

Intergenerational Differences in Acculturation Orientations of Turkish Speakers in Australia

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Abstract

In this paper, acculturation and language orientations among Turkish speakers in Australia (n = 283) are discussed. Compared to West European countries, the Turkish community in Australia is much smaller. Given the prevalent pluralism ideology in Australia, a high level of sociocultural adjustment and a high level of ethnic orientation and language use were expected in Australia. The predictions were largely borne out. Turkish speakers have positive attitudes towards their mother tongue and towards English. However, there were large differences between the generations regarding language, use, choice and dominance. Turkish speakers show high levels of integration into the mainstream society. Language shift observed among second and third generations requires further reflection.

Keywords

Acculturation orientations, Turkish in Australia, language maintenance and shift, pluralism, Turkish migration

Introduction

In line with the aims of *bilig* Special Issue, sociolinguistic and socio-cultural characteristics of Turkish immigrants in Australia are discussed in this paper. After the bilateral migration agreement between the Turkish and Australian governments in 1967, Turkish migration to Australia commenced. As opposed to the guest-worker status offered by European countries, Turkish immigrants to Australia were given permanent resident

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status. Mostly unskilled or semi-skilled Turkish people, mainly from rural areas of Central Anatolia, immigrated to European countries and to Australia. The first Turkish immigrants to Australia had a relatively limited English language proficiency, schooling, and formal qualifications (Manderson 1988) but with the emergence of second and third-generation the profile of the community improved very well. Initially, limited English language proficiency prevented Turkish migrants from finding good jobs and caused a wide range of settlement problems. Isolation of women, integration problems, culture shock, domestic violence and language-related problems were some of the difficulties they experienced (Çevik and Cahill 1993, Elley 1988, Inglis and Manderson 1988, Inglis et al. 1992, Manderson 1988, Yağmur 1993, 1997). The position of the Turkish immigrants improved gradually because some Turkish community organisations emerged to address the problems they were faced with. The number of community welfare groups increased rapidly. Turkish-Australian group is a well-established community in Australia now. According to Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, there are 150.000 Turkish speakers in Australia but according to Australian Census of 2011, this number is 32.845 excluding the second and third-generations. Including all the Turkey and Australian-born Turkish speakers, the population is estimated to be around 90.000.

Different from west European countries Australia has adopted multicultural policies. In the literature, four clusters of state ideologies shaping integration and language policies of immigrant receiving societies are identified (Bauböck, Heller and Zolberg 1996, Bourhis Moïse, Perreault and Senécal 1997, Koenig 1999). This ideological clustering model distinguishes pluralist, civic, assimilationist, and ethnist ideologies. In the *pluralist ideology*, the state provides support for language classes and cultural activities to promote mother tongue maintenance alongside second language proficiency. Maintenance of ethnic group norms and values is accepted. By taking a pluralist perspective, Australia supports language maintenance of most immigrant groups. A *civic ideology* expects that immigrants will adopt the public values of the mainstream society. The state neither interferes with the private values of its citizens nor provides any provisions for the maintenance or promotion of linguistic or cultural values of minorities. An *assimilation ideology* expects linguistic and cultural assimilation into the mainstream society. In the name of homogenization of the society, assimilationist language policies aim at accelerating language shift. An *ethnist ideology* shares most aspects of assimilation ideology; yet, there are ideological and institutional barriers for immigrant minori-

ties to be accepted legally or socially as full members of the mainstream society. Naturalization laws are helpful for distinguishing ethnist ideologies. On the basis of the state ideologies briefly described here, Australia fits in the pluralist model.

In terms of four clusters of state ideologies, Australia is shown to have a pluralistic model (Van Oudenhoven, Ward and Masgoret 2006). Australia is an immigration country and even though some surveys and opinion polls show widespread support for cultural pluralism in Australia, public opinion regarding multiculturalism and cultural diversity is ambivalent, especially concerning some non-European immigrant groups (Dandy and Pe-Pua 2010). Nevertheless, Australia has an official policy of multiculturalism and cultural diversity is valued. The state provides funds and facilities for the maintenance of heritage languages and cultures of the immigrants. Among the Australian born immigrants the desire to identify with Australia and even to assimilate into (Anglo-)Australian culture is high. Based on earlier studies of Turkish immigrants in Australia, it is clear that especially the second-generation Turks identify strongly with Australia (Yağmur 1997). In line with the pluralistic policies of Australia, strong first language maintenance and successful sociocultural integration would be expected for different generations of Turkish immigrants. By using 2011 Australian Census, a short Turkish community profile is presented below.

