

A PROPOSED TYPOLOGICAL MODEL FOR ANALYZING THE DUAL-SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS OF THE SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT

When immigration literature dealing with the intergenerational changes is studied, it is seen that each generation is approached as a homogenous group, rather than forming some typologies that reflect the differing socialization patterns within each specific generation. Indeed, in-generation socialization differences are as important as intergenerational ones. It is our basic assumption that, without typifying in-generation socialization processes, it is impossible to analyze intergenerational differentials. The aim of this paper is to provide a theoretical framework in analyzing sub-socialization to intergenerational changes. In forming the typologies, three distinct sub-groups for the first generation, and five specific sub-groups for the second generation are distinguished basically by considering the differing background characteristics and the behavioral, motivational and structural variables associated with both the immigrants themselves and the country of immigration.

INTRODUCTION

As far as immigration literature in relation to intergenerational changes are concerned, the socialization, acculturation immigrants" takes an important part in it, because the very huge cultural, religious and the national identity problems mostly start and intensify with this specific generation. This is because of the "dual-socialization process" they encountered within a context of the dual cultural milieu that each pulled in a different direction. on the other hand, in-generation socialization differences are as important as intergenerational ones and it is necessary to establish some subgroup socialization patterns in constructing the social profiles of each specific generation. It is our belief that, without typifying in-generation socialization patterns, it is impossible to analyze intergenerational differentials. There is an important theoretical gap in this area and without forming

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sub-typologies, a tradition of making some easy and surface generalizations is a common phenomenon in the literature. (1) For instance, as far as second generation immigrants are concerned, it has been a fashion to call them as the "lost generation" in the area. As a matter of fact, when this specific generations is typified according to the emerging socialization patterns, then it would be quite possible that a small minority within this generation can be fit above generalization.

This is also true for the first generation. This parental generation is approached as homogenous group and sub-socialization patterns and social profiles are not differentiated in the area. Because of all these reasons, we believe that in-generation typologies and social profiles on them will be as contributive as the intergenerational ones.

Furthermore we believe that in forming a theoretical framework on the "dual-socialization processes" of the second generation immigrants, it is necessary to start with some general sociological and behavioral theories and theoretical conceptions and to modify those specifically in the immigration area and the particular generations. Within this framework also by including some related economic concepts, it would be possible to reach more consistent and completed typologies and social profiles. Departing with such considerations in mind we tried to develop a "dual-socialization model" for the second generation immigrants of which its main characteristics are mentioned below.

(1) Indeed when the immigration literature is viewed, it is easy to realize that the following three points are lacking to a large extent: i. immigration literature dealing with intergenerational socialization changes is largely based on separate and unrelated theoretical works and there is an emergent need to combine and lessen the gap between them and by doing so it is possible to construct more systematic and complete theoretical frameworks and social profiles of each specific generation. ii. Typological studies dealing with in-generational socialization differences are lacking also. It is impossible to analyze intergenerational differentials systematically which doing-hese types of studies. iii. Studies in the literature which deal with the social profile of the generations basically have the characteristic of either monographic or descriptive and there is an urgent need for more empirical studies in order to produce more reliable scientific knowledge and construct systematic theoretical frameworks. By doing this, it is possible, for example, to build a specific theory for the second generation and state the relations with the other generations. For more detailed information about the literature dealing with in-generational and intergenerational socialization changes see the following books: (Gans, 1962; Child, 1943; Gordon, 1964, 1964).

I. A Dual-Socialization Model For The Second Generation Immigrants

Our proposed model aimed at to determine sub-socialization typologies within each immigrant generations and their social profiles and integration patterns both in the contexts of immigration countries and the sending countries.

The basic assumption of proposed model can be stated as: The socialization patterns realized by the immigrant workers in the foreign countries are determined basically by their pre-migration socio-economic background variables and their work and life experiences in the immigration countries. And in turn these two groups of variables together determine their re-integration patterns with the homeland, after return. In other words, our departing point is, the differences in the pre-migration characteristics of the immigrant workers, results in different socialization patterns in the foreign countries and this is reflected both in-generational and intergenerational socialization patterns.

A. It is our main approach that, without analyzing the socialization patterns of the parental generation, it is impossible to shape the social profile and determine the socialization typologies of the second generation. For this reason one of the basic assumptions of our model is stated as, the socialization processes of the second generation is that largely determined by the socialization patterns of the first. Also considering the effects of such factors as structural, motivational, behavioral and background variables of the immigrant generations and studying their interaction closely, we tried to form another typology that reflected the intensity of intergenerational conflicts.

By considering the variables mentioned above, three specific sub-groups as i. "Marginals" ii. "Modifiers" iii. "Cosmopolitans" each one representing different socialization patterns. Their main features are going to be stated in a more detailed way in later parts of this paper.

On the other hand, for the second generation we are proposing more sub-groups in number, because of the fact that more widespread acculturation and the social identification changes starts with this specific generation. Here including the acculturation, a larger concept of socialization is employed and five alternative sub-groups are determined and we name them as follows: i. "Marginals" ii. "Bi-Culturals" iii. "Dual-Marginals" (or "Floating-Generation"), iv. "Lost Generation" v. "Biological Assimilationists" (or "Interethnic-Generation"), each one of process. Their basic characteristics are going to be described in the proceeding section of this paper.

B. As far as the socialization processes of either the first or the second gen-

erations are concerned, as a basic indicator of these changes, the "social identification" concept is employed with its four sub-categories. These are i. cultural identification, ii. religious identification, iii. political identification and iv. national identification. In our model it is emphasized on analyzing the changes of these variables within the dual-social context of both host and original countries and to determine basic identifications with the degrees as follows:

Subgroups According to the Social Identification Patterns

Social Identification	First Generation	Second Generation
High with "A" Low with "B"	--	Dual-Marginals
High with "A" High with "B"	Cosmopolitans	Bi-Culturals
Low with "A" High with "B"	Marginals Modifiers	Marginals
Low with "A" High with "B"	--	Lost-Generation

Identification with the immigration country is represented as "A" and with the country of origin as "B" in the above table. Also in the following chart-I represents above mentioned four social identification patterns for which A1, A2, A3 and A4 stands for the specific identifications with the immigration country and B1, B2, B3, and B4 with the origin country in turn.

Furthermore, the socio-psychological outputs of the dual-socialization process of such internal conflicts as personality and cultural disorganization, cultural ambivalence, anomie, alienation, social isolation, powerlessness, normlessness, etc, have been consideration in the model.

In short, emerging changes in the social identifications of the immigrants are considered as important indicators or outputs of the dual-socialization processes they encountered. Indeed this is the very variable that reflects the joint effects of such socialization institutions as family, ethnic group, school, workplace, mass media and peer-groups which are pulling the immigrants in different directions.

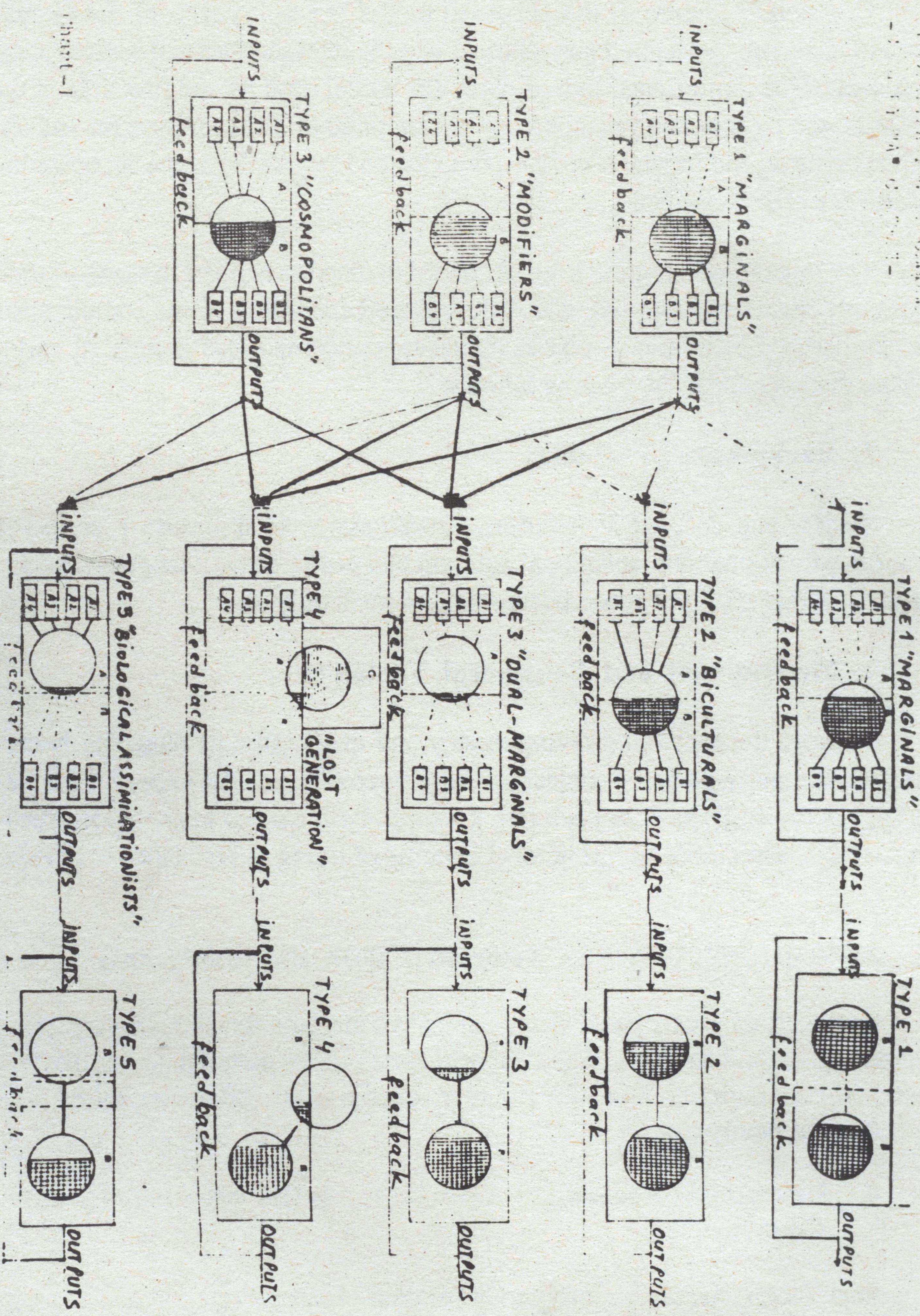
On the other hand, socio-economic structural milieus of the immigration country also included in our analyses and emphasized the interaction-influence mechanisms occurred between local society and the immigrants.

