



Intermedia International e-Journal, Spring -June - 2016 3(1)



DOI NO: 10.21645/intermedia.2016319253 Submit Date: 13.05.2016 Acceptance Date: 10.06.2016 ISSN: 2149-3669

## I AM A STRANGER HERE, I AM FOREIGNER: WELL THEN WHERE AM I FROM?<sup>1</sup>

### *Ben Burada Eloğluyum, Ben Yabancıyım: Peki ama Nereliyim?*

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**Abstract<sup>2</sup>:** This study aims to analyse social identity issue between different cultural notions through the cinema. This study is based on migrant problem, national values and the immigrants' adaption process. According to social identity theory, when an individual joins a group, a positive sense of self develops based on that identity. However, just as the individual can take pride in the group's successes, the individual could also make a comparison with another group and realize that the in-group is in a comparably low status situation. This does not, effectively, provide the positive sense of self expected from positive comparison.

The sampling of this study consists of in-depth-interviews with 13 young 3<sup>rd</sup> generation who were born and grown up in Austria. The films by directors focus on traditional values of Turkish culture, the reflection of these values on Austria and cover the features of immigration from Turkey to Austria. The films portray Turkish immigrants' suffering and adaptation process in a foreign country. The films shows the experiences of the immigrants in during and post-migration processes and emphasizes the phenomenon of not belonging either culture. In this sense, this study provides an understanding of 3<sup>rd</sup> generation's daily lives experiences and how they feel themselves as Turk, or as Austrian. In-depth-interviews were undertaken with 13 young 3<sup>rd</sup> generation.

**Keywords:** *Turkish-Austrian Migrant Cinema, social identity, migration, 3<sup>rd</sup> generation*

**Özet:** Bu çalışma, bir kitle iletişim aracı olarak sinema üzerinden farklı kültürel kavramlar arasındaki sosyal kimlik sorununu analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma özellikle göç sorunu, ulusal değerler ve göçmenlerin uyum süreci gibi sorunlara odaklanmaktadır. Sosyal kimlik teorisine göre, birey bir gruba katıldığında, kendisini olumlu anlamda katıldığı o grubun kimlik özelliklerine göre pozitif yönde bir gelişim gösterir. Ancak birey grubun başarılarından gurur duyabildiği gibi, aynı zamanda grubu başka gruplar ile kıyaslayabilmekte ve söz konusu grubun statüsünü değerlendirebilmektedir.

Bu çalışmanın örneklemini Avusturya'da doğup büyüyen ve 3.kuşak olarak adlandırılan 13 genç ile yapılan derinlemesine görüşmeler oluşturmaktadır. Avusturya'da Türkiye kökenli göçmen yönetmenlerin filmleri; Türkiye kültürünün geleneksel değerleri, bu kültürün Avusturya'daki değerlerle karşılaşmasını ve Türkiye'den Avusturya'ya göç eden göçmenlerin yaşamlarına odaklanmaktadır. Yönetmenlerin bu filmleri,

<sup>1</sup> This study is supported by the 2219 program under the number of 1059B191401065 of The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK).

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Türkiyeli göçmenlerin yaşadıkları sıkıntılar ve yabancı bir ülkede karşılaştıkları uyum sorununu da gözler önüne sermektedir. Söz konusu filmler, göçmenlerin göç öncesi-esnası ve sonrasında karşılaştıkları kültürel olguları ve göçmenlerin bir noktadan sonra ne Türkiye ne de Avusturya kültürlerine ait olmadıklarını göstermektedir. Bu bağlamda bu çalışma 13 gencin kültürel yaşam pratiklerinin neler olduğuna odaklanarak, onların ne kadar Türkiyeli ne kadar Avusturyalı hissettiklerini açıklamaya çalışmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Türk-Avusturya Göç Filmleri, sosyal kimlik, göç, 3. kuşak

### Introduction

Richard Jenkins says (2014: 1) many of us, much of the time, are able to take identity for granted. We seem to know who we are, we have a good enough working sense of who the others in our lives are, and they appear to relate to us in the same way. Sooner or later, however, a time arrives when identity becomes an issue. Especially during and post migration process, social identities become an issue. The documentary film *In der Fremde (Gurbet, Abroad* by Kenan Kılıç), or the fictional film *Kuma (Second Wife* by Umut Dağ) show the social identity issue of these immigrant people. As director Kenan Kılıç<sup>3</sup> says about “the first immigrant people in Austria are kind of poor, innocent and smart at the same time”. According to him, this first generation feels neither Turkish nor Austrian. Their children, their ages between 25 and 30, can accommodate neither Austria nor Turkey. They prefer to be here or to be in Turkey when suited their books.

Transnationalism and identity are concepts that inherently call for juxtaposition. This is so because many immigrant peoples’ transnational networks of exchange and participation are grounded upon some perception of common identity; conversely, the identities of numerous individuals and groups of people are negotiated within social worlds that span more than one place.

The sampling of this introductory article consists of in-depth-interview with 13 young 3<sup>rd</sup> generation. The interviews with these people cover the features of migration from Turkey to Austria. This study aims to analyse social identity issue between different cultural notions through Turkish-Austrian Migrant Cinema. This study is based on migrant problem, national values and the immigrants’ adaption process.

Thus this study

- examines how Turkish culture has been experienced by Turks after migrating from Turkey to Austria, and
- shows the 3<sup>rd</sup> generation people’s daily lives and how they feel themselves as Turk, or as Austrian.

Key questions addressed will be:

- How do 3<sup>rd</sup> generation young people (in-depth-interviewed) express social identity for an immigrant in a new country?

Hypothesis of this study is as follows;

- If the immigrants (coming from Turkey) cannot accommodate new country, then the daily life practices of the immigrants (coming from Turkey) living in Austria will differ from the daily life practices of the others living in Austria.

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<sup>3</sup> Interview with dir. Kenan Kılıç, 12.12.2015

### The notion of migration

According to Hall (1987: 44), "Migration is a one way trip; there is no 'home' to go back to". We can understand from this sentence that international migrants who experience a sense of loss and displacement due to their migration experience. In addition, King (2012: 4) says that although geographical movement of people has been a characteristic of all human societies throughout the history, especially since the end of the Second World War, migration can be regarded as —a major demographic force and —an integral part of contemporary world developmental (Castles & Miller, 1998: 46), increasingly affecting almost every society socially, economically and politically.