Turkish Community in Australia

According to the latest population Census in 2011, there are 32 845 Turkey-born people in Australia, which shows an increase of 7.7 per cent compared to the 2006 Census. The 2011 distribution by state and territory showed Victoria had the largest number with 16.487 Turkish speakers followed by New South Wales (12.977), Queensland (1.384) and Western Australia (1.046). Also small numbers of Turkish people live in Canberra (211), Tasmania (74) and Northern Territory (43). Australian Census includes a question on ancestry. Apparently not all Turkey-born immigrants have a Turkish origin. In the 2011 Census, the great majority of Turkey-born immigrants reported their ancestry as Turkish (27.650). There also people who identified their ancestry as Kurdish (1.357) and Armenian (954). Including the second and third-generations, 66.919 people indicated their ancestry as Turkish.

Examining the Census data for language use question provides a general trend of language maintenance or shift. According to 2011 Census, the main languages spoken at home by Turkey-born people in Australia were

Turkish (27.274), English (2.660), Greek (714) and Armenian (543). Apparently, great majority of those Turkey-born immigrants, who identified themselves as Kurdish, also speak Turkish or English because Kurdish is not reported. Out of the 30.186 Turkey-born immigrants, who spoke a language other than English at home, 68 per cent spoke English very well or well, and 30.7 per cent spoke English not well or not at all.

Compared to the Turkish immigrants in Western Europe, Turkey-born immigrants in Australia have much less unemployment rates. Among Turkey-born people aged 15 years and over, the participation rate in the labour force was 49.2% and the unemployment rate was 9.3%. Among the 13.947 Turkey-born who were employed, 45.7 per cent were employed in either a skilled managerial, professional or trade occupation. The corresponding rate in the total Australian population was 48.4 per cent. Educational qualifications play an important role in obtaining well-paid jobs. According to Australian Statistics Bureau, at the 2011 Census, 36.4% of the Turkey-born had some form of higher qualifications compared to 55.9% of the Australian population. It was reported that 5.4% of Turkey-born immigrants were still attending an educational institution.

Receiving up-to-date information on the types of schools attended by Turkish immigrant children is not always possible. Based on the figures received from Department of Education in Sydney, schools attended by Turkish youngsters are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. *The distribution of Turkish students across various school types.*

School Type	Number of students
Pre-school education	761
State primary schools	4.470
Catholic primary schools	76
Other primary schools	1.103
State secondary-schools	3.631
Catholic secondary-schools	201
Private Turkish Colleges	727
TAFE (Technical and Further Education) Colleges	1.852
University and other advanced education Institutions	1.837
Other	624
Not reported	1.944
Not attending any schools	33.467
Total population	50.693

Turkish classes are organized by Victorian School of Languages, by Turkish community organizations and also by the departments of education in Victoria and New South Wales. Turkish classes organized by Victorian School of Languages in Melbourne are attended by around 3.500 primary and secondary students. National Ministry of Turkish Education also sends Turkish teachers to Australia to serve the community. Compared to earlier periods of immigration, the facilities for learning and teaching of Turkish are quite rich.

Language Maintenance, Shift and Acculturation

Sociolinguistic studies have examined the linguistic consequences of immigration. Language maintenance or shift emerges as a result of language contact. The type of interaction between the majority and minority language speakers influences the linguistic outcome. There are a number of models in the sociolinguistic literature for the investigation of language maintenance and shift as documented by Clyne (1991). Models developed by Bourdieu (1982), Edwards (1992), Giles, Bourhis, and Taylor (1977), and Smolicz (1981) identify various factors that are important in language maintenance (or shift). These factors are usually divided into two related categories: those affecting a speech community and those affecting individuals within a speech community (Kipp, Clyne and Pauwels 1995). Group factors include size and distribution of an ethnic group, the policy of the host community towards minority languages, the position of the language within the cultural value system of the group, and proximity or distance of the minority language to or from the majority language. Birth-place, age, period of residence, gender, education, marriage patterns, prior knowledge of majority language, reason for migration, and language variety are considered to be relevant individual factors (Kipp et al. 1995: 123). We might add factors at the individual level such as language choice and socialization patterns, the interaction of which varies quite fundamentally across linguistic contexts. Different speech communities or individuals can behave in different ways under similar circumstances.