When all these features of the proposed model are considered, it would be clear to say that it is multivariational and dynamic in character.

TYPE 1 "MARGINALS"
 TYPE 2 "MODIFIERS"
 TYPE 3 "COSMOPOLITANS"

TYPE 4 "MARGINALS"
 TYPE 2 "BICULTURALS"
 TYPE 3 "DUAL-MARGINALS"

TYPE 1
 TYPE 2
 TYPE 3
 TYPE 4
 TYPE 5
 TYPE 3 "BIOLOGICAL ASSIMILATIONISTS"



Part - 1

C. Another feature of the proposed model is employment of the system terms in analyzing both the ingenerational and the intergenerational socialization processes of the immigrants. Indeed, with this model used for the first time in the literature, the system analysis approach was applied on the immigration and socialization areas and inputs, processes, outputs, and feedbacks of the socialization systems are clearly defined.

The mentioned subgroups are described in detailed manner in terms of their inputs, processes and outputs, and differentiated according to the socialization characteristics they reflect. As far as inputs are concerned four groups, of variables are distinguished. They are as follows:

1. Background Variables

Such as age, sex, age at departure, educational level at departure, period of duration, educational and vocational attainments, proficiency in language, socio-economic status and rural-urban background of the family etc.

2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables

Such as, the motive of saving money and the illusion of returning home-sojourner mentality-person or object oriented personality, status expectations, desire to preserve or discard own cultural, religious, political and national identifications, enthusiasm about adopting local patterns of living or resistance to change etc.

3. Structural Variables Associated With the Immigrants

Such variables as, objective and subjective marginality, status inconsistency, communication handicaps, degree of acceptance of the material, normative and functional cultural traits, SES of the family, cohesiveness and the degree of control within the family etc.

4. Structural Variables Associated With the Immigration Country

Such factors as, split-labor market (or dual-labor market), social distance, prejudice and discrimination, negative stereotypes, degree of status ascribed for immigrants culture by the host society, upward social mobility and job opportunity structure and etc.

Since those stated in the last group of variables are considered as common for all the immigrants, the socialization patterns in the typology are largely determined by the changes of background, motivational, behavioral and the structural variables associated with the immigrants.

As far as outputs are concerned, such variables are included: Ability to interact with the system, degree of social integration, the characteristics of adaptive behavior and the social identification, degree of personality conflicts, cultural disorganization, alienation, anomie, powerlessness, normlessness, isolation etc.

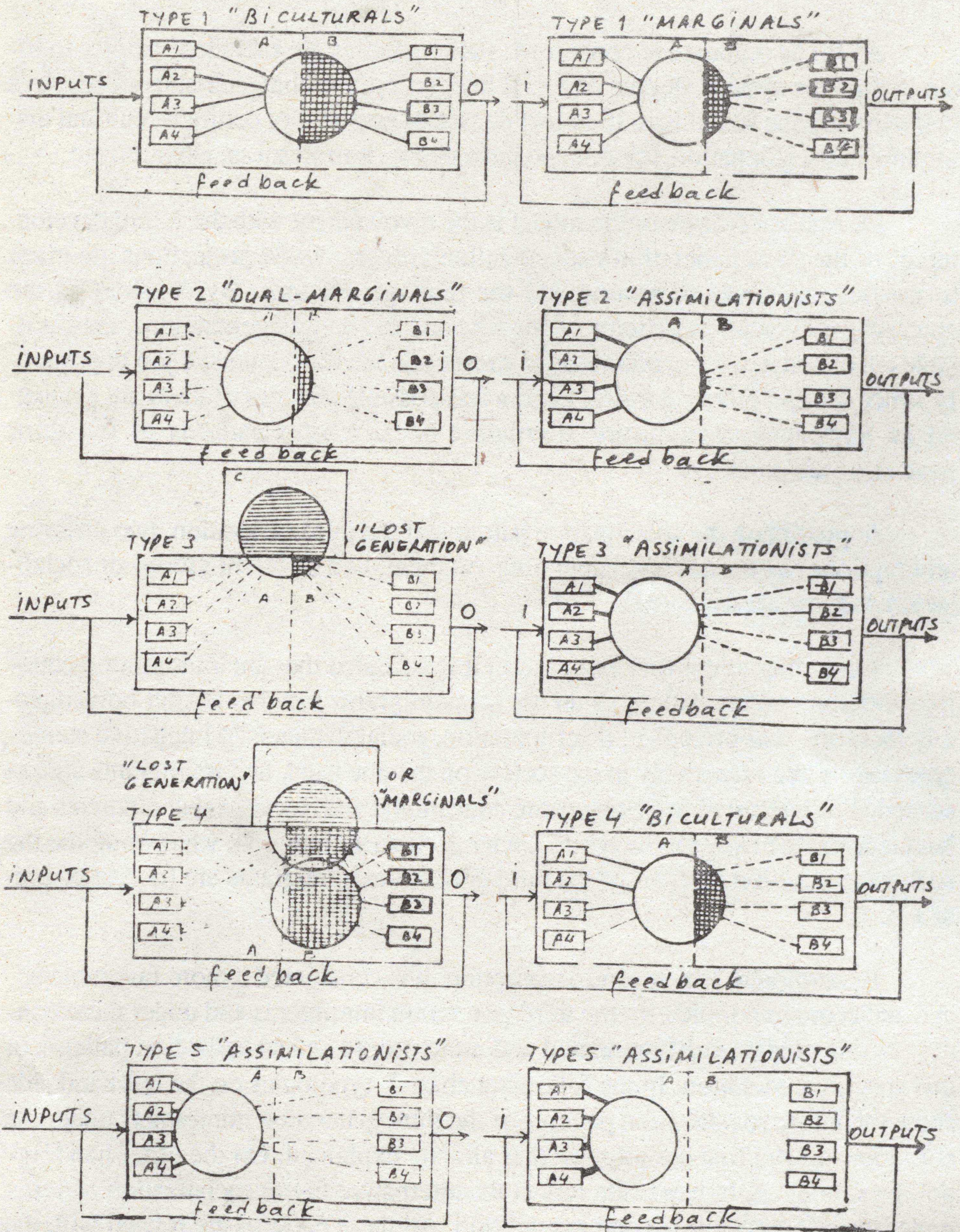
D. Another feature of the model is the involvement with the future developments of the third generation's socialization process. Some projections are made to predict the future of second and the third generations. By considering the emerging socialization patterns of the first and the second generations, their possible educational and vocational attainments and the host country's job opportunity structures and other structural factors and possible changes of them are evaluated as feedbacks, then future alternative socialization patterns of the third generation are predicted.

In predicting the socialization patterns of the third generation, two differing assumptions have been made and depending on them, two different groups of socialization patterns are expected.

According to the first assumption it is accepted that the immigration country's job opportunity structures do not let immigrants achieve further upward social mobility, and prejudice, discrimination, social distance and negative stereotypes take place intensively in the society on the one hand, and immigrants are not succeeded or interested in getting more educational and vocational attainments and language proficiency on the other. Under such an assumption, what would be the future socialization patterns of the third generation immigrants are tried to be predicted.

According to the second assumption, it is considered a more favorable social and economic milieu for the third generation immigrants and under these conditions it is predicted differentiated and more progressed socialization patterns of this specific generation. In the following chart-2, typologies on the left hand side show the future socialization patterns of the third generation immigrants under the conditions of the first assumption that already explained. On the other hand, typologies on the right hand side reflect the alternative future socialization patterns under the effects of the second assumption. All these patterns are related with the socialization patterns which are realized by the second generation.

Diagram 2: A Model of Cultural Identity in the Third Generation
 IMMIGRANTS - CULTURE "A" - CULTURE "B"



Furthermore, another assumption was that if both first and second generations returned to their origin countries, what would the intensity of intergenerational conflict be depending on their varying degrees of socialization processes. The following chart-3 shows this typology. Types on the left hand side reflect the socialization patterns of the second generation, and on the right hand side takes place of the first. In this figure dark thick lines reflect severe intergenerational conflicts. Whereas, thin and cracked lines show relatively medium level and mild conflicts in turn.