On the other hand, according to the report of the United Nations Population Division (2015), in 2015 there were 244 million international migrants living in the world. This number shows us that the migration is a very important issue in present time. Therefore, as some scholars state that, we can consider the notion of migration as a cultural thing which is referring to a phenomenon in some societies where migration becomes an ordinary future prospect for many young people as it is taken in this study. Migration is not only important because of its high prevalence; rather it has been argued that migration is linked to economic development. In the literature, it is also possible to see that it is argued from a critical political economy perspective that migration is related to the reproduction of the world capitalist system of spatial inequalities and thus to the reproduction. Migration also increases the demographic and cultural diversity of especially the receiving states by means of generating the so-called —migrant communities.

### How is social identity shaped?

*"Abroad is too hard, if you are alone it is harder. If you do not have relatives around you, abroad is much harder"*

*"We have always wanted to go back to Turkey since we came here; but we have not"<sup>4</sup>*

All of the people in the documentary film (*Gurbet- In der Fremde*) of Kenan Kılıç, are alone and desperate. All of the individuals are defined by others as members of a group (Tajfel & Turner, 1986). As Tajfel&Turner (1986: 15) mention that in the film *Gurbet (In der Fremde)* the immigrant group is conceptualized as a collection of individuals "who perceive themselves to be members of the same social category, share some emotional involvement in common definition of themselves, and achieve some degree of social consensus about the evaluation of their group and of their membership in it." It is possible to see that social categories are conceived as cognitive tools that segment, classify, and order the social environment, and thus enable the individual to undertake many forms of social action.

In the film *In der Fremde*, the immigrants create and define the individual's place in society as Tajfel and Turney say. According to theoretical principles of social identity theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1986: 16):

- Individuals strive to achieve or maintain positive social identity.
- Positive social identity is based to a large extent on favourable comparisons that can be made between the in-group and some relevant outgroups; the in-group must be perceived as positively differentiated or distinct from the relevant outgroups.
- When social identity is unsatisfactory, individuals will strive either to leave their existing group and join some more positively distinct group and/or to make their existing group more positively distinct.

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<sup>4</sup> These sentences were quoted from the documentary *In der Fremde* by Kenan Kılıç

By considering identities that are shaped by Austrian society which the globalized world and immigrations change, hybrid and bicultural identities are studied as opposed to stereotypes and binaries in relation to culture and gender. According to Barker (2000: 219), fuelled by political struggles as well as by philosophical and linguistic concerns, identity emerged as the central theme of cultural studies during the 1990s.

Well, how does an individual immigrant value him/herself if the immigrant group is devaluated as low-status and disadvantaged in the host society? According to social identity theory, one of these following strategies will be chosen in order to maintain a positive social identity: individual mobility, social creativity, or social change/competition. Individual mobility is an option for low identifiers and refers to the strategy for actually quitting –or, where this is not possible, psychologically dissociating from the low-status group. A Turkish immigrant who adopts the mainstream customs and values in Austria is an example for this. By contrast, the strategies of social creativity and social change/competition are both group solutions. Social creativity does not entail any actual change in the positions of the groups. Instead, group members are encouraged to change the nature of the intergroup comparisons, emphasizing new outgroups new dimensions or new values.

Social identity theory assumes that especially social and historical contexts, beliefs about specific characteristics of intergroup situations (belief system) influence the choice of these strategies (Tajfel & Turner, 1986; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Hogg & Abrams, 1996). According to social identity theory, it is necessary to consider three sets of conditions in order to understand how members of subordinated groups will act. The first relate to whether such people will act individually or collectively. Thus, when the boundaries between categories are seen as permeable so that people can succeed by distancing themselves from the group, they will indeed follow such individualistic paths. When boundaries are seen as impermeable and where, no matter what one does, the persons fate will be tied to group membership, then people will act collectively.

The crucial factor which determines responses to low status is whether cognitive alternatives to the status quo are available. Where status relations are perceived to be immutable, social identity is assumed to be secure. Thus, the only way to improve social identity is through individual mobility. If instead, it is possible to conceive an alternative to the status quo – because the status hierarchy is perceived as illegitimate or unstable.

### **In-Depth-Interview with 3<sup>rd</sup> Generation and Discussing the Findings**

In this study, in-depth-interviews were undertaken with 13 young people (with 3<sup>rd</sup> generation people living in Austria).

In-depth-interviews questions were asked as below:

Sex:

Age:

The place of Birth:

How long been have you living in Austria?

Education:

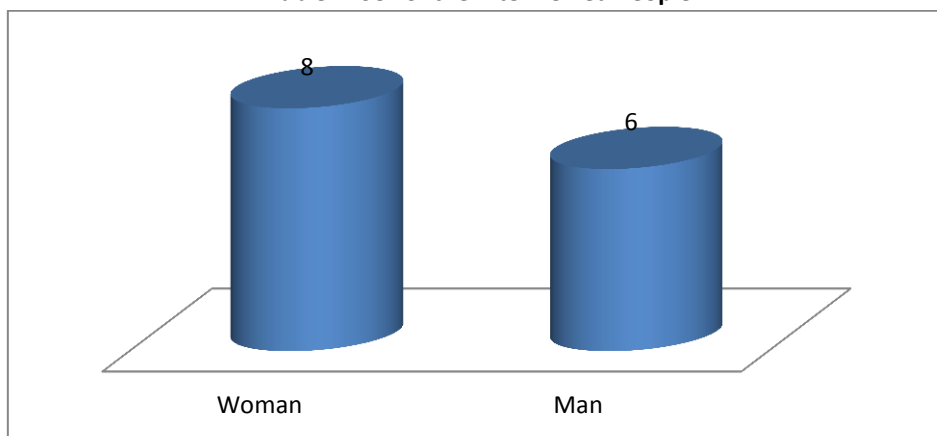
Occupation:

1. When you are asked “where are you from?”, what could your answer be?
2. Is your family bi-cultural?
  - If yes;
    - a. Your wife / Your Husband

- b. Your children
  - c. Your parent
  - d. Others
3. Could you express your social circle (including friends, colleagues, etc... except family and relative members) with percentages?
    - a) Turkish ethnicity :
    - b) Other minority ethnicities coming from Turkey :
    - c) Other countries :
    - d) Austrians :
  4. How many times do you go to cinema in a year?
  5. What is the main reason for you to see a film?
  6. Do you see the films, which are so popular and have a high box-office in Turkey, in cinemas in Vienna?
    - a) I never miss
    - b) Sometimes
    - c) I don't care
    - d) Others ...
  7. Do you see the films by German-Turkish and Austrian-Turkish directors?
    - a. I never miss
    - b. Sometimes
    - c. I don't care
    - d. Others ...
  8. Have you ever the films by dir.Umut Dağ, dir.Kenan Kılıç or dir.Hüseyin Tabak? If yes, what could you say all the characters, women, men, family members, Anatolian culture in these films?

