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Kagıtcıbası, Cigdem

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Changing Life Styles – Changing Competencies: Turkish Migrant Youth in Europe

*Cigdem Kagitcibasi**

Abstract: »*Veränderte Lebensstile – Veränderte Kompetenzen: Türkische Migrationsjugendliche in Europa*«. This paper examines the plight of Turkish migrant youth in Europe particularly as migration involves social change in terms of changing life styles which require changing competencies. For the migrant youth to be assets, rather than problems, for the receiving society, their full integration into society should be ensured. This requires the enhancement of their cognitive competence and psycho-social development involving the autonomous-related self. Drawing parallels between rural to urban migration and international migration with regard to the experienced social change, the Turkish Early Enrichment Project (TEEP) is taken up as a case in point. TEEP showed that early childhood enrichment through supporting the mothers among rural to urban migrants in Istanbul, Turkey was beneficial for both the cognitive competence and the psycho-social development of their children. The gains were found to be sustained into young adulthood. Similar programs of intervention and support would be highly beneficial for ethnic migrants in Europe, particularly for Turkish-German youth, given the fact that they tend to do poorly in school. Immigrants' positive youth development, involving the enhancement of autonomous-related self, cognitive competence, psychological and socio-cultural adaptation, promises to provide far reaching benefits to the receiving societies, as well.

Keywords: Turkish migrants; cognitive competence; socio-cultural adaptation; autonomous-related self; Turkish Early Enrichment Project.

Migration is a ubiquitous and complex human phenomenon. Throughout history populations have moved from their places of origin to other places in search of a better life or to flee persecution, poverty, war, disaster, in short, adversity. International migration tends to be more visible and occupies a more central place in global public opinion; however, internal migration within nations has been more extensive. This is documented for example in developing countries. While in 1990 twice as many youth (age 10-19) in developing countries lived in rural as in urban areas, the proportions of urban populations of youth are projected to equal and then to exceed rural ones substantially in 10 to 15 years (World Energy Council, 1999). International and internal migration involve rather similar processes of adaptation and problems arising thereof,

* Address all communications to: Cigdem Kagitcibasi, Koc University, Rumeli Feneri Yolu, 33450 Sariyer, Istanbul, Turkey; e-mail: ckagit@ku.edu.tr.

thus the study of each also provides insights regarding the other. This paper is concerned primarily with ethnic migrants in Europe, especially focusing on immigrants in Germany. In particular, the situation of Turkish migrant youth will be examined.

Background of (Turkish) Migration in Europe

In Europe immigration from the former colonies existed for a long time, especially to the United Kingdom. However, this was negligible compared with the labor migration starting after the end of the Second World War, and accelerating after 1960s. A more or less organized system of recruitment from the 'European South', North Africa and starting in 1960s from Turkey took place, mainly in the form of 'temporary' employment in Western Europe. Even a cursory glance at the factors which precipitated this labor migration reveals the following as the "pull" factors: Post World War II economic expansion in Western and Northern Europe, unfavorable demographic conditions in Europe (shortage of labor), and a steady upward mobility of the indigenous European workers. The major "push" factors were: Unemployment and underemployment, poverty, population explosion, and slow industrialization in the sending countries (Abadan-Unat, 1982, 1985; Kagitcibasi, 1982, 1987).

What started out as presumably temporary 'labor migration' turned into full fledged immigration of populations especially after family reunions were allowed, eventually changing the social scene of the European societies. After a half century of migration, there are some 4 million Turkish immigrants in Europe and 2.3 million of these are in Germany. In metropolitan sites such as Berlin and the Ruhr Area Turkish is the mother tongue of 25% of children entering school. Turkish children are disproportionately placed in the lowest of three tracks of secondary schools. Again disproportionately to their numbers in the general population Turkish children tend to receive lower academic scores and drop out of school. This is a picture of great waste of human capital in economic terms as well as being deplorable from a social and humanitarian point of view.