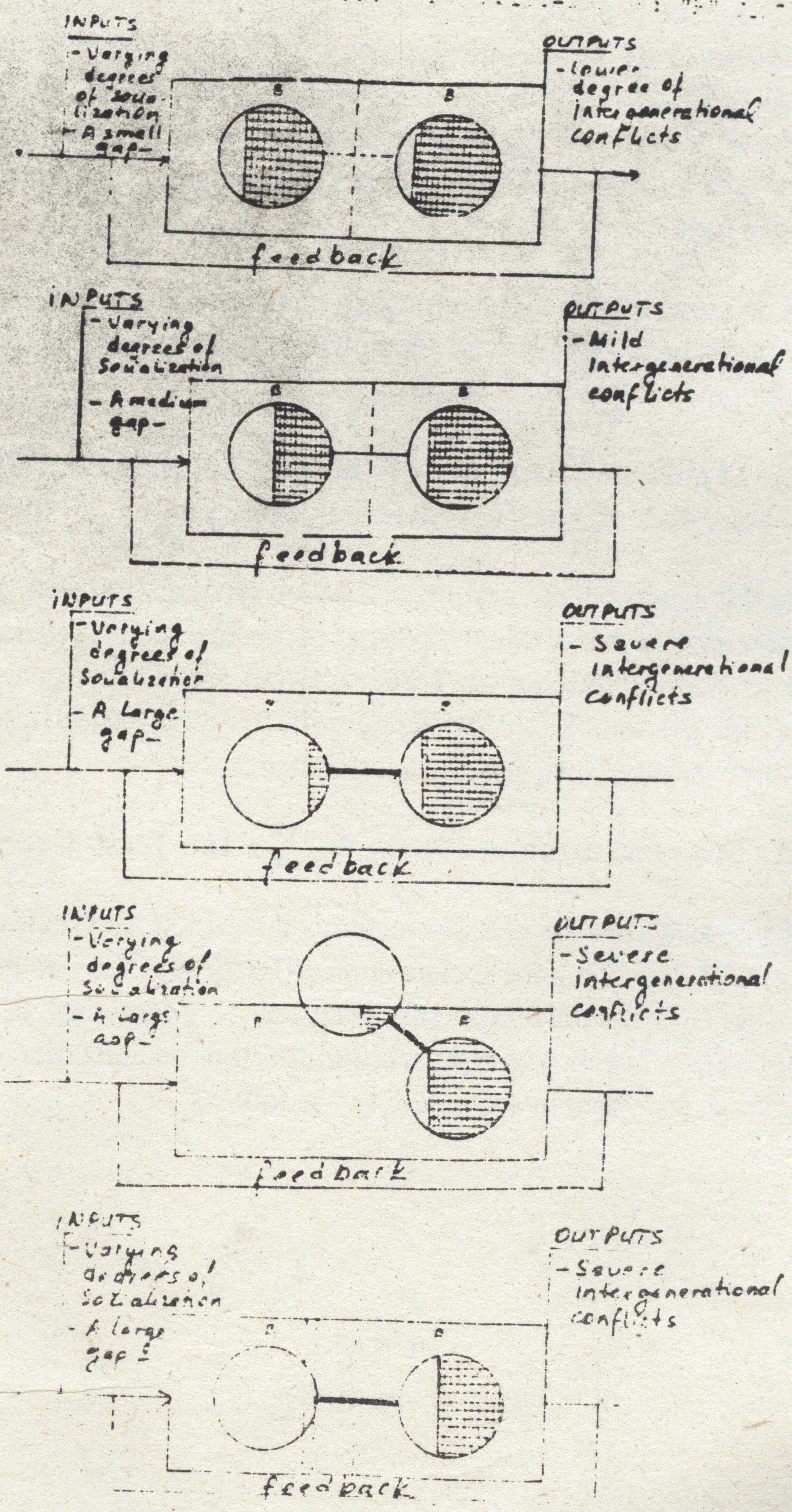
It is clear that this last typology can provide some light about the re-integration problems going to be encountered by the second generation in case of returning home.

II. Inputs and Outputs of the Sub-Socialization Groups: Introduction of the Characteristics According to the Generations

In this section of the paper socialization typologies of both first and second generation immigrants within the context of country of immigration in a more detailed way, will be introduced. Three subtypes for the first generation and five subtypes for the second are presented with input output relations that each of them are having their own specific characteristics.

A. Sub-Socialization Types Within the First Generation

By considering the variables mentioned above, three specific subgroups are determined in explaining the socialization differences of the first generation immigrant workers. We called these sub-groups as 1. "Marginals" 2. "Modifiers" 3. "Cosmopolitans" each one representing different socialization patterns. Their main features are stated in a detailed way as follows.



1. "Marginals"

This sub-group workers are consisting of mostly rural back ground immigrants with lower educational level in pre-migration characteristics. Since they have serious language difficulties in participating local life and meeting the work requirements, they return back home relatively short periods.

They have also encounter serious problems of finding jobs in low status, unregular and unsatisfactory jobs. They often hold low-status, low-qualifications ujobs, allocated foreign workers within the dual-laber markets. Their gains of new technical skills and qualifications from these jobs are unimportant.

"Marginals" are often having the motivation of earning as much money as possible during the short stay in foreien countries. Their social integration and interaction with local communities are very weak. They usually prefer staying close physical proximity with their own nationality workers residential areas and particularly live in worker hostals (heims). They survive marginal lies within the isolated residential areas from the native population, and reflect marginal social integration with the local societies. They constitute "visiblestrangers" in the immigration contries. They demonstrate inability to interact with the system and develop marginal personality characteristics.

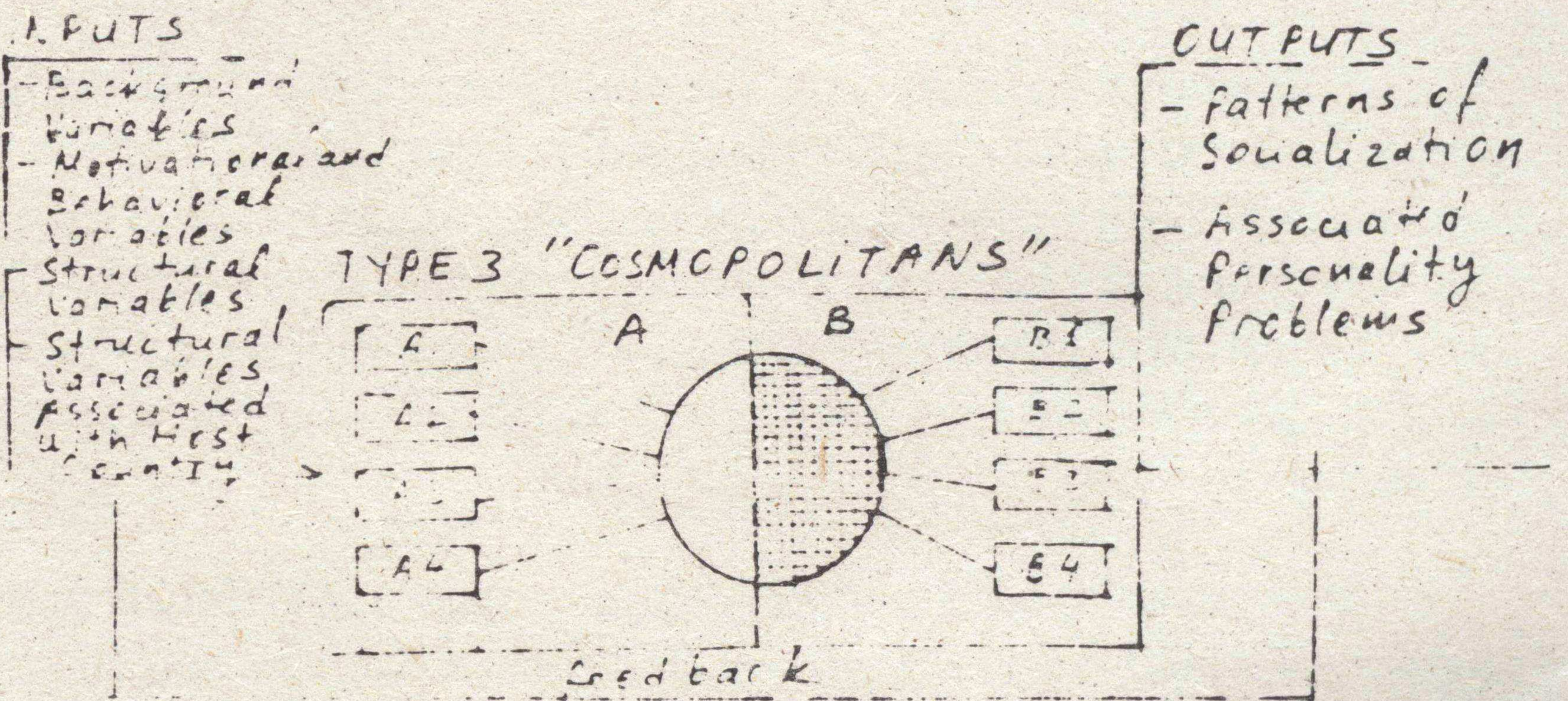
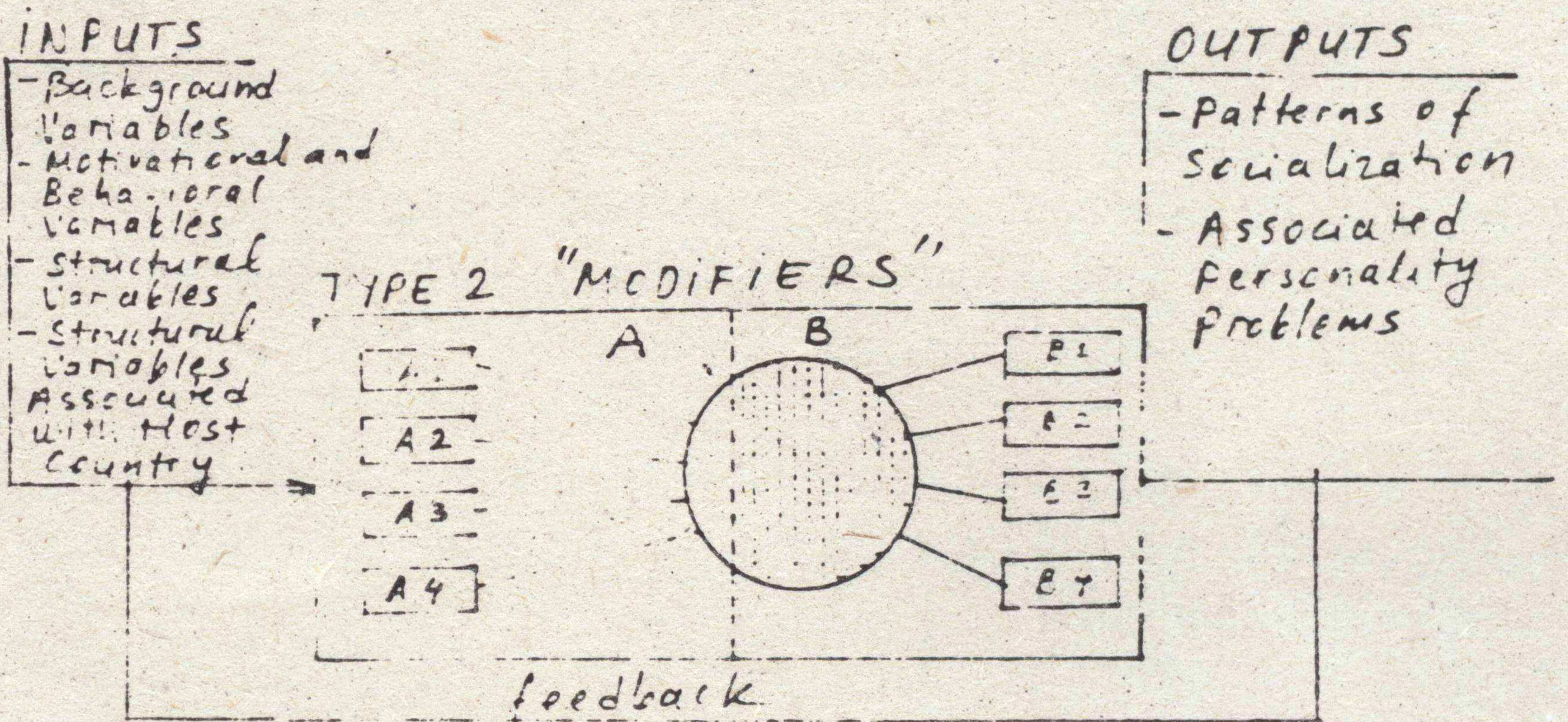
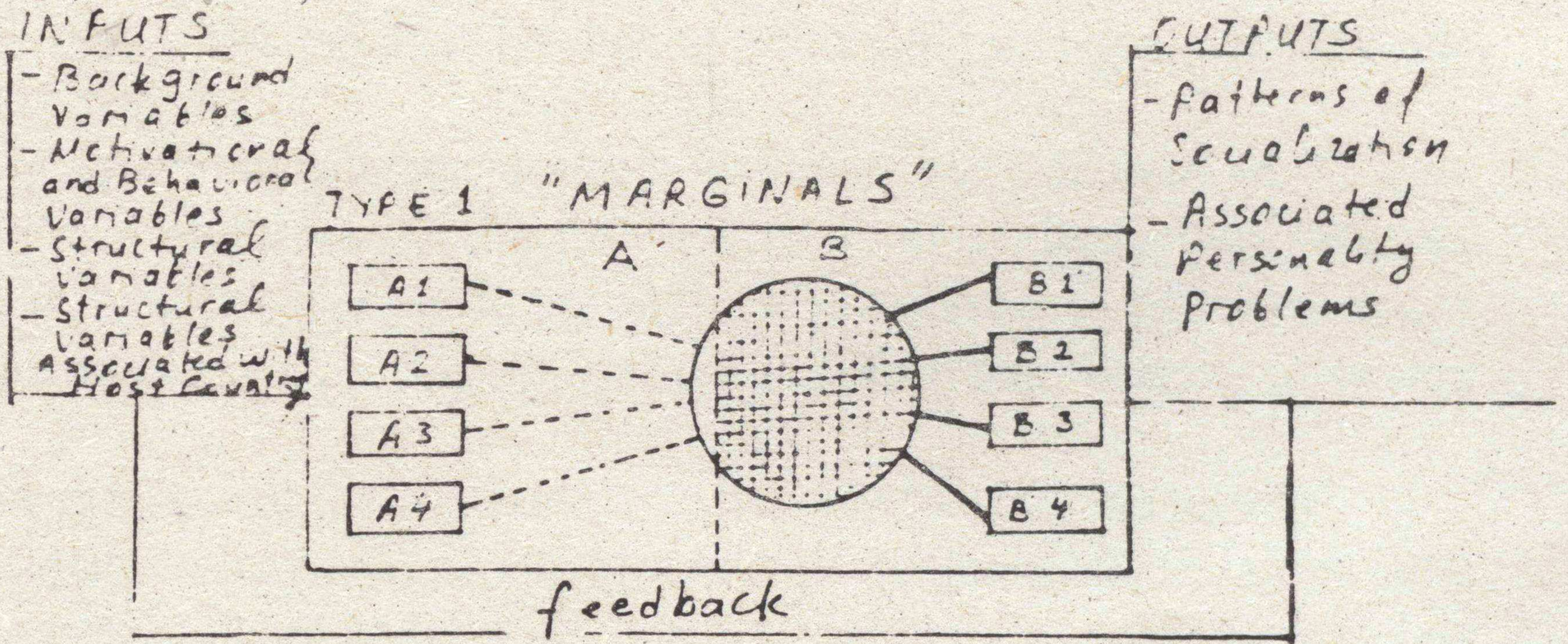
Their return home usually as result of marginal social integration with the foreign country and depends mostly on the negative selections. We call it "demoralize returns".