In-depth-interviews were undertaken with 8 women, and 6 men. Age range of the interviewees in this study is between 22 and 35, and each one of these people has a bachelor degree<sup>5</sup>.

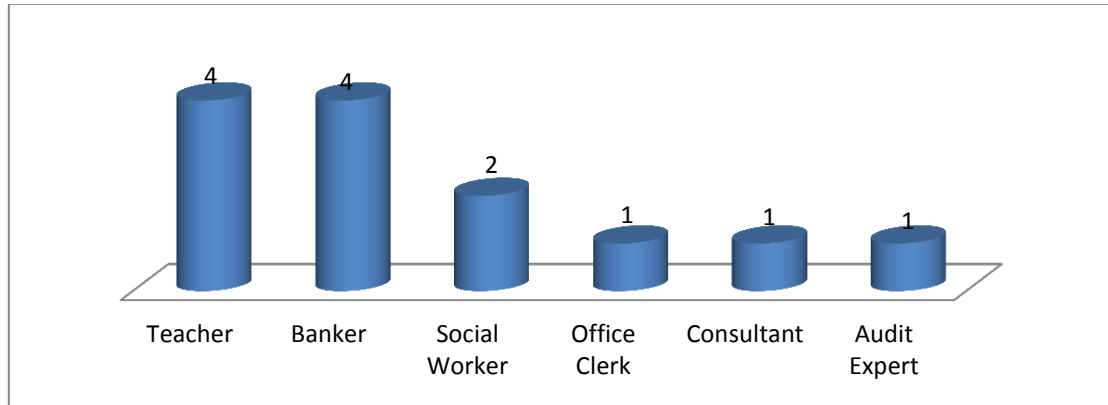
**Table 1. Sex of the Interviewed People**



<sup>5</sup> In this study, having a bachelor degree of 13 people is considered, because in the film by Kenan Kılıç, all of the interviewed people were not well-educated, and they were not qualified employee. Thus, this study offers that the first generation's integration process and their daily lives are more different their children (3<sup>rd</sup> generation).

Each one of interviewed people has a bachelor degree, and their professional areas are seen in the table 2 as below:

**Table 2: Professional Areas of Interviewed People**



In this research, all of these 13 young people were born, and they have grown up in Austria. Within the scope of in-depth-interviews, the first question is *When you are asked "where are you from?" what could your answer be*. All of these 13 people responded this question differently. For instance Interviewer 1 responds this question as below:

*When Turkish people ask me, I say that I am from Ankara, but when Austrians and the other minorities ask; I say that I am from Salzburg. Because Turkish people usually hope you to say a city from Turkey. And if you say to Turkish people that I am from Austria, they really consider this strange. However I was born and grown up in Salzburg and then Vienna. I feel like an Austrian, not a Turk. But when I share this with Turkish people in Austria, they exclude me.*

The interviewer 2 mentions to this question similar;

*When Turkish people ask where I am from, I say Burdur, Turkey. But when the foreign people ask, I say that I am from lower Austria.*

The interviewer 3 states this question a little bit more different than interviewer 1 and 2:

*I say, "I am from Balikesir, Turkey", but I emphasize that I was born and grown up in Vienna. Even though I say that I am from Austria, the people do not believe in me because of my appearances. I look like Turks, not Austrian. However, on the other hand I was born and grown up in this country and I am really the sick of Germany German (Because I speak German with Hochdeutsch even in my small village where everyone speaks with Mostviertel dialect). My German is better than my Turkish. Therefore, I feel Austirians and I am from here, but I need to say that I am from Turkey.*

As Interviewer 4, 7, 8 and 9 respond this question as *"I am from Turkey"*, and they did not detail as well. On the other hand interviewer 6 gives an answer as different as the other 12 people. The interviewer 6

just said “When people ask me this question, I say that I am Macedonian Turk-Rumelia Turk. I feel belonged to Austria, but I am neither from here, nor Turkey”.

Interviewer 5 explains this question as follows: “When Austrians and other Europeans ask me, I say ‘I am from Vienna’. However when Turkish people ask me where I am from, I say ‘I am from Tunceli, Dersim’”.

Interviewer 10, 11, 12, 13 state really interesting. When others ask them where they are from, they just said “I am Turkish”.

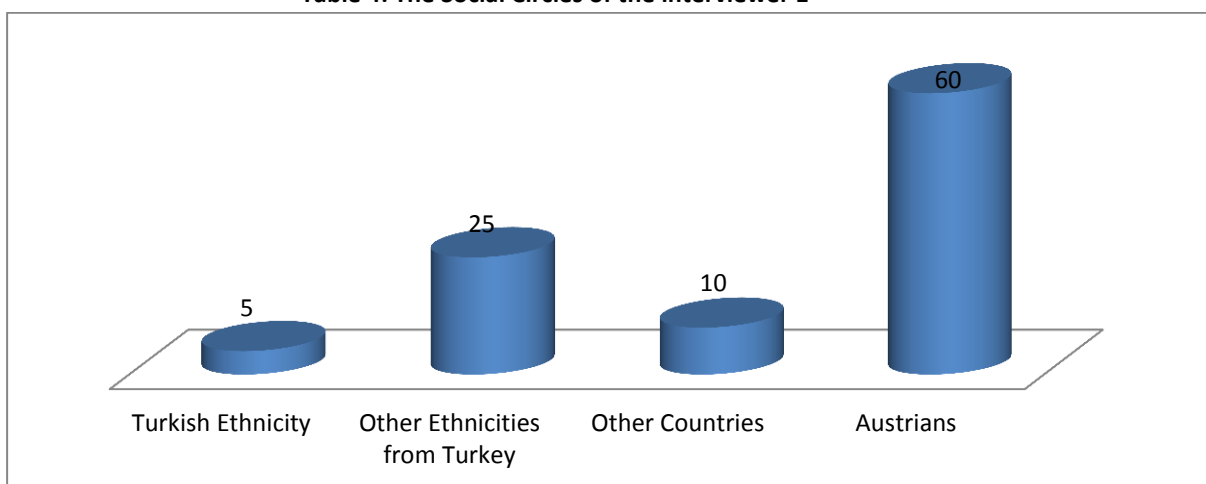
The other question of the study is whether your family is bi-cultural or not. And the Table 3 shows the interviewers’ family structures.