Obviously, a complex multitude of reasons are involved in this situation. A few come to the fore when the host society attitudes and policies toward migration are considered, especially from a historical perspective. First of all, from the start, German migration policies dictated selection of unqualified labor force. Labor force with low levels of education was chosen from less developed backgrounds in Turkey to do the type of work that the local German population was reluctant to do. Given also the general assumption of temporary stay (Gastarbeiter), there was little investment in the training/education of these 'guest workers' which could have contributed to their advancement and integration into German society. This situation continued even after the assumed 'temporary' nature of the migrants started to change with family reunions. Thus

the migrants' low level of schooling has been a main disadvantage for them in receiving societies with highly educated populations. Following the 'oil crisis' of 1973 economic recession and rising unemployment rendered the Turkish migrants competitors for jobs, creating negative attitudes toward them. Increasing numbers and greater visibility of the Turkish population with family reunions further fueled host society prejudice and discrimination (Basgoz & Furniss, 1985).

Yet immigrant labor contributed greatly to the growth of European economy. It was a hard working, relatively cheap, unorganized, non-unionized, and non-demanding labor force, ready to undertake the work that the indigenous European workers were reluctant to do (Abadan-Unat, 1982, 1985; Kagitcibasi, 1982, 1987). Nevertheless, this historical background and the substantial contributions of the immigrants to European economic growth do not appear to be salient in the collective memory of the European public opinion today.

Background of Migration Research

Given the significance of migration as a panhuman phenomenon, social scientists have studied it extensively from several disciplinary perspectives, including sociological, economic, demographic, and historical ones. Psychologists have been late comers into this endeavor though significant psychological processes are at work in the process of acculturation arising from migration, and they need to be understood in order to better understand the whole phenomenon. The wide scope and complexity of migration might have deterred psychologists from conducting research in this area. Indeed, most work on migration has used macro level analysis, focusing on its economic, demographic, and political features (Kagitcibasi, 2006).

Most of the initial research on migration was conducted with immigrants in the United States and involved sociological analysis (e.g. Stonequist, 1937; Thomas & Znaniecky, 1918-20). This early work may be seen as the precursor of the current acculturation research (Berry, 1990, 2001). Starting in 1950s social psychological study of attitudes and prejudice drew attention to inter-group relations. Psycho-analytically informed *Authoritarian Personality Theory* shed light on the personality dynamics underlying anti-semitism (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson & Sanford, 1950). Subsequent work in the U.S.A. continued to focus on anti-Semitic and anti-Black attitudes (Allport, 1980; Pettigrew, 1979). A series of repeated studies on more varied ethnic stereotypes conducted with American students over a period of some 50 years pointed to stability and persistence of ethnic stereotypes (Gilbert, 1951; Karlins, Coffman & Walters, 1969; Katz & Braly, 1933; Singleton & Kerber, 1980). More recent work on stereotypes have corroborated earlier findings (McAndrew, Akande, Bridgstock, Mealey, Gordon et al, 2000; Peabody, 1985; Stephan, Stephan, Abalagina, Agayev, Blanco et al, 1996). Earlier studies of inter-group attitudes

and prejudice in the U.S.A. thus did not take place in an ongoing migration context. More recently however, American research has focused on recent migration in response to large numbers of newly arriving Latin and Asian populations.

The economic and political aspects of migration for both the countries of immigration and those of emigration have been studied by social scientists, psychologists again coming in rather late. Particularly in the last two decades, however, psychological research has proliferated, though still considered to be in its “infancy stage” (Hong, Roisman & Chen, 2006). It is playing an increasingly important role in the study of acculturation. Anthropologists Redfield, Linton and Herskovits’ (1936) classical definition of acculturation is generally accepted: “Groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups” (p. 149). However, most research on acculturation has focused on the ‘acculturating ethnic minorities’, without a balanced look at the attitudes of the host majorities or the dominant society. Psychologists’ involvement in research and thinking on the subject has led to an emphasis on *psychological acculturation* (e.g. Berry, 1997; 2006; Ward, 2001) without an equal attention to other forms of acculturation, such as economic or political.

