all of these agreements was the temporary status of the workers. When their recruitment period was * over, they had to return to their home countries. In the mean time the Turkish government was hoping to reduce the labor surplus, the balance of payments deficits and, finally, to have the workers trained in industrialised countries in order to have highly-qualified, skilled labor force at the end of the migratory chain. In short, the principal aim was to enhance economic development. *

On the other hand, the labor importing countries were aiming at reducing their job vacancies with a low-cost labor force. Due to the demographic contractions in all the host countries and the economic upswing of the early 1960's the demand for foreign workers had grown tremendously. Therefore, between 1963-1967, a great flow of emigration from Turkey occurred. While the number of Turkish workers immigrating to Europe was being expressed in units of 10,000s in 1963, the number of potential candidates was also increasing. At about

the same time, with the hope of earning and saving up enough money to establish a better future in their home countries * and of having better educational and social opportunities for their children, thousands of workers were emigrating illegally. However, inspection of statistical data reveals that out migration was in relatively small amounts between 1963-1967. A continuous rise in the number of workers emigrating from Turkey in reply to the high demand of the West European countries took place right after the 1966/1967 economic recession of the West Germany. This trend continued up until the economic crisis of 1973.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Turkish Migrant Workers Emigration to Europe by years and by countries of immigration

COUNTRIES	Y E A R S						
	1961-73	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
W.Germany	648,029	1,228	640	2,101	2,413	1,333	999
Netherlands	23,359	1,503	32	98	83	48	42
France	45,366	10,577	25	6	15	13	11
Austria	34,461	2,501	226	672	583	54	25
Belgium	15,309	555	59	72	45	41	30
Switzerland	6,360	770	229	281	246	326	498
Others	<u>12,069</u>	<u>924</u>	<u>435</u>	<u>1,059</u>	<u>1,853</u>	<u>2,993</u>	<u>2,876</u>
Total	784,953	18,058	1,646	4,289	5,237	4,808	4,481

Source: Turkish Employment Service (Gitmez, 1983, Table 1:2, p.20).

One interesting point was that Turkish workers were least affected by the 1966/1967 recession and the restrictive measures taken by the Federal Republic of Germany (Abadan-Unat, mimeo). Therefore, outmigration of workers from Turkey was halted in 1973 due to the petroleum crisis that led to the unfavorable economic conditions in Western countries. By the end of 1973, however, the number of Turkish workers abroad had reached approximately 800,000. In addition to this figure 100,000 illegal workers, 250,000 families and their children amounting to 150,000 were also abroad at the same period (Gitmez, 1983). The Turkish population continued to increase even after 1973—the year the Western countries halted the recruitment of Turkish workers—due to large scale family reunification. It should also be noted that the period from 1973 to 1980 coincided with conditions of incredible economic and political unrest in Turkey. The major economic push factors of labor migration, unemployment, low wages, balance of payments deficit etc., which were characterizing the Turkey of that period was heightened by the political terrorism prevailing all over the country. Until the military intervention of 1980, therefore, many people who failed to bear up the economic crisis and the threats directed at their freedom, rights, and their lives, chose to migrate to European countries. Their expectations were political, social and economic security. After the military intervention of September 12, 1980, this trend continued and the number of political refugees increased day by day. In addition, people

pretending to be political fugitives also immigrated illegally to European countries asking for political asylum with the hope of obtaining permanent work and residence permits (Gençosman, 1981). All these factors contributed to the increase observed in the Turkish population in Western Europe countries since 1973. According to 1980 statistics, the population increase from 1975 to 1980 is 36.2% (Gitmez, 1983). In 1980, 1,885,102 Turkish citizens were estimated to be living in West European countries. Of this number 773,336 were children between the ages of 0 and 18 (Gitmez, 1983). The present, figures must be above this; however, the latest statistics are not available.

As the above numbers also indicate, the composition of the Turkish immigrant population in Europe has been undergoing a structural change since 1974 due to the influx of families and children as a consequence of the 'family reunification' policy. The proportion of active population of Turkish immigrants has decreased from 63% to 45% between 1974 and 1979 indicating a greater number of dependents and children abroad (Gitmez, 1983).

To be able to better demonstrate this structural change, inspection of the composition of the Turkish migrant population in the Federal Republic of Germany may be helpful since approximately 80 % of all Turkish migrant labor force is employed in this country. While the number of children under 16 has increased by 129.8 % from 1974 to 1980. The increase

realized in the whole population is 42.3 % for the same period. These percentages indicate that in 1980 the Turkish migrant population constituted 32.8 % of all migrants in the Federal Republic of Germany, while the population of the Turkish children under 16 years of age made up 46.4 % of all migrants in the same age bracket (Gitmez, 1983).

TABLE 2

tin

Turkish Population in West European Countries
(Changes from 1979 to 1980)

<u>COUNTRIES</u>	<u>Years</u>	<u>Workers</u>	<u>Dependent Spouses</u>	<u>Children (0- 18)</u>	<u>Total</u>
W. Germany	1979	540,471	248,429	479,400	1,268,300
	1980	590,623	287,377	548,400	1,462,400
Netherlands	1979	45,141	34,670	26,889	106,700
	1980	47,326	38,137	36,249	121,712
France	1979	38,000	19,616	32,077	89,693
	1980	38,000	20,000	34,077	92,772
Austria	1979	28,037	16,963	15,000	60,000
	1980	30,130	17,331	17,539	65,000
Belgium	1979	23,000	13,305	30,258	66,563
	1980	23,000	13,305	30,258	66,563
Switzerland	1979	17,971	1,799	11,775	31,545
	1980	20,119	2,134	13,604	35,857
Scandinavian Countr.	1979	15,519	1,572	13,311	30,402
	1980	17,697	1,437	15,164	34,298
Other	1979	3,395	1,030	2,075	6,500
	1980	3,395	1,030	2,075	6,500
W. European(TOTAL)	1979	711,534	337,384	610,785	1,659,703
	1980	770,290	381,446	733,366	1,885,102

Sources: 1- Min. of Labor/YİS 1979 Yılı Çalışma Raporu 1980; 1980 yılı çalışma raporu hazırlıkları 1981.

2- Min. of Educ. Yurtdışında Çalışan Türk İşçilerinin 0-16 yaş çocuklarının eğitim sorunları, No.74-20, 1974.
(Gitmez 1983, Table 1:3, p.23).

The above statistics concerning the composition of the Turkish population abroad, when paired with other statistical findings such as the length of stay of workers and their tendencies to live permanently in host countries, indicate that contrary to what the immigrants and the concerned governments believed in the 1960's and the 1970's, migration of Turks is turning out to be of permanent or semi-permanent nature. While in 1968 only 4 % of Turks had lived more than 7 years in West Germany, in 1976, 25 % had been living for more than 6 years (Mehrleander, 1980). According to Mehrleander (1971), 31 % of Turks wanted to stay more than their initial intentions while only 5 % intended to leave earlier than the time previously decided. Also the data by Turkish Employment Service support the above tendency. While in 1971 only 6.4 % had postponed their returns indefinitely, in 1974 this number had increased to 18.4 % (Gitmez, 1983). The increase in the number of migrants under 25 years of age is another indication of the fact that the nature of Turkish migration is changing.

TABLE 3

Turkish Immigrants aged 0 - 25 in 1980
by countries of residence

W. Germany	753,000
France	20,000
Netherlands	44,000
Sweden	9,000
Switzerland	17,000
<u>Total</u>	<u>843,000</u>

Source: Widgren, J., UNDP/ILO working Paper, 1982; p.11.

In spite of all the restrictions imposed by the receiving country governments, the number of Turks abroad and their tendencies to stay longer in the host countries continuously increased from 1973 on to the 1980's when West Europe found itself once again in an economic crisis. Unfavorable economic conditions that have become prevalent since the beginning of the 1980's, created economic, social, and psychological problems for foreign workers. High unemployment rates observed in the host countries led both the government and the nationals of these countries to search for scapegoats. Even though it is known that foreign workers are structurally integrated into host economies and even in times of unemployment and crisis nationals would not take certain jobs taken by foreign workers, they still put the blame on these people. At the governmental level new regulations and laws were enacted to restrict aliens. For example, the Federal Government and the state governments of West Germany proposed new regulations to freeze the number of foreigners in the country. In fact these decrees are meant only for the Turkish immigrants due to the tendency of the Federal Republic of Germany to identify "migrants" problem with "Turkish migrants" problem. The implication is that if the number of Turkish immigrants can be controlled or reduced, there will be no problems of immigrants in the long run. Although at first thought, this issue seems to have only economic significance and consequences, its social and psychological impacts are much more important in the long run.

Before scrutinizing these aspects, it may be helpful to look at what the Federal and state governments have proposed as solutions to "Turkish workers and their families" problem in Germany. The age limit for children who can join their families would be lowered from 18 to 16 (still much debate is going on to lower this figure). Unless both parents have lived in the host country, it would not be possible for the child_{in} to enter the country to be unified with his/her family. If the second generation got married in Turkey it would not be possible to take their spouses to the Federal Republic of Germany unless they have lived at least eight years in this country. In addition, the marriage should have lasted at least a year before the spouse could be admitted to West-Germany. Actually, since 1982 these series of regulations are being enacted in all states (Şen, 1982). As it is understood the hidden aim is to socially and psychologically depreciate the worker who can not bring his family to Germany so that, he returns to his home country voluntarily without claiming any compensation from the host country. The "return bonuses" plan proposed by the Federal Minister of Labor, Norbert Blum has more or less the same aim. The plan is only pertinent to those "future unemployed workers" who will be out of their jobs between 1983-1984. The number of these workers are estimated to be 20,000. The plan does not concern the current 120,000 jobless Turks. Actually, the number of unemployed Turkish workers in Germany by March, 1983 was 121,052, which is 18 % of all of the active Turkish population in the country (Anka,

Apr. 19, 1983). What the Blum plan proposes is to provide 10,500 DM return bonus per family plus 1,500 DM children allowance for each child for families who voluntarily return to Turkey. Since the above plan does not take the 120,000 current unemployed workers into account, these people, who have been receiving unemployment pensions for months, will be forced to go back to their home country since there will be no new job opportunities. It is certain that they will not receive any financial help from the Federal Republic, so while the number of volunteer returnees will overrun the estimated amount of 20,000, the Federal Republic will achieve a profit of 3,480 millions DM (NOKTA, 20, 1983). On the other hand, the Federal Minister of International Affairs, F.Zimmerman, believes that

"until 1973, the Bonn Government had left employment of foreign citizens almost entirely by market forces. The recession beginning at the end of 1973, exacerbated by the oil crises with its accompanying mass unemployment, caused the Federal Republic of Germany to abandon the policy of entrusting the recruitment of foreign workers to the requirements of industry. A decision to halt recruitment came into force at the end of Nov. 1973 and this approach has been maintained to the present" (Mehrleander, 1980; p.79).

Therefore, Zimmerman believes that there is no place for the unskilled workers in German industry and that vocational training programs for the second generation are not possible. The policy is that those who can not be useful to German economy should immediately return. Furthermore, F.Zimmerman

proposes that the maximum age for children reunification should be lowered to six or seven in order to allow them to learn German and get assimilated to the German society.

All these measures are being enforced with the hope of reducing the foreign population whose labor was accepted two decades ago to meet the needs of host economies. Since the beginning of this flow, neither the labor exporting nor the labor ⁱⁿ importing countries were able to foresee what the future would bring. It is now obvious that as the permanent immigration of the temporary Turkish workers become more probable than ever, governments, who have always considered the "guest workers" as economic working machines, try to justify their desire to send them back, now that they have become a burden to their economies. Therefore, they "grant" these people the right to return to their countries of origin. One has to remember that these people have never been granted the right to live on economic, social, political and psychological equal terms with the host culture nationals. While their marginal status has always been reinforced by various factors, they have been viewed as a burden which can be seen from their being called "gastarbeiter" or "auslander".

It is a fact of our day that Turkish migrants are the target of racism and xenophobia triggered by the economic recession. Very often the ignored and exploited Turkish minorities become the victim of racial violence, especially

in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"Last September a fire bomb was tossed through the living room window of a Turkish family... Police suspect that Neo-Nazi elements were responsible" (TIME Dec.12, 1983).

"In West Berlin in November of last year, a group of teen-age German thugs, screaming abuse at foreigners attacked a Turkish shop, roughing up the owner and his family and ransacking the rooms" (TIME Dec. 12, 1983).

"A Turkish elementary school student was beaten to death by his classmates..." (CUMHURİYET Dec. 23, 1983).

These are only a few examples of what the Turkish immigrant has been facing in host countries recently. The last quotation, especially demonstrates that racism is no longer the prejudice of certain groups like Neo-Nazis but it has become an ongoing disease in the whole society including even the youngest generation.