2. "Modifiers"

This sub-group of workers' social integration goes a little further, in compare to the "Marginals". This group holds both rural and urban background workers and they gain some technical qualifications and skills in foreign countries and these gains and language profeciencies are still in low levels. They develop some little abilities in order to interact with the system. They exhibit a slow acculturation process and stay longer periods in the foreign countries than the "Marginals".

They show the desire of accepting some new cultural traits with greater selectivity and modification. Their social integration with the host society goes with normative and material level, but never functional basis.

Chart-4 : FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS SUP-SOCIALIZATION PATTERN



Their return home shows the characteristics of investing traditional areas and integration of local traditional elites and defending status quo.

3. "Cosmopolitans"

This sub-typology of workers covers the high qualification elites of the workers in terms of pre-migration characteristics. They mostly represent urban background with high level educational and vocational qualifications. They have better language proficiency and their period of residence in the immigration countries are longest.

They work relatively more qualified, higher status jobs and demonstrate higher social interaction with the local societies. They also develop better abilities to interact with the system. They have higher exposure with the native population, and multiplicity of cultural activities.

They live in a less physical proximity with own nationality workers, prefer to live mostly native people quarters. Their gain of technical and vocational skills are higher and they return home country mostly with the positive selections, e.g., to realize a project or having enough savings

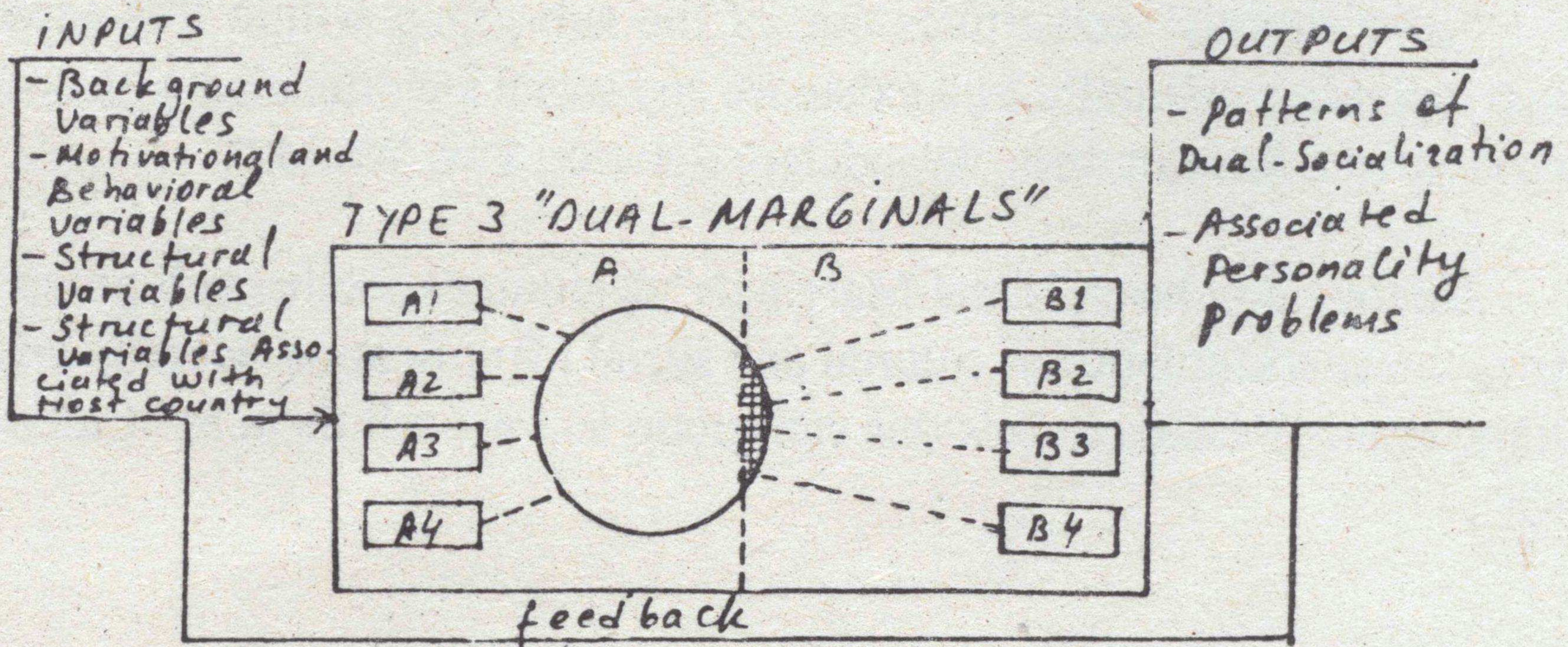
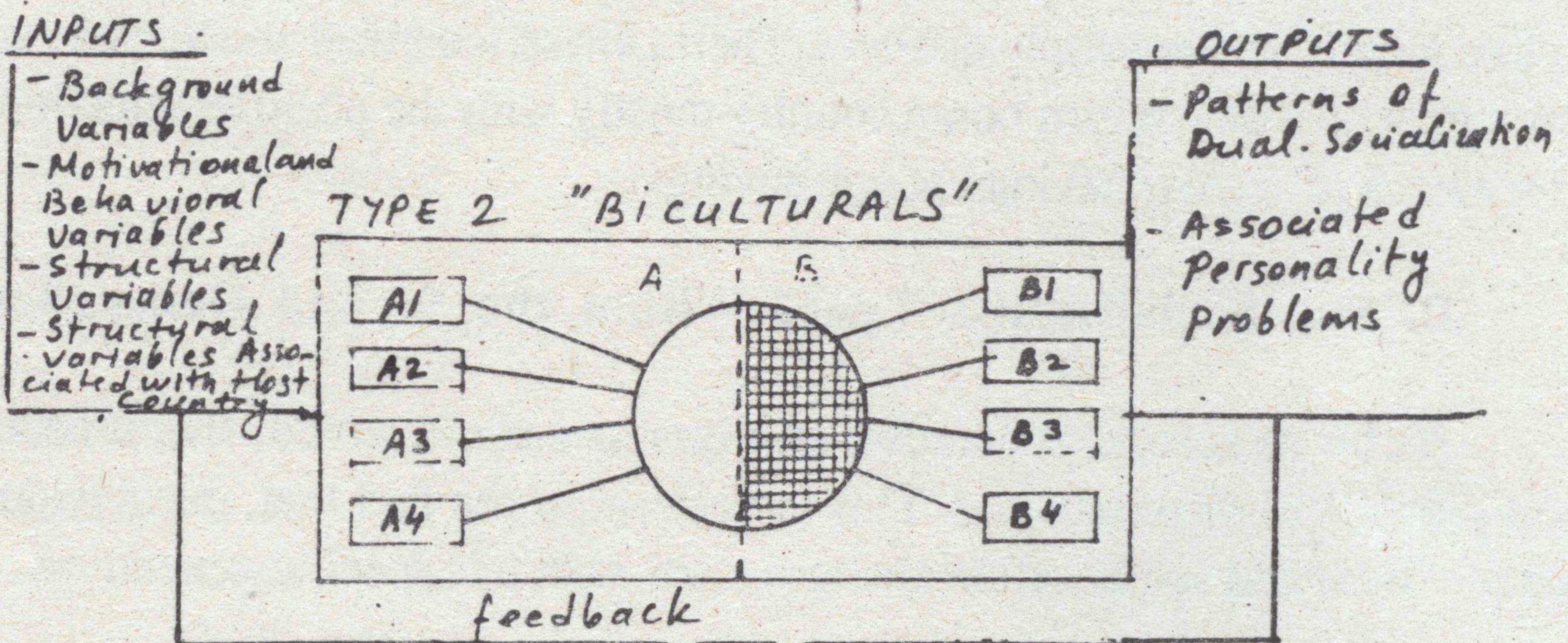
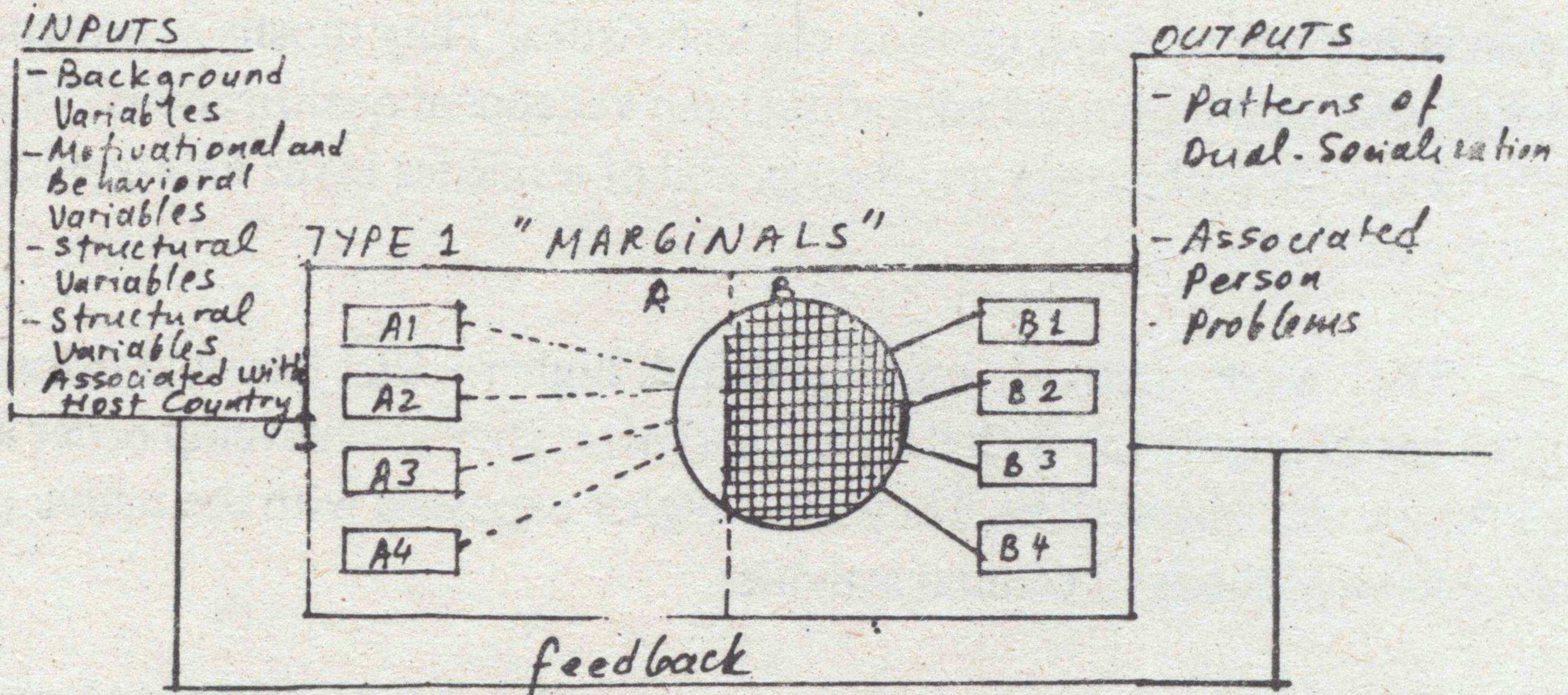
B. Sub-Socialization Types Within the Second Generation