Acculturation of the migrant is also necessarily and profoundly influenced by the dominant cultures and the life styles of the host society in which it takes place. This inherent bilateral dynamics is the key to understanding migration, especially its socio-psychological aspects, but it also renders the topic of study highly complex. For example, four different acculturation strategies have been distinguished by Berry (1990, 2006), referring to the degree to which the heritage culture and the dominant culture are maintained by the migrant. Maintenance of both dominant culture and heritage culture features, termed ‘integration’ is considered to be the optimal strategy, while the maintenance of only the heritage culture, separation, and only the dominant culture, assimilation, leave something to be desired. The loss of both, marginalization, is the least adaptive and the most problematic form. A substantial body of research provides support for this scheme (Berry, 2001, 2006). However, other forms of acculturation have also been noted as possible alternatives to this four-fold model, such as ‘fusion’, which reflects going beyond these two worlds and coming up with new combinations and syntheses (Cooper, 2003; Arends-Toth & van de Vijver, 2006).

Also, the picture is indeed more complex than these concepts convey because not only the choices of the migrants but also the policies, constraints, and preferences of the host societies and governments play a role in the acculturation outcomes. For example, in a society that insists on the assimilation of the migrants, this strategy would be most commonly observed, while in another society with a different immigration policy, another strategy would be more prevalent. This has been also recognized by Berry who added to his four-fold

model a parallel four-fold strategy scheme reflecting host society attitudes/policies (Berry, Poortinga, Segal & Dasen, 2002, p. 354; Berry. 2006).

Changing Life Styles

This paper endeavors to show the key importance and relevance of social psychological conceptualizations, in particular that of the self and of competence in changing socio-cultural contexts which bring about different life styles. Implications for both theory and applications regarding migration are pursued here.

Immigration involves social change, particularly changes in life styles. This is the case in both internal (rural to urban) and international migration. When there is substantial change in life styles, mismatches can occur between established ways (culture) and changing environmental demands. Study of each can inform the other at the institutional, familial, and individual levels of adjustment. In particular, what was adaptive in the rural, less developed context may no longer be adaptive in the urban, more developed context. In other words, new competencies are required for adapting to new life styles. This issue often underlies the diverse problems of adjustment in all forms of migration, being especially acute in international migration.

As early as 1982 the Council of Europe held a European Population Conference in Strasbourg, focusing on 'Demographic Trends and Policy Responses'. There I presented a paper on "Immigrant Populations in Europe: Problems Viewed from the Sending Country". The points I made there have since been emphasized in research on migrants and acculturation, especially by Berry (1990, 1997, 2006). The concluding paragraph of my paper read:

A pluralistic cultural orientation toward immigrant populations is needed to provide a balance between the culture of the receiving society and that of the country of origin. A healthy educational policy for the second generation immigrant populations should allow for cultural enrichment and diversity, not cultural impoverishment; it should provide for learning from both cultural heritages rather than losing one of them or not belonging to either one of them; it should produce multi-cultural bilinguals rather than bilingual illiterates... It should be realistically admitted that substantial proportions of the foreign populations are going to stay; they are a permanent, not a temporary, component of the future pluralistic society of Europe (Kagitcibasi, 1982, p. 15).

That 'future' pluralistic European society is with us today, however, the goals demanded for the second (today third, fourth) generations have hardly been realized three decades later. What is the problem? The plight of the migrants has resulted in a rather general failure of the youth in their socio-cultural adaptation to the dominant society.

As mentioned above, the mutual dynamics of the immigrant – host society interface is the key to understanding immigration. It is also the key for inter-

ventions to improve the situation for all concerned. Both the immigrants and the host society need to make adjustments and change for the mutual benefit of one another. I will focus on the immigrants first, but with the understanding that what needs to be done by and for the immigrants has to be supported by the host (dominant) society.

(Cognitive) Competence for Socio-Cultural Adaptation

The urban life style of the dominant society involving high levels of education and specialized employment require a certain type of competence from its immigrant youth, for socio-cultural adjustment. Socio-cultural adjustment refers to adaptation to a new cultural context by learning how the local system operates and acquiring the necessary skills and procedures to get things done in that less familiar cultural context (Ward, 2001). This involves a cognitive competence including 'school-like skills' which involve numeracy, literacy, vocabulary, problem solving, abstract thinking, reasoning etc., as well as a competence involving autonomous decision making, to be discussed later on.