When these racist attacks are paired with the economic incentives of the governments, it seems that the return migration of Turkish population will be accelerated. Those who are tired of living as second class people, those who have failed to integrate to the host culture, those who have families in the home country will tend to return, together with their children. Although there are no sound statistics about the number of permanent returnees, the average annual

returnee number since 1973 may be estimated as 55,000-60,000 (Gökdere, 1978: Gitmez, 1983). This means that still a 50 % of those who have migrated since 1973 are remaining in the host countries (Gitmez, 1983). Therefore, there is a high potential of migrants who will be future returnees. When the 773,366 Turkish workers children in Europe plus the 50,000 annual increase in their number (Ministry of Labor, 1981) are taken into consideration, it is seen that the Turkish migratory chain has not come to an end at all. Even if the majority of these children prefer to get the status of permanent immigrants, there will still be an inflow of "second generation" or "third generation" migrants into Turkey in the future. Therefore the social and psychological conditions of these children should be analyzed and understood well enough in order to take meaningful measures concerning their re-integration to the Turkish culture. Both researchers and government authorities should shift their emphasis from the economic aspect of migration to the psychological and socio-psychological aspects since return-migration is likely to increase in the near future.

Research Review on Cultural Identity of Migrants

Up until now, the problems of immigration were dealt with from economic, political, and social standpoints. The first contributions to human and cultural fields were made by Swiss scientists (Oriol, 1979). A major study by Hoffman-

Nowtny (1973) demonstrates the importance of cultural identity in the case of structural marginality that is caused by the inequalities of opportunities and rights in a society. The study deals with structural integration and claims that acculturation is not a prerequisite but an opportunity to achieve structural integration. Besides emphasizing the marginality of immigrant workers, the study hypothesizes potential modes of adoption for the first generation. In the first half of the 1970's the majority of empirical and theoretical studies were concerned with the first generation. Legal, economic, and social positions of the workers were the main subject matter of research in this period.

As the length of stay of immigrants increased and family reunifications continued on a large scale, the second generation became the new topic of research. Theoretical studies concentrated mainly on concepts of marginality, bilingualism and biculturalism, whereas, the applied research was concerned with schooling, criminality and delinquency (Oriol, 1979). Most of the studies carried out were concerned with problems of children of migrant workers residing in the receiving countries. The studies were, in fact, developed by the host country scientists and researchers. Empirical and theoretical research on cultural (national) identity seem to be in progress as integration and assimilation problems become the important current issues concerning both the sending and the receiving countries. Recent contributions analyze the

situation of migrant workers and their children within the framework of assimilation and integration theories (Oriol, 1979, Esser, 1979). Peyre (1982), for example, concentrates on the "conflictual cultural identity of the second generation immigrants". The research has been carried out with a group of low-socio-economic status (SES) immigrant (North African and Iberian) and French youth. It is a comparative study between a group of delinquents and a reference group that had never appeared before court. Partial analysis of data showed that all groups conceived their parents to be more traditional; however it was the Moslem delinquent group that perceived their parents as most traditional and disagreed most with their parental values. Hence, it was this group that was in a very uneasy position with regard to their national group. The members of this group had difficulty in defining their own identity and in showing coherent self images. They seem to have broken with the traditional values of their culture to the extent of seeking new cultural identity. Their attempt to assimilate more rapidly than the reference groups is a "thought provoking" result. In addition, delinquents were found to suffer racism more than the reference groups. "Rapid acculturation (leading to a break with the family milieu) in an ethnocentric society where a considerably different culture prevails, could lead to all the ensuing dangers such as depreciation of the self, anomia, deviance and, perhaps, even delinquency" (Peyre, 1982, p.105), and "rapid cultural

assimilation might not be very advisable, contrary to general opinion" (Peyre, 1980; p.107) are some thoughts suggested by the results of the research.

Another study that directly deals with cultural identity of second generation immigrants is by Wilpert (1982). The research conducted with Turkish and Yugoslav youth in Germany, had results relevant to the present study. Cultural identity, conceptualized as a dynamic entity, was dealt with as expressed by the homeward orientation and marginality perception of the Turkish and Yugoslav youth. The intention of the study, as stated by Wilpert, was "to present how the concept of cultural and ethnic identity evolves to a central concept of understanding the behavioral alternatives and problem solving strategies of the second generation" (Wilpert, 1980; pp.117-118). The findings of the study confirmed that homeward orientation was an expression of cultural identity. In general, homeward orientation turned out to be a function of high aspirations and perception of social marginality.

As the length of stay in the host culture increased, perception of double marginality of the migrant workers and their children also increased leading to an ambivalence toward future opportunities in the home country also. Wilpert claims that as long as perception of social marginality exists, integration to German society is not possible. In addition, the study discusses research which presents cultural identity as a factor strengthening self-esteem that is

essential for mental health, academic achievement and language ability, while proposing longitudinal studies that will investigate "problem solving components of cultural identity for minority youth in the context of ethnic community research" (Wilpert, 1982, p.127). Specific results pertinent to the Turkish group of the sample may be summarized as follows: 50 % of the Turkish children believed that their countrymen were not treated equally with the Germans and they blamed the environment for this discrimination and the lack of opportunities. Due to this perception of discrimination, Turkish children felt pessimistically, about their future; however, they had high aspirations which led to the ambivalent situation they were in. 57.3 % of these Turkish children believed in better opportunities at home and a high percentage of them preferred to finish school, work and live in their home countries. It has been found, however, that segregated and integrated classes at school made a difference in the preferences that expressed cultural identity. Children in integrated classes turned out to be more optimistic and positive about their relations, their school and their future jobs in Germany. They evaluated their language ability highly also. Whereas children in segregated classes tended to show less desire to finish school in Germany and felt themselves to be discriminated against.

LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) in another study explored the solutions of adaptation and integration problems of

Turkish families and children in European countries. A group of Turkish families and children in Utrecht were compared with a group living in the region of Turkey from which the Utrecht group had emigrated. The aim of identifying a set of critical variables in the cultural adoption of the families was achieved at the end of the study. Culture contact was found to be the critical variable in predicting cultural integration while it was, itself, predicted by background and psychological variables of family.

All the studies mentioned above have been conducted in the receiving countries with sample groups of current immigrants not with returnees. There is some research on the re-integration problems of the returnees and their children in Greece. Being one of the emigration countries, Greece has realized how acute the problems related to the cultural reintegration of the second generation returnees have become. Recent research reported by Siampos and Moussourou (1982) indicated that Greek returnees rated their stay in Germany, their relationship with Germans, their pay and their pay compared to the pay of the Germans as "good". However, relationship among Greeks was rated better due to lack of acceptance of German morality and moral standards. The most important reasons for the decision to return were found to be the unwillingness of the Greeks to prolong their children's exposure to the German culture and their fear of loss of cultural identity by the children. It is possible to find

some statistical tallying about the returnees but relevant and useful research is rare. This fact is true with Turkey, as well. Few studies have been made on children of migrants who have returned to Turkey and they deal with mostly economic, social, demographic and medical problems. While a study carried out in two districts of Ankara deals with physical and mental symptoms, utilization of health services and accidents suffered by the children returnees, little is known about their cultural identity crisis and re-integration problems brought about by the crisis (Charbit(ed), 1979).

Rationale of the Present Research

The aim of the present research is actually twofold. The first is to make a contribution to the understanding of cultural identity problems of the second generation Turkish returnees, i.e., to find out the behavioral, attitudinal and background variables that determine the degree of the child's identification with the home and the host cultures. This seems to be the humanistic aim since it is hoped that the results of the study may be of some help in aiding concerned organizations that will be drawing up programs, policies, etc., for the young population caught between two cultures.

The second objective is methodological. According to LeCompte and LeCompte (1983), cultural integration is a function of contact the child has with the host culture. Culture contact was found to be predicted from background

variables, plus the psychosocial characteristics of the families. While LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) aimed at searching for better adaptation possibilities for the first and second generations in the host culture, the present study has the same aim of looking for adaptation possibilities for the second generation in the country of origin on their return. The same crucial variable, Culture Contact, (with the receiving country culture) is used in both studies. Similar scales are also utilized to measure culture contact while the same statistical method of regression analysis for data assesment is used. Relations hypothesized in both studies can be summarized in table:

TABLE 4

Summary of Major Variables

<u>LeCompte/LeCompte</u>	<u>Present Study</u>
(1) Culture Contact=f (family variables: background and psychological)	(1) Culture Contact=f (Psychological family and self;and background variables)
(2) Cultural Integration=f (culture contact)	(2) Cultural Identity=f (culture contact)
	(3) Cultural Absorption(assimilation) (cultural integration)

* Cultural Absorption (assimilation) is defined and measured by the degree of host culture identity, so the degree of host culture identity is equal to the degree of absorption (assimilation).

The present study is a way of replicating a part of the former with a different sample, the second generation returnee group. In addition, it might be a way of taking the two stage modeled LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) study a step further to see whether the three stage model of adaptation, integration, and absorption (Amersfoort, 1982) is applicable to the present case. That is, to see whether each step is necessarily a prerequisite for the next.

Statement of Problems and Hypotheses

The situation of Turkish migrant workers and their children in Europe is characterized by the condition of living in two very distant cultures. If culture refers to "a system of values, beliefs and norms transmitted from one generation to the next" (Mead, 1956), especially the so called "second generation" lives in a conflictual situation of alienation and rejection. According to Erikson, the child, all through his childhood, develops expectations according to the hierarchies, norms, and values introduced by the family and wider circle of environment. These expectations lead to the idea of what the child will become as he grows up (Peyre, 1982). Adolescence is the most formative and critical period in the search for identity. It is the transition period where the child is in constant confrontation with outside groups (families, schools, religious communities etc.). This critical period may be greatly affected by the cultural

experience of pre-adolescence. The outside reference groups have important functions of conveying the message of how the child is perceived. There should be continuity of traditions, norms, values to be internalized in the environment in order for him/her to develop consistent cultural identities. When the situation of second generation migrants (they may be born in the host countries or may move to the country later) are analyzed, it is seen that the conditions for these children to develop consistent cultural identities is nil. The same thing, however, can not be said for the first generation arriving the host cultures with already formed and confirmed cultural identities. Discontinuity of traditions is what the children are faced with. This leads to conflicts regarding the formation of cultural identity. The migrant child has to exist around two poles: his family and fellow countrymen (his home culture) and his school, work and public life (host culture). Therefore, he/she has two different reference groups and two completely different environments whose norms and values diverge and differ from one another. The child is in a position of meeting the expectations of two conflicting cultures. In additions, he has no single reference group to convey a consistent self image. Consequently, not knowing where he/she belongs, the child develops a marginal status with an incoherent self-identity.

Under the light of this brief theoretical summary, the objective of the study is to identify the strongest predictors

of cultural identity in terms of behavioral, and psychological variables. Cultural identity is approached and operationalized as the child's perception of him/herself in comparison to his/her perception of the characteristics of both the host and home culture nationals.

Hypotheses

1- As the length of time the respondent has spent in the receiving country increases, he is expected to perceive himself as more similar to the host country nationals.

2- Cultural identification with the host country is a function of integrated education. If the respondent has been subjected to an integrated type of education, his cultural identity will be more similar to that of receiving country nationals since he will perceive himself as more similar to the nationals of this country.

3- The respondent is expected to perceive himself as more similar to the host country nationals if the percentage of time he has spent in the host country from age 6 to age 12 is high. If the child has had his elementary school education in the country of origin, Turkey, he is expected to perceive himself as more similar to Turkish nationals since early education is considered more effective than late education in the formation of cultural identity.

4- The greater the traditionalism in the family, the greater will be the traditionalism of the respondent; consequently, the discrepancy between his perception of the self and the Turkish nationals is expected to be small.

5- The more intense the religious education of the respondent in the host country was, the more similar he will perceive himself to the Turkish nationals.

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6- Higher contact of the child with the host culture is expected to result in perception of more similarity between the self and the host country nationals.

7- Respondents with fathers of high educational levels are expected to have more contact with the host culture.

8- Both the segregated type of education and intense religious education are expected to lead to less contact with the host culture.

9- Contact with the host culture is expected to increase with the increased length of stay in the receiving country.

10- Children coming from traditional families are anticipated to have less contact with the host country culture.

11- The more positively the respondent evaluates his family, the less contact he is expected to have with the

culture of the receiving country; and, consequently, he is anticipated to have stronger Turkish identity.

12- If the respondent has spent more time from age 6 to age 12 in the host country, he is expected to have more contact with the host culture.

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CHAPTER 2

METHOD OF THE STUDY

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Selection of the Sample

As mentioned in the previous section, statistics about the number of returnees are scarce. It is especially difficult to find any recent data on the second generation returnees. According to the relatively most reliable data by Wert and Yalçıntaş (Gitmez, 1983; p.35), 190,000 workers have returned to Turkey from West Germany between 1974-1977 (this number is assumed to include dependents as well). The average figure for 1974, 30.000, has increased to 70.000 for the years 1980 and 1981. While in 1982 the returnee number is thought to have reached 90,000, the average annual figure is expected to exceed this in the near future*.

