Ali Mehdi

Strategies of Identity Formation

Youth of Turkish Descent in Germany

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ISBN 978-3-531-18680-1 ISBN 978-3-531-18681-8 (eBook)
DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-18681-8

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at http://dnb.d-nb.de.

Springer VS

Cover design: KünkelLopka GmbH, Heidelberg

Printed on acid-free paper

Springer VS is a brand of Springer DE.
Springer DE is part of Springer Science+Business Media.
www.springer-vs.de

Acknowledgments

This book is a slightly revised version of my MA thesis, submitted to the Global Studies Programme, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany, in March 2006. I am indebted to Prof Hermann Schwengel (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg) and Prof Anand Kumar (Jawaharlal Nehru University, India) for their intellectual inspiration, and to my two supervisors – Dr Frank Welz (Innsbruck University, Austria) and Prof Ari Sitas (University of Cape Town, South Africa) – for their constant support and guidance. Valuable comments and suggestions on the research proposal were provided by Prof Abdul-Aziz Sachedina (University of Virginia, USA), Prof Majid Tehranian (University of Hawaii, USA), Dr V Sujatha (Jawaharlal Nehru University), Magdalena Stülb and Yvonne Adam (AMIKO, Germany). I am deeply thankful to them all for their precious time and thoughtful considerations.

I am also grateful to my friends – Judith Verma, Sabrina Grosse-Kettler, Dr Ercüment Çelik and Gesa Stender – for linguistic support; to Gerhard Leidner (Federal Statistical Office, Germany) for providing relevant data; and to Stefanie Laemmermann for sharing her field experiences while working on similar issues, though related to a different population-group.

Generous financial support was provided by the Alumni Freiburg e.V. (Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg, Germany), Asgharali Moledina (President, World Federation of KSIMC, United Kingdom), Nazir Jessa (Deputy Lieutenant of Bedfordshire, United Kingdom) and Najmul Hasan Rizvi (Abudhabi Investment Company, UAE). This book may not have been realized without them.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all those who participated in this study, and freely discussed their situations and selves, and those who helped me reach them. Unfortunately, I cannot acknowledge them by name due to reasons of confidentiality. However, their centrality in a research like this does not stand in need of any elaboration. I dedicate this book to them.

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Foreword

Integration of immigrants and their descendants has been a socially sensitive and a politically pressing issue in Germany, particularly in recent decades. Being the largest immigrant group in the country, and for a number of other reasons, the spotlight has been on people of Turkish descent. From a sociological perspective, the process of identity formation is a critical step in the direction of integration. As such, the present work by Mr Ali Mehdi – who has been with the Institut für Soziologie, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität Freiburg since 2004 – is of great significance and a welcome academic contribution to the integration debate in the country. If immigrants of Turkish descent are to be integrated in the society, it is crucial to inquire how they conceive of themselves, and perceive how they are seen by the *locals*, and this is precisely what this research sets out to do.

Heeding Goethe, the author goes out into broad and open land to conduct in-depth interviews with seven young men of Turkish descent, born in Germany (save one), and analyses the rich diversity of identity strategies that they employ. This approach had two significant implications for his research. One, and most importantly, he moved away from generalizations to an investigation of the specificities of individual experiences of a population group whom we tend to view as a more or less homogenous social entity (reflected in the usage of terms like 'the Turks' or 'Turkish people'). Two, beyond that, by adopting an empathetic approach – advocated, among others, by the German hermeneutic tradition – he was able to bring out hidden meanings which go into the making of their identity, and thus their chances of integration into the wider society. An important result of this has been a recognition that German and Turkish cultures are not fixed or necessarily antagonistic, so that an immigrant has to choose one or the other. Rather, if we go by the two-dimensional model of ethnic identity, it is reasonably possible to be Turkish and German simultaneously in public spheres under the purview of integration.

At the same time, I would also like to add that globalization has increased the anxiety about local ethnic identities across the world, and Germany is no exception to this. Such an anxiety has led to an increased pressure on immigrant communities in the country, particularly those with Turkish roots, to demonstrate

that they are ready to accept and adapt to German norms and values. However, what has been sometimes ignored is the fact that integration is a two-way process, which requires an equal, or arguably greater, amount of willingness on the part of the host society to accept 'foreigners' – as immigrants are generally referred to in Germany – in their midst. There was a widespread expectation that the 'gastarbeiter' (guest-worker) would return to his homeland after finishing his job. But when this did not happen, many were not simply ready to accept him in their own circles, viewed him as a threat to their identity, and expected him to adapt to local culture and values. Unfortunately, certain politicians with conservative temptations sometimes amplify rather than assuage such sentiments to garner votes without thinking about the long-term implications for integration in this country. Mr Ali Mehdi argues for a plausible alternative: we should talk *with* them, not just *about* them.

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1. Introduction

Mapping the Study

This is a qualitative study which deals with identity as negotiated and articulated by youth born to Turkish parents in Germany. As part of a community of seven million descendants of immigrant ancestry, they are "trying to find their own place and identity on the cultural and ethnic map of Europe" (Liebkind 1989: 1). What calls for a common characterisation is their predicament of living between, to use Aziza-A's[1] term, "two fat cultures" (Watzinger-Tharp 2004: 291) – one of their family, the other of the host society. Many straddle in both, but belong to none. They are "a tree with leaves and branches but without roots" (Veteto-Conrad 1996: 28), with a 'culture's in-between' (Bhabha 2002), or an "imagined community" (Anderson 1991), blurring the boundaries, and experimenting with a blend, of civilizations.

However, beyond a shared dilemma, their particular contexts and personal circumstances lead to an enormous diversity of experiences and expressions, so that it would only be at the risk of an oversimplification that generalizations could be made, at a European, national or lesser levels. As will be seen in this and the next chapter, a lot of research done regarding them is wide-ranging and sweeping in its scope, and could only help in creating stereotypes, rather than leading to any social scientific understanding of the situation on the ground. The issue of generalization shall be dealt with in the third chapter. Suffice it to say now that the entire edifice of this study is based on the notion that 'all generalizations are false, excluding this one'. The interviewees will demonstrate this in all its complexity in the fourth chapter, most protesting to be painted with a single stroke of a brush, and losing their individuality.

"All the *Nachgeborenen*, those born later, have their own personal history of dual identity and their own strategies for balancing Turkish traditions and German influences in their own lives" (Horrocks and Kolinsky 1996: xxi). Therefore, it is with the personal histories and strategies of identity formation

[1] A hip-hop singer of German-Turkish background.

A. Mehdi, *Strategies of Identity Formation,* DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-18681-8_1,

('process') of the interviewees that we involve ourselves in the course of this study. It is, so to say, a 'pedagogy of the particular', of the idiosyncrasies of individuals; the way they interpret the world around themselves, and come up with an identity response, as flexible as their (mental) world. However, I would like to add that this kind of investigative approach does not imply that certain general analyses cannot be made at all. And, even if not, it does hold the potential of nullifying some of them already made.

Although a hermeneutic tone has been set, in which a case-by-case exploration is required, a general hypothesis is needed to start with, an airstrip, if not an airport, to take off from. In this regard, Park's notion of a "marginal man", who "lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less of a stranger" (Park 1950: 356), appears to be a suitable starting point. "The marginal man … is one whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures" (Park 1950: 373-374). However, "the fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds is the same which compels him to assume, in relation to the worlds in which he lives, the role of a cosmopolitan and a stranger" (Park 1950: 375-376). He is *marginal* by virtue of his elevation above the ordinary.

Park did not only emphasize the constraints of his marginal man, he also highlighted the creative possibilities that he carries within himself. For Park, "relatively to his cultural milieu", marginal man is "the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint". He is "the more civilized human being" (Park 1950: 376), in whose mind, "the moral turmoil which new cultural contacts occasion, manifests itself in the most obvious forms", and "where the changes and fusions of culture are going on" (Park 1950: 356). "The marginal man is a personality type that arises at a time and a place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence" (Park 1950: 375). Thus, an archetypical "marginal man" would be one who is not only able to cope with the constraints, but holds a new promise.

A similar characterisation was made some time before Park proposed his notion of marginal man. Toennies, author of the well-known "Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft" (1887), talked of an "individual man", an "isolated individual", in an ideal-oriented manner. "Individual man occupies the intersection of two diagonals, which we may conceive of as linking the initial and terminal points of a cultural development. He arises from *Gemeinschaft*, and he forms *Gesellschaft*. *Gemeinschaft*, essentially, is limited and tends towards intensity; *Gesellschaft*, essentially, is unlimited and tends toward extension. It *is* "the world". The iso-

lated individual essentially is a world citizen" (Toennies 1971: 312). The prophetic vision of the two sociologists is alike. Yet, while Park talks of the contradictions and the promise which his marginal man holds, Toennies talks of the process through which his isolated individual delivers that promise, without saying anything about the constraints of "the intersection". Nevertheless, both repose their faith in the power of 'the individual', rather than structures.