Cognitive, school-like competence is not typically promoted in traditional rural society where age-old traditions are prevalent, and social intelligence (social responsibility and sensitivity) rather than cognitive, school-like intelligence is valued. In particular, from early childhood on cognitively stimulating 'literacy environment' is largely lacking in the migrant home where parents, especially the mother, typically have little formal education and poor mastery of the dominant language (see Kagitcibasi, 2007 for an extensive discussion of these issues). Lacking the cognitive focus creates a mismatch with environmental demands and leads to problems in adaptation. For example, studies point to problems children face in school when immigrant parents emphasize the importance of social skills rather than cognitive skills (Okagaki & Sternberg, 1993) or when they think being polite, quiet, and obedient are sufficient for school success (Nunes, 1993). However, change need not entail replacing of social intelligence with cognitive intelligence, but rather supplementing the former with the latter, since the two can easily coexist. Furthermore, as each one serves an important function for adaptation to environmental demands, having both would appear to be more optimal than having only one.

Immigrant parents can be helped to understand the problems involved and to support their children's advancement in school and host society. In particular, early childhood emerges as a key point in time to ensure immigrant children's preparation for school in order to ensure that they do not start with a disadvantage. This is a prevalent issue seen in both internal (rural to urban) and international migration, often being even more marked in the latter due to language differences. Studies and educational statistics across many countries point to lower levels of school performance and higher levels of school drop out among children of families with low socio-economic status many of whom are (for-

mer) migrants. Policies and applications are called for to remedy the situation. Prevention and intervention studies are valuable in informing these efforts. I will discuss one such study from Turkey in some detail as an example.

TEEP as a Case in Point

The 22 year Turkish Early Enrichment Project (TEEP) (Kagitcibasi, 1991, 1995; Kagitcibasi, Sunar & Bekman, 2001; Kagitcibasi, Sunar, Bekman, Baydar & Cemalcilar, 2009) was designed to promote overall human development in the context of rural to urban migration in Istanbul. The families participating in the study were mainly former villagers. Most of the mothers had only an elementary education (mean 5.36 years). These characteristics are similar to those of the Turkish migrants in Europe. The original research was a 4-year longitudinal intervention study (1982-1986) conducted in five low-income districts of Istanbul, with 255 mothers and their preschool age children. Two follow up studies were conducted in 1992 and in 2004.

In the first year mothers and their children were studied for base lines. In the second and the third years of the original study, a randomly selected sample of the mothers were given a mother-child training program. It focused on both the cognitive development of children, which the mothers applied with their children at home, and also on supporting mothers in their child rearing roles and empowering them. This was done, by reinforcing the existing close mother-child relationship on the one hand, and by capitalizing on the existing communal support systems, on the other. The latter were utilized in the group meetings of mothers in the community. A second source of early enrichment for the children was educational child care centers some of them attended. Children were in one of three alternative environments: Educational day care center, custodial day care center or home care.

The impact of intervention on both the mothers and the children was found to be notable in the fourth year of the study when reassessments were carried out with both mothers and children. The children from educational nursery schools showed better performance on most of the measures compared to those from custodial day care centers and those who were cared at home. At the same time, the mother trained group of children was superior to the control group on school adjustment and self-concept. Mother training also positively influenced mothers' orientation to their children.

Longer term effects were studied through a follow-up study seven years later with 217 families, and the gains from the intervention were found to be sustained. The adolescents (13-15 years of age) whose mothers had participated in the mother training program surpassed the control group in cognitive performance and school achievement. They also showed greater autonomy, more positive self concept and better family and social adjustment. 86% of the adolescents whose mothers had undergone mother training, but only 67% of the

control group were still in school. Mother training also positively affected school grades throughout the five years of compulsory education. As schooling is the main route for social mobility in urban low-income contexts, the social implications of these findings are very important. Both mother trained and educational daycare group of adolescents had higher scores than the other groups on a standardized vocabulary test.