The initial aim of this survey was to have a representative sample with the following criterion:

- a) 100 Turkish high school students from the population of Turkish migrant workers' children who have

* Gitmez, A., Personal Communication.

returned from one of the West European labor importing countries.

- b) age range 14-18, being the most formative years of identity.
- c) different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds.
- d) random sampling techniques.

Accordingly, the random sample would be representative of the second generation returnees who had experience with a foreign culture as dependents of "guest workers!" in Western Europe.

Due to the temporal and financial constraints and bureaucratic barriers, the population had to be limited to Istanbul. Although the final sample does not represent the whole second generation returnee population, it did not prevent the researcher from continuing with the survey, on the contrary, it was helpful to have a sample only from Istanbul, a metropolitan city, since the effects of urbanization became controlled. Since all the subjects have either been born in European host countries or emigrated from big cities there was no chance that the independent or dependent variables would be functions of the changes that took place as a result of urbanization. However, within Istanbul to prevent the biased sample error a stratified approach was used in selecting the sample from high schools at districts of relatively different socio-economic and cultural backgrounds. Still,

however, the final sample does not fully represent the Istanbul population. Because it was not possible to have a complete list of all the schools containing children of migrant workers, a purely random sample could not be chosen. The permission of making interviews and giving out questionnaires granted by the Ministry of Education was only for four schools. By a prior investigation through interviews with the teachers and the counselors working at these schools, it was discovered that these four had a sufficient sample fitting the criterion. The high schools from where the sample was drawn are listed below: Istanbul Erkek Lisesi (I.E.L.), Vatan Lisesi (V.L.), Kocamustafa Paşa Lisesi (K.M.P.L), and Davutpaşa Lisesi (D.P.L.). Although there is no vast difference between the socio-economic and cultural backgrounds of the students that came from the above schools, those from I.E.L were from families of relatively high socio-cultural status and they resided in wealthier districts while those from K.M.P.L. came from families of lower socio-cultural status. Subjects from V.L. and D.P.L were, actually intermediate. These schools have been recently registering quite a number of returnees. In I.E.L. the language of instruction is German, so there is a high demand on the part of the parents of the second generation returnees to have their children accepted. It is reported by A.Güneş* that while the number of candidates in 1982-1983 academic year was 200 for all the classes, from Orta 1 to Lyceé 3 (six years), in 1983-1984 the number of candidates for just two classes alone totaled to 200. "This is definitely

due to the increase in the number of second generation returnees and their desire to continue their education in a language and a system that they were accustomed to in the host countries" suggests A.Güneş. The headmaster of V.L. also reported a meaningful increase in the number of returnees they have been registering since 1981. The increase, he says, is 400 % in three years.

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Description of Scales

The data were collected by a questionnaire that was composed of six different parts. The first two parts were prepared to elicit information about the backgrounds of the subjects. The rest of the scales were to measure attitudinal and behavioral variables. Only one of these four scales had not been used in previous research (See Appendix A for copies of scales).

1- Background Variables

The first part of the questionnaire included items that elicited information about the age, sex, amount of foreign experience, family composition, and educational and occupational status of the fathers of the respondents. The items of the second part entirely concerned the educational status of the respondents. This part included questions about the number of years of schooling, the language and type of

education and the type of religious education, the respondent had in the host countries.

2- Culture Contact Scale

The Culture Contact Scale consisted of a series of questions intended to differentiate between high and low contact with the host culture.

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The 18 items were prepared such that each had three options, ranging from the least contact with the host culture to the most contact. These options were weighted from 0 to 2 and the sum of these weights constituted the culture contact score of the respondent. The items of the scale were in fact the modified and adapted form of the culture contact scale used by J. White (1978) in a study of Turkish female migrants to West Germany. The scale was found to be a valid and sensitive indicator of the contact the respondents had with the host culture, by the two validity studies made from J. White's 1978 research (LeCompte and LeCompte, 1983).

3- Traditionalism Scale

The traditionalism scale developed by LeCompte and LeCompte (1973) was used to assess the traditionalism level of both the subjects and parents. This scale consists of seven issues each measuring a different dimension of traditionalism. These seven issues are classified in two

groups under the headings: (1) INDEPENDENCE OF CHOICE, (2) TRADITIONAL RESPECT.

The independence of choice variable includes a) choice of career, b) dating, c) women's role, d) marriage dimensions while the traditional respect variable consists of a) father's authority, b) respect for elders and c) religion dimensions. On each of the seven issues, alternative statements ranging from ⁱⁿ very independent to very traditional possibilities were presented to the subjects. The order of the statements for four of the issues are reversed so that the subject is encountered with reversed sequences. With a seven point approval-disapproval scale presented before the issues, the subjects were asked to rate the statements in each part. They were also asked to rate the same statement from the point of view of their fathers. The scores of the student and of his/her father were obtained by multiplying the ratings of the respondent by the assigned standard weight of each statement and by summing up these weighted scores across the five statements in every part. The traditional end of the continuum was always assigned positive weights so large positive scores referred to a high traditional position. By summing up the scores of each issue under the two main sections, summed scores for INDEPENDENCE of CHOICE and TRADITIONAL RESPECT of the self and the father were obtained.

These traditionalism scales have been shown to be valid and reliable measures by the studies of LeCompte and LeCompte

(1970, 1980).

4- Family Evaluation Scale

Some of the initial hypotheses were based on the assumption that the attitudes of the subject toward their families would effect their cultural identity. To measure the attitudes of the subjects, a Likert scale was prepared. 41 items constituting the final scale each had five alternative answers that indicated both the direction and degree of the choice of the respondent. The five response alternatives for every attitude item were: extremely right, right, undecided, wrong, extremely wrong. The resulting five-point scale was represented by numbers ranging from five to one. The overall attitude score was found by adding all these scores of 41 items. Therefore, the highest value representing consistent strong disapproval towards the family was supposed to be 205 while the lowest value representing consistent strong approval towards the family would be 41. The neutral point was supposed to be 123. This scale had only face validity.

5- Adjective Q-Sort

The extent to which the subjects identified with Turkish and host cultures was measured by a Q-sort technique. The 20 word adjective list used was developed from an original set of 70 words and has also been used in previous research (LeCompte and LeCompte, 1983), and its validity has

been verified. The subjects were first asked to rate the adjectives in terms of their appropriateness in describing the subject as he/she perceives himself/herself. Then they were asked to rate the same adjectives according to how they perceived a typical Turkish national and how they perceived a typical host country national. The squared and summed differences between the ratings of these three perceptions namely the "Self and Turk", "Self and Other" and "Turk and Other" perceptions, measured the degree of identification of each subject with Turkish culture and with the host country culture, while the "Turk and Other" score was a measure of the perceived difference between the Turkish and host country cultures. A higher score, refers to a greater discrepancy perceived while a low one indicates a higher perceived similarity.

Data Collection Procedure

The data were collected in the spring of 1983 by the questionnaires administered in the four high schools mentioned under methods. Prior to the final administration of the questionnaires, a small pilot study was conducted with four students from Istanbul Erkek Lisesi, to make sure that the scales were understandable. In each of the schools, lists of those students who had lived in Western Europe were prepared with the cooperation of the guidance counselors, teachers, and administrators. These lists consisted of all such students

regardless of their classes and return dates. Due to the very specific nature of the research problem and the limited number of the population, it was not possible to use random sampling. Those students who have lived in Europe as members of diplomatic community (there were only a few in Istanbul Erkek Lisesi) were excluded from the lists and the rest were accepted to fit the sample by making some sacrifices from the initial criterion. One day prior to the data collection, the students on the final lists were informed by their counselors (and in the case of KMPL by the German teacher) about the study and were asked to participate. In each school, all the students were gathered into an assembly hall or an empty classroom under the supervision of a teacher or a counselor. Because it was the end of the academic year, it was easy to arrange a free time when students from different classes could meet. After introducing the researcher, as a master student at Boğaziçi University preparing a thesis on the second generation returnees, the teacher left the subjects with the researcher alone. Questionnaires were then distributed and the subjects were told once more by the researcher that the aim was to have a study about the probable problems of the second generation returnees. However, the hypotheses of the research were not stated to prevent any bias. After asking the subjects to be as sincere and serious as possible in answering the questions, they were told to read the instructions of the first section. Instructions were once more

explained in detail to prevent any misunderstanding. Except for the first two sections that elicited background information, the scoring of the other scales were not explained to the subjects. Attention was paid to wait until all the subjects finished one scale, so that, all would receive the same instructions before starting a new scale. Subjects were not allowed to talk to each other in order to prevent probable influences. The maximum time it took to complete a questionnaire was approximately one or one and half hours per each subject. The major complaint or criticism that came from the subjects were that the scales were too long and sometimes a little difficult to understand. Especially, the final adjective Q-sort list was hard for the subjects to understand. It may be that, in sorting the perceived typical characteristics of a Turk, they confused two different concepts: namely, being a Turk and being a Moslem. They had a tendency to use these two concepts interchangeably. The other scale that caused difficulties was the traditionalism scale.

It was difficult to make the subjects understand how to rate the scale from their fathers' point of view. In cases where the father was absent, the subjects were asked to rate the scale from the viewpoint of an authority figure in substitute of the father such as the mother, an uncle, a grandfather, etc. In general the subjects were very cooperative, and only three questionnaires were discarded.

CHAPTER 3

RESULTS OF THE INVESTIGATION

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Family Evaluation Scale

Inspection of the correlation matrix shows that Family Evaluation scale is not reliable. The correlations between the Family Evaluation score and the other predictor variables turned out to be random and insignificant. In the absence of item analysis, therefore, it was considered best to completely drop this scale from the analysis.

Final Composition of the Sample

The sample selection had to be limited to the four previously mentioned highschools of Istanbul under the conditions stated earlier. Consequently, some alterations were made in the initial criterion. The final sample was drawn from the population of Istanbul returnees. It may, therefore, be representative of those children who have returned to an urban center, Istanbul. Only 54 children constituted the final sample. Out of the 57 questionnaires completed three were eliminated because of missing data. 35 male and 19 female

students were included; however, no differential predictions were made in this study on the basis of gender. The ages of the respondents varied from 12 to 21 years; most were in the 14-18 years of age bracket as planned. Fathers of 45 students had been or were still laborers in Europe. The rest of the fathers (only nine) owned their own businesses in the host countries. Children of these people were not excluded with the aim of achieving a heterogenous sample. The majority of the students were from West Germany. There were two from Switzerland, one from Sweden and none from the Netherlands, Austria, or France.

Demographic Description of the Sample

Table 5 shows that, on the average, subjects are 16 years old and they have spent half of their lives in the host countries (51.5 %). However, since the standard deviation, (21.92) is quite high, the mean amount of time spent outside of Turkey may not be a very valid indicator. The percentages that give the distribution of the subjects according to the options given indicate that the majority of the respondents have lived with both of their parents in the different periods of their lives. This is important because the traditionalism level of the family and its correlation with the other predictor variables are of great importance to the predictions that will be made about cultural identity. The mean years of father's education shows that the average

is somewhere between "elementary school" and "high school". 85 % of the fathers are employed as laborers. Since the standard deviation is very small, .36, this percentage is apparently a reliable indicator. In addition to the above information, the data indicate that on the average, 76 % of the elementary school years of the subjects have occurred in the host countries. Means of type of education and religious education data, respectively show that the majority of subjects have been subjected to "all foreign" education (68.5 %) and almost no religious education (86.8 %). On the average the subjects have spent 77.42 % of their lives from age 6 to 12 in the host countries. This percentage decreases to 46.44 % for the first six years of life and to 27.78 % from age 12 to the present age.

TABLE 5
Statistical Description of Sample

<u>Item</u>	<u>Result</u>	<u>Std. Dev.</u>
Sample size	54	-
Gender Difference (% Male)	65	.48
Age of Respondent (Mean Date of Birth)	1967	2.47
Years of Education of Father (Mean)	8	.99
Percentage of Fathers Working as Laborers	85 %	.36
Average Per Cent of Life Spent Outside of Turkey (Foreign Experience)	51.5 %	21.92
Foreign Experience in First 6 Years	46.5 %	40.32
Foreign Experience from Age 6 to Age 12	77.4 %	26.89
Foreign Experience from Age 12 to Present Age	27.9 %	29.26

TABLE 5
(Continued)

Item	Result	Std. Dev.
Immediate Family in First Six Years of Life (% of Respondents)		
Both Parents	83.3 %	-
Mother	5.5 %	-
Father	1.9 %	-
Relatives	9.3 %	-
Immediate Family from Age Six to 12 (% of Respondents)		
Both Parents	88.8 %	-
Mother	7.4 %	-
Father	1.9 %	-
Relatives	1.9 %	-
Immediate Family from Age 12 to Present (% of Respondents)		
Both Parents	82.4 %	-
Mother	3.9 %	-
Father	3.9 %	-
Relatives	9.8 %	-
Average Per Cent of Elementary School Years Spent Outside of Turkey	76.07 %	34.14
Type of Education (% of All Respondents)		
All Foreign	68.5 %	-
Integrated	27.8 %	-
All Turkish	3.7 %	-
Religious Education		
None	86.8 %	-
Religion Courses at School	7.5 %	-
Kor'an Classes	3.8 %	-
Religion Courses at School and Kor'an Classes	1.9 %	-

was anticipated to have a positive correlation with culture contact, as well (Hypothesis twelve and nine). Table 6 presents these correlations.