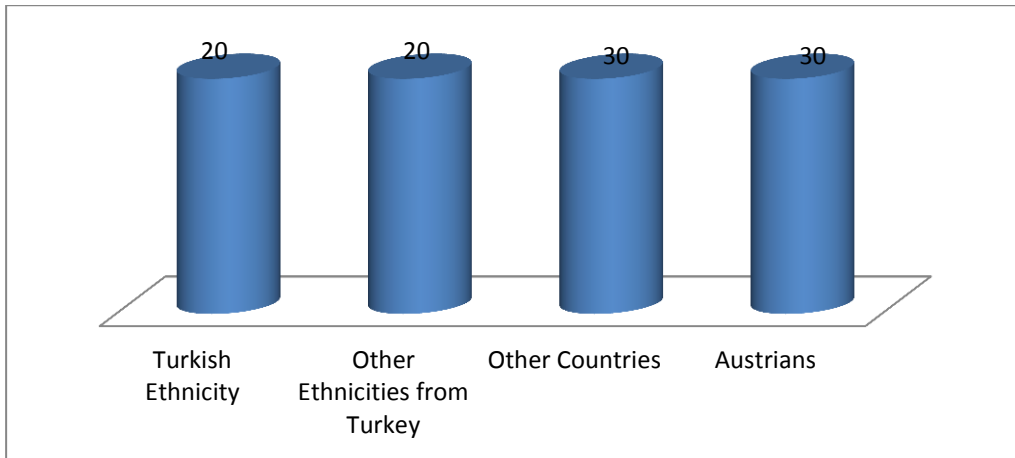
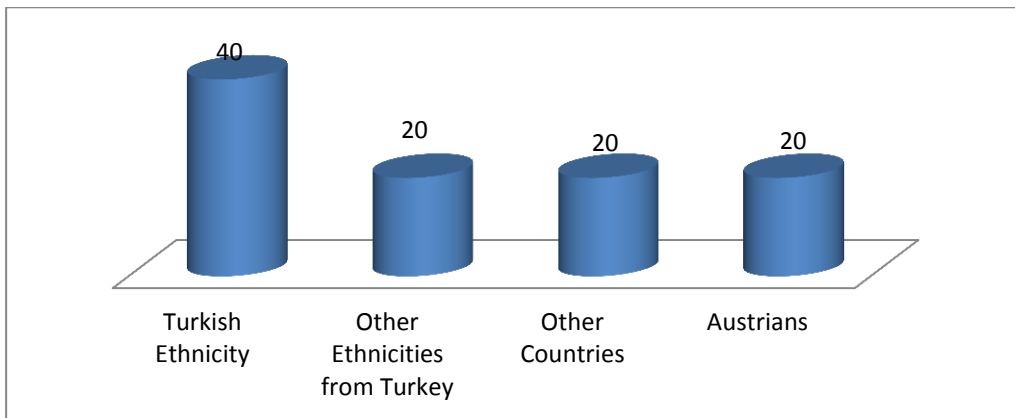
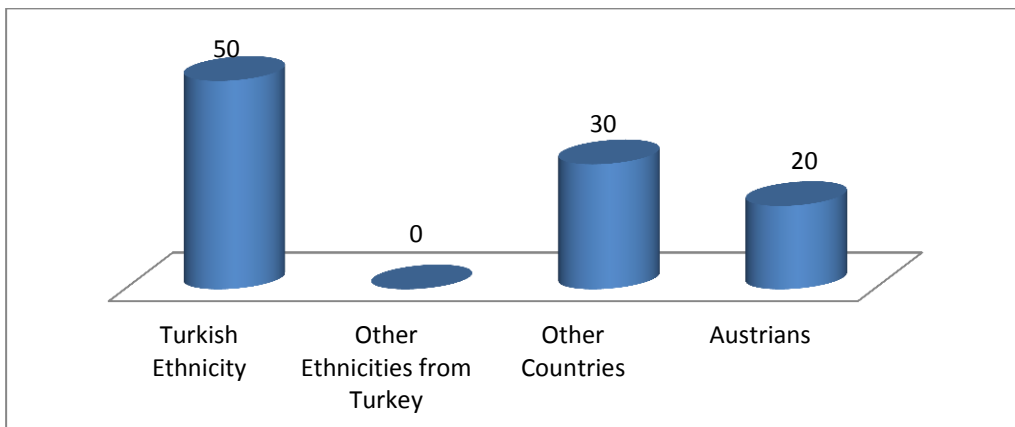
**Table 3. Family Structure of the Interviewers**

Interviewer 1	Yes
Interviewer 2	No
Interviewer 3	No
Interviewer 4	No
Interviewer 5	Yes
Interviewer 6	Yes
Interviewer 7	Yes
Interviewer 8	No
Interviewer 9	No
Interviewer 10	No
Interviewer 11	No
Interviewer 12	No
Interviewer 13	No