A second follow-up study conducted 12 years after the first follow-up (19 years after the intervention) aimed to further explore the continuing effects of early intervention on the participants' educational attainment, socioeconomic success, family relationships, and social participation and adjustment. Of the 217 participants in the first follow-up study, 132 were located and interviewed, for a response rate of 61%. Comparisons of participants and non-participants indicated no significant differences between the two groups in terms of their gender, pre-program IQ score, family socioeconomic level, and school attainment during the first follow up, suggesting that the participants represented the original sample.

The children were young adults at the time of the second follow-up with a mean age of 25.4 years. The results showed that compared with no early intervention, those young adults who experienced early enrichment, in the form of either attending an educational day care center or having mother training, or both, did better in terms of several indicators of socio-cultural adaptation and social integration in modern urban life. In particular, the training group had longer school attainment and higher university attendance. In line with this higher schooling, this group started gainful employment at a later age. This is important, since later beginning of full time employment predicts more specialized work, requiring more education, and bringing in higher life time earnings. Accordingly, the experimental group had higher occupational status. They also obtained higher scores on a vocabulary test, owned more personal computers and credit cards. Clearly, these young people were more active participants in knowledge society and modern economy (Kagitcibasi et al., 2009).

Such sustained gains over time have rarely been demonstrated. Beyond just a handful of studies in the United States, they hardly exist (Campbell, Ramey, Pungello, Sparling & Miller-Johnson, 2002; Reynolds & Ou, 2004; Schweinhart, Montie, Xiang, Barnett, Belfield & Nores, 2005). Even the results of some of these well known American projects are less extensive over time, as demonstrated by a recent meta-analysis (Blok, Fukkink, Gebhardt & Leseman, 2005).

Thus, TEEP is an example of a model of intervention that has been successful, as it has built upon the existing strengths in the family and promoted them further for overall individual – family-community well being. As the focus expanded from the individual child to interactions between the child and the environment, multiple and expanding benefits accrued from the intervention. A modification in child-rearing orientations was accomplished through sensitiz-

ing the mothers to the importance of early learning environments and by supporting them to get involved directly in the early education of their children. First-year baseline assessments had pointed to generally low levels of communication with children and low levels of environmental stimulation at home (Kagitcibasi, et al., 2001). Intervention results showed increased levels of mother-child interaction as well as more supportive mother teaching styles and more verbalization among the trained mothers compared with the control group. Given the already existing emphasis on social intelligence, in terms of social responsibility, care and sensitivity to others' needs, and respect for parents in the culture of relatedness, what was added was the goal of cognitive enhancement. Thus, an integrative synthesis – 'cognitive + social intelligence' (Kagitcibasi, 2007) appeared to be an achievable goal.

TEEP has led to major program and policy developments in Turkey. A Mother-Child Education Program (MOCEP) was developed, which is operative across the country, having reached some 400,000 mothers and children by the end of 2008-09. A Father Support Program has also developed out of MOCEP and is being implemented widely. MOCEP has been adapted to television and has been aired in public television both in Turkey and abroad. An evaluation research pointed to substantial gains in children (Baydar, Kagitcibasi, Kuntay & Goksen, 2008). Finally, MOCEP is being implemented in small scale with ethnic minorities in Belgium, Germany, France and Switzerland and in Arabic translation in Bahrain (Hadeed, 2005), Jordan, and Saudi Arabia.

Thus this program has great potential for use in socio-cultural conditions where mismatches exist between the (receiving) society life styles and traditional child rearing orientations. Much more extensive implementations of MOCEP or other similar programs are needed in Europe with immigrant children. A question that might come to mind is whether similar gains would be obtained with somewhat different people in different contexts. In particular, in TEEP mothers were former rural to urban migrants with very low levels of schooling (5 years on the average). Might the same results be achieved with mothers who have much higher levels of schooling, or would this be unlikely due to ceiling effects? Obviously, this is an empirical question that only research can answer. Nevertheless, some of the further analyses on the TEEP findings provide us with clues. More benefits accrued to mothers and children who had adequate (or better) cognitive skills to start out with. The lowest standing 25% did not benefit from the intervention (Kagitcibasi, et al., 2009). Thus, in future applications mothers with more schooling would be expected to benefit from similar interventions. Obviously, the content and the approach of the interventions or support programs need to be appropriate for the participants.