TABLE 6
Correlations of Other Predictor Variables with Scores on Culture Contact Scale

Predictor Variables	Culture Contact Variable	t-Values	Significance
1- Traditional Respect (family)	-0.19	1.35	.10
2- Traditional Respect (self)	-0.27	1.96	.05
3- Independence of Choice (family)	-0.51	4.15	.001
4- Independence of Choice (self)	-0.51	4.15	.001
5- Father's Education	0.06	.42	NS
6- Type of Education	-0.32	2.43	.01
7- Religious of Education	-0.32	2.41	.01
8- Length of Stay	0.12	.85	NS
9- Foreign Experience from Age 6 to Age 12	0.31	2.41	.01

Inspection of the results displayed in Table 6 indicates that the predictor variables that have the highest correlation with the subjects' culture contact scores are the ones pertaining to the traditionalism of the family and the subject. Independence of choice scores of both the families and the subjects are highly and negatively correlated with the culture contact score, as expected. Scores on the

traditional respect dimension have low correlations with the culture contact score, but are consistent with the independence in choice data. There is no significant correlation between the father's education and the culture contact variables. However, the background variables concerning the educational system of the respondent in the host countries, namely, type of education and religious education, are moderately and significantly correlated with the culture contact scale in the predicted direction. It is observed in Table 6 that, contrary to the expectations, there is a very low and nonsignificant correlation between the length of stay in the host country and the amount of contact the child had with its culture. However, the foreign experience variable, that is, the indicator of the percentage of time that the subject has spent in the host country from age 6 to age 12 is observed to correlate moderately and significantly with the culture contact variable when computed separately, confirming hypothesis twelve.

The data in Table 6, therefore, indicate that the direction of culture contact can best be predicted by a psychological variable, independence of choice. The next best predictors seem to be the education variables. However, for a better understanding, the regression program should be analyzed.

Analysis of Correlates of Cultural Identity

Scores on cultural identity, as rated by the "Self and Turk" sort, were expected to correlate positively with the length of stay variable. Since a higher score on the "Self and Turk" sort meant greater discrepancy between the perception of the self and the Turk, the increased length of time spent in the host culture was anticipated to predict this discrepancy according to Hypothesis one. Background variables (type of education and religious education) were expected to be negatively correlated with the "Self and Turk" scores (Hypothesis two and five). Since education variables were coded in such a way that high scores indicated segregated education and higher degrees of religious education, subjects with high scores were expected to have low discrepancy scores on the "Self and Turk" identity scale. The elementary school education variable that was expressed as the percentage of the school years spent in the host culture was to have positive correlations with the "Self and Turk" scores (Hypothesis three). A child who has had the first five years of education in the receiving countries was expected to perceive himself very differently from the Turk, and, consequently, have high scores on the "Self and Turk" scale. Scores on the traditionalism scale, both of the self and the family, were supposed to have negative correlations with the "Self and Turk" identity scores since high scores of the former meant high level of traditionalism which characterizes Turkish culture. Scores o

the culture contact, on the other hand were anticipated to have strong positive correlation with the identity scores expressed by "Self and Turk" rates as stated by hypothesis six. Naturally, all the predictor variables mentioned above were expected to have correlations with the cultural identity variable as expressed by the "Self and Other" sort scores in the direction opposite to those of the correlations these variables had with the "Self and Turk" scores. The "Self and Other" scores were designed to be a replication of the "Self and Turk" scores. High scores on the "Self and Other" scale meant greater discrepancy between the perception of the self and the nationals of the host culture.

TABLE 7

Correlations of Predictor Variables with Criterion Variable, Cultural Identity (Self - Turk)

<u>Predictor Variables</u>	<u>Cultural Identity (Self-Turk)</u>	<u>t-Values</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1- Length of Stay	.15	1.03	NS
2- Foreign Experience from Age 6 to Age 12	-.19	1.35	.10
3- Type of Education	-.04	.28	NS
4- Religious Education	.01	.007	NS
5- Elementary School Education	-.10	.72	NS
6- Traditional Respect of Family	.19	1.35	.10
7- Traditional Respect of Self	.23	1.65	.10
8- Independence of Choice of Family	.02	.14	NS

TABLE 8

Correlations of Predictor Variables with Criterion Variable, Cultural Identity (Self-Other)

<u>Predictor Variables</u>	<u>Cultural Identity (Self-Other)</u>	<u>t-Values</u>	<u>Significance</u>
1- Length of Stay	-.25	1.80	.05
2- Foreign Experience from Age 6 to Age 12	-.23	1.67	.05
3- Type of Education	-.05	.35	NS
4- Religious Education	.05	.32	NS
5- Elementary School Education	-.26	1.98	.03
6- Traditional Respect of Family	-.14	.99	NS
7- Traditional Respect of Self	-.35	2.62	.01
8- Independence of Choice of Family	-.06	.42	NS
9- Independence of Choice of Self	-.29	2.12	.025
10- Culture Contact	-.005	.04	NS

Data displayed in Table 7, show that the zero-order correlations between the predictor variables and the "Self and Turk" sort are mostly very small and insignificant, contrary to the expectations. The "Self and Turk" variable has almost no correlations with the independent variables. In addition, most of these correlations are in the opposite direction. For example, traditional respect of self and family, independence of choice of family and religious

education variables are positively correlated with the "Self and Turk" score, however, since the correlation coefficients are so small and insignificant, they can probably best be seen as random. The same thing is true with the foreign experience from age 6 to age 12 and elementary school education variables. They are very poorly and negatively correlated with the "Self and Turk" scale, contrary to the expectations.

On the other hand, the "Self and Other" sort is moderately correlated with some of the predictor variables. The highest correlation is between the traditional respect of self variable, ($r = -.35$) and it is significant. The next highest correlation is again with a traditionalism variable, that is the independence of choice of self. Naturally, if independence of choice of self score is high, it implies that the respondent is highly traditional. Hence, he is predicted to have a greater discrepancy score in the "Self and Other" identity scale, indicating that the discrepancy between the perception of the self and the nationals of the host country is large. Inspection of the data in Table 8 indicates a correlation of $-.29$ between the "Self and Other" scale and the independence of choice of self variable, contrary to expectations. Correlations between the background variables of length of stay, foreign experience from age 6 to 12 and elementary school education and the criterion variable, "Self and Other," are moderate, however, consistent with Hypothesis one and

three. These correlations show that time does have an affect on the formation of personality, or cultural identity that is similar to that of the host country people.

Although the correlations are not remarkably high, still the results, as presented in Table 8 are interesting. It is somehow not possible to predict how much Turkish the respondents feel by using any one of the predictor variables. However, it is fairly reasonable to make some predictions about the degree of identification of the respondents with the host culture from the "Self and Other" scores.

The correlation matrix in Table 7 indicates that most of the variables that were anticipated to have high predictive value failed to do what was expected of them. The correlations between these variables and the "Self and Turk" identity variable are so trivial and insignificant that it is impossible to make any predictions about the degree of similarity the respondents perceive between themselves and Turkish nationals. However, the data in Table 8 are richer in predictive value. It is possible to find higher and more significant correlations between the same predictor variables and the "Self and Other" identity variable. It is, therefore, fairly reasonable to make some predictions about the degree of identification of the respondents with the host country people once the length of stay, foreign experience from age 6 to age 12, elementary school education, and traditionalism of self variable scores are known.

In short, zero order correlation matrices yield the information that none of the variables, attitudinal, behavioral, or background, have any affect in making the respondents feel themselves to be more similar to Turks. However, the variables, length of stay and traditionalism, are shown to, affect the children in perceiving themselves as compared to the people of the receiving countries.

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Analysis of Multiple Regression Program on Cultural Contact

The variables that were thought to be the strongest predictors of culture contact were placed into multiple regression programs to determine the real best predictors. At first traditionalism variables were placed into a stepwise regression program. The results of this procedure are in Table 9.

TABLE 9

Step-Wise Regression Analysis of Four Traditionalism Variables on Culture Contact of the Child

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Multiple Correlation</u>	<u>Percentage of Variance Cumulative</u>	<u>Independent Contributions</u>	<u>F to Remove</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Independence of Choice (Family)	.51	.26	.26	17.554	.01

It is seen from inspection of Table 9 that the family variable, independence of choice of family, alone accounts

for 26 % of the variance in the subjects culture contact. The computations show that none of the other traditionalism variables add substantially to the variation in the criterion variable. The F values to add of traditional respect of family, traditional respect of self, and independence of choice of self variables on the first step where the independence of choice of family is entered into the program are 0.464, 0.140, 1.802 respectively. This means these variables are insignificant and will have no additional contribution to the variance explained by independence of choice of family. Therefore, it is only this variable that can be used as a reliable predictor. Although the simple R value of independence of choice of self is slightly lower than that of independence of choice of family (.6 %), its independent contribution to the variance is very trivial (2.6 %). Since these two variables are highly correlated with each other, ($r = +.80$) they are accounting for the same variance in the culture contact score. This conclusion becomes clearer when data in Table 10 are inspected, as well. The background and attitudinal variables, namely, independence of choice of self education type, religious education, length of stay and traditional respect of self, were combined and placed into a regression program to determine more precisely their relation with culture contact. The results obtained are in Table 10.

TABLE 10

Step-wise Regression Analysis of Background and Traditionalism Variables of Self on Culture Contact of the Child

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Multiple Correlation</u>	<u>Percentage of Variance (Cumulative)</u>	<u>Independent Contributions</u>	<u>F to Remove</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Independence of Choice (Self)	.50	.26	.26	10.353	.01
Education Type	.56	.32	.06	2.963	.10
Religious Education	.60	.36	.04	2.820	.10

The data in Table 10 indicate that it is the independence of choice of self variable that accounts for the highest variation in culture contact (26 %). This is exactly as much as the amount that the independence of choice of family variable accounted for in the previous program. Although the independence of choice of self variable was very poor and insignificant in adding to the variation when entered to the program with independence of choice of family, it now explains most of the variance alone when it operates in the absence of this variable. This is another evidence that these two highly correlated variables account for the same variance and can be considered the same in predicting culture contact. Further inspection of the data shows that religious education and education type are the next significant variables. However the F values to remove show that there is a possibility

for these two variables to account jointly for the variance in culture contact. While the F value to remove of type of education was 4.152 before the introduction of religious education, it drops to 2.963 after it is introduced into the equation. Therefore, it is seen that culture contact can be predicted by independence of choice of self and education variables. Length of stay and traditional respect of self are not strong enough in predicting the degree of contact the child had with the host culture.

Results similar to those in Tables 9 and 10 are seen in Table 11 which gives a summary of the normal multiple regression program that tries to determine the degree of linear dependence of the culture contact on five predictor variables that operate jointly. The variables are fathers' education, length of stay, type of education, traditional respect of family and independence of choice of family.

TABLE 11
Normal Regression Analysis of Five Predictor Variables on Culture Contact of the Child

Variable Name	Multiple Correlation	Percentage of Variance (Cumulative)	Independent Contributions	F to Remove	Significance
Father's Education	.06	.003	.003	0.295	NS
Length of Stay	.14	.02	.02	0.204	NS
Education Type	.42	.17	.15	4.897	.05
Traditional Respect (Family)	.44	.19	.02	0.498	NS
Independence of Choice (Family)	.59	.35	.16	11.155	.01

Length of stay, father's education and traditional respect of family are once more shown to have no significant contributions to the variance in the culture contact criterion. Although these five variables all together account for 35 % of the variance, it is only type of education and independence of choice of family variables that have significant contributions. F tests of their partial regression coefficients show that, the F values 4.9 and 11.2 respectively, are significant and it is these two variables that can be used as predictors.

Analysis of Multiple Regression on Cultural Identity (Self - Other Sort)

The analysis of the cultural identity criterion variable was made in the same manner with the culture contact criterion; that is, at first normal then stepwise regression programs were used to find the best predictors of cultural identity.

When all the predictor variables, behavioral, attitudinal and background, that were anticipated to have significant contributions to cultural identity expressed by the "Self and Other" sort scores, were placed into a normal multiple regression program, the results of the procedure turned out to be as displayed in Table 12.