Retention of the heritage language is more likely when the ethnic group is larger, is more concentrated in certain areas, and the heritage language is held in higher esteem by its speakers. It has been suggested that “a minority group that possesses a publicly stigmatized identity, that has few legislative means at its disposal with which to secure its interests, that lives in a society characterized by an assimilatory ideology, and that is disadvantaged in relation to the majority with respect to economic and educational re-

sources, could be expected to be less likely to maintain its language over time” (Hyltenstam and Stroud 1996: 569-570).

The type of interaction between the minority and the majority is another factor to be considered. One of the basic premises of the present study is that language maintenance, shift, and loss of minority groups do not occur in a political and social vacuum; acculturation orientations of the immigrant groups and language policies of the receiving societies have an effect on language use and adaptation patterns. A stronger ethnic orientation is taken to be accompanied by more ethnic language retention and a more positive attitude toward the language. The social function of language is regarded as a mechanism of social integration in the acculturation process. A close analysis of language from the perspective of sociology of language and sociolinguistics can give a detailed account of the role of language in social interaction and in the construction of ethnicity in the acculturation of immigrants (Koenig 1999). By means of its communicative and symbolic function, language contributes to social integration of immigrants; in addition, language can be an important part of heritage identity.

Psychological studies have addressed the role of proficiency in the host language for sociocultural adjustment (e.g. Masgoret and Ward 2006, Vedder and Horenczyk 2006). Positive relations have been reported between host language proficiency, sociocultural adjustment, and host identity across various western societies (Ataca and Berry 2002, Clément, Noels and Deneault 2001, Jasinskaja-Lahti 2008, Ward and Kennedy 1993). The association may be generated by multiple pathways, most notably the opportunity to become acquainted with the host culture, establish relationships with mainstreamers, identify with the host group, and access important resources of the new host culture, such as school and job opportunities.

Proficiency in the heritage language has often been studied in relation to ethnic identity. The pathways through which ethnic language is related to adjustment to the ethnic culture are identical to those of the mainstream language just mentioned (access to the culture, networks, and resources). Yet, the role of ethnic language in acculturation is more ambiguous than the role of the host language. There are two opposing views on the role of ethnic language. On the one hand, knowledge of the heritage language can help to maintain the immigrant's ties with the ethnic culture, which in turn can facilitate psychological adjustment (Virta, Sam and Westin 2004). The stronger roots in the ethnic culture may facilitate sociocultural adjustment through ethnic community resources (also known as social and

cultural capital) and may also facilitate adjustment to the host culture (Ait Ouarasse and van de Vijver 2004, Phinney, Horenczyk, Liebkind and Vedder 2001). There are studies in which knowledge of the host and heritage cultures (and accompanying identities) show opposite patterns. Clément and Noels (1992) found that more knowledge of the mainstream language and stronger ingroup feelings toward the majority were accompanied by a loss of knowledge of the heritage culture and a weaker ethnic identity.

The unclear status of the role of the heritage language in acculturation stems from two related sources. Firstly, there is discussion about the endpoint of acculturation: Does acculturation always lead to complete assimilation, as claimed by authors like Gordon (1964) and Waters and Jiménez (2005), or is integration (with a bicultural identity and bilingualism) a long-term sustainable alternative, as the currently popular view in cross-cultural psychology holds (e.g. Berry 1997, Phinney et al. 2001)? Language attrition provides a good example. The common model of language assimilation, developed in the US, is the three-generation model of language assimilation: “The immigrant generation makes some progress but remains dominant in their native tongue, the second generation is bilingual, and the third generation speaks English only” (Waters and Jiménez 2005: 110). The model generally is in line with empirical data, which show immigrant groups to shift to the mainstream language within three or four generations (Gonzo and Saltarelli 1983); yet, the model does not deal with the considerable variation across ethnic groups in speed of language assimilation. For example, Turkish immigrants are often able to maintain their language better across generations than predicted by the model (Extra and Yağmur 2004), whereas Dutch immigrants to Australia and New Zealand showed much quicker language attrition (Clyne 1992). The second source of vagueness has to do with identity. Language usage is an important behavioural marker of ethnic identity (Ashmore, Deaux and McLaughlin-Volpe 2004), but ethnic groups differ considerably in the symbolic value they attach to the heritage language. Whereas the Turkish language is viewed as a core marker of identity among Turkish immigrants in western Europe (Extra, Yağmur and Van der Avoird 2004), speaking Berber is less central to the ethnic identity of Moroccan immigrants in the same countries; religion is a more important marker of their ethnic identity. As a consequence, the role of the ethnic language in the process of acculturation can differ across immigrant groups.