This appears to be a most promising way of supporting immigrant children's school preparation, school performance and eventual integration into society. In particular, helping immigrant children's early cognitive and language devel-

opment through family support and center-based preschool education appears to be of key significance.

Autonomy and Relatedness

Another important focus of the TEEP was parental child-rearing values and orientations. Specifically, an attempt was made to introduce “autonomy” into child-rearing while reinforcing the maintenance of “closely knit human / family ties.” This is another sphere of development, that of the self, where mismatches can occur between the traditional ways of socialization and the requirements of socio-cultural and psychological adaptation (Ward, 2001) to the host society. Closely-knit human ties, i.e. relatedness is commonplace in the Majority World from where immigrants originate. In traditional society the ‘family model of interdependence’ is characterized by connected selves and interdependence among them, especially between generations through the family life cycle (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 1996a, 2007). This family model and child rearing approach are adaptive in less economically developed agrarian/traditional society where the family is to a large extent a self-perpetuating system of interdependencies without adequate societal supports such as old age pensions, social security systems and the like. Old-age security value and economic value of children are important for parents especially given elderly parents’ dependence on adult offspring for their livelihood. In this socio-economic context family culture emphasizes obedience-oriented discipline designed to lead to socially connected and responsible young people. Children and youth are not granted autonomy because an autonomous youth may separate from the family and look after his/her own needs rather than the needs of the family. So autonomy is not desired in children and youth.

However, with socio-economic development and immigration, profound changes in life styles occur changing the place of the child in family and society. Children and youth are no longer economic assets but become economic costs for their parents, especially with increased years of schooling. Furthermore, parents have their own sources for support such as old age pensions, etc. In such a context, autonomy of the growing child is no longer a threat for family livelihood. Even in shifts from social democratic welfare systems to more liberal ones, as is occurring in many parts of Europe, there is no return to dependence on the grown-up offspring for financial needs of the elderly parents. Rather, individual resources such as savings and private insurance systems are utilized. Nevertheless, adult offspring are relied upon for emotional and instrumental support.

Autonomy is also adaptive for success in school and more specialized jobs. Thus, with changing life styles autonomy needs to enter child rearing. However, this needs to be done together with maintaining relatedness, which is highly valued in the collectivistic “culture of relatedness.” A new model of

family emerges, the 'family model of psychological/emotional interdependence', which integrates autonomy and relatedness, where intergenerational emotional/psychological interdependencies continue, but material interdependencies decrease through the family life cycle (Kagitcibasi, 1990, 1996a, b, 2007).

The self that develops in this context is the autonomous-related self. In the immigration context, in particular, this type of self is more optimal because on the one hand autonomy is adaptive for socio-cultural adjustment and on the other hand, relatedness (with the family) is adaptive for psychological adjustment. Good psychological adjustment refers to adaptation to the new cultural context with little (or no) strain, anxiety, and relationship difficulties (Ward, 2001). It is also important to note that ever since the 1950s several psychological theorists have considered autonomy and relatedness as basic human needs, even if conflicting (Angyal, 1951; Bakan, 1966; Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Guisinger & Blatt, 1994; Ryan & Deci, 2000).

In socializing children, individualistic societies have recognized the need for autonomy and have satisfied it while to some extent ignoring the need for relatedness; collectivistic societies have done the opposite. The former thus promote the autonomous-separate self while the latter, the related-heteronomous self. Both leave something to be desired, since a balanced treatment of these two basic needs, thus the autonomous-related self, would be the more optimal model of self. The 'related self' is naturally nurtured in immigrant child rearing ; what could be added is a corresponding emphasis on individual autonomy, to promote the development of the autonomous-related self.