TABLE 12

Normal Regression Analysis of Ten Predictor Variables on Cultural Identity of the Child (Self - Other Sort)

Variable Name	Multiple Correlation	Percentage of Variance (Cumulative)	Independent Contributions	F to Remove	Significance
Father's Education	.18	.03	.03	2.479	NS
Length of Stay	.33	.11	.08	3.195	.10
Type of Education	.34	.11	.003	0.004	NS
Religious Education	.35	.12	.009	0.034	NS
Traditional Respect (Family)	.40	.16	.04	1.483	NS
Traditional Respect (Self)	.57	.33	.17	5.038	.01
Independence of Choice (Family)	.57	.33	.0002	0.691	NS
Independence of Choice (Self)	.59	.35	.02	1.287	NS
Culture Contact	.60	.36	.01	0.776	NS
Family Evaluation	.61	.37	.01	0.673	NS

The ten variables account for 37 % of the variance in cultural identity when they operate jointly. Although the overall equation is significant at $p < .05$ level, only two of the variables, length of stay, and traditional respect of self are found to contribute significantly to the variance as conveyed by the F tests. The traditional respect of self variable has the highest independent contribution ($r = .17$), thus, it can be used as the best predictor among the other

ten variables. However, the regression coefficient of this variable turns out to be negative although it has to be positive according to Hypothesis four.

When the same variables are placed into a regression equation on cultural identity expressed by the "Self and Turk" sort scores, they account only for 20.9 % of the variance; but, the linear equation happens to be insignificant. As it can be seen in Table 13 none of the variables have independent significant contributions either.

TABLE 13

Normal Regression Analysis of Ten Predictor Variables on Cultural Identity of the Child (Self-Turk Sort)

Variable Name	Multiple Correlation	Percentage of Variance (Cumulative)	Independent Contributions	F to Remove	Significance
Father's Education	.12	.01	.01	2.704	NS
Length of Stay	.20	.04	.03	1.675	NS
Type of Education	.21	.04	.002	0.105	NS
Religious Education	.21	.04	.00	0.122	NS
Traditional Respect (Family)	.31	.10	.05	0.001	NS
Traditional Respect (Self)	.33	.11	.01	1.242	NS
Independence of Choice (Family)	.34	.12	.006	0.002	NS
Independence of Choice (Self)	.36	.13	.02	1.518	NS
Culture Contact	.40	.16	.03	1.277	NS

Step-Wise Regression Analysis of Ten Predictor Variables on Cultural Identity

As mentioned in the previous sections, the degree of similarity between the self and the Turk, as perceived by the respondents, can not be predicted confidently by the zero-order correlations or normal multiple regression analysis. The results of a multiple regression analysis program confirm the ⁱⁿ previous findings.

TABLE 14

Step-Wise Regression Analysis of Ten Predictor Variables on Cultural Identity of the Child (Self-Turk Sort)

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Multiple Correlation</u>	<u>Percentage of Variance (Cumulative)</u>	<u>Independent Contributions</u>	<u>F to Remove</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Traditional Respect (Self)	.23	.05	.05	2.737	.10

Among the nine other independent variables, it is only the traditional respect of self variable that is significant. It adds only 5 % to variation in cultural identity. This is certainly quite a trivial contribution. Moreover, the partial regression coefficient of this variable is positive. This means that a unit of increase in the child's traditionalism level will result in an increase in his "Self and Turk" identity score, indicating perception of higher discrepancy between the self and the Turk. Therefore, the results of this scale may well be seen as random and discarded.

However when cultural identity is rated by the "Self and Other" sort scale, the correlations and normal regression results turn out to be meaningful and as expected. When a stepwise regression analysis is used for better understanding of the relations the results in Table 15 are obtained.

TABLE 15

Step-Wise Regression Analysis of Ten Predictor Variables on Cultural Identity of the Child (Self-Other Sort)

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Multiple Correlation</u>	<u>Percentage of Variance (Cumulative)</u>	<u>Independent Contributions</u>	<u>F to Remove</u>	<u>Significance</u>
Traditional Respect (Self)	.35	.12	.12	11.744	.01
Traditional Respect (Family)	.46	.21	.09	4.400	.05
Length of Stay	.53	.28	.06	5.280	.05
Father's Education	.57	.32	.04	2.726	.10

Traditional respect of self is shown to be a highly significant variable that adds substantially to cultural identity as expressed by "Self and Other" discrepancy scores. This is consistent with the previous findings in the correlation matrix, but inconsistent with the Hypothesis four. Although this variable has to be directly correlated with cultural identity, it is inversely correlated and has a negative partial regression coefficient. The other variables that can be used as reliable predictors are length of stay, father's education, and traditional respect of family.

These three variables together account for almost 20 % of the variance. Religious education and type of education which were anticipated to be important predictors of cultural identity (Hypotheses five and two) fail to predict anything about the criterion variable. Another interesting and unexpected result is that the independence of choice dimension of traditionalism, both of self and of family, turns out to be insignificant. The same thing is true with the crucial variable, culture contact, of which cultural identity was hypothesized to be a function. The F tests show that it can not be used as a measure of cultural identity, either.

CHAPTER 4

DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

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The present investigation was designed to study the psychological situation of the children of the Turkish migrant workers coming home from Western Europe. Despite some shortcomings, it has provided data hitherto unavailable on this issue. As stated in the previous sections, the major drawback to the study was in the sample selection. Due to the limitations of the investigator's time, martial law restrictions, bureaucratic difficulties and lack of financial sources, selecting a sample which would be representative of both rural and urban populations was not attempted. Hence, the results can not be generalized to those children who have emigrated from and re-migrated to rural areas. Still, the study is of value, since it is the first exploratory study done on the psychological situation of second generation returnees in Turkey. Even when the research done in Europe is considered, there are few other studies as ample in data as the present one. These data have implications for both theory and application. The first part of the

discussion section, therefore, will be devoted to a summary of the results and a discussion of the Culture Contact scale. The findings concerning the Cultural Identity scale and the gists of these findings will follow in the second part.

Culture Contact Scale

1. The attitudes of the families towards the choice of career, relation with the opposite sex, marriage and women's role issues are directly related to the attitudes of the subjects towards the same issues ($r=+.80$). The same thing is true with the attitudes towards traditional respect for elders, fathers' authority, and religion issues. The attitudes of the families correlate very highly with the attitudes of the subjects at a significant level ($r=+.85$). The strong relations on these scales indicate that the families with highly traditional attitudes have more traditional children than those of the families that are less traditional in their attitudes.

2. The independence in choice of the families and the children is directly related to the culture contact of the children. Since attitudes of the families were found to be directly transmitted to the children, these two scales can be used in place of each other in predicting the degree of contact the children had with the host cultures. The subjects who had more independent attitudes in their

choices of career, in their relations with the opposite sex, in marriage and in perception of women's role showed significantly greater contact with the host culture. It is these two scales measuring the independence of the families and the children, that predict the degree of contact the child had with the host country culture with the highest confidence. These results are consistent with the expectations of Hypotheses ten.

3. As far as the results of the scales measuring the respect dimension of traditionalism are concerned, the results show that as both the families and the subjects became more conservative in their attitudes towards showing respect for elders, being obedient towards fathers' authority and conforming to the obligations of Moslem religion, the less contact the subjects had with host culture. In spite of this fact however, it is not possible to predict the degree of contact of the children with the culture of the host country on the basis of the traditional respect scores of both the families and the children.

4. There was no relation between the educational status of the fathers and the traditionalism level of the families and the subjects. Hence, an increase in the years of education of the fathers neither positively nor negatively changed the degree of the culture contact of the children in the host culture. In Hypotheses seven, just the opposite of this result

5. The subjects who were exposed to segregated education and/or intense religious education had less contact with the host culture than those children who had integrated education and little or no religious education. These two scales accounted jointly for the variation in the culture contact; and they could be used alternatively in predicting the culture contact of the children. These findings are in line with the predictions made by Hypotheses eight.

6. The degree of contact the children had with the host culture did not change with the increased length of stay in the receiving countries. Length of stay had no predictive value on culture contact. However, the percentage of the years spent in the host countries between the ages 6 and 12 of the children did covary with the degree of contact with the host culture, confirming Hypotheses 12.

As the above findings indicate the study was able to identify the social norms and institutions that had clear effects on the degree of contact the children of the migrant workers had with the European culture. Within the scope of this research it had been hypothesized that culture contact, being the behavioral measure on the part of the children, would lead to cultural integration and eventually to cultural absorption. In view of this implied "stage" model, we will evaluate the whole process step by step. Hence, the interpretations of the culture contact scale will precede the

discussion on the cultural identity findings.

It is seen that the predictions made about the interactions of the traditional and educational issues with the culture contact scale are confirmed. Although it is not possible to tell the direction of effect from the design of the present study, there is a sensitive relationship between both dimensions of traditionalism and culture contact. However, the independence in choice is a more sensitive one than the respect dimension of traditionalism and it changes more rapidly with culture contact than does the latter. The extremely high correlations between the traditional attitudes of the subjects and parents, as stated before, are indication of the fact that the children of the migrants in Europe internalize the value system of their families quite strongly. This supports the idea that those Turkish families in Europe who strongly cling to their cultural values are successful in transmitting these values to their children. However, although this can be suggested quite confidently, since almost 85 % of the children had spent most of their lives with their parents (Table 5), still the high correlations observed might be due to the compromising attitudes of the children in rating the traditionalism scale from the view points of their fathers. The findings related to the effects of traditionalism on the degree of culture contact of the migrant children are consistent with the results of the White (1978) and LeCompte and LeCompte (1970 and 1973) studies. In the present study,

the issues of the independence in choice dimension of traditionalism showed greater changes toward a less traditional position with increased culture contact or vice-versa. However, although the direction of the change in the issues of respect dimension was also toward less traditional position, this dimension turned out to be less sensitive to increases in exposure to the host culture. This is exactly what had occurred with the White (1978) sample of Turkish women workers in Germany. Women who had more contact with the German Culture were reported to be more independent in their choices of matters concerning their lives (White 1978, p.42). Although these women perceived themselves as less traditional still they showed no significant changes in their traditional respect patterns with the increased culture contact. Similar results were obtained by the investigation made by LeCompte and LeCompte (1970) at two comparable schools of Istanbul; namely, Atatürk Kız Lisesi (state funded) and American College for Girls (American School). It was apparent, that intercultural contact led to less traditional attitudes in independence of choice issues. It did not, however, operate as strongly in changing the direction of attitudes on respect issues to less traditional positions. In the cross-cultural study of LeCompte and LeCompte (1973) where the American and the Turkish youth were compared by the use of the same traditionalism scales, once again, the independence in choice issues were found to be more sensitive to social changes than the traditional respect issues. Therefore, in all the studies

independence in choice emerged as having a strong and direct relation with the amount of contact with a foreign (more modern) culture. While the Traditional Respect issues showed less sensitivity to the changes in culture contact. A plausible explanation to this phenomenon may be that the respect dimension is more strongly imbedded in the value system of Turkish culture, therefore; it is more resistant to changes.

in The educational system is the next significant variable that emerged as predicting the degree of culture contact of the children with the European culture. The educational system included both the public and the religious education that a subject had been exposed to in the host culture. Just as expected, the different educational systems led to changes in the degree of exposure to the host culture. Three models were taken as the basis of public education. i) All foreign education; namely, the integrated form of education. In this system, Turkish children were instructed only in the languages of the receiving countries. They took no courses in Turkish concerning Turkey, and the majority of the children constituting their classes were host country nationals. ii) Mixed curriculum: In this case, children were exposed to education in both languages (of both the sending and receiving countries). Children experiencing a mixed curriculum took Turkish courses from Turkish instructors in addition to their regular classes. iii) All instruction in Turkish. This latter model was labeled "segregated" since the children were in-

structed only in Turkish in special Turkish classes.

The degree of religious education given to the children was rated on a four-point basis ranging from none to intense religious courses (Kor'an courses plus religion classes at school).

The findings suggest that the degree of religious education and the type of public education are equally strong in predicting the culture contact of the children in the host countries; moreover, they can be used in place of each other. The results indicate that when the children are educated in their mother tongues and in an environment where only the culture of the home country prevails, they have low contact with the host culture. The same thing is true with religious education. When the children are exposed to Moslem ethics intensely, they tend to have less contact with the host culture than those children who are not at all or less exposed to religious education. These results support both the outcomes of previous research and the hypothesis formulated about the relation of education and culture contact. In the present study education was found to be highly and directly correlated with the independence in choice and the culture contact scales as in both White (1978) and LeCompte and LeCompte (1970) studies. Although, a different dimension of educational experience, years of education, was used in the White (1978) study, it was found to correlate positively with the culture contact and the independence in choice of t

subjects. In the LeCompte and LeCompte study, the consequence of intercultural contact and education was a decrease in the strength of traditional attitudes of the subjects. Therefore the impacts of the different dimensions of educational experience on the cultural contact shown in these three studies, leads one to the generalization that education is one of the most significant institutions in determining to what degree the Turkish nationals will expose themselves to a foreign culture. Inkeles (1969) claims that education is the most powerful determinant of modernization. According to Inkeles, it is not the curriculum that has the modernizing affect as far as education is concerned, but it is the educational environment and the organizations of logical networks within this environment (White 1978, p.48). In the present study, the children who reported greater contact with the host culture, turned out to have experienced integrated education and higher independence in their choices in issues concerning their lives. So, it is understandable that once the children get out of the closed, conservative community of their home culture and get educated and trained in an environment where only the language, value system, traditions etc. of the larger society prevail, they tend to have more contact with this larger society taking the first step to modernization.