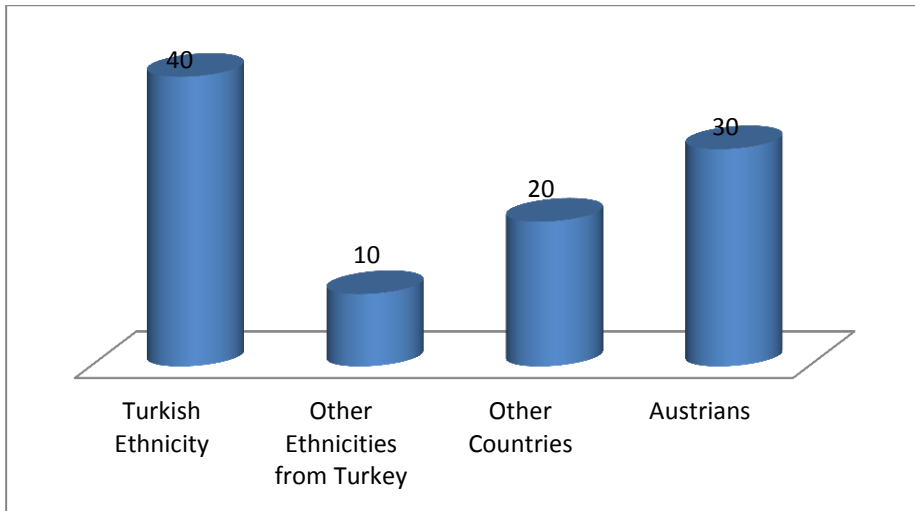
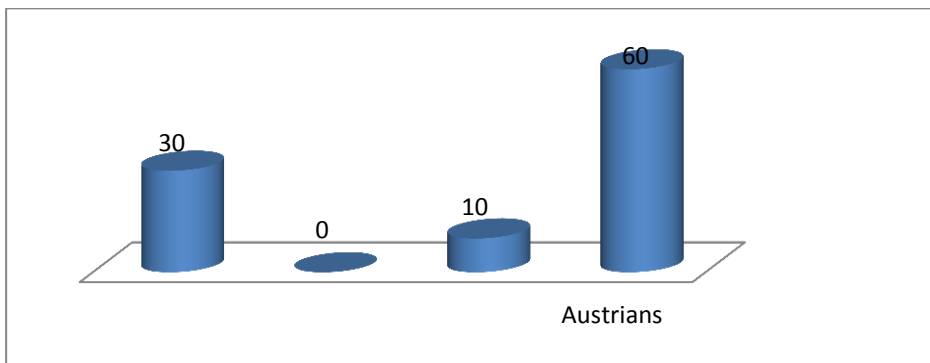
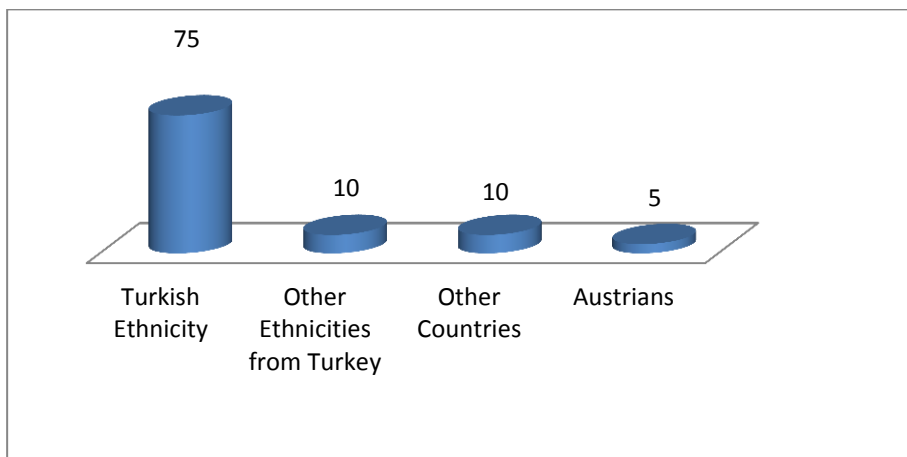
These 13 tables (Table 4-Table 17) show the social circles of the interviewers with the percentage as below:

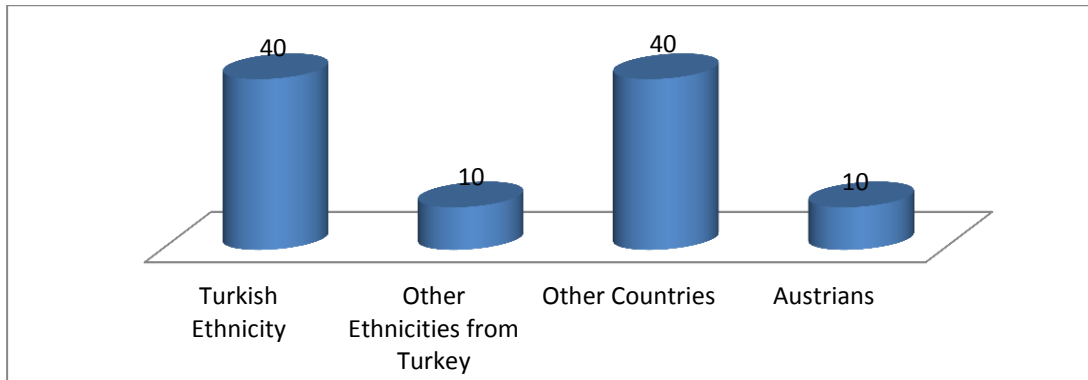
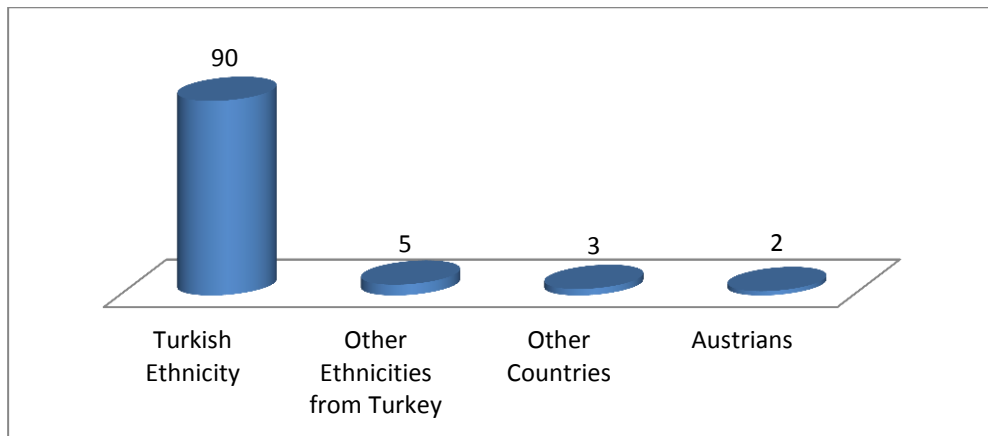
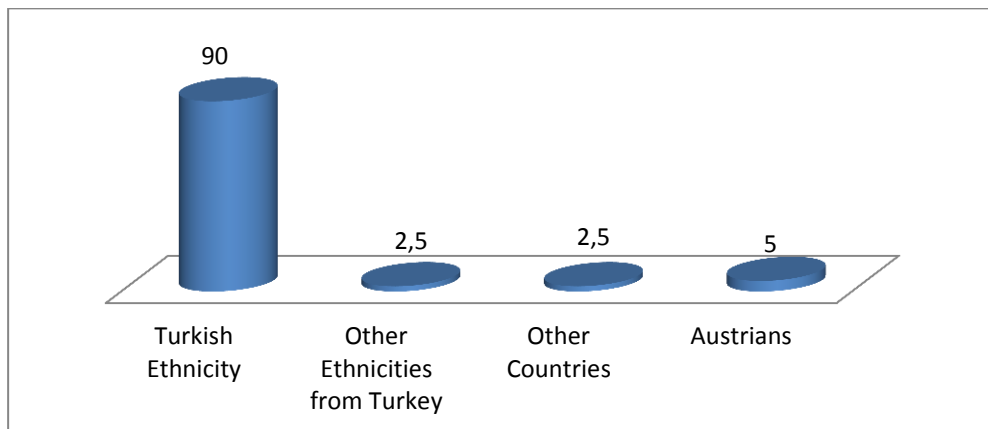
**Table 4: The Social Circles of the interviewer 1**