It can be concluded that the host language plays an important role in sociocultural adjustment, but that the heritage language plays a more ambiguous role in acculturation than the host language. We do not know under which conditions heritage language proficiency may (or may not) help to foster adjustment to the mainstream culture. Finally, there is a caveat that applies to both host and heritage language proficiency. The causal status of language in acculturation is far from clear. This study aims to clarify the role of ethnic and host language in the process of acculturation. In this respect, in order to show the differences in acculturation orientations, two generations of Turkish speakers in Australia are compared to each other.

Methodology

In order to find out about the differences between two generations of Turkish speakers, data is collected from 283 informants in a number of cities in Australia. On the basis of quantitative analyses, language use, choice, attitudes and ethnic identification of informants are documented.

Research Questions and Hypotheses

In order to investigate the dynamics of ethnic identity construction across generations, a bipolar model of ethnic identification is employed in this study and the following set of questions and hypotheses are formulated to tap ethnic identification:

1. What is the extent of in- and out-group identification among Turkish immigrants in Australia?
2. To what extent is generation a predictor of self-identification?
3. What are the factors contributing to Turkish ethnic identification?

Besides the research questions, the following hypotheses are tested:

1. Both generations of Turkish speakers have positive attitudes towards Turkish.
2. Language use, choice and preference for English are much higher among second-generation informants compared to the first generation.
3. Turkish informants of both-generations identify equally high with their Turkish heritage.
4. Regarding the mainstream identification, the rate of identification among second-generation is higher compared to the first-generation.
5. Religion is equally important for both generations.

Participants

The total sample comprised 283 informants (127 female and 156 male) as presented in Table 2. Because the number of third-generation informants is low, they will be merged with the second-generation for analyses. However, when we want to examine the outcomes more closely, we will distinguish between the three generations.

Table 2. *Distribution of gender and generation of informants*

	First- generation	Second-generation	Third-generation	Total
Female	55	64	8	127
Male	107	46	3	156
Total	162	110	11	283

Participants were selected on the basis of their willingness and their availability. In Australia, information about the survey was sent through different channels. A number of Internet sites targeting Turkish-Australians presented information about the survey and gave the link of the online survey and the telephone number of the first researcher. Besides, four Turkish language newspapers issued in Melbourne and Sydney provided the same details for their readers. Finally, Turkish consulates in Melbourne and Sydney sent out e-mails to the Turkish nationals and organizations. Two large community gatherings were visited in Sydney to distribute the questionnaires in person by the researcher who also recruited Turkish speaking individuals in cafes, restaurants and businesses in Auburn, a major Turkish concentration suburb in Sydney. Finally, 50 informants were recruited by a local Turkish newspaper reporter in Melbourne.

Measures

The measurement scales, comprising 212 questions, are primarily based on the studies by Arends-Tóth (2003), Kang (2006), Phinney (1990), Verkuyten (2007), and Yağmur (1997). The biographical section included 12 questions on topics such as age, gender, marital status, birth country of the respondent and parent of the respondent (if married partner's country of birth as well), number of years in the immigration country, place of residence, highest diploma obtained, profession, and frequency of visits to Turkey.