The results pertaining to the religious education variable yield similar information. The hypothesis made about

the effects of this variable on the culture contact was based on some previous observations and assumptions. According to N.Ekin (1982), for example, the migrant workers in Europe have a tendency to identify the Moslem religion with their home country culture. Therefore, religion serves the function of uniting these people under a similar cultural identity. In addition the explosive resentment and the racial pressure against these people force them to become more introverted and defensive. Therefore, their "superior" religion is a means of defense and protection (Ekin, 1982). G.Vassaf has similar claims as well. According to his observations in the Netherlands, religion is not a means to interpret life, environment etc. but rather a means to strengthen ethnic community bonds. However, in face of the multi-milieu environment of the children, they do not internalize religious values but rather adopt specific behaviour patterns with regard to the specific situations they find themselves in. Thus, a Turkish child who may manifest the actions of a totally devout Moslem in the Kor'an courses may later on in the day behave similarly as his European classmates in an educational setting. Religion also serves to strengthen a positive sense of identity. That is some Turkish children may subjectively exclude themselves from the dominant European culture on the basis of their religion, which they deem superior, rather than regarding themselves as outcasts, not accepted by the dominant culture

(Vassaf, 1983). Religion, therefore, reinforces the closed community life of Turkish migrants and their children. The high negative and significant correlation between the degree of religious education imposed on the migrant children and the amount of contact they reported having had in the host countries, supports the above claims. It leads to the conclusion that religious training is a reaction to perceived marginality resulting in an escape from the new culture.

The two variables that did not show the anticipated effect on the culture contact scale were, fathers' educational status and the length of stay of the children in the host countries.

The predictions made concerning the probable effects of the fathers' educational status on the culture contact of the migrant children were based on traditional structure of Turkish families operating in favor of men. It was assumed that still the dominance the fathers enjoy in the patriarchal family structures could be generalized to the families of the migrant children. It was referred both by the LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) and the White (1978) studies that even the slightest increases in the years of education implied less traditionalism on the part of the migrant workers in Europe. Consequently, it was anticipated that in a family environment where the dominant authority figure was of higher educational status and of lower traditional attitudes, less traditional values would be transmitted to the new

generations; This would enable the children to have greater contact with the host culture. However the results obtained do not meet these expectations. This may be due to the misleading conception that there is only one single entity as Turkish family. "The institution of the family manifests structural variations among different socio-economic groups and socio-geographical areas of Turkey" (Kudat 1975, p.78). According to A.Kudat, the peasant family in Turkey, is characterized by the male authority structure while low-income urban groups show a little more emancipation of the female. In urban families, especially in the families of metropolitan centers of Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir, women take greater part in decision making and are much more emancipated. The sample of the present research was composed of children who have emigrated from metropolitan centers of Turkey. The family structure and the network of effect within the families of these children should not be the conservative male-dominated type but the more modern urban style. When this is the case, the educational and traditional levels of the mothers should have been measured as well, since the reality seems to be the combined effect of both parents on the children.

Another variable whose relation with the culture contact scale failed to meet the expectations was the length of stay of the children in the host countries. Since one of the aims of the present study was to replicate some items of

LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) where time was very highly and significantly correlated with the culture contact, a hypothesis in line with this previous finding was used. It was expected that the children who lived for longer periods of time in the West European countries would have greater contact with the culture of these countries. However, time did not function as a predictive element by itself. Nevertheless, when the life span of the children were divided into three stages; 0-6 years, 6-12 years, and 12 years to present age, and the percentages of time spent in the host cultures between these years were correlated with the amount of culture contact, only the 6-12 year period correlated significantly with the criterion. This implies that there is a critical period in the life, the pre-adolescence, that is more effective in shaping the behavioral modes of children.

Cultural Identity Scale

Cultural identity was operationalized in terms of the children's perception of discrepancy between themselves and a typical Turkish national (Turkish identity), and a typical host country national (host culture identity). The discrepancy perceived was predicted to decline as the children perceived themselves as more similar to the nationals of either of the countries. The findings related to the cultural identity scales can be summarized as follows:

1. None of the independent variables showed any

relation with the degree of Turkish identity of the children. They all failed to predict the degree of similarity the subjects perceived between themselves and the Turkish nationals. Therefore, all the hypotheses made about the determinants of Turkish identity lack the support of the present research.

2. The results of the host culture identity scale were more ⁱⁿ in line with the expectations. Still, some of the outcomes did not meet prior predictions. For example, the type of both public and religious education turned out to have no relation with and no predictive value on the subjects' perception of the self as compared to the receiving country nationals, contrary to the anticipations of Hypothesis two. It was expected that those children who were exposed to intense religious education and to segregated public education would perceive a greater difference between themselves and the nationals of the host countries than would those who have experienced integrated public and no religious education.

3. As another unexpected result, the amount of culture contact was neither negatively nor positively related to the amount of discrepancy the subjects perceived between themselves and the host country people. By Hypothesis six, it was predicted that as the exposure of the children to the host culture increased, the more similar they would perceive themselves to the people of the European countries where they resided. The culture contact was expected to have predictive

value as well.

4- The traditionalism level of the families in independence of choice dimension did not show any relation with the perception of similarity between the self and the host country nationals, contrary to Hypothesis four.

5- The best predictors of the degree of similarity perceived by the children between themselves and the receiving country nationals turned out to be the attitudes of the children in the respect dimension of the traditionalism variable. However, a unit increase in traditionalism level decreased instead of increasing the similarity perceived by the subjects. On the other hand, independence dimension of traditionalism showed no relation with the host culture identity.

6- Length of stay in the receiving countries was the next significant variable that could predict how similar the subjects perceived themselves as compared to the receiving country people. As the length of stay increased, the subjects perception of the self and "others" of the host society became more similar.

7- As the years of stay in the receiving countries of Europe between the ages 6 and 12 of the subjects increased, the subjects perceived themselves as more similar to the host country nationals, as put forth by the Hypothesis twelve.

8- As predicted by Hypothesis twelve again, if the subjects have had their elementary school education in the host countries, they perceived less discrepancy between themselves and the nationals of the host countries.

As it is implied by the above findings, almost half of the hypotheses made on the relations of the independent variables with the host culture identity of the second ⁱⁿ generation returnees were supported by the data of the present research. However, some of the relations that were predicted with high degree of confidence, did not turn out to be tenable. This may be due to an error in the design of the study or to an erroneous theoretical conception.

The most surprising outcome was definitely the failure of the "Self and Turk" identity scale. A plausible reason for this failure may be the fact that the scale was quite difficult for the subjects to comprehend. However, since it worked out quite well with the "Self and Other" ratings, the failure was most probably due to a misconception of the subjects about the characteristic of a typical Turk. Such a conclusion is drawn because most of the subjects had a tendency to identify being a Turk with being a Moslem. Even though they were reminded of the difference many times, the final outcomes reveal that probably the difference was not very clear to the children. Therefore, the results pertaining to the relation of this variable with the other independent variables, were considered random and insignificant and were totally discarded.

As far as the host culture identity of the subjects was concerned, the most confident prediction was made about its relation with the culture contact of the children.

In the LeCompte and LeCompte study (1983), culture contact was the crucial variable operating as the determinant of cultural integration. A later stage from cultural integration is cultural absorption (Amersfoort, 1982). The present ⁱⁿ research was designed in such a way that cultural identity, being an expression of cultural absorption, was anticipated to correlate with the culture contact of the children. However, it turned out that the host culture identity had no relation whatsoever with the amount of culture contact of the children. This implies that, even though the contact with an host culture eventually leads to cultural integration, it is not a strong enough variable to predict cultural absorption. Since culture was defined as the "system of values, beliefs, and norms, transmitted from one generation to the next" (Mead, 1956), one has to fully internalize the norms, values, traditions etc., of a culture to possess its identity and to be assimilated to it. In the case of the migrant children as stated before, there were two very different sets of values, traditions and norms that existed at the same time in the host countries; the families and the wider social environment. The previous findings showed that social changes provoked little changes in the attitudes of the Turkish families and children in respect issues of traditionalism which are deeply

imbedded in their culture system. This implies the existence of a traditional family environment within the more modern wider social environment of the migrant children. Since the respect dimension of traditionalism of the families turned out to predict the host culture identity of the children, it is supported that the institution of the family has a noteworthy place in the personality and the identity formation of the children. As the families get more conservative in their attitudes concerning their respect for elders, for fathers' authority, and for religion, the less similar their children perceive themselves as compared to the host country people. It is, therefore, apparent, that the psychological variables are more effective than the behavioral ones in the formation of cultural identity. The children who reported high contact with their wider social environment (e.g. they listened to only German music, they had only German friends, or they shopped at the German stores), did not necessarily report perception of more similarity between themselves and the host country nationals; and, it was not possible to predict the degree of identification from their culture contact behavior. On the other hand, traditionalism, a psychological element transmitted from one generation to the next, has more power to shape and predict the cultural identities of the younger generations that are caught between the very different cultures. Time is another important factor that reinforces the conflicting position of the migrant children as regards the formation of their cultural identities and their positions in

their home countries on their return. As the length of stay of the children in the host countries increases, their discrepancy scores on the host culture identity scale decrease. This implies that time works in the favor of cultural absorption. Since longer stay in the receiving countries make the children perceive themselves as more and more similar to the nationals of those countries, those children who return to Turkey after having spent a significant amount of time abroad, will find themselves in a more ambivalent and conflicting situation. However, the perception of ambivalence among the children returnees should be tested to confirm the above claim. Another dimension of the time variable, the length of stay of the children between ages 6 and 12 was separately correlated with the host culture identity. These findings are consistent with the ones obtained in the culture contact analysis. In addition, they support the initial claim made about the important influences of the pre-adolescence period during the adolescence. It was proposed that adolescence was a transition period in which children developed consistent identities only if they were in consistent interaction with congruent outside groups. Since there is no congruency of outside groups in the case of migrant children, perception of structural marginality was expected from them. However, some objections came to this conceptualization, claiming that "adolescence is not a universal experience. That is, it does not exist as a reality in much of the world. It is only recognized in affluent societies of the West as a separate

developmental stage. In Turkey, especially in the rural areas, the adolescent stage is not psychosocially experienced. Girls and boys in this age are usually asked to assume immediate adult duties. In which case, the children accept the opportunity to participate directly in the culture of parent"¹ However, even though this may be the case, when the children migrate to urban centers of to affluent countries of the West, they get caught between the two systems. The children who have been treated as adults in their home countries and are still being considered adults in their families are confronted with completely different sets of attitudes and expectations in their wider social environment (school, playgrounds, etc.). While the new culture willingly gives the youth the period of delay which Erikson calls "a moratorium" period, the home culture does not allow the children who are not ready to meet the obligations, to take time to achieve adult commitments (Maier, 1965). As Erikson explains it, moratorium, is, "... a period that is characterized by a selective permissiveness on the part of society or of provocative playfulness on the part of youth and yet a period of deep (if not transitory) commitment on the part of youth and ceremonial acceptance of commitment on the part of society. Such moratoria show highly individual variations, which are especially pronounced in very gifted people (gifted for better or for worse); and there are of course institutional variations linked with the ways of life of cultures and subcultures" (Maier, 1965, p.58). Therefore, the children of the migrant workers, in one way or

another, are at a point where different influences of different cultures clash and push them into an identity crisis. If they are allowed to go through the adolescent stage by both societies, the values, norms, traditions etc. they are confronted with and they have to internalize conflict with each other. On the other hand, if one culture allows the adolescence stage and the other does not, the children find themselves still in a conflictual situation of not knowing which expectations to fulfill and which not to fulfill. The end result in any case is an identity crisis since they do not know to which culture they should integrate themselves to.

The elementary school education, which was the percentage of elementary school years spent abroad, showed a positive relation with the host culture identity of the children. Since the education variable (both public and religious) did not show any relation with and no predictive value on the cultural identity formation of the migrant children, it is the time factor that accounts for the variation in the host culture identity in the former variable of elementary school education. The correlation between the length of stay (foreign experience) and amount of elementary school education in the host countries was found to be $r = +.90$ indicating that for the present sample, these are the same variables. This implies that it is not the type of curriculum that matters in the development of identity.