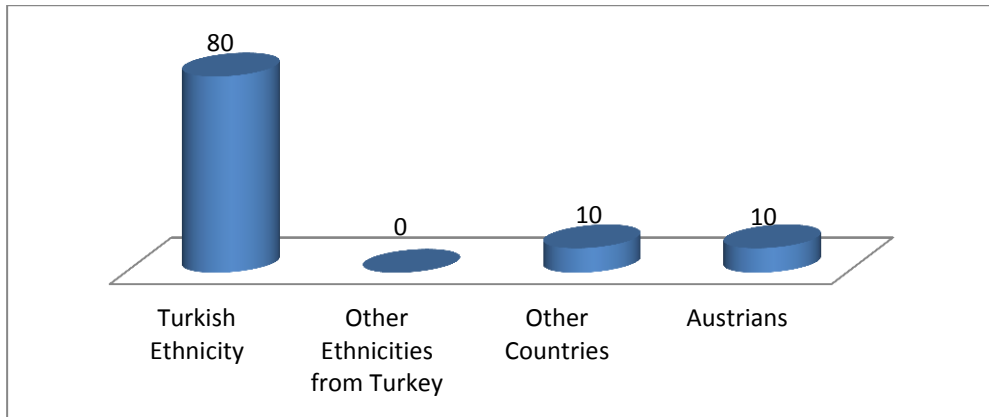
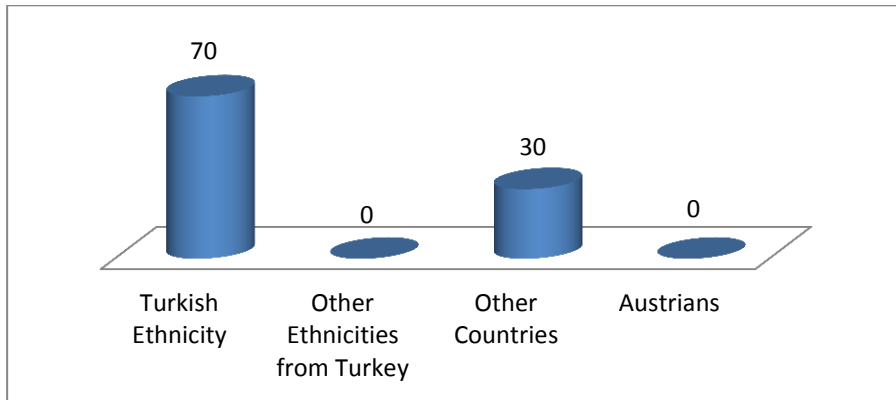
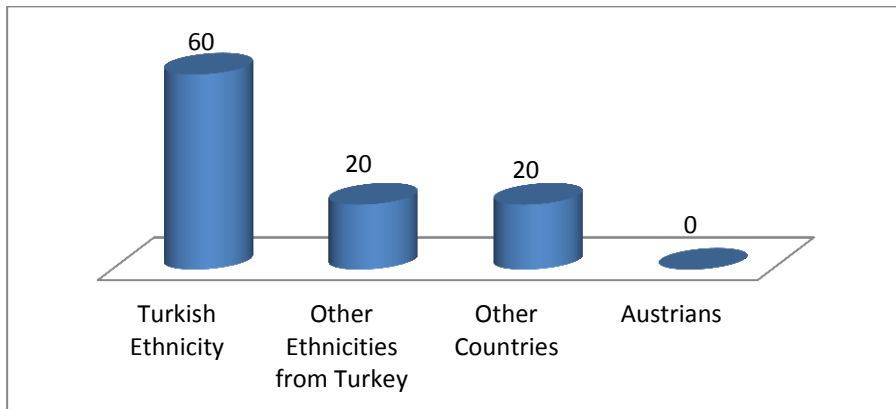


**Table 5: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 2****Table 6: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 3****Table 7: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 4**



**Table 8: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 5****Table 9: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 6****Table 10: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 7**

**Table 11: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 8****Table 12: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 9****Table 13: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 10**

**Table 14: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 11****Table 15: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 12****Table 16: The Social Circles of the Interviewer 13**

And another question is about their frequency of cinemagoer annual basis. It is aimed to know their cultural activities such as going to cinema with this question. And the Table 17 shows the frequency of the interviewers' cinemagoer as annual basis.