The Multicultural Ideology Scale consists of ten questions designed to assess attitudes towards linguistic and cultural diversity. The scale is based on Berry and Kalin's (1995) instrument which was used among Turkish-Dutch informants by Arends-Tóth (2003). An example of an item on

pluralism is “<Australian> people should recognize that the <Australian> society consists of groups with different cultural backgrounds”; an example of an item about language maintenance is “Ethnic minorities should be helped to preserve their cultural heritage in <Australia>”. Answers were given on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

The Ethnic and Mainstream Identification Scale consists of 21 questions designed to assess feeling of having ethnic and mainstream identity. The questions in this section are related to cultural, linguistic, social, ethnic, and religious components of ethnic identification. Examples of items are “I feel Turkish because I speak Turkish, (I am a Muslim, etc.)” and “I feel <Australian> because I speak English (I know <Australian> mentality, etc.)”. All the questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

The Ethnic and Mainstream Identity Scale consists of 17 questions designed to assess orientation to Turkish and mainstream identity. All of the questions have an endorsement format, which asks participants to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree with it. Examples are: “I am proud that I am a Turk” and “I am happy that I am <Australian>.” The section ended with the question, “All in all, do you feel more Turkish or more <Australian>,” having a 5-point Likert scale: *only Turkish* (1) to *only Australian* (5).

The Ethnic and Mainstream Behaviour Scale consists of 22 endorsement format questions designed to assess (a) attitudes toward ethnic and mainstream cultures; (b) affiliation with respective cultural groups; (c) preferences with regard to food, music, activities, and media. The participants are asked to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree with, for instance, “I live in accordance with Turkish cultural norms and values” and “I live in accordance with <Australian> cultural norms and values.” All the questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

The Islamic Beliefs Scale consists of 18 questions designed to assess the extent of religious identification. Both symbolic identification and observance of religious practices were assessed. Examples of items are “I am a Muslim,” “I know Islamic rules very well,” and “I fast during Ramadan.” Questions were rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

The Ethnic and Mainstream Social Network Scale consists of 23 endorsement type questions designed to assess the structure of social networks of the informants, such as a) spare time activities, b) type of social interaction in the neighbourhood, c) degree of contact with the ethnic and mainstream friends. The participants are asked to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree with, for instance, “There are many Turks in the suburb I live,” “When I have personal problems, I share it with my Turkish friends.” All the questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). The section ends with the question “All in all, are you more in contact with the Turkish or with the <Australian> people?” which has a five-point response scale: *only Turkish* (1) to *only <Australian>* (5).

The Ethnic and Mainstream Cultural Norms Scale consists of 19 endorsement type questions designed to assess the attitudes of the informants regarding a) Turkish/Mainstream norms and values, b) vitality of respective groups, c) degree of institutional support for cultural maintenance, d) degree of exclusion experienced in the mainstream community. The participants are asked to rate each statement in terms of how strongly they agree or disagree with; examples are “The Turks in <Australia> can act together as a group” and “<Australian> people usually think negatively about the Turks.” All the questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5).

The Language Use, Choice and Preference Scale consists of 50 questions in 5 sub-sections on: language register spoken with different interlocutors, such as mother, father and siblings, language register spoken to informant, language use, language preference, and language choice across topics. The participants are asked to respond to language use or choice questions in a bipolar scale format, for instance: “In which language do you interact mostly with your mother?” The responses are indicated on a 5-point Likert scale ranging from *always <English>* (1) to *always Turkish* (5). The benefits of using bipolar formats in such research are discussed extensively by Kang (2006).

The Attitudes to Turkish Language Scale consists of 20 questions designed to assess attitudes towards Turkish language in various domains. The participants are asked to respond to each question in terms of how strongly they value Turkish language, for instance, “How important is Turkish to find a job?,” “How important is Turkish to rear children?” All the questions in this section are rated on a 5-point Likert-scale ranging from *not important* (1) to *very important* (5).

All scales with the exception of the language scales contained a mix of negatively and positively worded items. Item presentation was randomly rotated within scales.

Procedure

Accessing Turkish communities was achieved with the help of Turkish cultural organizations. All questionnaires were prepared in Turkish and in English. Informants were free to fill in the questionnaire in the language they chose. As expected most second-generation filled in the questionnaires prepared in English; while most first-generation used Turkish questionnaires. Internet technology was also used by offering the questionnaire online. Some informants used online version of the questionnaire in Melbourne, Brisbane and Sydney. Analyses did not reveal significant effects of administration mode on target variables; therefore, data of the two modes were merged.