This type of a balanced self is more psychologically healthy, since it satisfies both of the two basic needs and is also more adaptive to changing life styles through immigration. While relatedness is conducive to the cultivation of social responsibility and cooperativeness, autonomy is conducive to individual decision making and agency to carry out decisions. These two skills are highly adaptive for success and for adaptation to immigration contexts. Therefore, they can be the goals of supportive policies and programs toward enhancing immigrant youth's well-being.

The TEEP experience is also relevant here. Results showed that more of the trained mothers came to appreciate their children's autonomy while remaining as close to them as the control group of mothers. Greater degrees of autonomy were also found among the mother-trained children (adolescents). Thus, the autonomous-related self appeared to be an achievable goal. Similar program applications would be expected to bring about adaptive changes in parenting in the context of immigration. To contribute to positive youth development, the integrative syntheses of 'autonomous-related self' and 'cognitive + social intelligence' would appear relevant and achievable. Given the increasingly urbanizing life styles and the challenges brought about by social structural changes,

particularly in immigration, these balanced self and competence models need to be seriously pursued. This is of crucial importance for both the immigrant youth and also for the host society (Kagitcibasi, 2006).

Benefits for the Receiving Society

Up to now the benefits of optimal development, specifically involving cognitive competence and autonomous-related self, for the socio-cultural and psychological adaptation of the immigrant youth were examined. Now we can consider the benefits of such optimal development for the receiving society. Considering the European scene, immigration is a problem whereas it can be a valuable resource and richness in many respects. It may be claimed that European countries of immigration have failed up to now to optimize this richness, but if concerted efforts are put into policies and programs toward solutions of the problems, much can be accomplished.

Regarding the self, the immigrants' expected shift from the traditional model of the 'heteronomous-related self' to the 'autonomous-related self' (also from the family model of total interdependence to that of psychological/emotional interdependence) has important implications for the receiving society, also. As discussed above, given that the autonomous-related self is more optimal, since it satisfies both of the basic needs for autonomy and relatedness, it can serve as a healthy model for the self in the dominant society, also. Western individualistic ethos, including psychoanalytically informed psychology also as popularly disseminated, emphasizes autonomy, independence, agency and privacy, often at the expense of interpersonal relatedness. Indeed 'separation-individuation' has been seen as a requisite of healthy autonomy development from early on (Blos, 1979; Hoffman, 1984; Mahler, 1972; Steinberg & Silverberg, 1986). The compatibility of autonomy and relatedness is not widely accepted despite more recent criticisms. Yet the excesses of individualism are lamented by many critics who call for more connected selves (Baumeister & Leary, 1995; Guisinger & Blatt, 1994; Ryan & Deci, 2000; see Kagitcibasi, 2005, 2007 for extensive discussion of the issues involved). The immigrants' family patterns of relatedness, especially among those who also grant autonomy to their children, can serve as an example for the host society, if recognized and appreciated. Thus autonomous-related self can be seen as a healthy model of self toward which a convergence on the part of the immigrants and the receiving society could be predicted.

Immigrants promise to provide other, very important benefits to the receiving society, also. From a purely demographic and economic perspective, it is clear that European societies have ageing populations. Birth rates are declining as families opt for fewer children. At the same time, life expectancy is increasing. Within the next five to ten years all European Union countries will face declining populations. Demographic projections point to this trend continuing

for at least several decades. All this means that a larger and more productive young labor force is needed to support economically, through taxes, the retired elderly populations. Better integration and success of the immigrant youth is, therefore, of crucial importance for the European immigration societies. Economists even recommend to European governments to recruit more migrant labor to alleviate the shortage of skilled labor force. With fewer people in the labor force, given that productivity remains stable, GDP growth can not help but stall ('Population Challenges', 2004).

Problems and Solutions

The above considerations point to the great potential that immigrants have to contribute significantly to the well-being of the receiving societies. These potential gains span economic and psychological spheres among others. However, for the present immigrant population or possible additional immigrants to become economic assets, they need to be integrated into the larger society, and become socio-culturally adapted, fully functioning, skilled and competent members of that society. From a social and ethical perspective, also, supporting the overall positive development of immigrant children and youth from an early age on is the responsibility of the receiving country. As mentioned in the beginning, if Turkish migrant children are not doing well in school and society, this is as much a problem of that society as it is of those children and their families.

