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**Acculturation, Transnational Behavior and
Migration Intentions of the Turkish Second
Generation in six European Countries:
Exploring Mechanisms**

(Extended abstract)

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Abstract

There is little disagreement about whether international migration, acculturation, and transnationalism are related. Yet, the interplay between these processes is not yet well understood as conceptual models and empirical studies are scant. This paper aims to contribute to this line of research by examining these relations using survey data of descendants of Turkish immigrants born and raised in EU countries (i.e. the Turkish second generation). Data come from The Integration of the European Second Generation project (TIES). Among others, the Turkish second generation was sampled and interviewed in areas where most Turkish community members live, which are the main cities of Austria, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland. In this paper we study (1) how acculturation preferences, involvement in transnational activities, and intentions to emigrate to Turkey are related, and (2) to what extent selected psychosocial factors (perceived exposure to discrimination, perceived religiosity, perceived self-efficacy) affect involvement in transnational activities and intentions to emigrate to Turkey, and whether such effects are mediated by acculturation preference style. We developed two conceptual models, including hypothesized causal pathways between model variables, and transformed these into a series of simultaneous regression equations. Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) results confirm various of the postulated effects and pathways between acculturation, transnationalism and migration intentions, and also that acculturation preference style indeed mediates part of the effect that some of the psychosocial variables have on involvement in transnational activities, and on emigration intentions.

Introduction

In 2010, the foreign born comprise 9.4 per cent of the EU population, about 47 million people. About two thirds, 31 million people, were born outside the EU (Eurostat, 2011). For centuries European countries have been rather open societies and have become ethnically and culturally diverse nations. In the past decades, labor immigration from countries such as Turkey and Maghrebi countries, followed by family reunification migration, further contributed to an increase of migrant stocks and diversity in EU receiving countries. In the past decade, EU governments have gradually become more concerned about immigration and acculturation, leading to a rise of xenophobia and populism in various countries (e.g. Breuil-Genier et al., 2012; Rudiger and Spencer, 2003;).

The largest community in the EU with roots outside the EU is the Turkish community (Cornell *et al.*, 2012). Bearing in mind the limitations of data sources on migrant populations, Fargues (2005) estimated that about 4.9 million first generation Turkish immigrants live in the EU (plus Switzerland). About 2.2 million of these are children, born and raised in the EU, called the Turkish second generation. The majority of the Turkish community (70%) lives in main urban areas of Germany, France (9%), The Netherlands (7%), Austria (5%) and Switzerland (3%).

In past decade, research interest on the second generation has increased as they have come to age and become a growing subpopulation with social and economic dimensions. Not surprisingly, their acculturation styles and economic integration have also come subjects of attention and concern to policy makers and scholars (e.g. Alba and Nee, 2003; Berry *et al.* 2006; Berry and Sabatier, 2010; European Commission, 2005; Groenewold et al., 2013; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001). For instance, in Germany, there is concern about the development of parallel societies whereby the Turkish second generation is oriented more on the Turkish community and culture, than on wider German society. In France, the riots in *banlieues*, involving Algerian and Moroccan second generation youth groups, point to problems of identification which are potentially related to incompatibility of immigrant group norms and values upheld by the French majority population (Becker, 2010; Crul and Schneider, 2010).

Regarding their acculturation, the second generation is raised at home in accordance with the value system in parents' country of origin. Outside the home, in schools and neighborhoods, they are familiarized with national society norms, values and customs, and with the expectations of majority populations towards immigrants (e.g. Mykyta *et al.*, 2005). The latter is important because if expectations are not met this may lead to discrimination and social exclusion, which, in turn negatively affect acculturation (e.g. Abrams et al., 2005; Alba and Nee, 2003; Alman, 2013; Berry et al., 2006; Bourhis, et al., 2001). During socialization, members of the second generation develop dual roots and social capital in both their EU country of birth and parent's country of origin, and this may lead to adoption of a transnational lifestyle in fluid and geographically different social spaces, aided by internet and social media (Levitt, 2009; Levitt and Jaworksy; 2007).

A transnational life style, with parent's country of origin taking center stage, may eventually lead to development of emigration intentions in the direction of parents' country of origin. As the Turkish economy has been growing rapidly since 2000 with GDP growth rates of, on average, four per cent per annum (ILO, 2012), it has become attractive to potential labour migrants and foreign entrepreneurs. To date, Turkey has become a net immigration country (e.g. Kirisci, 2003). Conversely, economies of various European countries stagnated with rising unemployment.