As far as second generation immigrants are concerned, five subsocialization groups are differentiated. This is because of the fact that, more widespread acculturation and socialization changes start with this specific generation.

"Bi-Culturals" constitutes one of the sub-group within this generation which represents culturally split existence and social identification with both societies involved. We call them "Wanderers Between Two Worlds".

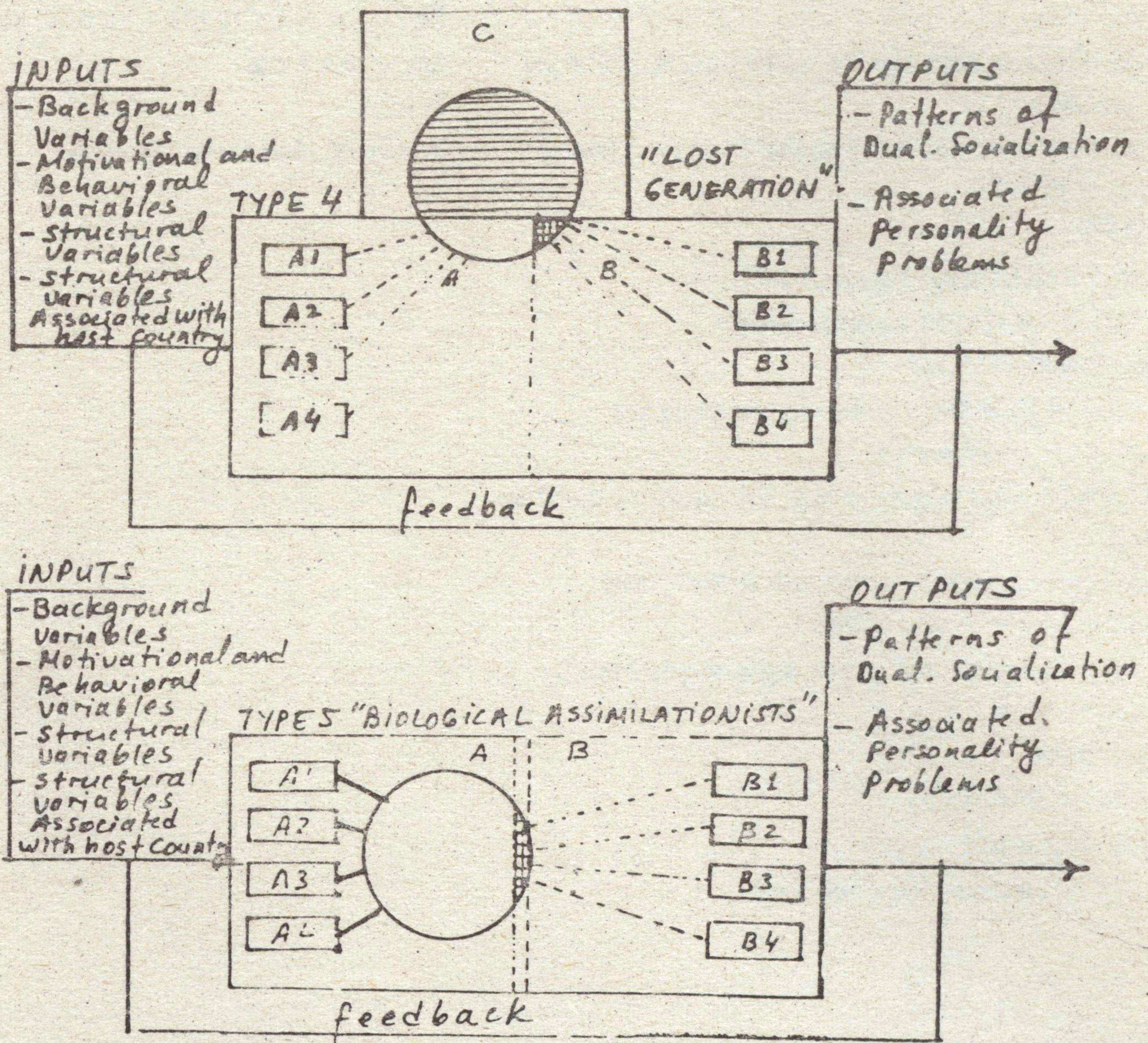
On the other hand, "Dual-Marginals" determines another sub-group which carries the characteristics of cultural and social identification. Identity crisis and cultural anarchy characterizes this sub-group and we call them as "Cultural Hybrids".

Chart-5. A Model of the Integration of Dual-Socialization Processes
- Type 1 "MARGINALS"



Dual-Socialization Patterns of the Second Generation Immigrants

Chart-6 SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS' DUAL-SOCIALIZATION PATTERNS
-COUNTRY "A" CONTEXT-



FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 1. "MARGINALS" (Strangers in the Society A)

INPUTS

1. Social and Economic Background Variables
 - Low educational attainments-rural background
 - Low language proficiency
 - Higher age at arrival
2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables
 - Saving money and illusion of return home-sojourner mentality
 - Strong resistance to change, desire to maintain Traditional life-style
 - Strong desire to preserve cultural, religious, national identities
 - People-oriented self
 - Greater reliance on ethnic organizations for personal, familial and cultural needs
 - Desire to live in a close physical proximity with the peoples of
3. Structural Variables
 - Lower SES
 - Objective structural marginality-marginal life
 - Felt great degree of status inconsistency-ghetto
 - Serious linguistic handicaps
 - Intensive feeling of discrimination,-negative stereotypes
 - Felt less or no upward mobility
 - Very limited exposure outgroup society, high exposure to the ethnic group
 - Consumer status orientation-Acceptance of material culture
4. Structural Variables Associated With A
 - Job opportunity structure with a lower degree of upward mobility-Dual labor market
 - Social Distance
 - Prejudice and discrimination
 - Unequal status contact
 - General culture ascribes a lower status for B.