To what extent are interviewees archetypical 'marginal men' or 'isolated individuals' will be discussed in chapter four. For now, as our starting point, we hypothesize about a marginal man who is "more or less of a stranger", constrained by the duality of his existence, as this is a condition which is shared by more people than the archetypical. However, for Park, there is a good news: "In its dual-commitment without taking sides, German-Turkish identity is a ferment of a culture of diversity which has begun to take shape in German society and may be seen as a forerunner of a multi-cultural future" (Kolinsky 1996: 190). Signs of this future could be seen in the articulations of at least some of the interviewees, but we shall start with the common, the constraints. In our characterisation, which will be empirically tested, the marginal man, while constructing an identity which is neither Turkish nor German in the conventional sense, feels alienated from both the worlds. He is born in Germany, but is Turkish in terms of his ascribed ethnicity and (possibly) citizenship. When he goes to Turkey to meet his root relatives, or 'as a tourist', 'the Turkish' people consider him as not one from among them, if not German. He is a "Gerk".[2] He can be Turkish, or a "Gerk", but never a German.

This brings us to the next part of the hypothesis – which culture is the 'fattest'? In other words, which of the cultures exerts the strongest constraint in identity formation process of these youth? According to Prof Amartya Sen, "characterizing the constraints faced by the chooser is the first step in understanding any choice that is being made" (Sen 1999: 18). However, it is necessary to clarify that, by two cultures, Turkish and German, is not meant two ends of a spectrum, "not merely different but antagonistic" ("East is East, and West is West, and never the twain shall meet"), or that the choice for the youth is to chose either. There could be multiple choices in between these two supposed ends of the spectrum, or a redefinition of these, or very different ones. Or, there might not always be constraints; a lot of situations could be neutral. More importantly, talking of the two cultures does not mean that they are fixed, essentialized entities. Rather, they are evolving, interacting, cooperating, at times conflicting,

[2] The term "Gerks" (perhaps a combination of *Ger*mans and Tur*ks*) was found on the following website: http://www.serve.com/shea/gerks.htm (Accessed on 11/1/2006 at 13:35).

all at once. The reason they are mentioned in such starkly contrasting terms is to conceptually magnify the predicament, and make it notionally visualizable. As a matter of fact, Germany's social spaces are mostly multi-, rather than mono- or bi-cultural.

On the constraint side of the hypothesis, we can say that the host society and government put a greater strain on the identity negotiation of these youth, compared to their family or community. The latter are central to Turkish culture, and do cast an immense influence in early adolescence, and till the time the children are dependent on their parents' resources. However, for a grown-up and independent person, one who is able to *negotiate*, it is easier to pursue something against the wishes of his family and community than the society or the system in which he lives. The constraint we are talking of is related to a person who wants to *negotiate* his identity, and not about those who prefer to ghettoize their minds and lives. The main concern here is with recognition of the negotiated identity, or an acceptance of it.

Anderson said that "the impulse towards conversion", in the sense of "alchemic absorption", based on the belief that the "nature of man's being is sacrally malleable", is "an impulse largely foreign to nationalism" (Anderson 1991: 14-15). Nations and peoples do not embrace individuals as religious systems do – they often look at race, class, ethnicity, etc. Even if one had a German passport, or the capability to speak Bavarian *Deutsch*, there is no guarantee that he would be accepted as a 'German'. As far as the German "imagined community" is concerned, you cannot 'become' one, you can only 'be'. The primary option ruled out, there are not many options at the secondary level as well. From a sociological viewpoint, Gellner theorized that a "growth-oriented industrial society, is strongly impelled towards cultural homogeneity within each political unit" (Gellner 1987: 18). And more so if there is a notion of ethnic homogeneity. Therefore, "in Germany, cultural mix, ambivalence and a synthesis of background or traditions remains socially unacceptable in the light of the pressures for cultural homogeneity which emanate from the tradition of the nation state" (Tan and Waldhoff 1996: 152). If this holds true, one could say, 'purity' constrains more than parents.

Such a lack of space for alternatives is not only reflected in the expectation from 'aliens' (a term sometimes used for immigrants, even for the ones born here) to imbibe the culture of the majority, but also at a linguistic level, when we fail to find the equivalent of 'almanyali', a Turkish term coined for German-Turks. "As yet, characteristically, there is no equivalent formulation in German that recognises bi-lingual identity in discourse", only "by means of a hyphen to

signify that a person somehow straddles both" (Tan and Waldhoff 1996: 152). What we see is that the non-natives test the limits of tolerance and liberalism of the host society to the extreme. Third-world cultures are perceived as rigid and inflexible. But, as we see, even the most 'advanced' ones do not look much different, maybe worse. In fact, it is due to a perceived essentialism that the former are made to look inflexible. The Turkish people are assumed to be 'authentically' bound to their Turkish religion and identity, while their German counterparts are postmodernists, capable of an *identity tourism*. Amartya Sen asks: "what evidence is there that people born in a non-Western tradition lack the ability to develop any other form of identity?" (Sen 1999: 26). Some react by developing an inferiority complex toward the culture and religion of their parents, trying to imitate the host culture.

From these two parts of the hypothesis – it is just an hypothesis – emerge certain questions. First of all, we need to know whether identity actually matters for the 'Turkish' youth born in Germany. If it does, do they consider themselves as marginal, in either the positive or the negative sense, or both? What constraints influence their sense of identity the most? How significant is the impact of family, peers, level of education, social experiences, citizenship, age, etc.? In what way do they interpret the social context and the situation in which they live? How do they cope with divergent social contexts? What are the sources and materials with which they form their identity? Very critically, how and why? Besides these, there are certain questions that have been prominent among those who have worked on identity. It would be interesting to see the kind of responses they get from the interviewees. A few of them are: to what extent is the ethnic or religious identity relevant for the descendants of immigrants? Is participating in the mainstream society indicative of the weakening of one's ethnic or religious identity? Is religion 'the option' between two ethnicities, the 'third way'?

Since this is meant to be an exploratory, qualitative study, we have refrained from starting out with too many specific questions, except for the ones mentioned above. This is also the reason why the variants of identity – national, ethnic, religious, professional, gender, sexual, or the like – were not specified beforehand. It was left to the discretion of the interviewees to express those that mattered for them. However, it needs to be admitted that the social field is so much saturated with the ethnic variant of identity, especially with reference to immigrant groups, that as soon as one talks of identity, about, or with, people from these groups, it is understood as ethnic identity. Other variants are largely neglected. In this sense, most interviewees reproduce the ethnic discourse of the society. Beyond this, in some cases, there is a conscious effort to invoke the

ethnic-religious identity. Therefore, it has been one of the concerns in data analysis to 'deconstruct' why a particular identity has been evoked.

Mapping the Motivations

The reasons for choosing to work on this subject have been manifold. Why identity? From the sociological point of view, the question of identity links up directly with the broader theme of social integration, which is a serious concern not only in contemporary Germany, but in almost the whole of Europe. If immigrants and their descendants are to be integrated into the society, we should know what they think of themselves, and why; although, it does not mean that their identity is the deciding factor in integration, or that they are responsible for it solely or primarily. If they do not identify themselves with Germany or the German society – although again, it depends on being recognized – it does not bode well for social order. Furthermore, our subject of study asks us to go beyond the traditional Durkheimian or Parsonian notion of social order that was fundamentally theorized with respect to largely homogenous societies, whose members share norms and values (Hechter et al 1992: 329). The issue of identity among immigrant children, with different value orientations from that of the host community, calls for a fresh perspective in the study of social order, and so carries sufficient value for social theory.

One could argue that, in an era of globalization, when identity politics is so prominent, why do we choose to focus on the individual, rather than collective, identity? Firstly, as the term 'identity politics' signifies, identity has become a highly politicized word. As soon as we talk of a collective identity, we are pushed into the political dimension, and it becomes difficult to concentrate on the sociological aspect of the case. Secondly, talking of collective means communal choices and claims, group dynamics. The individual voices, except those of the leaders, are lost, with the desire to represent and generalize. By studying individual identity, a commitment to individuality and complexity is affirmed. "By reinvoking the individual it becomes possible to relocate identity in processes of self-definition. Understanding how identity is constructed is therefore no longer solely a matter of the influences of history, culture, geography, and power but depends also on choices and constraints immediately available to individuals who as actors negotiate their lives within a broad field of social meanings and actions and within a range of institutional settings" (Dunn 1998: 9). In line with our hypothesis, the power of the individual, as characterized by Park and Toen-

nies, needs to be emphasized, especially with regard to an 'Oriental' community, in which the discretion of the individual is deemed to be sacrificed at the altar of communal conformity.