Although there seems little disagreement about whether international migration, acculturation and transnationalism are related, the interplay of these processes is not yet well understood as conceptual models and empirical studies are still limited. This paper aims to contribute to this line of research by examining these relations from the perspective of the Turkish second generation residing in their EU country of birth.

More specifically, we investigate whether and how acculturation preference styles and selected psychosocial determinants (i.e. exposure to discrimination, religiosity, self-efficacy) influence (1) transnational behavior and (2) migration intentions of the Turkish second generation. We use survey data of respondents in the age range 18-35 years old who were interviewed in Austria, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland in the context of 'The Integration of the European Second generation' project.

Conceptualization

Acculturation

Acculturation has both economic and social dimensions (e.g. Bean *et al.* 2010). The economic dimension refers to the socio-economic inclusion of migrants, mainly in terms of education, employment and occupational attainment. The social dimension, often referred to as acculturation, refers to interactions between migrants and the native majority population in terms of cultural norms, values and customs. Acculturation research generally focusses on acculturation preferences, acculturation determinants, and consequences of acculturation (Arends-Tóth and Van de Vijver, 2006). Acculturation preferences, our focus in this paper, have mainly been addressed by Berry and colleagues (Berry 1986; Berry *et al.*, 1986; Bourhis *et al.*, 1997; Navas *et al.*, 2007). They argue that contact between national society populations and immigrant groups lead to adaptations in the cultural value systems of both groups. In practice, immigrants may prefer to use national society norms, values and norms to guide behavior in a particular situation, whereas in other situations he or she may prefer to act on the basis of immigrant group norms, values and customs. This led Berry (1986) to derive a simple typology of acculturation preference styles of immigrants (and acculturation expectations of the national majority population. To accomplish this scores of respondents on a National Society Cultural Preference (NSP) index and on an Immigrant Group Cultural Preference (IGP) index are plotted in a two dimensional graph, with NSP and IGP as axis-variables and axis-midpoints as demarcation points permitting the classification of respondents into one of four acculturation preference groups, i.e. preference for assimilation, integration, separation, or marginalization (Donà and Berry, 1994).

Transnationalism and migration

The concept of transnationalism was introduced in the 1990s by social anthropologist (Glick Schiller, 1992) once it became clear that a large share of first generation migrants did not return to their country of origin, and the political and scientific debate shifted to the acculturation of migrants and their children in receiving countries. It meanwhile became clear that full assimilation of migrant communities was not to be expected because, increasingly, it became easier and cheaper to develop and maintain social and economic strongholds in places of origin and destination, and actually live in spatially separated social fields, characterized by multiple

memberships and hybrid identities. This applies in particular to the second generation (Levitt, 2009; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001).

Two other relevant processes contribute to the rising prevalence of transnational life styles. First, many first generation immigrants reached retirement age in the past decade. In case of the Turkish community many retirees returned to Turkey. The short travel distance and low travel costs permit them to remain in close contact with their children how remain behind in EU countries (e.g. White, 2006). Having retired parents in countries of origin implies social (visits) and economic (remittances) commitments, but it also provides second generation Turks with high quality social capital in Turkey that can be of great help in case migration intentions would develop (Boyd, 1989; Haug, 2008). Second, the financial and economic crisis in the EU and rapid economic growth in Turkey contribute to a rising interest in migration to Turkey.