Rather it is the time, the period of life, that shapes and reinforces certain attitudes, norms, values in children. This formative period turned out to be the preadolescence, as previously stated in the discussion section. It is apparent, therefore, that the children who spend their pre-adolescent years in the host countries do have a tendency to have more contact with the new and modern culture. They meet the expectations of this culture more readily and they internalize its way of living, its value systems, norms, traditions, and hence, they end up perceiving themselves as very similar to the host country nationals. However, throughout this process, if the children are living with their families, there is the unquestionable influence of the value systems of these traditional families. As mentioned above, the traditional effects of the families on the children were supported by the findings of the present research. Therefore, the findings, imply that there is a crisis on the part of the children regarding their cultural identity formation as long as the above conditions prevail. That is, living the pre-adolescence and adolescence stages, under the traditional influences of a family within a more modern society to whose value systems, one is much more open and receptive than he can be in any other period of his life.

The traditionalism of the children in respect issues turned out to be positively related to the host culture identities of the children. Naturally as the children get

more traditional, they should have perceived the host country nationals as more different and distant from themselves since they belong to a completely different and a more modern culture. Although there is no sound theoretical explanation of this result, the perception of similarity may be attributed to the egocentricism of these children. They might be perceiving and evaluating everybody just as they perceive themselves. Thus, due to a lack of development in their cognitive systems, they might be unable to differentiate characteristics of different people during the perception process.

Next Steps to be Taken

The present study merely scratches the surface of the whole problem of second generation returnees, but it points the way to further research by the questions it raises. The first thing to be done next, is to replicate the study with a larger sample representative of both the rural and urban populations. In that case, some of the variables that turned out to be meaningless, such as the educational status of the fathers, may operate as meaningful and significant elements "especially with a rural sample". In addition, in this way a comparison between the problems of the children coming from totally different socio economic and cultural backgrounds may be achieved. However, before replicating the present study, some of the scales should be simplified so that the children

can understand and respond to them more easily and reliably. Another important point is the amount of time that has elapsed between the date of arrival to Turkey and the the date of administration of the questionnaires. This period should be included as a variable in the following studies. The variable might function as an indicator of reliability of the retrospective data the children report as well as measuring their ambivalent situation regarding their re-integration attempts to Turkish society. Since time turned out to be a very important variable in the understanding of the integration and the absorption phenomena, the cultural identities of the newcomers should be compared to those of old timers in order to take sound measures to solve the reintegration problems.

One other thing would be to replicate the study with the LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) Holland group, to determine whether or not cultural integration leads to cultural absorption.

It would be also very interesting in future research to be able to differentiate a sense of identity between being Turkish and being a Moslem.

CONCLUSION

Although "...in the social sciences, the initial aim of a research project often bears little relation to what comes out of it", (Oriol, 1982, p.255), the present study succeeded in realising its aims. One of the principle objectives was to distinguish the determinants of the culture contact behavior and cultural identity formation of the second generation returnees, so that their problems on their return to Turkey can be better understood and handled. The second aim was to take the LeCompte and LeCompte (1983) study a step further and see whether cultural integration and cultural absorption could both be predicted by a behavioral variable, culture contact. The first objective is achieved. It has been clearly identified that the Family and the School are the most effective institutions in determining the behavioral schema of the children in the host countries (i.e., that these institutions are the best predictors of culture contact). On the other hand, it is the time and the family variables that have clear effects on the psychological make up of the children (i.e., it will be recalled that length of stay and traditional respect of the families were the best

predictors of cultural identity). The second objective was also achieved as far as the operationalization of cultural integration and absorption within the scope of the study is concerned. It is apparent that cultural absorption, expressed by the host culture identities of the children, is better predicted by psychological variables. Cultural integration was claimed to be predicted and achieved by means of a behavioral variable, the culture contact (LeCompte and LeCompte, 1983). This implies that cultural integration is not necessarily a prerequisite of cultural absorption.

Depending upon the above data analysis and the conclusions reached it may be possible to differentiate those children who perceive themselves as more similar to the host country nationals; hence, as less similar to Turkish people. That is, it is possible to identify those who maintain their Turkish identity and who do not. However the aim in identifying these children is by no means to urge them to think, to perceive and to behave as Turks do, but to prevent them from being socially and culturally handicapped due to their marginal position between two cultures. They should not be viewed and treated as failures or blacksheep of the Turkish nation. On the contrary, they should be left in their own ways, so that they can contribute something to our culture without feeling like second class people in their own home countries.

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APPENDIX A- COPY OF THE SCALES USED IN THE STUDY

ÖZGEÇMİŞE İLİŞKİN SORULAR

1. Cinsiyetiniz Kadın ()
Erkek ()
2. Doğum Yılıınız
3. Kaçınıcı Sınıftasınız?
4. Aşağıdaki kutular sizin yaşamınızı göstermektedir. Her yıl için uygun kutuyu işaretleyiniz.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
YAŞADIĞINIZ ÜLKE																		
TÜRKİYE																		
AVRUPA (Almanya İsviçre vs.)																		
ÜLKENİN HANGİ KESİMİNDE YAŞIYORDUNUZ																		
BÜYÜK ŞEHİR																		
KÜÇÜK ŞEHİR																		
KASABA																		
KÖY																		
KİMİNLE YAŞIYORDUNUZ																		
ANNEMLE																		
BABAMLA																		
ANNE VE BABAMLA																		
AKRABALARIMLA																		

5. Babanız yurt dışında ne iş görüyor/du?
6. Babanızın en son bitirdiği okul?
a) Hiç okumamış b) İlk c) Orta d) Lise, Teknik Okul, e) Üniversite
7. Neden Türkiye'ye dönmek istediniz?

KÜLTÜRE AÇILMA

1. Gelmiş olduğunuz ülkenin dilini ne kadar biliyorsunuz?
a) Çokiyi, iyi b) Orta c) Az, çok az
2. Gelmiş olduğunuz yabancı ülkede televizyon seyrediyor muydunuz?
a) Her zaman b) Arasıra c) Hiçbir zaman
3. Günde kaç saat radyo dinliyordunuz?
a) (0-2) b) (3-4) c) 4'den çok
4. Günde kaç saat televizyon seyrediyordunuz?
a) (0-2) b) (3-4) c) 4'den çok
5. Radyoda Türk yayınlarını mı yoksa ülkenin yerel yayınlarını mı dinlemeyi tercih ediyordunuz?
a) Türk b) Yerel c) Her ikisinde
6. Yaşadığınız ülkenin dilindeki dergileri okuyormuydunuz?
a) Her zaman b) Bazan c) Hiçbir zaman
7. Hangi dilde kitap okumayı tercih ederdiniz?
a) Türkçe b) Yaşadığım ülkenin dilinde c) Her ikisinde
8. Yabancı arkadaşlarınızın sayısı Türk'lerden daha mı çoktu?
a) Evet b) Hayır c) Eşitti
9. Vaktinizin çoğunu hangi arkadaşlarınızla geçiriyordunuz?
a) Türk b) Yabancı c) Yaşadığım ülkeden olanlarla
10. Yabancı arkadaşlarınızın evlerine misafirlığe gidiyormuydunuz?
a) Her zaman b) Ara sıra c) Hiçbir zaman
11. Onlar size geliyorlarmıydı?
a) Her zaman b) Ara sıra c) Hiçbir zaman
12. Yabancı arkadaşlarınızla okul dışında ne sıklıkta görüşüyordunuz?
a) Hergün b) Ara sıra c) Hiçbir zaman
13. Alışverişinizi hangi dükkanlardan yapıyordunuz?
a) Türk b) İkisinden de c) Yerli (Alman-İsviçre vs.)
14. Geldiğiniz ülkenin film, tiyatro, konser vs. gibi sanat etkinliklerine gidermiydiniz?
a) Her zaman b) Ara sıra c) Hiçbir zaman
15. Geldiğiniz ülkenin günlük gazetelerini hergün okurmuydunuz?
a) Her zaman b) Ara sıra c) Hiçbir zaman
16. Yurtdışında yayınlanan Türk Gazetelerini hergün okurmuydunuz?
a) Evet b) Ara sıra c) Hayır
17. Hafta sonlarını ailenizle birlikte mi geçirirdiniz?
a) Her zaman b) Ara sıra c) Hiçbir zaman

GELENEKSELLİK ÖLÇEĞİ

- (1) Seçimde Bağımsızlık Boyutunu belirtiyor.
- (2) Geleneksel saygı boyutunu belirtiyor.

Yönerge: Önce okuyacağınız ifadeleri nasıl karşılıyorsanız, ona göre aşağıdaki sayılardan birini seçin.

Okuyacağınız ifadeleri babanız nasıl karşılıyorsa ona göre de bir sayı seçin ve sorunun yanına yazın.

Katılmak karşı çıkmak ölçeği.

7. Tamamiyle katılıyorum.
6. Katılıyorum
5. Biraz katılıyorum
4. Kararsızım
3. Biraz karşı çıkıyorum
2. Karşı çıkıyorum
1. Tamamiyle karşı çıkıyorum.

MESLEK SEÇİMİ(1)

Verilen
Ağırlıklar

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1. Ebeveynim (annem,babam) ne düşünüyorsa düşünsün kendi mesleğimi kendim seçerim | -3 |
| 2. Kendi mesleğimi kendim seçerim ama ebeveynimin iznini alırım | -2 |
| 3. Bir deneme süresi için ebeveynimin seçtikleri mesleği kabul ederim | +1 |
| 4. Başka bir mesleği tercih ediyorda olsam ebeveynimin seçtiği mesleği kabul ederim | +2 |
| 5. Kendim ne düşünürsem düşüneyim ebeveynimin seçtiği mesleğe girerim | +3 |

KARŞI CİNS İLE ETKİLEŞİM(1)

- | | |
|---|----|
| 6. Aile üyeleri dışında karşı cinsten kimseyle ilişkim yoktur | +3 |
| 7. Karşı cinsle ancak topluluklarda (sınıf, sokak) karşılaşırım | +2 |
| 8. Karşı cinsle ancak arkadaş gruplarında temasa geçerim ama biriyle özel olarak ilgilenmem | +1 |
| 9. Arada sırada karşı cinsten birileriyle çıkarım | +2 |

KADININ ROLÜ(1)

- | | Verile
Ağırlık |
|---|-------------------|
| 11. Bir kadın kendi fikirlerini serbestçe başka erkek ve kadınlara söyleyebilmeli | -3 |
| 12. Bir kadın kendi fikirlerini serbestçe yalnız başka kadınlara söyleyebilmeli | -2 |
| 13. Bir kadın kendi fikirlerini yalnızca yakın arkadaşlarına söyleyebilmeli | +1 |
| 14. Bir kadın kendi fikirlerini yalnızca evindekilere serbestçe söyleyebilmeli | +2 |
| 15. Bir kadın kendi fikirlerini yalnızca kocasına serbestçe söyleyebilmeli | +3 |

BABANIN OTORİTESİ(2)

- | | |
|--|----|
| 16. Babamın bir emrine bile isteyerek karşı gelebilirim. | -2 |
| 17. Babamın bir emrine karşı açık açık konuşurum ama istediğini yaparım | -2 |
| 18. Babamın bir emrine karşı isteksizliğimi mırıldanarak belirtir ve istediğini ağır aksak yaparım | +1 |
| 19. Babamın bir emrini hiç isteksizlik göstermeden yerine getiririm. | +2 |
| 20. Babamın bir emrini hiç isteksizlik göstermeden ve sevgiyle yerine getiririm | +3 |

YAŞLILARA SAYGI(2)

- | | |
|--|----|
| 21. Büyüklerimin yanında sigara içmem | +3 |
| 22. Büyüklerimin yanında içki içmem | +2 |
| 23. Odaya bir büyük girince ayağa kalkarım ama sigara ve içki içmeye devam ederim | +1 |
| 24. Odaya bir büyük girince konuşmamı keserim ama başka ne yapıyorsam yapmaya devam ederim | -2 |
| 25. Odaya bir büyük girince bir baş işaretiyle selamlarım ama başka ne yapıyorsam yapmaya devam ederim | -3 |

EVLİLİK(1)

Verilen
Ağırlıklar

- | | |
|--|----|
| 26. Evlilik kıza ya da oğlana danışmadan ebeveyn tarafından düzenlenmeli | +3 |
| 27. Evlilik kızın ya da oğlanın fikri alınarak ebeveyn tarafından düzenlenmeli | +2 |
| 28. Evlenme niyetini gözönünde bulundurarak ebeveyn kızla oğlanı tanıştırmalı | +1 |
| 29. Oğlan ya da kız kendi eşini bulmalı ama ebeveyninden izin almalı | -2 |
| 30. Kendi eşini bulup ebeveynin fikrine aldırılmadan evlenmeli | -2 |
| 31. Ebeveyne danışmadan evlenmeli | -3 |

DİNDARLIK(2)

- | | |
|---|----|
| 32. Her gün 5 vakit camide namaz kılarım | +3 |
| 33. Cuma namazını camide kılarım | +2 |
| 34. Ayda bir ya da iki kez camiye giderim | +1 |
| 35. Camiye ancak bayramlarda giderim | -2 |
| 36. Camiye hiç gitmem | -3 |

AİLE DEĞERLENDİRMESİ

Aşağıdaki cümleleri okuyun ve altında belirtilen sıklardan bu cümle ile ilgili olarak kendinize en uygununu seçin ve daire içine alın.