Coming to the question of why we chose to study 'young Turks', although people from so many nationalities live in Germany. This choice has a demographic as well as a strategic significance. According to Germany's Federal Statistical Office, people with a Turkish connection form the largest immigrant group in the country, with a population of 1.8 million in 2004, almost one-third of whom are *nachgeborenen*. If we include those who have been Naturalized, the figure is estimated at 2.5 million. Beyond numbers, the Turkish people are said to be culturally more distant from the German population than, say, Polish or Greek immigrants. If this is true, it is more interesting to study the identity negotiation of someone who is more different, at least ascriptionally, in relation to the host society, for the constraints and "fusions of culture" that Park talks of would be more relevant in his or her case. Still, interviewees' perceptions of alleged differences shall be used for data analysis.

At a strategic level, we find that the term "societal security", theorized by the Copenhagen School sociologists, Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, is being used in the post-9/11 context to identify Muslim immigrants in Western societies as a threat to the social security, identity, order and culture of the host society. Although its authors refer to it as socially constructed, linked to a power discourse, it has been employed in such a manner that it not only reifies the identity of immigrants considered to be a threat, but the threatened culture is, thereby, essentialized. What adds to this in the case of Germany is the fact that people who carried out the events of 9/11 went from here. Robert S. Leiken, Director of the Immigration and National Security Programs at the Nixon Center (U.S.), published an article in July/August 2005 issue of *Foreign Affairs*, entitled 'Europe's Angry Muslims', in which he characterises descendants of immigrants as "a group of alienated citizens" (Leiken 2005: 127), "wrestling with their identity" (128). He talks of "the revolt of the second generation" (127), that "Al Qaeda's drives focus on the second generation" (128), and about the "paradigmatic second-generation recruit: the upwardly mobile young adult" (127). A senior advisor at France's Institute for International Relations, Dominique Moisi, feels that "the new proletariat of the 21st century are the young and frustrated children of immigrant descent".[3] The truth behind these generalizations could only be confirmed through an empirical investigation of how do descendants of immigrants feel about their identity, and what constraints do they visualize.

[3] The Globalist. 11/11/2005. "Ring of Fire: The Paris Riots".

And, why Germany? Because it is, perhaps, the only country in Europe, or possibly in the world, facing the challenge of integration at so many levels – externally, with the European community; internally, of its eastern and western blocks; and, not the least, the integration of millions of immigrants and ethnic Germans who came from Eastern Europe and former USSR. In the following section, we will numerically sketch the social canvas of the country. The social dynamics that could be expected with such a situation makes it the right context for the study of such a socially constituted theme as identity, more so within the most differentiated group.

Mapping the Context

An understanding of the contexts of social experience is basic to 'sociological imagination'. To be able to appreciate and analyze better the specific expressions of the people we are concerned with in this study, it is necessary to know the contexts and conditions in which they find and negotiate their existence. However, the way in which they interpret their context is of prime relevance to us. So, here, we would basically outline the factual part of the context – the historical background of Turkish immigration, population and features of Germany's Turkish community, the approach of the Federal government and its citizenship laws, some voices from host society, and a sketch of Freiburg, where interviews were conducted.

Around the mid-1950s, the German *wirtschaftswunder* (economic miracle), as in other Western European countries, had begun to take shape in the aftermath of Second World War, and consequent efforts at reconstruction. Countries in the region had people to invent machines and technology, but not enough of those who could make the engines work. To fill the gap, many of them decided to sign bilateral labor-recruitment agreements with lesser developed countries in Europe and Mediterranean. In October 1961, Germany signed a pact with Turkey, which at that time, had a high fertility and unemployment rate. With that, Turkish *gastarbeiters* (guest-workers) started going out in all directions, although Germany remained the favourite destination. In 2003, according to an estimate, there were nearly 2.1 million Turks in Germany, 311 356 in France, 299 909 in Netherlands, 134 229 in Austria, 79 476 in Switzerland, 79 000 in UK, 70 701 in Belgium, and fewer in other European countries (Kucukcan 2004: 246-247).

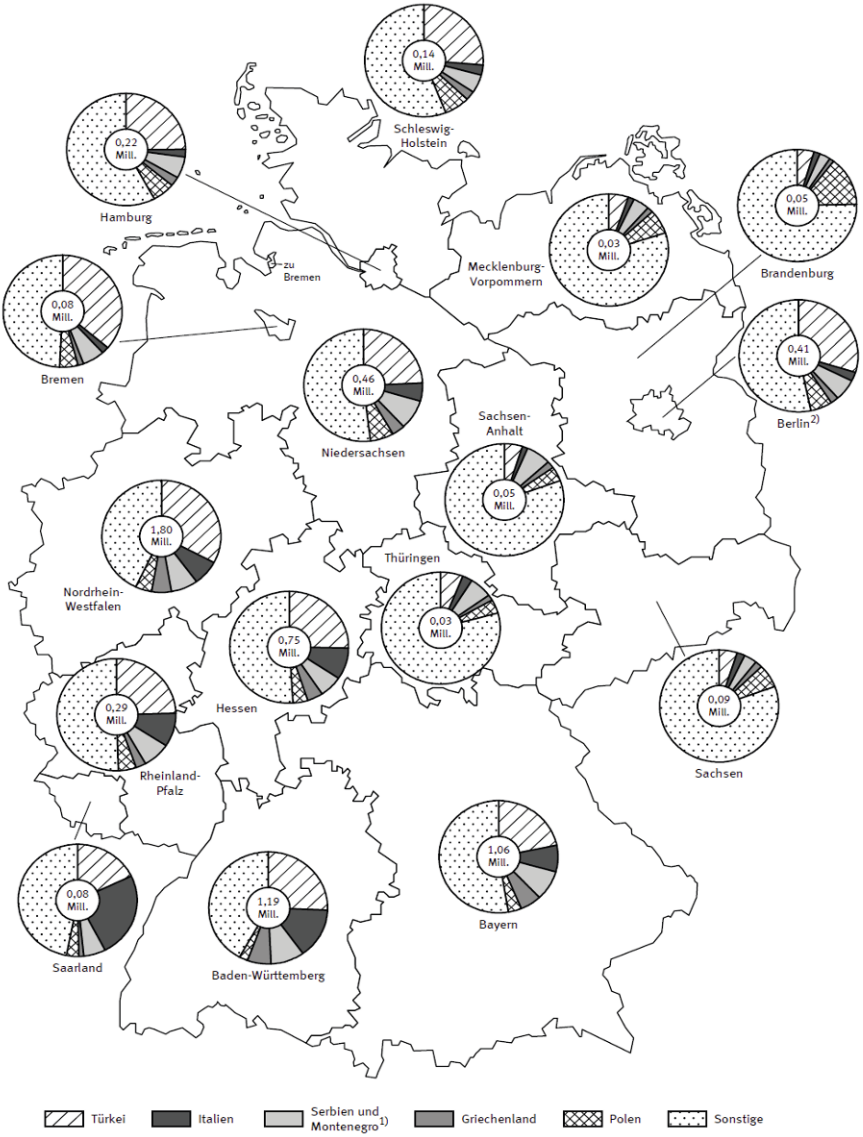
According to another estimate, there are 2.5 million Turks in Germany, half a million of whom possess German citizenship (Watzinger-Tharp 2004: 287).

The European Stability Initiative puts their figure at 2.7 million: 1 713 551 Turkish citizens, 755 000 Naturalized citizens, 270 000 German citizens with at least one parent who is a Turkish citizen (2007). No matter what the actual figures are, one thing is clear: the Turkish diasporic-community is not only truly transnational, but it forms a major part of Germany's social landscape. Figure 1 shows provincial distribution of foreign populations in Germany (2004). Among the 'rest' are citizens from more than fifty countries, which points to the multicultural nature of the country. Almost half of Turkish nationals in Germany live in Nordrhein-Westfalen (590 666) and Baden-Württemberg (304 019), as those are the states where most of them had found employment. Berlin, sometimes referred to as 'Little Istanbul', has comparatively fewer dwellers – 118 732 –, though there are many Naturalized.

The diversity of the Turkish population in Germany is as substantial as their numbers. It is not easy to characterise them as one community. As far as their origin is concerned, while during the 1960s and 1970s, "most Turkish immigrants were unskilled workers from rural areas of Anatolia" (British Council 2004: 31), working in coal-mining, steel and automobile industries (Faist 1995: 24), the military coup the of 1980, and the Kurdish problem, brought in a number of literate and qualified asylum-seekers and refugees. In the whole period, and before, many students came to study in German universities. Coming from urban areas, the latter did not feel a culture shock as ones who came from Turkish villages to German cities.