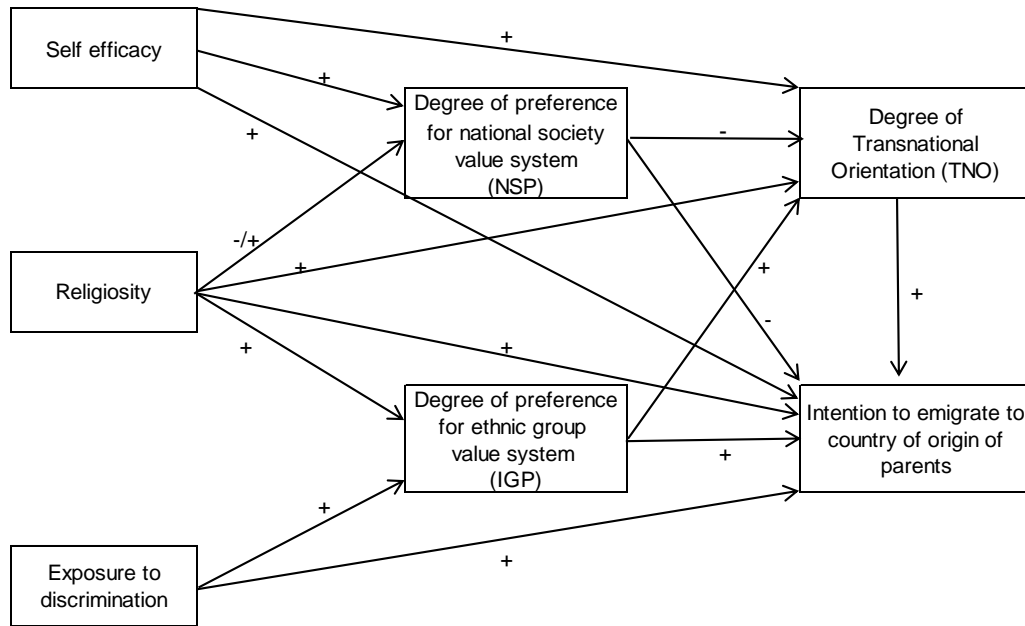
Linking Acculturation, Transnationalism and Migration

Studies of international migration, transnationalism, and acculturation, present a large mix of demographic, social and economic factors as determinants. Conceptual integration is absent due to lack of a unifying and coherent theoretical framework. This is unfortunate in light of the on-going EU policy debates on the need for and regulation of immigration from third countries in light of expected future labour force shortages in EU countries, and the social inclusion of these immigrants (e.g. Bijak et al. 2008; Carrera et al., 2011; British Council and Migration Policy Group, 2011).

Existing studies suggest that psychosocial, interpersonal and contextual factors are important in the understanding of linkages between acculturation, transnational behavior and migration intentions (e.g. Ajzen, 1991; Ajzen and Fishbein, 1980; Fokkema, 2011; Levitt, 2009). Recent research on acculturation of the Turkish second generation (Groenewold et al., 2013) revealed that exposure to discrimination (proxy for social exclusion) appears to have a strong positive effects on IGP while effects on NSP are negligible. Religiosity (proxy for cultural distance between migrant community and national majority population) appears to have strong positive effects on IGP and weak negative effects on NSP. Self-efficacy, the core of human agency (Bandura, 1986; 2001) was found to be positively associated with NSP, while it was not important to the explanation of IGP. Research on migration intention among potential migrants in traditional migrant-sending countries (e.g. Turkey) revealed that matters of religion and religiosity negatively influenced emigration intentions, while self-efficacy, a.k.a. perceived behavioural control, was found to be positively associated with the intention to emigrate (e.g. Groenewold et al., 2012).

On the basis of the above insights we constructed a theoretical model (Figure 1) of the mechanism by which acculturation and main determinants influence transnational behaviour and migration intentions. This model will be tested using survey data on experiences and behavioural intentions of the Turkish second generation in six EU countries. In other words, the hypothesized factors and structural characteristics of the theoretical model will be, simultaneously, tested against the structural characteristics embedded in the survey data.

Figure 1. Acculturation, Transnationalism, and migration intentions of the Turkish second generation: hypothesized relations¹



Data

We use survey data of the TIES project (The Integration of the European Second Generation, collected between June 2006 and December 2008). Respondents were persons in the age range 18 to 35 years old, born in an EU country with one or both parents born in Turkey, Morocco or Former Yugoslavia. A native comparison group of peers was also sampled and interviewed (Groenewold and Lessard-Phillips, 2012). Data of Turkish second generation interviewed in Austria, France, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, and Switzerland are used. According to Fargues (2005), about 96% of the Turkish community in the EU plus Switzerland lived in these countries in 2004.

Methods and indicators

To assess effects of factors in the proposed model we used a structural equation modeling (SEM) approach. In SEM causal assumptions about direct and indirect relations between variables of a theoretical model are operationalized in form of a set of related (simultaneous) regression equation and these are tested against the empirical data resulting in causal conclusions and statistical measures of fit of the theoretical model to the data (Bollen and Pearl, 2013; Kline, 2011). AMOS software and Markov Chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) estimation was used for model fitting.

All variables in the model, except intention to emigrate, are latent variables or index variables derived from the response on interrelated proxy indicators, using

¹ For presentation purposes we omitted (1) arrows indicating potential interaction between the *exogenous* variables self-efficacy, religiosity and exposure to discrimination, and (2) arrows to model variables indicating effects of error residuals.

confirmatory categorical principle components analysis (CATPCA) (Linting et al., 2007; McIver and Carmines, 1981).