OUTPUTS

- Marginal social integration with A
- Inability to interact with the system
- Neo-feodal adaptation-cultural lag
- Residential segregation
- Collective identity-cultural secretarianism.
- High degree of social identification with B, low with A. -E life style dominant
- Very slow acculturation-with less cultural ambivalence
- High degree of feeling alienation, powerlessness, and apathy
- Apathy, withdrawal
- Isolation
- MARGINAL MAN-Marginal Personality

**FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 2. "MODIFIERS" (Less Assimilation Desire)**

INPUTS

1. Social and Economic Background Variables

- Some educational and vocational attainments
- Low language proficiency - rural or urban background -
- Relatively longer period of residence
- Medium age at arrival

2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables

- Saving money and illusion of return home-sojourner mentality
- Desire to maintain own cultural traditions
- Desire to preserve cultural, religious and national identities
- People-oriented self
- More reliance on ethnic organizations than A organizations for personal, familial and cultural needs
- Desire to accept some new cultural traits with greater selectivity and modification

3- Structural Variables

- Lower SES
- Objective and subjective structural marginality
- Felt greater degree of status inconsistency
- Serious linguistic handicaps
- Intensive feeling of discrimination
- Felt less or no upward mobility
- More exposure to the ethnic group, rather than out group society
- Consumer status orientation-large scale acceptance of material culture
- Medium degree of familial cohesion

4. Structural Variables Associated With A

(The same as previous typology)

OUTPUTS

- Low A identification with high B
- Little abilities to interact with the system
- Neo-feodal adaptation-cultural lag-
- More collective some individual identity
- Lower social integration with A
- Slow acculturation - with less cultural ambivalence
- Apathy - withdrawal
- Isolation, powerlessness, alienation
- MARGINAL MAN-Marginal Personality-

FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 3. "COSMOPOLITANS" (Mainstreamers - Mergers - Biculturals)
(More Assimilation Desire)

INPUTS

1. Social and Economic Background Variables

- Relatively higher educational Vocational attainments
- Better language profeciency - urban background -
- Longer period of residence
- Lower age at arrival

2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables

- Saving money for status attainment and better education for children
- Less - sojourner mentality - higher status expectations
- Desire to accept both objective & subjective culture
- Desire to maintain both social identities
- Goal - oriented self -
- Equal reliance on people & institutions of A and B for personal, familial & cultural needs.
- Multiplicity of cultural activities
- Searching for acceptance from the majority group

3- Structural Variables

- Relatively higher, SES
- Relatively less structural Marginality
- Felt less degree of status in consistency
- Lower degree of discrimination felt
- Equal exposure to the ethnic group & outgroup society
- Felt more upward mobility chances
- Less degree of familial cohesion
- Living in a less physical proximity with people B
- Acceptance of normative culture without fully internalization

4. Structural Variables Associated With A

(The same as previous typology)

OUTPUTS

- Higher social integration with A
- High degree of social identification with Both A & B
- Higher abilities to interact with the system
- Culturally divided self - acquisition - of new materials to synthesis with old
- Rapid acculturation - with identity confusion
- Moral dichotomy
- More normative & less functional integration
- Learned two or ways of behavior and employed different cumstances - B, cultural -
- Greater desire for chance (status in consistency)
- Fear of social rejection

MARGINAL MAN-Marginal Personality-

SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 1. "MARGINALS" (Strangers in the Society A)
(Least assimilation Desire - rejected)

INPUTS

1. Social and Economic Background Variables

- Low educational & Vocational attainments (employed)
- Low degree of language proficiency
- Short period of residence (family reunion)
- Higher age at arrival
- Particularly female youngsters -rural background-

2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables

- Sojourner mentality - saving money and illusion to return
- Desire to maintain own cultural traditions home
- People oriented self
- More reliance on ethnic organizations for personnel familial & cultural needs
- Desire to accept some new cultural traits with a greater selectivity and modifications
- Uncommitted to change, less involvement with local life practices

3- Structural Variables

- Lower SES
- Objective & subjective structural marginality
- Felt great degree of status inconsistency
- Serious linguistic handicaps
- Intensive feeling of discrimination
- Felt less upward mobility
- More exposure to ethnic group, rather than outgroup society
- Consumer status orientation
- High expectations with low opportunity structure
- Less conflict with parentell generation
- That family control -with restricted social life
- Little -Manheim effectt

4. Structural Variables Associated With A

(The same as the first generation)

OUTPUTS

- Marginal social integration with A
- Less the effects of dual - socialization
- Neo-feodal adaptation - cultural lag -
- Collective identity - cultural sectarianism
- High social identification with B, low identification with A
- Slow acculturation - with less cultural ambivalence
- High degree of powerlessness, allicuation and Anomie
- Rejection through withdrawal and apathy (status inconsistency)
- Social isolation
- MARGINAL MAN-Marginal Personality-

SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 2. "BICULTURALS" (Wanderers Between Two Worlds)
(Medium Assimilation Desire)

INPUTS

- 1. Social and Economic Background Variables**
 - Relatively higher or medium educational & vocational attainments
 - Better language proficiency
 - Longer period of residence
 - Lower age at arrival - rural or urban background -
- 2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables**
 - Less - sojourner mentality - higher status expectations
 - Desire to accept both objective & subjective culture
 - Goal oriented self
 - Multiplicity of cultural activities
 - Committed to change - More involvement with the local life practices
 - Searching for acceptance from the majority group
- 3. Structural Variables**
 - Lower SES
 - Objective & subjective structural marginality
 - Felt great degree of status inconsistency
 - Some linguistic handicaps with both languages
 - Serious linguistic handicaps
 - Intensive feeling of discrimination
 - Felt less upward mobility
 - Equal exposure with ethnic & outgroup societies
 - Acceptance of normative culture without fully internalization
 - High expectations with low opportunity structure
 - Acquisition of new cultural material, without synthesis with the old - copied culture -
 - Unable to meet fully the requirements of culture A
 - Hidden conflicts with parental generation
 - Greater - Manheim effect -
- 4. Structural Variables Associated With A**
(The same as the previous typology)

OUTPUTS

- Higher social integration with A
- High dual socialization effect -
- Higher abilities to interact with the system
- Culturally split existence
- Double self - moral dichotomy - bicultural alienation
- Maladjustment - cognitive dissonance
- Cultural and self estrangement
- Social isolation
- High degree of powerlessness, alienation, anomy
- Fear of social rejection
- Higher degree of - identity Crisis -
- **MARGINAL MAN**-culturally
Marginal in Both A and B

SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 3. "FLOATING GENERATION" (Dual - Marginals)
(Greater Assimilation Desire)

INPUTS

- 1. Social and Economic Background Variables**
 - Relatively higher educational & vocational attainments
 - Better language proficiency - urban background -
 - Longest period of residence
 - Born in A or early age at arrival
- 2. Motivational and Behavioral Variables**
 - Desire to belong dominant culture - opt for assimilation
 - Goal oriented self
 - High desire for assimilation
 - Traditional culture is associated with low status and rated as inferior and discarded totally
 - Denial of ethnic background
 - Copied all the cultural traits of A
 - Old habits are discarded but new ones are not formed or internalized adequately
 - Willingness to discard native culture
 - High status expectations
 - Searching for acceptance from majority group
 - Denial or hide traditional identity
- 3. Structural Variables**
 - Objective & subjective structural marginality
 - Felt great degree of status inconsistency
 - Some linguistic handicaps with B languages
 - Felt less upward mobility
 - Greater degree of exposure with outgroup societies and marginal with ethnic ingroups
 - Acceptance of normative culture - without functional patterns - without internalizing role behaviors
 - Ineffective socialization for the performance of expected roles
 - Severe open conflicts with parental generalization
 - Greatest - Manheim effect -
 - Unable to adopt fully the requirements of culture A
- 4. Structural Variables Associated With A**
(The same as previous typology)

OUTPUTS

- Higher social integration with A
- Extreme effects of dual-socialization
- Higher abilities to interact with the system
- Dual marginality - Identity Crisis
- Bicultural alienation
- Guild feelings of giving up his identification with parents
- Radical dissatisfaction
- Suffering from ambivalence and inferiority, hypersensitivity
- Cultural estrangement - self estrangement
- Desire for change - political extremism
- Moral dichotomy
- Severe inner conflicts - personal disorganization
- Fear of social rejection
- Alienation, powerlessness, normlessness and anomie
- Social isolation
- Cognitive dissonance, maladjustment frustration
- Culturally divided self
- Aggressiveness, conflict with co-workers & employer
- Left home
- Marginal Man - Marginal Culture cultural Anarchy

SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 4. "LOST GENERATION" (Cultural Hybrids - Culture less Generation)
(Wonderers Between Three Worlds)

INPUTS

- The same inputs as previous typology
- **SOCIAL REJECTION** - Non-acceptance by Host Society

OUTPUTS

- Very severe identity Crisis
- Personal & cultural Disorganization
- Social isolation, cultural & personal estrangement
- Intensive feeling of alienation, powerlessness normlessness
- Suffering from ambivalence, inferiority, hyper-sensitivity
- Rejection through aggressiveness
- Political extremism
- Culturelessness - Dual Marginality -
- Anomie - less integration decisions of Both A & B
- Dual alienation, rejection of both cultural traits and having cultural traits associated or matched neither A or Nor D - a third culture - transitional culture -
- Aggressiveness, conflict with co-workers and employer
- Left home
- Low ability to interact with the system
- Frustration, cultural anarchy
- Marginal Man - marginal culture
- Marginal social identification with Both A & B (High identification with C)
- Cultural Hybrids

**SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
TYPE 5. "BIOLOGICAL ASSIMILATIONISTS"
(Hyphenated Generation)
(Wonderers Between Three Worlds)**

INPUTS

- Interethnic marriage born
- Internalizing and following the cultural patterns of A society
- Reared up according to the traditions (moral & social values) of A society
- Normative & Functional acculturation
- Goal oriented self
- High language proficiency
- Less intergenerational conflict
- Less feeling of discrimination

OUTPUTS

- High ability to interact with the system
- Less inner conflicts
- Total Social identity with A
- Very little effects of dual-socialization process.