Turkey itself is an ethnically and religiously heterogeneous place, and so are its immigrants. Religion is often the first thing that comes to mind talking of the Turkish people. However, "for the *Gastarbeiter* generation, Islam hardly mattered. Few requested that employers set up prayer rooms and few had been observant Muslims before they left Turkey" (Horrocks and Kolinsky 1996: xxv). And, "according to various polls, about half the Turks living in Germany are indifferent to religion" (Abdullah 1995: 69). Apart from some extremists, the religion of pious immigrants, referred to as 'Turkish Islam' (*Turk Muslumanligi*), is based on Sufism – prominent in Anatolia – and has been able to hold different Turkish communities together. "Sufi understanding of Islamic identity is without the 'other'. Sufism, with its inner philosophy … does not define itself by its differences from others but … similarity between all God's creatures" (Yavuz 2004: 220). "Most Turks in Germany do not look upon themselves as a Muslim minority opposed to a Christian majority" (Siedel 1995: 85).

Figure 1: Provincial distribution of foreign population in Germany (2004)



Source: Federal Statistical Office, Germany.

Had religion mattered so much, it would have been difficult for the Turkish workers to develop a common bonding with their mostly Christian immigrant colleagues from Eastern and other European countries. As we shall see while analyzing interviews, even the least integrated person has close interaction with *Ausländers* (foreigners), maybe due to common class consciousness. Talking of class, there is dispute among scholars about class position of Turkish immigrants. In one view, the "Turkish middle-class formation in Germany remains extremely weak" (Kursat-Ahlers 1996: 118). The other heralds "the emergence of a Turkish middle class 'composed of professionals and a highly motivated business community, who are the sons and daughters of the insecure, uneducated, unskilled, low-paid guest workers of the 1960s'" (Watzinger-Tharp 2004: 287). There are around 60 000 Turkish companies in Germany, small and big,[4] dealing with industries, and items from *döner kebaps* to Turkish newspapers, channels, literature published in Turkish and German, movies, and the like.

Government and Citizenship

From the background of Turkish immigration and immigrants in Germany, we move on to a consideration of citizenship policy. Who is a German? More importantly, who defines 'who is a German?' These are issues that depend a lot on the approach of the government and host society, as much as they are a matter of self-definition. Discussion of this nature should, as one interviewee suggested, be initiated within a legal framework. But, before we deal with the technical part, let us consider how did the issue of citizenship actually arise.

The problem of integration and citizenship of *gastarbeiters* did not bother the government until the 1973 ban, when many of them decided to stay back, calling Germany their *Heimat* (home).[5] This was good for employers who could rely on experienced laborers, working on low salaries and rights. The initial plan was that workers will follow a rotational principle, and there would be no settlement. However, as an interviewee echoed, "Germany wanted workers, but humans came". About 200 000 Turkish workers were lured back by an idyllic nostalgia or government compensation, or both, but this did not lessen the worries of the State, for more came in as refugees (Watzinger-Tharp 2004: 286). Still, unfazed by numbers of the foreigners, the government kept chanting: 'Germany is not a country of immigration'.

[4] BusinessWeek. 2 December 2002. 'A Turkish Tycoon Speaks Out'.
[5] The word 'Heimat' means more than 'home.' It implies feelings of belonging, homeliness, etc.

It was only in 1999 that the new Nationality Act came, providing natural citizenship rights to a child born to foreign parents, resident in Germany. However, those born before 2000 still have to *opt*, and apply, for a citizenship. If they get one, they are bound to give up their Turkish passport, except in extraordinary cases. Despite reform, the ethnic idea of German citizenship has well continued: "According to Article 116 (1) of the Basic Law, a German is a person who possesses German citizenship or who was admitted to the territory of the German Reich within the boundaries of 31 December 1937 as a refugee or expellee of German ethnic origin or as the spouse or descendant of such a person. If the persons in question do not have German citizenship, as is usually the case, they are granted the status of Germans upon admission, i.e. they are recognized in the meaning of Article 116 (1) of the Basic Law as Germans without German citizenship" (Interior Ministry 2005: 81).

Panayi sees it as exclusion: "The state has clearly played a central role in creating outsiders, through, for instance, citizenship laws" (Panayi 2000: 11-12). "'Foreigners', including the second and subsequent generations, will remain second class citizens in Germany as long as their citizenship rights differ from those of ethnic Germans, who may not even have been born on German soil" (Panayi 2000: 260). As a matter of fact, many Turkish youth born in Germany speak German more fluently than the ethnic Germans who came from Eastern Europe or former USSR. Yet "native command of German does not automatically turn a person into a German, as the children of post-war immigrants have discovered" (Panayi 2000: 10-11). Descendants of Turkish migrants remain basically "denizens" (Faist 1995: 20).

Some Approaches from Host Society

Moving beyond the legal frame, let us briefly discuss how members of the host society perceive immigrants in their midst. However, in line with the anti-generalizing approach of this study, I would say, it is not without risk to try drawing a comprehensive picture of 'German' attitudes towards foreigners. There are multiple voices in the country, at the state and social level. So, at best, we can only present some of the voices as a background. Unfortunately, thanks to media's fixation with sensationalism, bad actions and articulations get highlighted, and stereotypically represented. Again, we shall rely on "me", to use Mead's term – i.e. the interviewees' perceptions of what the host society thinks about them.

In the medieval era, on the pretext of Ottoman intrusion into European territories, rumour mills run by the pioneers of printing, supported by the pious and the princes, generated an image "of the Turk as the bloodthirsty foe of Christ and Plato" (Schwoebel 1967: 166). Ulrich von Hutten, a German patriot and poet, contended that the Turks had plans to wipe out the whole German race (Schwoebel 1967: 219). Fears were reinforced when the Ottomans came knocking at the gates of Vienna. Couple this with the views of leaders like Carl Schmitt, the Nazi-minded political scientist, who advocated an ethnically homogenous German state, which required the "excretion or annihilation of heterogeneity" (Bodemann 2005: 51). With this history, it would appear justifiable to not only have German-Turks as "the representation of the total other in relation to Germanness" (Bodemann 2005: 61), but to carry out arson attacks on them, as done by neo-Nazi skinheads in certain hate incidents.

However, it would be closer to reality to say "that not everyone felt the Turk to be such a grave menace as the court made him out to be" during Middle Ages (Schwoebel 1967: 95). They knew the ruling elite had its vested interest in perpetuating hate. Post-Enlightenment, religious sensitivity diminished. And as things stand today, it appears that ethnic differences matter more than the religious, though there are signs that the ethnic sense is also declining. Also, "the economic growth that the country experienced in the 1960s and 1970s gave new impetus to a (West) German national identity based on economic prosperity and social welfare" (Triandafyllidou 2001: 71). So, while western Germany thrives on national pride based on its industrial success, the eastern part has seen an upsurge in ethnic extremism.

Apart from historical baggage, problems in the present, like unemployment and perceived cultural confusion, are met with the notion of *Überfremdung*, "to indicate what is thought to be the danger of economic and cultural domination by foreigners" (Miles 1995: 10). It is a version of what was mentioned earlier, 'societal security'. Images of Turkish immigrants – selling döner kebap, working in factories, supporting Turkey's football team, intermarrying with Germans, etc. – leads to perceptions of imperialism and impurity, which needs to be purged. But, many people like Dieter Oberndorfer, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Freiburg and Head of Germany's Migration Council in 2002, say: "we need immigrants who will stay and identify with Germany as their country" (The Nation 2002).

One could say that Dieter Oberndorfer and his types are to be found in the multicultural environs of Freiburg only, where the total population of less than two hundred thousand comprises people from more than one hundred and fifty nationalities, out of which only 2110 are Turkish nationals. Where the cosmopolitan character of the University ensures that foreigners are not treated differently. Where the sun shines the brightest in Germany, and people are friendly, to follow Montesquieu's logic. Where Greens rule, making it the 'environmental capital of Germany'. Where culture is idyllic, convincing visitors to call it 'the cultural hub of south-west Germany'. Where 65 000 acres of vineyards render it the biggest wine-growing area of any town in Germany.[6] With all this, the context of Freiburg is very different from many other German cities. And if, "in constructing an identity, one draws, among other things, on the kinds of person available in one's society" (Appiah 2005: 21), positive expressions of some interviewees in this study should not come as a surprise.

As far as spatial distribution of Turkish nationals in Freiburg is concerned, Weingarten is the area where we find some concentration (379 in number). Otherwise, the population is scattered around. However, it is to be noted that Weingarten is the place where the vineyards are, and many of them work there. Moreover, there are people from many nationalities living in that region, so it is difficult to say that it is a Turkish ghetto. It needs to be mentioned that the Turkish population in Freiburg also comprises a number of students from Turkey and from different cities of Germany. In any case, this information is useful in as much as we are concerned to know if the interviewees could be living in a concentration area where in-breeding is possible. So, from what we gathered, there is none, major, and even the mosque locale in Kreuzstrasse cannot be likened to Berlin's Kreuzberg.

[6] Information obtained from: http://www.freiburg-home.com (Accessed on 23/1/2006 at 00:43).