Several measures can be taken to enhance the overall development of immigrant children. TEEP is an example of what can be done on a large scale to support immigrant mothers, families, and children (Kagıtcıbası, 1991, 1995, 2006). The crucial importance of early years for overall human development is now well known (Shonkoff, 2000; Young, 1997, 2002; see Kagıtcıbası, 2007, Chapter 8 for an extensive review). In the immigration context, mastering the dominant language is the key factor in early cognitive development. For example, the main reason for the generally low academic performance of Turkish children in German schools appears to be their low level of German language skills at school entry. Two to three years of compulsory preschool training in German would ameliorate the problem greatly. Parental support and training programs leading to greater involvement, participation and empowerment of women, in particular, would also be highly beneficial. The key role of mothers in the context of immigration needs to be better understood.

If concerted efforts are not made for the full integration of the immigrants, turning inward and drifting toward separation from the host society would result. Indeed, this tendency has already started and threatens to increase in scope. The self-imposed 'acculturation strategy of separation' (Berry, 1997, 2001) takes the form of a reactionary response to acculturation difficulties and perception of rejection by the dominant society. Feeling as 'outsiders' to a uni-

cultural dominant society, immigrants tend to reactivate their communal networks to whatever degree possible given the external constraints. Working through the proximity of ethnic ghettos, traditional values and characteristics get reaffirmed by strengthened religious/ethnic identities (Kaya, 2001). Furthermore, discrimination in the schools is also experienced by the immigrant children for example in terms of lower levels of expectations from teachers causing in fact poorer performance, as a 'self-fulfilling prophesy' (a problem known for a long time) (Rosenhal & Jacobson, 1968) and resulting in Turkish children being disproportionately placed in the lowest of three tracks of secondary schools in Germany. In response to this, and as an important aspect of the strategy of separation, religious schools are established by the immigrant communities and are even supported financially by some host country governments such as Germany and the Netherlands. These schools further reaffirm religious identity of the immigrant children/youth, thus accentuating their 'difference' from the mainstream.

Obviously, such a vicious cycle does not help integration but rather reinforces the 'outsider' status of the immigrant. 'Different' often implies 'inferior', and what is different tends not to be liked. Reinforcing religious or ethnic differences is not advisable because difference is problematic. Ever since Bogardus' Social Distance Scale (1925), studies in inter-group relations have shown that the more different a group is seen from one's own group, the more it is rejected. What is different is not easily trusted and a (social) distance is put between self and the different 'other'. For example an early study by Malewska-Peyre (1980) showed that there was more prejudice in France toward North African immigrants than toward Portugese immigrants even though the former spoke French but the latter didn't. This was due to the fact that the French perceived the North Africans to be more different from themselves (in terms of religion and race) than they perceived the Portugese to be. More recent work corroborated this finding (Arends-Toth & Van de Vijver, 2006; Berry et al, 2002; Mirdal & Ryyinnen-Karjalainen, 2004).

Thus, there should be a fine balance in emphasis between the similarities and differences observed among groups. The goal should be the recognition of the basic similarities which make us all human while being aware of differences and accepting them. Such recognition is crucial for a humanistic orientation to the 'other' and for the development of 'empathy' with it. Empathy, in turn, is the most powerful barrier to inter-group prejudice and discrimination. Thus, pluralistic and multi-cultural perspectives are enriching as long as the 'others' are seen as basically similar to us.

To conclude, it can be claimed that a great deal can be done to enhance the well being of immigrants and especially immigrant youth through informed policies, programs and practices which would, in turn, contribute significantly to the well being of the immigration societies. Immigrant youth need the support of their families, communities and the receiving society at large in devel-

oping the competencies needed to adapt to changing life styles. If the host societies take ownership of immigrants and especially immigrant youth and invest in them as valuable current and future citizens, those societies would have a lot to gain, together with the benefits accruing to the migrant youth. The Turkish migrant youth who are citizens of European societies ought to be an integral part of those societies, not a group of alienated ‘outsiders’.

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