The informants filled in the questionnaires in their own time and returned them directly to the researcher. The questionnaires took approximately 25 to 35 minutes to complete. Some of the less educated informants reported difficulties in understanding complex language used in the questions. The section on religious identity was found to be highly personal (and sensitive) by most informants and a number of informants refused to fill that part in.

Results

Given the space restrictions, some of the results obtained from the large database will be presented here. After presenting the overall scale scores for first and second-generations, the focus will be on intergenerational differences regarding ethnic identification, language use, choice, preference and attitudes.

Ethnic identification scale is based on Phinney's (1990) ethnic identity and acculturation framework, and Verkuyten's ethnic identification (2005) approach. Two-dimensional ethnic identification scale included three sub-sections with a total of 21 questions. In the first question, the informants choose their ethnic identification from the given four choices as shown below:

Different people live in Australia. Which group do you think you belong to?

- 0 The Turkish group
- 0 The Australian group
- 0 Both Turkish and Australian groups
- 0 Other, namely:

On the basis of a cross-tabulation, clear-cut differences between the ethnic identification patterns of three generations are seen in Table 3.

Table 3. *Ethnic-identification patterns among three generations (N=283)*

	First generation	Second generation	Third generation	Total
Turk	88	54	0	142
Australian	16	8	5	29
Both groups	59	47	6	112
Total	163	109	11	283

As seen from Table 3, 54% of the first-generation and 49% of the second-generation chose their ethnic identification as only Turkish. 9% of the first-generation informants identify themselves as Australian, while 7% of the second-generation informants identify themselves as Australian only. On the other hand, none of the third-generation informants identified themselves as Turkish. Considerable number of informants identified themselves as both Turkish and Australian. In response to our first and second research questions, the results show that mostly second- and third-generation informants identify themselves as Turkish and Australian.

In order to test the third and fourth hypotheses, a t-test between generations concerning their ethnic identification was carried out. Table 4 shows the result of that test.

Table 4. *t-test results of Turkish identification (N=273)*

Variables	Gen.	N	M	SD	t-value	p
1. Feeling yourself as a Turk	FG	163	4.59	.822	3.422	.001
	SG	110	4.23	.905		
2. Feeling Turk because I speak Turkish	FG	163	4.57	.785	3.236	.001
	SG	110	4.24	.908		
3. Feeling Turk because I am Muslim	FG	163	3.82	1.537	-2.116	.035
	SG	110	4.17	1.065		
4. Feeling Turk because I know a lot about my religion	FG	163	3.72	1.279	-.193	.847
	SG	110	3.75	.952		
5. Feeling Turk because I live according to my tradition	FG	163	4.15	1.034	1.979	.049
	SG	110	3.92	.847		
6. Feeling Turk because my parents are Turkish	FG	163	4.67	.721	2.290	.023
	SG	110	4.44	.953		

7. Feeling Turk because I was brought up as a Turk	FG	163	4.64	.760	4.172	.000
	SG	110	4.17	1.082		
8. Feeling Turk because I look like Turk	FG	163	3.94	1.260	3.404	.001
	SG	110	3.40	1.315		
9. Feeling Turk because I feel more comfortable among the Turks	FG	163	3.89	1.149	3.170	.002
	SG	110	3.45	1.055		
10. Feeling Turk because other people consider me as a Turk	FG	163	3.64	1.231	1.745	.082
	SG	110	3.38	1.125		
11. Feeling Turk because AUS culture doesn't suit me	FG	163	2.91	1.342	1.186	.237
	SG	110	2.72	1.228		