2. Theoretical Framework

Having outlined the concrete context of our research, a theoretical one is still needed. Instead of devoting a separate section to the review of literature on identity, we have tried to blend it with our discussion of identity theories. By so doing, we give some shape to a field of study that has branched out into numerous disciplines and directions, and thereby include only relevant parts of it. However, some of the existing work on the descendants of Turkish immigrants shall be briefly considered before it, since they are the specific concern of this research. At the end, while we shall comment on discussed theories and literature, from our own point of view, they will be verified, in chapter four, against the statements of the interviewees. After all, like identity, this paper is also meant to be 'socially constructed': recognition of theories has to come from the social actors (i.e. interviewees). Perhaps, different theories could explain different interviewees' responses.

Review of Literature on German-Turkish Youth

Coming to the second-generation, what do we know about them? Not much research has been done on the identity formation of German-Turkish descendants, especially from the sociological point of view. Two scholars, whose names appear often in relation to work done on these children, are: Thomas Faist, a sociology Professor at Universität Bielefeld, and Dr Czarina Wilpert, a Mexican-American social scientist at Technische Universität Berlin.

Prof Faist has done a lot of work on the comparative condition of these youth. His studies have highlighted their situation in relation to the market, state, social and school structures (Faist 1994), which have restricted options for those aspiring to rise above the conditions of their *gastarbeiter* parents. He has focused on their transition from school to work, a crucial phase in the life and identity of youth (Faist 1993; Faist 1995). According to Erikson, "in general it is the inability to settle on an occupational identity which most disturbs young people" (Erikson 1974: 132), and leads to an identity crisis and distortion. However,

A. Mehdi, *Strategies of Identity Formation,* DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-18681-8_2,

Faist's specialization is transnational social spaces and networks. He recently edited a work which deals with the identity and integration of migrants in Western Europe (2003).

Dr Wilpert's writings have attempted to explore the attitudes of these descendants towards issues of citizenship, nationality, naturalization (Wilpert 1999); the diverse, overlapping and changing nature of their ethnic, cultural and religious identity strategies, based on their specific contexts, experiences, family-cultural-religious resources, age and gender (Wilpert 1989; Wilpert 2003; Wilpert 2004), etc. Her recent work addresses the future of immigrant, specifically Turkish, descendants in Germany, and the situation of immigrants in the informal labour market. In 1977, she published an article in *International Migration Review*, classifying research done on these youth: 1) class-room based, using a socio-metric model, 2) psychological studies of their behavioural disturbances and special problems, 3) studies on language proficiency and intelligence, and 4) the social states of their family (Wilpert 1977).

Almost three decades later, an overview of literature on Turks in Germany was done by Jenny White (1995), who found out that the literature mostly deals with themes such as socialization, schooling, language proficiency, contact with members of other social groups, German media, citizenship, internship and job opportunities. She pointed out that much of this literature reifies Turkish culture and community, viewing it as monolithic, backward, Muslim, etc. At the same time, some researchers have focused on the shifting trait of their identities. One more field of interest has been so-called migrant literature by Turks living in Germany, written in German or Turkish. And poems, movies and plays. In another article (White 1997), she says that their interest has shifted from Turkey to Germany. In a survey, she quotes, 83 percent of respondents said they no longer wanted to return to Turkey, 75 percent said they would like to have German citizenship, if they could keep their Turkish.

Dietmar Elflein (1998) describes how a Turkish rap hip-hop group tries to construct ethnic identity, saying in one of its official releases, *Cartel* (1995): "As in France and England, here also ethnic minorities have started to rebel against discrimination through their own music" (Elflein 1998: 260). In a cross-national and cross-ethnic comparative study of 400 Turkish parent-child dyads in Germany, 190 Turkish and Moroccan in the Netherlands, Phalet and Schonpflug (2001) found that parental aspirations were transmitted, and conformity from children expected, more in German-Turkish families. Joachim Bruss (2005), in his study on inter-ethnic attitudes, learnt that, although Turkish adolescents accept German youth, and, to less degree, resettler ethnic Germans, none of the two

likes to mingle with them. At the same time, Turkish adolescents have the highest in-group values. On the other hand, Auer and Dirim (2003) show that a metropolitan German youth culture borrows symbols from Turkish language to identify with this marginal culture and distance itself from mainstream.

A relevant book edited by Horrocks and Kolinsky, "Turkish Culture in German Society Today" (1996), explores the meaning of identity for the youth of Turkish descent, live as they between two cultures. Although the tone of the book is positive towards these youth, the writers have resorted to a lot of generalizations. Like many other works on the subject, it talks about the topic of identity of the second and later generation through the writings of some of them. Nevertheless, it gives a lot of useful information regarding their attitudes and identity patterns. Following are some of the quotations which throw light on their outlook:

> Despite social segregation and disadvantages, Turks in Germany have become German-Turks. Their language draws on both cultures, although they are treated as strangers in both Turkey and Germany (Horrocks and Kolinsky 1996: xxv).

> Criticism of both Germans and Turks is a motif that surfaces often, especially in poems of second-generation writers (Veteto-Conrad 1996: 35).

> Most Turkish youths feel at home in both cultures and, having grown up in Germany, have developed a German-Turkish identity (Karakasoglou 1996: 162-163).

> The young generation of fervent Muslims who insist on religious practices and on social integration (on their terms) into German society may be called 'post-modern Muslims'. For them, adherence to traditional dress codes is not at all incompatible with the leisure-wear fashionable in the youth culture of Germany (Karakasoglou 1996: 173-174).

The *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs* published a special issue on Turkish Diaspora and Turkish Islam in 2004 (24: 2). In it, writers have studied identity among Turkish populations in different countries, and the nature of Turkish variant of Islam, how it plays a role in the self-formation of the Turkish people at home and abroad. Johanna Watzinger-Tharp wrote a well-researched paper on German-Turkish language. She says: "Younger speakers … often possess the ability to use various codes, including the mixed code *Turkendeutsch* (Turkish German), which reflects their complex position in, or between, two cultures" (Watzinger-Tharp 2004: 285). She explores the issue of identity from a linguistic point of view. Even in movies, the predicament is a concern. A prominent direc-

tor, Fatih Akin, born in Hamburg, of Turkish parentage, recently directed some movies, picturizing the identity dilemma of Turkish youth in Germany. One of them, "Gegen Die Wand", won a Golden Bear at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2004. He also made a documentary, "Crossing the Bridge". 'Marginal men' are gradually gaining recognition for their movies, if not identities.

Evolution of the Identity Debate

Coming to the theoretical part. Manuel Castells opens his book, "The Power of Identity", with this statement: "Our world, and our lives, are being shaped by the conflicting trends of globalization and identity" (Castells 2002: 1). He views identity as a powerful phenomenon, alongside, and aroused by, globalization. Whatever form it takes, and whatever implications it carries, identity has occupied the centre-stage, not only in world politics, but in the world of humanities and the social science (Weedon 2004: 1). Social movements starting from the 1960s challenged the "white, male, heterosexual, and middle-class-dominated hierarchies of modern Western society" (Dunn 1998: 5). And, as a result, mid-twentieth century identity debate revolved around race, gender and sexuality. However, since the demise of the USSR, the violent power of identity came to the fore through ethnic clashes and kalashnikovs, so much so that it is now almost synonymous with ethnicity. If that is the case, we could say that identity, in a historical sense, has completed its full circle. Erik Erikson, the renowned German-American disciple of Freud, who claimed that "the concepts of "identity" and "identity crisis" emerged from … [his] personal, clinical, and anthropological observations in the thirties and forties", thought that "they seemed naturally grounded in the experience of emigration, immigration, and Americanization" (Erikson 1975: 43). Due to his immigration experience, Erikson had somehow faced the paradox of identity between two cultures, and therefore, knew the issue very well, theoretically as well as practically.

At the disciplinary level, as mentioned above, identity is a central focus of study in many social science fields. Many research works have tried to combine perspectives from various disciplines, making it difficult to compartmentalize their sub-fields of specialization. In fact, some scholars think it is time to develop an "integrated social science of identity" (Weinrich 1989: 43), as "this lack of integration or synthesis … is surely dysfunctional" (Goldenberg 1989: 132). As of now, psychology and its various offshoots – especially social psychology – have contributed the most to the field of identity, usually using the experimental

strategy. Within sociology, it has been raised in debates on deviance, education, occupation, work, role, family, ethnicity, etc. In the last two decades, thanks to postmodernism, "the humanist or cultural studies approach to identity has dominated the field" (Cerulo 1997: 401).