III. Basic Concepts Employed in the Model

In forming sub-socialization typologies of the specific immigrant generations, various theories and theoretical concepts are employed, such as "marginal man" "structural marginality" "status inconsistency" "middle-man minorities" "person vs. object oriented personality" "dual labor market" or "split labor market" theories, "Theory of cognitive dissonance" "Theory of cultural lag" "Mannheim effect of generations" "cultural and personal disorganization" "cultural ambivalence" "identity crisis" and so on.² Most of these theoretical frameworks and concepts are widely used in the literature of the conventional immigration countries such as U.S.A., Canada and Australia, whereas they are not very commonly used and discussed in European literature. Considering this fact, this proposed model also constitutes a pioneer step in combining immigration experiences of Anglo America and that of European countries.

IV. Testing of Model and Amprical Data

The model is tested on Turkish workers who made their final return to the urban and rural parts of the Marmara Region in Turkey. The data shown below was drawn from 1014 immigrant workers who return both rural and urban parts of Bursa, Balıkesir, Çanakkale, Bilecik, Adapazarı and İzmit provinces.

The amprical testing of the Model on the returning Turkish workers to Marmara demonstrated that, corresponding sub-socialization typologies are exist in the area and the assumptions of the model are supported confirmed by the field research.

In analyzing and crossing the variables of the model, three sub-socialization patterns of the workers are determined. Such variables as the characteristics of the jobs hold, level of the foreign language profeciency, level of the vocational training effects primarily the socialization patterns of the workers.

(2) For the concept of "Structural Marginality" see; (Hoffman-Nowotny, 1981) For "Marginal Man" concept see "Goldberg, 1941; Kerckhoff and Mc Cormick, 1955).

For the concepts of "Split Market" and "Middleman Minorities" see; (Bonacich, 1972, 1973).

For the theory of "Status Inconsistency" see; (G.Lenski, 1954)

For such concepts as "Person vs. Object Oriented Personality" see (Gans, 1962)

On the other hand, differences also on pre-migration background variables such as, educational levels, urban-rural background, job qualifications, motivations for immigration and channels of immigration also effects above mentioned primary variables. These two groups of variables together reflects the differences in sub-socializations patters of workers.

Depending on above mentioned variables of the model, three sub-socialization types are differentiated among workers in the immigration countries and their return home.

In the first group what we call "Marginals" there are met workers who are mostly rural background, low educational level and non-qualified immigrants, generally hold undesirable, low status jobs within the split-labor markets. Marginals are generally unable to learn foreign language and the complexity of working and living conditions of the industrial societies. Their experiences and gains from immigration is very little.

Marginals, generally experienced an isolated and marginal life and their ability to interact with the system is very weak. Also, their acculturation and social interaction processes remained far beyond than expected.

Marginals, often return home with negative selections and shorter periods than they planned to stay. Their material gains from immigration is also the lowest in compare to other sub-groups.

In the second sub-socialization group there are workers what we call "Modifiers" and their socialization and acculturation goes further than the Marginals. But their ability developed to interact with the system still remains weak and unsatisfactory. Their capability to learn foreign language and new vocational skills are still far beyond than expected. Their acculturation remains material and normative and never reach to the point of functional integration.

In the third sub-group there are workers called "Cosmopolitans" who are mostly with urban background workers with representing highest educational level and job qualifications in compare to the first two groups, already mentioned. Tese workers have highest language profeciency, developed more abilities to interact with the system and stay longer periods in

foreign countries than others. They have more social contacts with the native people and adapted better to the work and social life of the foreign countries.

Cosmopolitans are mostly return home with positive selections and their gains from immigrations is the highest in compare to the previous groups.

According to the data of the field-study, the average of 30% of the general sample represents the characteristics of "Marginals", 45% "Modifiers" and 25% "Cosmopolitans" in the model.³

Conclusions

As mentioned earlier, this is a pioneer study that carries the aim of determining sub-socialization patterns of each specific immigrant generation and provides a theoretical framework of both ingenerational and intergenerational changes. The dual-socialization typologies of the model can be developed further by various amprical studies and new sub-groups can be found. By doing amprical studies on various immigrant groups and testing input-output relations, these type of typological works would contribute much to the immigration literature.

It is true that, without knowing the social profile and the differing socialization patterns of the various immigrant generations and the intensity of intergenerational conflict, it is impossible to solve the vital problems of these specific generations and to decide alternative flexible social policy instruments. In short, more precise and differentiated social policy tools are necessary, since each sub-socialization group has its own unique character.

(3) For more detailed data about the field study see the following Books: (Güven, 1988: Güven, 1992)

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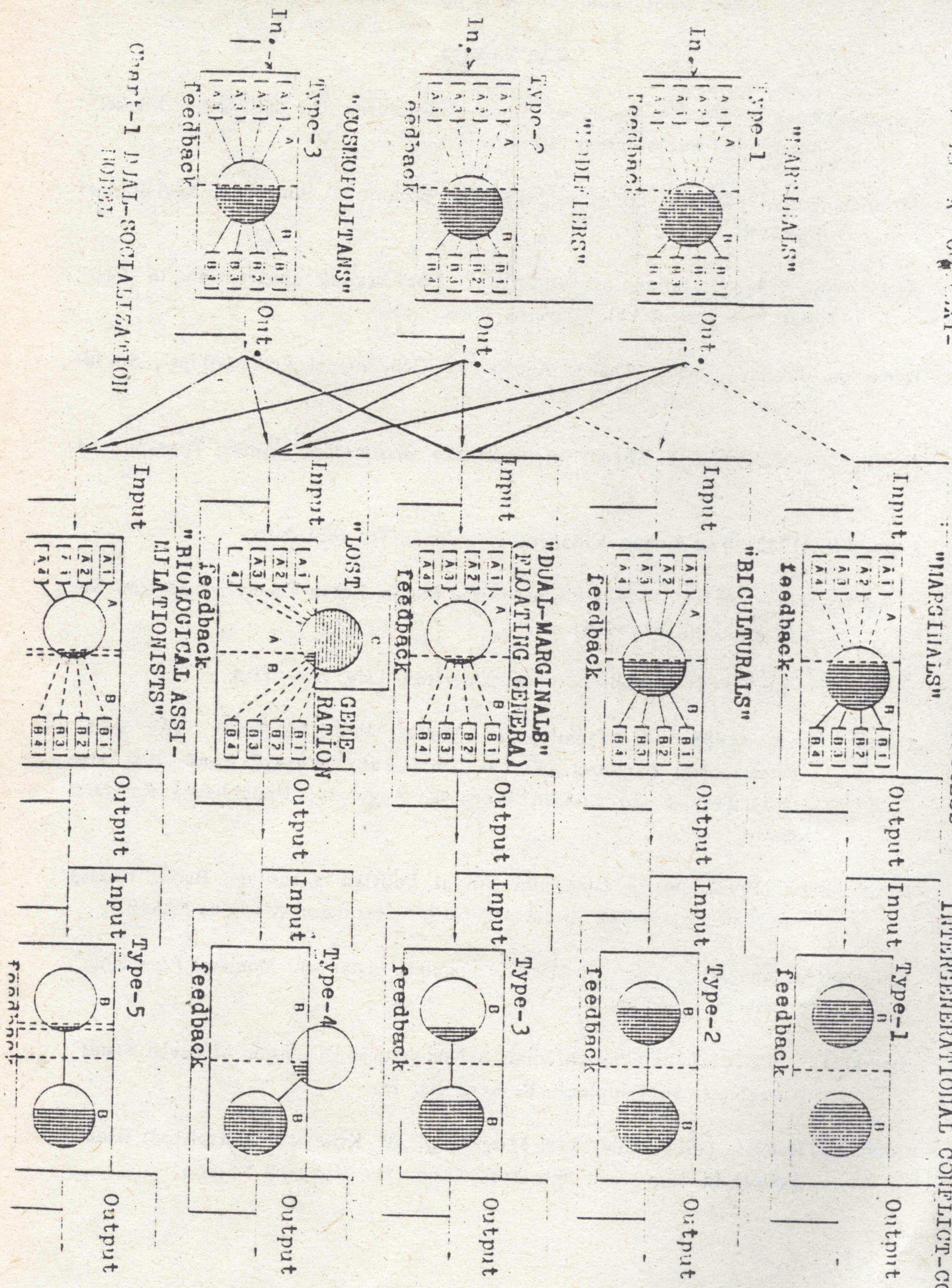