* FG stands for first-generation while SG stands for second-generation

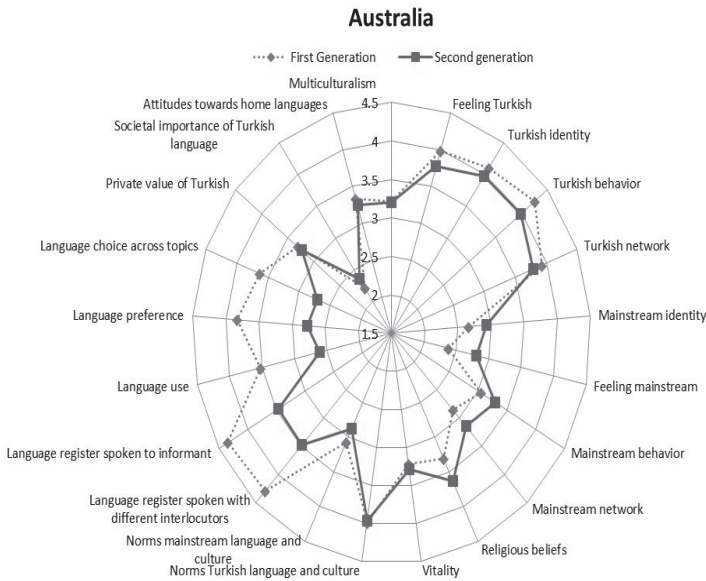
As seen from Table 4, our third hypothesis is not confirmed that Turkish informants of both-generations do not identify equally high with their Turkish heritage. First generation informants identify significantly higher than the second-generation informants ($t(273) = 3.422, p = 0.001$). Regarding the fourth hypothesis that the rate of mainstream identification among second-generation is higher compared to the first-generation, our hypothesis is confirmed that the second-generation identifies significantly higher with the Australian identity ($t(273) = -3.836, p = 0.000$). As seen in Table 5 first-generation's identification is much lower compared to the first-generation.

Table 5. *t*-test results of Australian identification ($N=273$)

	Gen.	N	M	SD	t-value	p
Feeling yourself as an Australian	FG	163	2.88	1.264	-3.836	.000
	SG	110	3.44	1.009		

The fifth hypothesis stated that religion is equally important for both generations. As seen from the variables 3 and 4 in Table 5, the second-generation establishes a stronger link between ethnic identity and religious background. They consider their religious identity as an important dimension of their Turkish ethnic identification. The difference between the first and second-generation is significantly high ($t(273) = -2.116, p = .035$). In that respect our fifth hypothesis is not confirmed.

Figure 1. *Intergenerational differences in measurement scales*



Given the large numbers of variables, a total score was calculated for each of the measurement scales. As a result, it was possible to make intergenerational comparisons for each of the scales. In Figure 1, intergenerational differences for each scale are presented. As seen from the mean values, the second-generation uses English more in various domains of social life compared to the first-generation. In general Turkish-Australian immigrants have a very high ethnic identification score regarding feeling Turkish, Turkish identity and Turkish behavior. There are some differences between the generations but these differences are negligible. However, the differences between the first and second generation is quite large regarding Turkish language use, choice and dominance. In a very intriguing manner, the societal importance of Turkish is reported to be very low among both generations in the Australian context.

Discussion and Conclusions

As shown in this study, ethnic identity basically refers to an individual's sense of self in terms of membership of a particular ethnic group. Ethnic identification and host group identification turned out to be important dimensions in showing intergenerational differences. Most of the second-generation Turkish informants view their ethnicity similar to the first-generation but their orientation to the Australian culture and society is

basically different from the first generation. For some of the informants, strong identification with both groups is indicative of integration and also of biculturalism. Even though the number of informants are quite low (11 in total), some of the results regarding self-identification is quite remarkable. None of the third-generation informants identified themselves as Turkish. Another intriguing issue in the Australian context is the fact that almost all bilingual Turkish-English speakers have adopted an English name next to their Turkish names; for instance, *Erhan* has become *Ernie* while *Emine* became *Emily*. During the field work, it was observed that many informants used English names in their day to day interaction outside the home context. Especially young people seem to prefer using their English names in interactions with each other. This shows a strong cultural shift towards the mainstream society.