Jean Phinney, a Professor of Psychology at California State University, did a review of 70 studies on ethnic identity, published in 36 refereed journals since 1972. In his research, most studies were from psychology, and only some from sociology and other disciplines. Target-wise, "the largest group of studies, nearly half the total, dealt with White ethnic groups, such as Greek and Italian Americans or French Canadians. These articles included (in order of frequency) studies from the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, Israel, and Australia. Within White ethnic groups, Jews have been the subgroup most studied. … The second largest group of studies involved Black subjects: these studies were mostly from the United States" (Phinney 1990: 500). As we can see, there is an overall imbalance in focus. Unlike those reviewed, the present study: deals with an 'oriental' ethnic group; in Germany; Muslim; non-Black; based on 'the sociological imagination', using a qualitative strategy.

Concept of Identity

Erikson thought about his child, identity, that "the more one writes about" it, the more it "becomes a term for something as unfathomable as it is all-pervasive" (Erikson 1974: 9). Enormous work has been done on it, but we still do not know for sure what it means. It would, therefore, not be unfounded to claim that there is no "clear concept" of identity in modern sociology (Scott and Marshall 2005: 'identity'), though "identity was the paradise of a secularized promise" (Hoffmann 1992: 200). According to Bauman, "identity as such is a modern invention" (Bauman 2002: 18). Nevertheless, "this kind of visible identity is only too often lacking in modern life; all too frequently, we are deprived of a clear sense of who we are or what we stand for. Our culture is marked by what might be called a cult of anonymity" (Spence 2005: 121). Identity, in a negotiated and individualized form, is said to be missing in traditional societies, as group affiliation fixed people into rigid worldviews. Modernity had promised freedom from these shackles so that one could choose who one wants to be, if not who one already is. But now, as postmodernists say, identity either does not exist at all, or as Adorno said, that it is an effect of mass production by culture industry. These

and other theoretical standpoints shall be discussed in detail in the following section.

Let us now consider some definitions of identity. Oxford Advanced Learner's Encyclopedic Dictionary (1995) defines identity thus: "who or what sb/sth is, (state of) exact likeness or sameness". This type of definition is similar to the philosophical, where identity is regarded as the "problem of distinguishing sameness from change, or unity from diversity … In personal identity the concern has been to determine whether anything in the body or mind remains constant".[7] A more pertinent one is offered by the Free Dictionary: "The distinct personality of an individual regarded as a persisting entity".[8] This one talks of individuality as well as continuity, and matches the approach taken in this study.

Anyways, the ones given by social scientists are more conceptual. "By identity, as it refers to social actors, I understand the process of construction of meaning on the basis of a cultural attribute, or related set of cultural attributes, that is/are given priority over other sources of meaning" (Castells 2002: 6). This one falls under cultural particularism, while indicating some kind of hierarchization of identities. "Identity is the prototype of ideology" (Adorno 1973: 151). It is similar to Marx's false consciousness, when a person is mistaken that an identity is his own, while it is actually social ideology or the culture industry that puts its stamp on our identities. By 'self-identity', Giddens means "the self as reflexively understood by the person in terms of her or his biography" (Giddens 1991: 53). It seems that this one is better than the other two mentioned above, as not only does it capture continuity, it adds a reflexive, hence individual, dimension to it, while avoiding both cultural particularism and culture industry.

A number of benefits of having an identity – by implication, the harms of not having one – are provided by different authors. Charles Taylor, in his encyclopedic work, "Sources of the Self", argues that, "to know who you are is to be oriented in moral space, a space in which questions arise about what is good or bad, what is worth doing and what not, what has meaning and importance for you and what is trivial and secondary" (Taylor 1989: 28). In other words, while one's identity tells us about one's moral orientations, it guides him on choices that he *ought* to make in various walks of life. In a similar vein, Appiah thinks that "to adopt an identity, to make it mine, is to see it as structuring my way through life" (Appiah 2005: 24). Beyond structure, it is said to provide stability in a world of seeming chaos: "at its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality" (Weeks 1990: 88). Uniting Taylor,

[7] The Columbia Electronic Encyclopedia, Columbia University Press.
[8] http://www.thefreedictionary.com/identity (Accessed on 12/1/2006 at 17:45).

Appiah and Weeks, Weedon states that "one of the key ideological roles of identity is to curtail the plural possibilities of subjectivity inherent in the wider discursive field and to give individuals a singular sense of who they are and where they belong" (Weedon 2004: 19). But, the most sociological one is: "identity gives us a location in the world and presents the link between us and the society in which we live" (Woodward 2002: 1). So, identity is a strategy of negotiation and location.

The dangers of not having one are not only personal, but social. In the same way as we locate ourselves in the society by means of an identity, the society locates us by means of our identity. Americans have a social security number. Students have a student number. In colonial times, indentured labourers had their numbers. Animals in farms have numbers sealed on them. Most of us have passports. 'Stateless' people are a source of trouble, as they do not 'belong' anywhere. Hoffmann confirms that "the possibility of non-identity would as much pose a threat to public security as it would entail madness for the individual" (Hoffmann 1992: 196). And many of the governments insist on their citizens having one passport, because dual citizenship could lead to confusion of classification, and of loyalties. Perhaps, that is why the postmodernists do not get into the governments – they either deny identity, or talk of fragmented, unrelated identities. And, it is not only ordinary 'laymen' or governments who insist on identity, even scholars do – many do not feel comfortable unless they have mapped somebody in a discourse or framework, constructed in their own world.

Theories of Identity

Now, we move over to the discussion on theories of identity. Although we have tried to be *scholarly* to some extent – in our effort to map very different views and scholars into broad categories – let us make clear that it would be really problematic to consider one author as part of a single group, in a complete sense, or conforming to the views of the whole group – who defines group views? – or to distinguish the boundaries of one perspective from the others. In fact, like identities and cultures, group positions evolve, and it would be wrong to essentialize them. By putting scholars into boxes, I admit committing a bit of simplification, something I have tried to struggle against in this research. It is obvious that this approach is practically challenging, but, at the same time, the effort is also to be equidistant from the radical relativism of Feyerabend. There are similarities. And differences.

Individualism

The first perspective we discuss is that of, so to say, 'individualists', those who believe in, what Appiah calls "the autarky of the soul" (Appiah 2005: 70). According to them, "the person, the personality, the inner core of the personality or, literally, the self" is the reference of identity. One could talk of an idyllic, lone being contemplating about oneself in a Wordsworthian world. Such an outlook emanated from personality psychology (Van der Werff 1990: 17), but variants of it have spread out to other fields, to social psychology particularly, and to symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology in sociology. Within psychology, the most prominent figure of this view was Freud, for whom an individual is "largely shaped by and pre-occupied with the private, the internal, the subjective" (Zaretsky 1994: 212). In fact, if we include philosophy, the idea could be traced back to Descartes's famous dictum: 'cogito, ergo sum' ('I think, therefore I am').

A strong jolt to this view came from Marx, who not only wanted to abolish private property, but private identity as well. According to him, a so-called private identity would be an expression of public identity. Once again, if we include philosophy, external source of the self was recognized by Kant in his "Critique of Pure Reason". He wrote: "This consciousness of my existence in time is bound up in the way of identity with the consciousness of a relation to something outside me, and it is therefore experience not invention, sense not imagination, which inseparably connects this outside something with my inner sense … the inner experience itself, depends upon something permanent which is not in me, and consequently can be only in something outside me" (Kant 1989: 35-36). It was Freud's disciple, Erikson, who tried to bridge the gap between the ideas of Marx (not in a specific sense) and his mentor. In "Life History and the Historical Moment", he articulates: "the "socio" part of identity … must be accounted for in that communality within which an individual finds himself. No ego is an island to itself" (Erikson 1975: 19). At the same time, Erikson was very well aware of "the difficulty of establishing the nature and the position of something that is both *psycho* and *social*" (Erikson 1975: 18).

However, during 1960s and 1970s, when *new social movements* were turning the spotlight on collective aspect of identity, the American sociologist Harold Garfinkel reinstated focus on the individual with his ethnomethodology. Ernest Gellner referred to it as "a kind of Marxism in reverse, in which the 'accountable', the inner, becomes fundamental, rather than being relegated to the superstructure" (Gellner 1979: 43). On a social side, Chicago School's symbolic inter-

actionism worked with individual as their unit of analysis. But, as we shall see, it is closer to social constructivism than Garfinkel. Some feel that "American sociology, unlike its European counterpart, has been marked by an individualistic (psychological) orientation" (Britannica 2005). But, in Europe as well, we find sociologists of no less erudition than Toennies saying: "All social forms are artifacts of psychic substance, and their sociological conceptualization, therefore, must be a psychological conceptualization at the same time" (Toennies 1971: 35). Marxism or Kantianism in reverse?