1. Ailemle birlikte sokakta görülmekten hep utanırdım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
2. Velim okula geldiği zaman gurur ve mutluluk duyardım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
3. Annemle babamın giysilerini çağ dışı bulurdum.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
4. Ailem yaşadığımız ülkenin dilini iyi konuşsun isterdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
5. Alman (İsviçreli, Avusturya vs.) bir ailenin çocuğu olsaydım daha mutlu ve gururlu olacağımı düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
6. Ailemin oruç tutmasını takdir ederdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
7. Annemle babamın yüksek eğitim görmüş olmalarını isterdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
8. Babamın yurtdışındaki işinde başarılı olduğuna inanırdım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
9. Annemin başını bağlaması beni rahatsız etmezdi.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
10. Ailemin sofrada adabını bilmediğini sık sık düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
11. Ailemin Almanlar vs. kadar temiz insanlar olduklarını düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
12. Babamın yurtdışında daha saygın bir işte çalışmasını isterdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
13. Ailemin yaşadığımız ülkenin kültür ve sanat etkinliklerini daha yakından izlemelerini isterdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
14. Anne ve babamın toplu yerlerde fazla gürültülü konuştuklarını düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış

15. Velimin öğretmenlerimin karşısında hep mahcup ve ezik olduğunu hissederdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
16. Ailemin çağın gereği olan aletleri (asansör vs.) kullanmayı becerememeleri beni hep sınırlendirmmiştir.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
17. Babamın camiye gitmesinden hiç hoşlanmazdım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
18. Ailemin dinlediği Türk müzik türü beni hep rahatsız ederdi.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
19. Ailemin evimizi çok zevkli döşediğini düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
20. Ailemin eğlenme tarzını hep yadırgamışımıdır.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
21. Ailemi saygıya değer bulurdum.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
22. Ailemin yaşadığımız ülkenin insanlarından daha heyecanlı saldırgan oluşu beni rahatsız ederdi.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
23. Ailemi yabancılarla olan ilişkilerinde güçlü bulurdum.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
24. Ailem yalnız başına postaneye, alışverişe vs. gidemeyecek kadar beceriksiz bulurdum.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
25. Ailemin hayattaki amaçlarına ulaşmış olduklarını hissederdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
26. Ailemin kadın-erkek ilişkilerinde olan yaklaşımlarını ben de benimsemiştim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
27. Anne-babamın çocuk yetiştirme konusunda koydukları kuralları çağdışı bulurdum.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
28. Ailemin daha canlı bir sosyal yaşamı olsun isterdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
29. Babamın telefonda nasıl konuşulacağını bilmediğini düşünürüzülürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış

30. Sık sık ailemin yalnızca Türkiye'de yaşaması gerektiğini düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
31. Babamın anneme yabancı erkeklerin karılarına tanıdıkları özgürlüğü tanımaması beni kızdıırırdı.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
32. Evleneceğim kişinin annem/babamdan çok yaşadığım ülkenin insanlarına benzemesini isterdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
33. Babamın patronunun karşısında hiçbir zaman ezilmediğini hissederdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
34. Ailemin sevdiği Türk yemeklerini ben de çok beğenirdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
35. Ailemin bakımsız ve kötü bir semtte oturuyor olduğunu düşünürüzülürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
36. Babamın işyeri bence son derece kaliteli idi.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
37. Babamın Türkiye'de daha saygın bir yeri olacağını düşünürdüm.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
38. Babamın yabancı çocukların babalarının onlara sağladığı herşeyi bana sağladığına inanırdım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
39. Ailemin yabancı ailelerle eşit düzeyde olduğuna inanırdım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
40. Evimizin yabancı arkadaşlarımlın evinden daha farklı olmadığına inanırdım.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış
41. Yabancı arkadaşlarımlın aileme saygı duyduğunu hissederdim.
Çok doğru Doğru Emin değilim Yanlış Çok yanlış

SIFAT LİSTESİ
(Benlik Ölçeği)

Aşağıdaki listedeki sıfatlara bakınız. Önce bunlar içinden sizi en iyi tanımlayan 4'ünü seçerek yanına 1 koyup bunları listeden çıkarınız. Sonra kalanlardan sizi en az tanımlayan 4 tanesini seçip yanlarına 5 yazıp bunları da listeden çıkarınız. Kalanlardan sizi ikinci derecede en iyi tanımlayan 4 tanesini seçip yanlarına 2 yazınız. Bunları da çıkarıp kalan sekiz sıfattan sizi ikinci derecede en az tanımlayan 4'ünü seçip 4 diye numaralayınız. Kalan dört sıfata 3 numarasını veriniz.

Aynı işlemi tipik bir Türk'ü nasıl görüyorsanız ve tipik bir Alman'ı nasıl görüyorsanız onlar için yapınız.

SIFAT LİSTESİ

	<u>Kendim</u>	<u>Türk</u>	<u>Yabancı</u>
1) Ağırbaşlı			
2) Becerikli			
3) Cömert			
4) Dakik			
5) Duygulu			
6) Etkili			
7) Gayretli			
8) Girişken			
9) İnsancıl			
10) İyimser			
11) Hoşsohbet			
12) Merhametli			
13) Neşeli			
14) Sabırlı			
15) Sakin			
16) Sıcakkanlı			
17) Şevkatli			
18) Temkinli			
19) Vefakâr			
20) Yetenekli			

APPENDIX B- CODING INFORMATION
KODLAMA BİLGİLERİ

ÖZGEÇMİŞ DEĞİŞKENLERİ (Background variables)

ERKEK (Male) : 1
KADIN (Female) : 2

SINIF (Class)

1. ORTA 1 (Junior high 1): 06
2. ORTA 2 (Junior high 2): 07
3. ORTA 3 (Junior high 3): 08
4. LİSE 1 (Lycée 1) : 09
5. LİSE 2 (Lycée 2) : 10
6. LİSE 3 (Lycée 3) : 11

BABANIN YURTDIŞINDAKİ İŞİ (Father's occupation in the host countries)

1. İŞÇİ (Worker): 1
2. DİĞER (Other) : 2

BABANIN EĞİTİMİ (Father's education)

1. HİÇ (None) : 1
2. İLK (Elementary) : 2
3. ORTA (Junior high school): 3
4. Lise (High School) : 4
5. ÜNİVERSİTE (University) : 5

GENCİN BİRLİKTE YAŞADIĞI KİMSE(ler) Immediate family)

1. ANNE ve BABA (Both parents): 1
2. ANNE (Mother) : 2
3. BABA (Father) : 3
4. AKRABALAR (Relatives) : 4

GENCİN YURTDIŞINDA GÖRDÜĞÜ EĞİTİM TİPİ (Type of education)

1. TÜM YABANCI (Integrated): 1
2. KARMA (Mixed Curriculum): 2
3. TÜM TÜRKÇE (Segregated) : 3

GENCİN YURTDIŞINDA ALDIĞI DİN EĞİTİM TÜRÜ (Type of religious education)

1. HİÇ (None) : 1
2. OKULDA DİN DERSİ (Religion courses at school) : 2
3. KUR'AN KURSU (Kor'an Courses) : 3
4. OKULDA DİN DERSİ (Religion courses at school + KUR'AN KURSU + Kor'an courses) : 4

KÜLTÜRE AÇILMA ÖLÇEĞİ (Culture Contact Scale)

1. Yabancı Kültüre maximum açılma (Maximum Contact) : 2
2. Yabancı kültüre orta derecede açılma (Medium Contact) : 1
3. Yabancı kültüre minimum açılma (Minimum Contact) : 0

GELENEKSELLİK ÖLÇEĞİ (Traditionalism Scale)

1. Tamamıyla katılıyorum (Strongly agree) : 7
2. Katılıyorum (Agree) : 6
3. Biraz katılıyorum (Slightly agree) : 5
4. Kararsızım (Undecided) : 4
5. Biraz karşı çıkıyorum (Slightly disagree) : 3
6. Karşı çıkıyorum (Disagree) : 2
7. Tamamıyla karşı çıkıyorum (Strongly disagree) : 1

AİLE DEĞERLENDİRME ÖLÇEĞİ (Family Evaluation Scale)
AİLEYE KARŞI TUTUM (Attitude towards the family)

1. Tamamen Olumlu (Strong approval) : 1
2. Olumlu (Approval) : 2
3. Kararsız (Undecided) : 3
4. Olumsuz (Disapproval) : 4
5. Tamamen olumsuz (Strong disapproval) : 5

SIFAT LİSTESİ (Adjective Q-sort list)

- Genci; 1. En iyi tanımlayan sıfatlar (Most descriptive adj.) : 1
2. İyi tanımlayan sıfatlar (Descriptive adj.) : 2
3. Nötr (Neutral) : 3
4. Az tanımlayan sıfatlar (Less descriptive adj.) : 4
5. En az tanımlayan sıfatlar (Least descriptive adj.) : 5

APPENDIX C- CORRELATION MATRIX

	Father's Education	Length of Stay	Foreign Experience from age 6 to age 12	Type of Education	Type of Religious Education	Elementary School Education	Traditional Respect (family)	Traditional Respect (self)	Independence in Choice (family)	Independence in Choice (self)	Culture Contact	Family Evaluation	Cultural Identity (Self-Turk)	Cultural Identity (Self-Other)
FATHER'S EDUCATION	1.00													
LENGTH OF STAY	-0.14	1.00												
FOREIGN EXPERIENCE from age 6 to age 12	-0.12	-	1.00											
TYPE OF EDUCATION	-0.07	-0.06	-0.29	1.00										
TYPE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	-0.07	0.17	0.18	0.23	1.00									
ELEMENTARY SCHOOL EDUCATION	-0.10	-	0.90	-	-	1.00								
TRADITIONAL RESPECT (family)	-0.16	-0.03	-	0.12	0.08	-	1.00							
TRADITIONAL RESPECT (self)	-0.09	-0.02	-	0.18	0.06	-	0.85	1.00						
INDEPENDENCE in CHOICE (family)	0.01	-0.12	-	0.26	0.31	-	0.51	0.45	1.00					
INDEPENDENCE in CHOICE (self)	0.04	-0.02	-	0.34	0.16	-	0.37	0.50	0.80	1.00				
CULTURE CONTACT	0.06	0.12	0.32	-0.32	-0.32	0.16	-0.19	-0.27	-0.51	-0.51	1.00			
FAMILY EVALUATION	-0.20	0.05	0.08	0.04	0.16	0.11	0.21	0.19	0.44	0.41	-0.26	1.00		
CULTURAL IDENTITY (self-Turk)	0.12	0.15	-0.19	-0.04	0.01	-0.10	0.19	0.23	0.02	-0.01	-0.10	0.17	1.00	
CULTURAL IDENTITY (self-Other)	-0.18	-0.25	-0.23	-0.05	0.05	-0.26	-0.14	-0.35	-0.06	-0.29	-0.005	-0.12	-0.21	1.00

APPENDIX D - RAW DATA

SNAK NO.	DATE OF BIRTH	AGE	SEX	FOREIGN EXPERIENCE			TYPE OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION	CULTURE SCORE	RANGE OF CAREER		DATING		JONES' EMPATHETIC AMORALITY		MARRIAGE		RELIGION		FAMILY SIZE	SELF-ESTEEM	TOTAL SCORE
				NO. OF YEARS	TYPE OF WORK	TYPE OF RELIGION			SELF	RANGE	SELF	RANGE	SELF	RANGE	SELF	RANGE	SELF	RANGE			
01	1965	11	M	66	59	83	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	84	52	70
02	1968	10	M	99	99	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	130	90	102
03	1970	11	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	98	58	98
04	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	98	58	98
05	1968	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	56	82
06	1966	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	56	82
07	1970	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	104	46	46
08	1970	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	94	72	84
09	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	92	84	92
10	1965	11	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	84	86	58
11	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	84	86	58
12	1965	11	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	91	66	66
13	1968	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	81	66	66
14	1968	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	93	80	90
15	1969	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	93	80	90
16	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	84	86	58
17	1970	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	87	92	84
18	1969	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
19	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
20	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
21	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
22	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
23	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
24	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
25	1970	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
26	1969	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
27	1971	9	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
28	1966	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
29	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
30	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
31	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
32	1971	9	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
33	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
34	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
35	1971	9	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
36	1962	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
37	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
38	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
39	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
40	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
41	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
42	1967	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
43	1971	9	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
44	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
45	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
46	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
47	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
48	1964	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
49	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
50	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
51	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
52	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
53	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84
54	1965	10	M	50	50	66	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	85	92	84

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