**Table 17: Frequency of the interviewers' cinemagoer (annual basis)**

Interviewers	Frequency of cinemagoer/annual basis
Interviewer 1	15
Interviewer 2	8
Interviewer 3	8
Interviewer 4	2
Interviewer 5	30
Interviewer 6	10
Interviewer 7	10
Interviewer 8	10
Interviewer 9	15
Interviewer 10	15
Interviewer 11	10
Interviewer 12	15
Interviewer 13	10

The interviewers responded to the question of "What is the main reason for you to see a film?" differently:

**Table 18: The Main Reason to see a film of Interviewed People**

Interviewers	Their Responds
Interviewer 1	<i>A movie must have credible items. It has to be realistic and I need to feel something. For example I do not prefer to watch science-fiction movies.</i>
Interviewer 2	<i>Interesting concept, the directors and the artists.</i>
Interviewer 3	<i>It should be funny.</i>
Interviewer 4	<i>For me, the stars are very important.</i>
Interviewer 5	<i>I like cinema very much. I read so many things about cinema. I am really assertive to be a good cinema audience. Thus the films, I see, should be a part of my field of interest. I try to follow art cinema and the independent cinema of various countries. I do not prefer to see Hollywood films, but there are some independent films from America, if I am informed about them, I can see them.</i>
Interviewer 6	<i>I read the critics, and listen to the suggestions. If it is attracting my attention, I see.</i>
Interviewer 7	<i>The stars.</i>
Interviewer 8	<i>Action and comedy.</i>
Interviewer 9	<i>The stars.</i>
Interviewer 10	<i>The films should include of action and extraordinary elements.</i>
Interviewer 11	<i>The films should include of action and extraordinary elements.</i>
Interviewer 12	<i>The films should include of popular stars and extraordinary elements.</i>

Interviewer 13

*The films should include of popular stars and extraordinary elements.*

The other question “Do you see the films, which are so popular and have a high box-office in Turkey, in cinemas in Vienna?”, the interviewed people’s responds as below:

Interviewers	Their Responds
Interviewer 1	I do not care
Interviewer 2	Sometimes
Interviewer 3	Seldom
Interviewer 4	I do not care
Interviewer 5	I do not care
Interviewer 6	Seldom
Interviewer 7	I never miss
Interviewer 8	Sometimes
Interviewer 9	I never miss
Interviewer 10	Sometimes
Interviewer 11	Sometimes
Interviewer 12	Sometimes
Interviewer 13	I do not care

To the question of “Do you see the films by German-Turkish and Austrian-Turkish directors?”:

Interviewers	Their Responds
Interviewer 1	I do not care
Interviewer 2	Sometimes
Interviewer 3	I do not care
Interviewer 4	I do not care
Interviewer 5	Sometimes
Interviewer 6	Sometimes
Interviewer 7	Sometimes
Interviewer 8	Sometimes
Interviewer 9	Sometimes
Interviewer 10	I do not care
Interviewer 11	Sometimes
Interviewer 12	I do not care
Interviewer 13	I do not care

To the question of “Have you ever the films by dir.Umut Dağ, dir.Kenan Kılıç or dir.Hüseyin Tabak? If yes, what could you say all the characters, women, men, family members, Anatolian culture in these films?”, the interviewed people’s answers different from each other:

Interviewer 1: *There are a few issues in the film Kuma. The guy is gay, the bride has to be married, and the mother is not credible. Conservative family doesn't behave like this. The family reacts differently, for example the mother has been preparing a mother for her kids, but the new mother is younger than the real mother's daughter. This is not credible. Such as this thing cannot be happened in the real life. In Hüseyin Tabak's film; the young boy yells that "I am Turk". This is cliché. The young people are nationalist in Austria; but the father is Kurd and the young boy says I am Turk in the film.*

Interviewer 2: *I have watched all of their films. I would like to say that all of these films are very cliché. However, the representations in these films are very realistic. I also think that these directors exaggerate some motifs, belonged to Turkish culture, to be able to pay attention of Austrians. Though the loser people of system in the films are not got attention in the box offices, it is considered in the festivals. Repressive families have been weak on the recent years, but it does not mean that our taboos are softened. Unlike the films, I think new generation grows up more free and more individual, but the values from generation to generation has not been examined yet.*

Interviewer 3: *I have not watched their films and I really do not know them.*

Interviewer 4: *I have heard about them, but have not seen their films.*

Interviewer 5: *Güzelliğin on para etmez directed by Hüseyin Tabak is a film which deals with the social issues. The film tells the blocking between two cultures and two ideologies. The political situation of the father, the big boy's troubles and the younger boy's struggles... In the film, there is also a self-sacrificing Anatolian woman who has become a street walker, and there is also a son who has been on the verge of the loss. On the other hand, the love of the young son for representing in terms of the poem of Aşık Veysel. Indeed it is hard to find some values belonged to Anatolia except the poem by Aşık Veysel. The political issues, based on Turkish family, have been moved from Turkey to Austria where this family has to live. The film by Kenan Kılıç is about defecting. The film tells about the troubles of refugees people from Turkey to Austria with various reasons. And I can say that Anatolian traditions are not clear in the films by Umut Dağ.*

Interviewer 6: *Yes, I saw Kuma by Umut Dağ. In the film, a woman who is a cancer patient wants her husband to have a second wife to take care of her family well. I do not think it is not a classical situation. I think Turkish families, especially migrating from Turkey to Europe before having based on male-dominant family, thus males can decide on one's own. I do not prefer to see the films represented Turkish families or Turkish cultures. They have an effect upon me so much. Because I do not have a positive look on women, girls, virginity, sex in Turkish and Anatolian cultures, as I see these films I criticize all the time. Their themes make me tired.*

Interviewer 7: *No, I have never seen.*

Interviewer 8: *Umut Dağ – Duvardaki Çatlaklar.*

Interviewer 9: *Never seen.*

Interviewer 10: *Never seen.*

Interviewer 11: *Never seen.*

Interviewer 12: *Never seen. I do not care.*

Interviewer 13: *Never seen. I do not know.*

### **Conclusion & Discussion**

Contemporary world, especially in the industrialized societies, migration and migration issues, which are in the news, are phenomenon with the existence of humanity in the world, and are ongoing process in contemporary world as the past.