Essentialism

Essentialism, as it appears, is concerned with essence and 'essential' identity. It is also referred to as philosophical realism, related to the issue of 'authenticity'. According to this perspective, our task is to 'discover' our essence, to be 'true' to our 'authentic self'. The essentialist approach is reinforced by Romanticist arguments, 'to be yourself, to be true to your nature' (Calhoun 1994: 15). William Blake's "Songs of Innocence and Experience" talk of two stages of existence: one, when we are innocent, like a 'lamb' ('meek', 'mild' and 'child'); two, when we have experienced this cruel world, and become 'fearful' like a 'tiger'. Our mission is to regain our 'lamb-ness'. Or, we will be a 'lost' wanderer, in 'search of *our* identity', which is eternal, stable, static – waiting to be explored or uncorrupted. It appears somewhat similar to Marx's notion of 'primitive' and 'regained' communism.

"In Rabindranath Tagore's novel *Gora* (White), the problematic hero, also called Gora, who champions Hindu customs and traditions and is a staunch religious conservative is placed in some confusion when his supposed mother tells him that he was adopted as an infant by the Indian family after his Irish parents had been killed by the mutineers" (Sen 1999: 18). Journey to the 'real self' could also be in the manner of a late discovery, followed by an 'identity shock', when one comes to know about one's 'roots'. 'Back to the basics' is the mantra. Once we discover our roots, our task is to trace them, and reunite with our 'paradise lost'. However, according to Prof Sen, "the person who discovers that she is Jewish would still have to decide what importance to give to that identity compared with other competing identities" (Sen 1999: 18). Discovery does not mean an intrinsic determinism.

Anthropologists have specifically succumbed to the essentialist appeal: they are always digging down deep in their search for primordial cultures and socie-

ties, in the form when they had not come under the 'evil' influences of external sources. Thus, it is no surprise that anthropologists have been responsible for some of the contemporary ethnic and religious identity movements. They have reminded nations and peoples of who they actually were, inspiring them to seek out for their roots. Nevertheless, in intellectual terms, the perspective has become almost obsolete. If contrast helps, essentialism and existentialism are like Kipling's 'East and West', and 'never the twain shall meet'. However, before we ourselves fall into the trap of essentialism, a word of caution is required: that, "essentialism itself need not be essentialized" (Calhoun 1994: 19). There are variants of it, but due to lack of space, we cannot discuss them here separately.

Symbolic Interactionism

The symbolic interactionist perspective, associated with the Chicago school of sociology, seems to provide the link between psychologists' lone individual and sociologists' social processes. In its approach, identity is the process through which individuals become members of the society. It is in their everyday interaction that social processes and structures acquire their complexity. Although Mead, perhaps the main theorist of symbolic interactionism (James, Cooley, Strauss, etc. being other), placed himself within social psychology, their perspective came to dominate American sociology as a response to Parsons' functionalism and grand theorization, coming to be placed within the micro-sociological tradition.

In Liebkind's view, "in the sociological literature the link between society and identity is most directly addressed in the symbolic interactionist tradition". He, then, goes on to identify its two key sub-schools: the "'processual interactionists' ('the Chicago School') and the 'structural interactionists' ('the Iowa School'). The key feature of the former is its emphasis on the social situation as the context in which identities are established and maintained through the process of negotiation (or 'bargaining') … The structural interactionists emphasize the concept of role; identities are viewed mainly as internalized roles" (Liebkind 1989: 29). While Park's work on vocation and role puts him in the latter school, Cooley and Mead seem to represent the former.

Let us briefly consider the views of Cooley and Mead concerning identity process, since this is what we are concerned with in this study. "Self and society", asserts Cooley, "are twin-born" (Cooley 1962: 5). Having said that, he brings to the centre of his analysis the individual, who is "always cause as well

as effect of the institutions" (Cooley 1962: 314). Through his notion of a "looking-glass self", Cooley tried to explain how we form our identity; he says: "As we see our face, figure, and dress in the glass, and are interested in them because they are ours, and pleased or otherwise with them according as they do or do not answer to what we should like them to be, so in imagination we perceive in another's mind some thought of our appearance, manners, aims, deeds, character, friends, and so on, and are variously affected by it" (Cooley 1964: 184). Our image of our self is mirrored through others, based on our own interpretation.

Mead tried to explain this process through his notion of 'me' and 'I'. "The "I" is the response of the organism to the attitudes of the others; the "me" is the organized set of attitudes of others which one himself assumes. … The "I" is his action over/against that social situation within his own conduct … The "I" gives the sense of freedom, of initiative" (Mead 1967: 175-178). More interesting and enlightening is his notion of society: "What the society is, whether we are living with people of the present, people of our own imaginations, people of the past, varies, of course, with different individuals" (Mead 1967: 143). So, when he says that "it is impossible to conceive of a self arising outside of social experience" (Mead 1967: 140), it does not necessarily have to be the local society, where one physically is. People can carve their identity living in an imaginary or virtual society. However, this is by implication of what he said; otherwise, Mead's view was that only "after a self has arisen", can we "conceive of an absolutely solitary self", or on its own, without a society (Mead 1967: 140). This shows that even though he defined society in this manner, when talking of identity, he did mean the society of our day-to-day interaction. This is further proven through his concepts of the 'significant other' and 'generalized other', on the basis of interaction with whom, on a regular face-to-face level, we construct our identities.

Putting the "freedom" of "I" and the influence of society in a paradoxical relation, he argued: "We are one thing to one man and another thing to another. There are parts of the self which exist only for the self in relationship to itself. … There are all sorts of different selves answering to all sorts of different societal reactions. It is the social process itself that is responsible for the appearance of the self" (Mead 1967: 142). This has similarities with the social constructivist (Goffman's "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life") and the postmodernist perspectives, according to which, one is able to change one's identity in line with the changing social context. However, Mead's concept, so it seems, is that of differing variants of a single identity – "parts of the self" – and not of multiple, fragmented identities.

Mead admitted to differences with his 'significant others'. "Cooley and James", he said, "endeavor to find the basis of the self in … experiences involving "self-feeling"" (Mead 1967: 173). In another work, he says: "C. H. Cooley … stresses an abstract sociability … Cooley brings out the essential sociability of the child in his own imagination, building up imaginary comparisons and talking to himself. This essential sociability is that out of which personality arises. There is a difference between this thesis of Cooley's and our point of view" (Mead 1982: 54). So, while Mead rose to a sociological level, they mostly remained grounded in psychology.

Social Constructivism

Moving from an eclectic to a purely sociological realm, let us now discuss social constructivism (or constructionism), whose primary concern has been with the sociology of knowledge – ways in which society, agents of socialization in particular, 'construct' our perceptions and constrain our behaviour, influence our identities, and provide recognition to them. In emphasising the constructed and fabricated nature of what we accept as 'natural', constructivists stand in sharp contrast to essentialism. As such, their vision has found considerable favor with those trying to dismantle distinctions and discriminations based on gender, race, caste, ethnicity, etc.

The social constructivist position, formally articulated by American sociologist, Peter L Berger, in collaboration with his German counterpart, Thomas Luckmann, in "The Social Construction of Reality" (1966), has been enriched by the creative writings of Mary Waters, Howard Becker, Erving Goffman, W I Thomas, Benedict Anderson, Eric Hobsbawm, and others. Bodemann has even included Max Weber in this group (Bodemann 2005: 51). While most of them "are concerned with the ways in which socialization agents organize and project the affective, cognitive, and behavioral data individuals use to form a … self" – which is "a social artifact – an entity molded, refabricated, and mobilized in accord with reigning cultural scripts and centres of power" (Cerulo 1997: 387) – their emphasis on the power of structure and agency is varied.

Before one becomes suspicious of functionalist/Marxist tendencies in the approach – although ex-Marxists in the group did bring over some – it should be made clear that the position as put up by Berger and Luckmann views reality in a dialectical relation. "Society is a human product. Society is an objective reality. Man is a social product" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 58). First of all, human

beings create social structures and institutions through interaction, which after a process of objectivation become objective reality, *out there*, having "coercive power" over them (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 57). One could use the metaphor of the internet in explaining the phenomenon – humans create it, its flows are beyond control, and it now influences us deeply.

Now, for us, those who were not involved in the creation of society (it already exists out there), our relationship with society starts in its impact on who we are and what we think. Those who have formed and reformed it over the ages have already written definitions and distinctions in the social script. Agents of socialization reflect those scripts in our inner selves. "The socialized part of the self is commonly called *identity*" (Berger and Berger 1972: 62). Once we have been identified by others in a specific way ('identification'), we try to self-identify ourselves either by accepting, rejecting or modifying the identity given to us by others. In the event of rejection or modification, the newly self-assumed identity would hold any meaning for the person holding it only when it has been reconfirmed and recognized by others. "In other words, identity is the product of an interplay of identification and self-identification" (Berger and Berger 1972: 62).