Chart-1 DUAL-SOCIALIZATION MODEL

Chart-2

FIRST GENERATION IMMIGRANTS
RE-SOCIALIZATION PROCESS

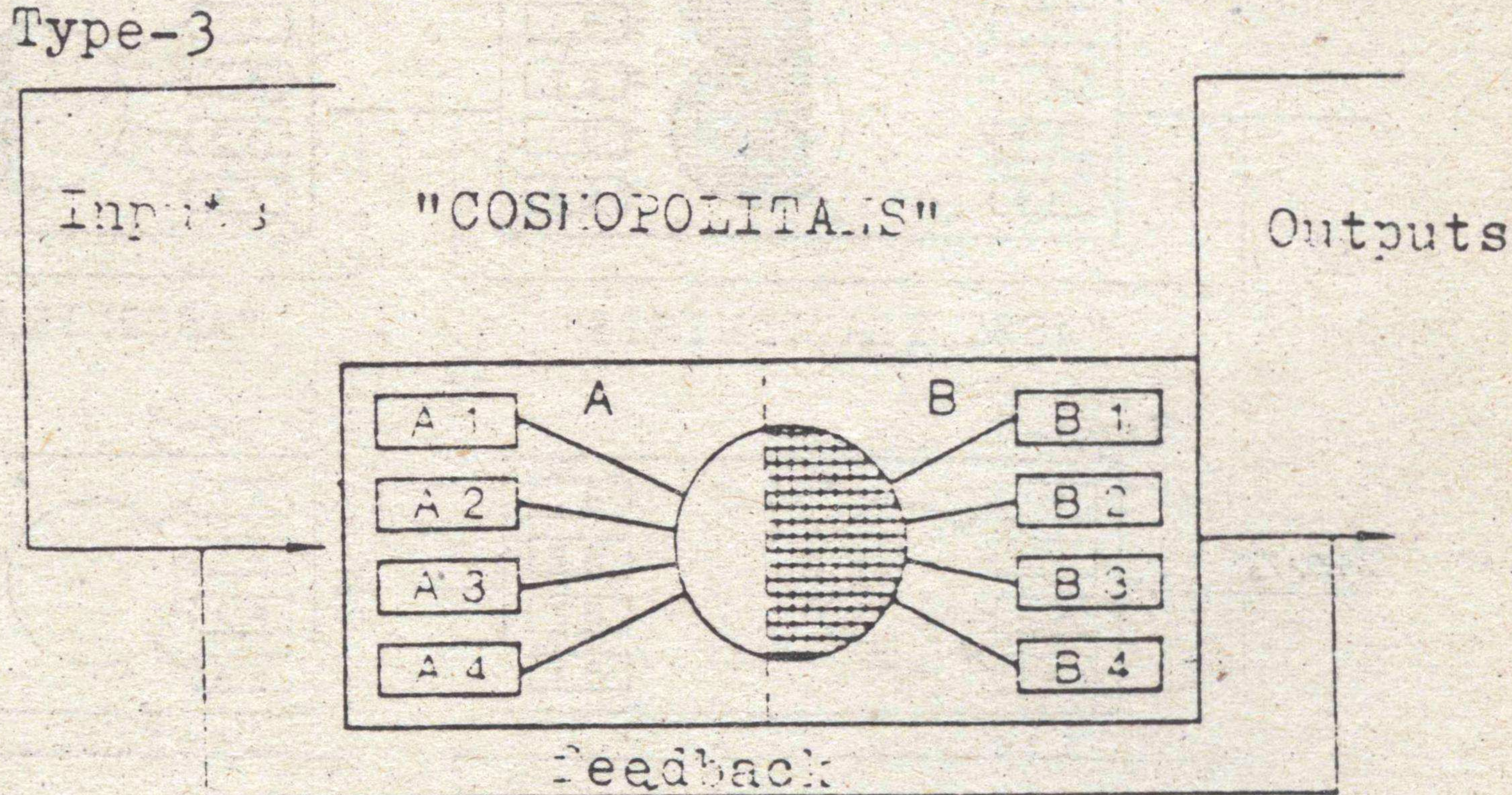
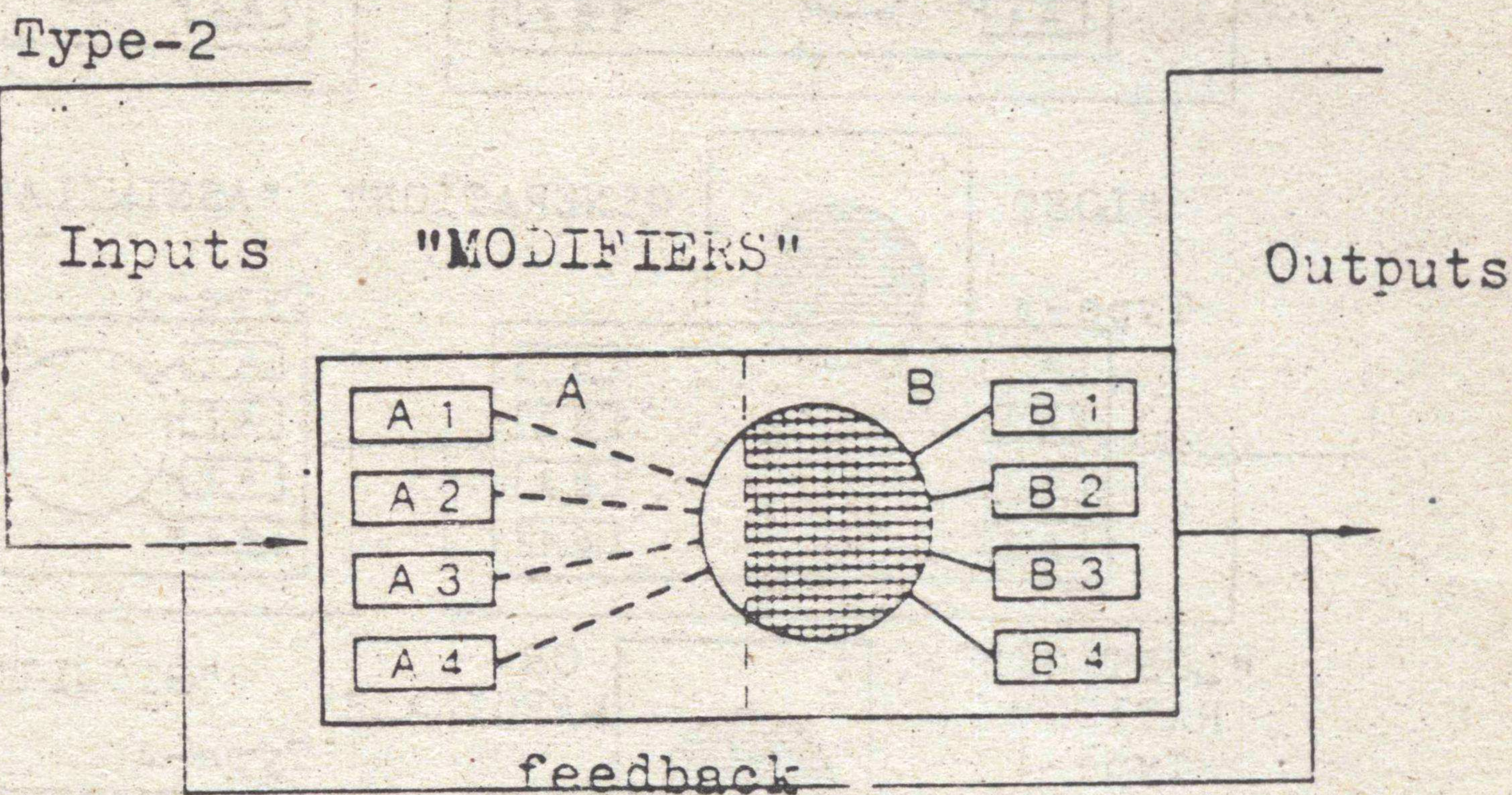
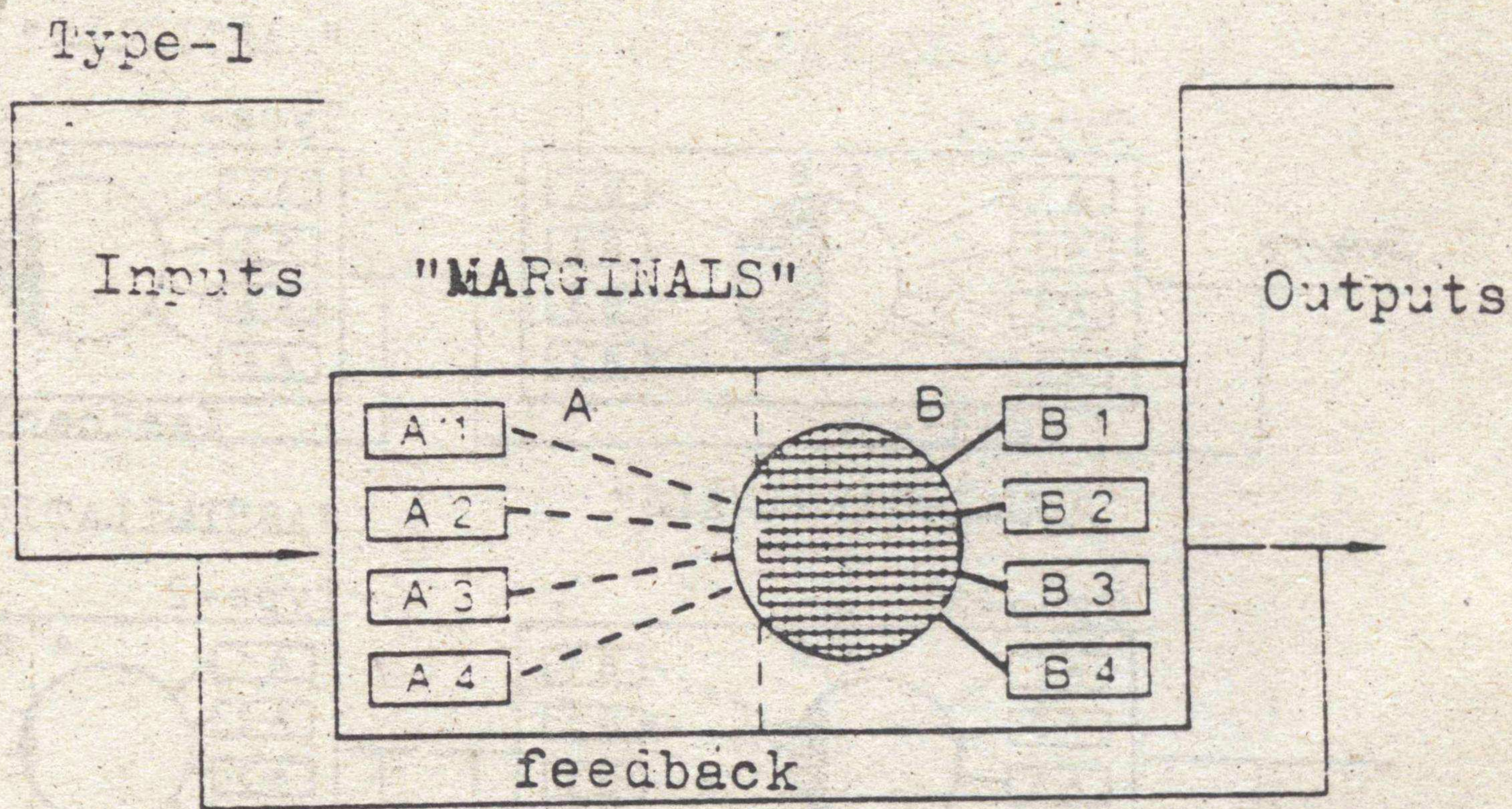


Chart-3 THIRD GENERATION IMMIGRANTS' DIVERSIFIED
SOCIALIZATION PROCESS: COUNTRY "A" CONTEXT-