In Austria where is an important immigrant country, the immigrants coming from Turkey have almost 50 years of past. In the present situation, the minorities groups, based on Turkey, go ahead as political, cultural and economical in Austria all the immigrants have come as the immigrant. It is possible to say that 3<sup>rd</sup> generation not only has accommodated with Austrian culture, but they have also protected their mother language and customs. In the interviews with these 13 people, everyone responds all of the questions as differently. For example, more than half interviewed people answer to the question of “where are you from?”, they respond to according to who asks this question to them. On the other hand the rest of interviewed people always say as “I from Turkey” or “I am Turkish”. However, the young people, who say as “I from Turkey” or “I am Turkish”, do not have any idea about the films, which covers trans-national values, and interest in Turkish-Austrian issues, directed by based on Turkey-Austrian directors, and they do not even hear these directors’ names. On the contrary, interviewed people answer to the question of “where are you from?”, they respond to according to who asks this question have idea and know many things about these directors and their films. We can see clearly from this research, many of interviewed people do not prefer to see the films directed by Turkish directors. Therefore, it is possible to say that the directors either cannot draw an audience or the audience reject the films directed by Turkish directors in Austria.

As Barker suggests, we can say easily from the comments of these 13 people in this study, identities of the immigrants has been affected by Austrian society and its politics such as ethnicity or sexual orientation because identity is not a separate entity that does not have any relation to the world. On the contrary identity is closely connected to the culture which includes anything that belongs to life such as tradition, language, food, religion, lifestyle etc. That is why the rapid change of these 3<sup>rd</sup> generations’ world makes identity always in question. For Kirk and Okazawa-Rey (1998: 91), identity formation is an ongoing process as a result of multiple factors:

Identity formation is the result of a complex interplay among a range of factors: individual decisions and choices, particular life events, community recognition and expectations, societal categorization, socialization, and key national or international events.

It is impossible to talk about the identity formation from one perspective. This is a process that includes different factors which are not only individual but also social. Cranny-Francis (2003: 35) states that in the postmodern scenario, it can be said that these 13 young people’s identities are not an essentialist attribute of an individual but a strategy which individual (complex, multiple) subjects can use to create new and varied alliances. This shows that although these 13 young people (3<sup>rd</sup> generation) in Austrian society are the subjects of identities, the individuals and their interactions with the other factors play an important role in its formation.

Woodward (2000: 7) underlines this fact with these sentences:

*Although as individuals we have to take up identities actively, those identities are necessarily the product of the society in which we live and our relationship with others. Identity provides a link between individuals and the world in which they live. Identity combines how I see myself and how others see me. Identity involves the internal and the subjective, and the external. It is a socially recognized position, recognized by others, not just by me.*

It is understood that these 13 young people’s identities are a double edged concept both from individual immigrants’ society’s perspective on themselves or how the others see the self. That is why it is impossible not to talk about the interaction with the others or other factors to identify someone. Barker (2000: 220) explains this with *self-identity* and *social identity*. For Barker, *self-identity* is —the conceptions we hold about ourselves and our emotional identification with those self-descriptions when *social identity* is described as —the expectations and opinions that others have of us. Indeed, it can be said according to these 13 people’s

comments, they feel neither Turkish nor Austrian. They can accommodate neither Austria nor Turkey. Anthony Giddens argues self-identity in *Modernity and Self-Identity* (1991: 52):

*Self-identity, in other words, is not something that is just given, as a result of the continuous of the individual's action-system, but something that has to be routinely created and sustained in the reflexive activities of the individual.*

Although *self-identity* seems to be related to the interviewees 1-2-5-6, like *social identity* it is impossible to construct a self-identity of all the characters in this study without any interaction with the society. In many societies throughout the world, the self is conceptualized within the context of the collective or the community, not as a separate entity (Robinson-Wood, 2000: 7).

According to Giddens (1991: 53) identity still presumes continuity across time and space; but self-identity is such continuity as interpreted reflexively by the agent. Although self-identity is created and understood by the individual, it is impossible to forge a self-identity without any interaction with the society, culture, time and space which create a social identity. As it will be argued in this study, all the interviewed peoples' social situation during the creation of self-identity, -the content of self-identity – the traits from which biographies are constructed – varies socially and culturally. Therefore, it is understood that there is always a relation between self and social identity.

Considering both self and social one -identity is marked by similarity, which is of people like us, and by difference, of those who are not (Woodward, 2000: 7). Thus, it can be said that there are two ways to identify an individual in relation to others: one is finding sameness the other one is pointing difference between them. In that sense, these two types of identification takes us to the two models of identity:

*There are, broadly speaking, two models of identity. The traditional view is that all the dynamics (such as class, gender, race) operate simultaneously to produce a coherent, unified, fixed identity. The more recent view is that identity is fabricated, constructed, in process, and that we have to consider both psychological and sociological factors (Sarup, 1996: 14).*

Here two different views of identity are highlighted as *traditional* and *the more recent modern view*. The traditional identity is unified and fixed which is called *essential*. The essentialism comes from the idea that —identity exists as a universal and timeless core of the self that we all possess (Barker, 2000: 221). This idea ignores the multiplicity of these 13 young people's identity and considers the identity as formation which is definite, restricted and unchangeable. The other view is *anti-essential identity* which is —specific to particular times and places (Barker, 2000, 221). In that sense, Hall underlines the constructed identity:

*In common sense language, identification is constructed on the back of recognition of some common origin or shared characteristics with another person or group, or with an ideal, and with neutral closure of solidarity and allegiance established on this foundation. In contrast with the naturalism of this definition, the discursive approach sees identification as a construction, a process never completed always in process. It is not determined in the sense that it can always be won or lost, sustained or abandoned (1996: 2).*

It can be seen from this research that the first generation's socialization has been done and its following generation which is called the second generation that its socialization begins



in Austria and we can say they sit on two chairs. However as the last generation, the third generation cannot be described well and this generation may rebel, and may be dangerous as cultural perspective, especially against the family and the society.

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