In this study, self-identification patterns, language use, choice and dominance of Turkish immigrants across generations were explored. One's self-identity is very much in line with his or her social identification. Tajfel (1981: 255) described social identity as "that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to membership." In line with social identity theory, the informants in this study reported that they value their membership in the Turkish group. First-generation's ethnic identification is more Turkish. However, considerable numbers of first-generation informants also pointed out Turkish-Australian identification as well. On the other hand, second-generation Turkish youngsters are bicultural in many respects as they have orientation to both cultures. Nevertheless, in spite of a visible shift, their ethnic identification is also primarily Turkish. In social psychology, social identity theory predicts that in response to their low status position, minority group members will stress their ethnic identity by emphasizing their desirable distinctions (Tajfel and Turner 1986). The cultural distance between the mainstream Australian group and the Turkish group is large. Moreover, in some media reports, there is some negative stereotyping about Muslim groups, which might have an effect on intergroup relations. In the face of stigmatisation, some group members stick more to their heritage culture while some individuals might identify themselves as members of the majority group so that they avoid negative identity imposition. Even though it is only a small number of individuals, a portion of the second-generation informants identified themselves as "only Australian" and a considerable number of them as both Australian and Turkish. The fact that none of the third-generation identifies themselves as Turkish shows intergenerational identity shift taking place in Australia.

Acculturation suggests adaptation of the norms and values of the receiving society. In this respect, we need to examine what ‘norms and values’ mean and whether it is possible to adopt a new set of norms and values when moving into a new society. According to Kluckhohn (1951: 395), “A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable, which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action.” On the basis of a survey study, such complicated issues as the changes in cultural values cannot be explored fully. In combination with ethnographic observations and multiple case studies, more insight can be gained. On the basis of this large-scale study, it is clear that there is an intergenerational linguistic shift taking place among Turkish immigrants in Australia. English is taking over among younger generations. Gonzo and Saltarelli’s (1983) cascade model has a high relevance in the Australian context. Comparative studies between the Turkish immigrants in the European context and the Australian context might provide further insight into the language and cultural shift observed in the Australia’s Turkish community.

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Avustralya'daki Türkçe Konuşurlarının Kültürel Yönelimlerinde Nesiller Arası Farklılıklar

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Öz

Bu makalede Avustralya Türk toplumunun kültürel yönelimleri ve dil kullanımları 283 katılımcıdan toplanan veriler doğrultusunda tartışılmaktadır. Batı Avrupa'daki göçmen Türk gruplarına kıyasla Avustralya Türk toplumu oldukça küçüktür. Avustralya'daki başka kültürlere ve dillere saygıya dayalı çoğulcu politikalar gözetilince, Avustralya Türk toplumunun dilsel ve kültürel olarak Avustralya'ya büyük ölçüde uyum sağladığı ön görülebilir. Yapılan çalışmanın sonuçları bu öngörülerini destekler niteliktedir. Türkçe konuşan göçmenler hem anadillerine karşı hem de İngilizceye karşı çok olumlu tutumlara sahiptirler. Ancak dil kullanımı dil tercihi ve dil hâkimiyeti konusunda kuşaklar arasında ciddi farklılıklar ortaya çıkmıştır. Genelde Türk göçmenlerin Avustralya'ya çok ileri düzeyde uyum sağladığı ve hâkim toplumla bütünleştiği kolaylıkla söylenebilir. İkinci ve üçüncü kuşak arasında yaygın olan anadilden uzaklaşma dikkat çekici oranlardadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler

Kültürel yönelimler, Avustralya'da Türkçe, dil sürdürümü ve değişimi, çoğulculuk, Türk göçü

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Различия между поколениями туркоговорящего населения Австралии в вопросе аккультурной ориентации

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Аннотация

В этой статье рассматривается культурная ориентация и используемый язык турецкой общины в Австралии на основе данных, собранных в результате анкетирования 283 участников. Община турецких мигрантов в Австралии значительно мала по сравнению с турецкими мигрантами в Западной Европе. Учитывая, что в Австралии проводится политика плюрализма на основе уважения других культур и языков можно сказать, что турецкая община в Австралии в значительной степени адаптировалась в языковом и культурном плане. Результаты проведенного исследования подтвердили эти доводы. Туркоговорящие мигранты положительно относятся как к своему родному, так и к английскому языку. Тем не менее, выявлены существенные различия между поколениями в вопросах языковых предпочтений и степенью владения языками. В общем, можно сказать, что турецкие мигранты на высоком уровне адаптировались в Австралии и легко интегрировались в австралийское общество. Обращает на себя внимание отдаление от родного языка, распространенное среди второго и третьего поколений турецких мигрантов в Австралии.

Ключевые слова

культурная ориентация, турецкий язык в Австралии, поддержание языка и языковой сдвиг, плюрализм, турецкая миграция

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