Self-efficacy beliefs influence a person's behavioral intentions. The surveys provided information on four of the ten items of the general self-efficacy scale (Schwarzer and Born, 1997) permitting derivation of a short-version of this scale, using the following Likert items: (1) whether the respondent finds it is easy to stick to aims to accomplish goals, (2) whether most problems can be resolved if respondent puts effort in it, (3) whether respondent generally finds solutions in case of trouble, (4) whether respondent is confident in successfully handling issues coming on his/her way. Item response was measured on a 4-point scale (1 not true at all...4 exactly true). Country-specific scales were derived, standardized and rescaled to fit a 0-10 range. The reliability statistic Cronbach α for this index was high ($>.80$).

Religiosity was included as a proxy for cultural distance between the majority population (predominantly Christian) and Turkish community (predominantly Muslim). A religiosity index was derived from seven Likert items: (1) perceived importance of being member of a particular religious group, (2) perceived importance of being a religious person, (3) perceived strength of affiliation with one's religious group, (4) perceived degree of similarity with members of one's own religious group, (5) perceived personal relationship with God, (6) perception that religion is the ultimate political authority, (7) importance given to religious symbols in public to demonstrate religious commitment. Item response was measured on a 5-point scale (1 Totally agree to 5 Totally disagree). Country-specific scales were derived, standardized and rescaled to fit a 0-10 range. The reliability statistic Cronbach α was very high ($>.90$).

An index of **exposure to discrimination** was derived representing fear of social exclusion. The index is based on seven Likert items on experience with discrimination at school, in the neighborhood, at restaurants and other leisure time destinations, at encounters with police, and with government institutions. Item response was measured on a 5-point scale ((1) Never to (5) Frequently). Country-specific scales were derived, standardized and rescaled to fit a 0-10 range. The reliability statistic Cronbach α was high ($>.80$).

The ways people socially adapt when the ethnic mix in their context changes differs, and depends, among others, to the extent of **preference for the majority population value system (NSP)** and **preference for the ethnic group value system (IGP)** as guides for behavior in different situations. For NSP and IGP indices were derived using response on the following Likert-items: (1) At home, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the cultural customs and norms of their parents' country of or region of origin; (2) At home, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the national cultural customs and norms in (survey country); (3) Outside the home, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the cultural customs and norms of their parents' country of or region of origin; (4) Outside the home, people of immigrant origin have the right to live as much as possible in accordance with the national cultural customs and norms in (survey country). Response categories are (1) totally disagree,...., (5) totally agree. Two sum scales (i.e. NSP and IGP) were derived, the scale scores were transformed in Z-scores, and they were rescaled to fit a 0-10 range (Berry et al., 2006; McIver and Carmines, 1981).

An index of **transnational orientation (TNO)** was derived as proxy to measure the extent that a person leads a transnational life-style, without actually emigrating. In

our study we envisage such a life style as a potential alternative to emigration as well as a potential factor influencing the intention to emigrate to Turkey. The index was derived using the response on questions pertaining to visits to Turkey, remittances (proxy for presence of high quality social capital in Turkey), Turkish relatives and friends abroad, and Turkish language proficiency, use of media related to Turkey. Country-specific scales were derived, standardized and rescaled to fit a 0-10 range. The reliability statistic for this index, Cronbach α , was moderate ($>.70$).

Intention to emigrate to Turkey was assessed from the response (yes/no) on a single question about whether respondent intends to emigrate to Turkey for a stay of at least one year, in the near future. The response on this question captures different behavior than what is captured by the above transnational orientation index (TNO), as it more explicitly measures whether or not the respondent considers making an actual and more or less permanent move to Turkey. An intended stay of more than one year is not likely to be interpreted as some sort of extended vacation period, as the administrative, financial, social and organizational consequences are considerable.

Results

Preliminary and tentative results confirm that indicators of acculturation preference as mediators of underlying psychosocial factors to explain (1) engagement in transnational activities (TNO), and (2) intention to emigrate to Turkey. Of the underlying factors, self-efficacy exhibits strong direct effects on migration intentions. Furthermore, transnational behavior is positively correlated with intention to migrate to Turkey. The magnitude of direct and indirect effects of underlying and mediating variables appear to differ between countries that have a different kind of migration and integration policy orientation (i.e. assimilistic vs. multicultural (e.g. Koopmans, 2010)).

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