In Berger's work with Luckmann, another formulation is presented, outlining two possibilities. One, in which *certain* social structures are almost replicated in a *certain* class of individuals, so that if we study those individuals' identities, we would be able to understand their society's structure, culture and worldview. This is a kind of behaviourism in reverse. "Specific historical social structures engender identity *types*, which are recognizable in individual cases" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 159). One who embraces this approach, and is able to identify "individual cases", could make generalizations about "specific" societies. Some have taken this argument quite a bit further: "There is now overwhelming evidence, from a variety of disciplines, that an individual's sense of self inevitably and necessarily reflects the general world view prevailing in a given culture and era" (Honess 1990: 69). Can we call it a mass-producing 'culture industry'?

In the second possibility, the dialectical relation between individual and society is affirmed in a manner that clearly reveals the power of the former without understating the 'tyranny' of the latter. "Identity is … a key element of subjective reality, and like all subjective reality, stands in a dialectical relationship with society. Identity is formed by social processes … Conversely, the identities produced … react upon the given social structure, maintaining it, modifying it, or even reshaping it" (Berger and Luckmann 1966: 159). Here, there is an exchange

of roles, even if for a while: individual is the monster, society Frankenstein, though not in a complete sense.

A middle ground between the two possibilities has been taken in the constructivist tradition by Becker: "labelling, as carried out by moral entrepreneurs, while important, cannot possibly be conceived as the sole explanation of what alleged deviants actually do" (Becker 1973: 179). No matter how much the society exerts its influence on the individual, he cannot be claimed as the definite reflection of his society. No matter how much society exerts its influence on formation of one's identity, what/who one *is* (after *becoming* through social interaction) is not just social. Becker also presented the idea of an "identity career" (Goldenberg 1989: 132). One's identity is evolving and changing in different stages and contexts of life, although within a continuum. In his view, unlike Berger and Luckmann, society exists first (not a human construction initially), exerts its effect on individuals' actions and perceptions, "but it is not an inert objective reality that only possesses a sense of constraint" (Bryman 2004: 17-18).

Driving human volition further, Mary Waters talked of ethnic identity as one's personal choice, the choice being made in the light of benefits accrued or losses incurred (Cerulo 1997: 389). If, for instance, one is of a mixed ancestry, one could highlight or choose one type of ethnicity in a certain situation to avail of expected benefits or to avoid any potential loss. Goffman has gone beyond this in emphasizing individual manipulation and "impression management" (Goffman 1958: 132). In a Shakespearian spirit, he characterizes the modern world as a theatre ("all the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players … one man in his time plays many parts")[9] where the diversification of contexts leads to a fragmentation into 'identities'. One has to respond to the requirements of different, often contradictory, situations by adjusting and so presenting himself in a variety of 'selves' as the situation demands. He describes the concept of "performance" in his book, "The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life" (Goffman 1958: 13). It is "as if" (Goffman 1958: 3) one were it, the situational or contextual identity. This view places him close to the postmodernist/poststructuralist camp. He also talked of "Stigma" (1963), and how society's definitions put constraints on peoples' identity and the choices available to them.

[9] Excerpted from Shakespeare's play, "As you like it".

Postmodernism

From social constructivism, we move on to what we can call a kind of *cultural constructivism*. "A media culture has emerged in which images, sounds, and spectacles help produce the fabric of everyday life, dominating leisure time, shaping political views and social behavior, and providing the materials out of which people forge their very identities" (Kellner 1995: 1). This culture, marked by self-conscious "depthlessness", is concerned with "surface" and "variations in surface decoration", promising a utopia in which "what you dream is what you might get", and leading to the "'pluralisation of life-worlds'" (Scott and Marshall 2005: 'post-modernism'). This is the culture of the postmodern, in which one possesses no essence (depth) and is shaped continually by the whims and winds of fashion. Death of the 'metanarrative' has brought death of *meta-identity*, of a grand sense of self. We have fragmented multiple selves. There is neither an 'authentic' self, nor continuity in or unification of our selves. "Once upon a time, it was who you were, what you did, what kind of a person you were – your moral, political, and existential choices and commitments, which constituted individual identity. But today it is how you look, your image, your style, and how you appear that constitutes identity" (Kellner 1995: 259).

Comparing postmodern identity with its modern counterpart, Bauman writes: "Indeed, if the *modern* 'problem of identity' was how to construct an identity and keep it solid and stable, the *postmodern* 'problem of identity' is primarily how to avoid fixation and keep the options open" (Bauman 2002: 18). He likens human personality to a desert, in which the blows of wind keep altering the shape of the desert. Similarly, human beings hold an identity only for a while, after which they are able to change it elementally. And it is not only our "marginal man" who is able to move in and out. The "styles once practised by marginal people in marginal time-stretches and marginal places, are now practised by the majority in the prime time of their lives and in places central to their life-world" (Bauman 2002: 26). The postmodern condition is prevalent. In fact, identity is now so flexible and unstable that its meaning in the sense of 'sameness' and continuity has to be replaced with 'difference'. The very term has to be put 'under erasure'; it is untenable, sought by those who try to escape the postmodern uncertainty (Bauman 2002: 19).

Although the idea of the preeminence of culture seems similar to that of Adorno and Frankfurt School, the loss or fragmentation of individual or autonomous identity in the new postmodern culture is neither a 'regression', as critical theorists argue, or 'alienation' as Marxist would, nor is it accompanied by any

sense of anxiety. “We are no longer in the world of alienation and it is therefore no longer possible to use arguments based on one’s own wretchedness, one’s own inauthenticity, one’s misfortune and bad conscience” (Baudrillard 1993: 41). How is it possible to be at once driven by the winds of fashion, to be able to change our identities at will, and feel no anxiety or alienation? An answer is given by Foucault: the winds of fashion, the discourse of power, the very logic of control, are inside us, so that we conform to them without any strain.

In “Discipline and Punish” (1975), he used Bentham’s notion of a “Panopticon”, which induces “a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. … that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they are themselves the bearers” (Foucault 1995: 195-228). Our sense of identity is shaped by the power discourse through an internalization of ‘power games’ in us. We play with identities, assuming that we have the power to alter them as and when we desire; rather, it is the intense winds of fashion and power blowing inside us that shape our identities.

Baudrillard has expressed it by saying that there is no ‘other’ out in the society, in interaction with whom we form our identities. We are expected to follow the dynamic installed in us. “It’s no longer possible either to hope to come to existence in and through the eye of the other for there is no longer a dialectic of identity” (Baudrillard 1993: 41). It is from this position that the postmodernists and poststructuralists say that identity is in reality a myth, illusion, a construct of discourse and power, ‘false consciousness’, a prototype of society’s reigning cultural scripts. With this approach, they criticize the social constructivists for assuming identity formation an interactive process, by means of a dialectical relation between individual and society, ignoring the role of power. So constructivists merely theorize within the basic categories of essentialists.

As a remedy, “postmodernists examine the “real, present day political and other reasons why essentialist identities continue to be invoked and often deeply felt” … Further, in the study of identity, they view the variation within identity categories … as important as the variation between identity categories” (Cerulo 1997: 391). In the light of this approach, not only should the focus be on the process of identity formation, but also on the reasons why one emphasises a particular identity and not the other. This will tell us about scripts inscribed inside our being.

Two Models of Ethnic Identity

Having discussed the major theories on identity, I wish to briefly allude to two ethnic identity models mentioned by Phinney (Phinney 1990: 501). The theories we have dealt with could also explain what these models promise, but since the latter address it specifically and directly, and have been invoked in terms of an essential contradiction between cultures, I wish to mention them separately. The question they address is: does identifying with the mainstream society an indication of the weakening of one's ethnic identity? In our approach, it would be: is living in two cultures possible, or is the 'fascism of the mind' (settling down for one, choking the others) the only solution for the descendants of immigrants? This has direct relevance for integration.

The first one of them is the linear, bipolar model. In it, "ethnic identity is conceptualized along a continuum from strong ethnic ties at one extreme to strong mainstream ties at the other". It is possible for different combinations to exist between the two ends of the spectrum, or there is also the probability that one settles down at either of them. The basic problem with this model is that it conceptualizes in terms of *two*, and contrasting, identities. In reality, there could exist more than two contexts or cultures in a society. Secondly, they don't always or necessarily have to be antagonistic. A distinction based on mainstream-periphery or majority-minority is based on an ossification of both, even when there are regular interactions and inter-exchanges. So, if one decides to emphasize one's Turkish identity, it could only be by compromising on or at the expense of a German identity, and vice versa. Let us see how our interviewees respond to this.

The second is the two-dimensional model. Unlike the first, it claims that the "two relationships may be independent". In other words, one could be a Turkish as well as a German. This could either be at the same time, or it could be taken to mean in different contexts. Living in cultures of the ethnic community and the mainstream society is possible, and one does not necessarily have to negate or undermine either of them. So, social integration is possible by maintaining loyalty to one's own culture, and simultaneously, identifying oneself as a member of the host society. The problem would arise in such instances where they provide contradictory answers.

Comments

Although, as said at the beginning of this chapter, the confirmation and recognition of theories we discussed here would ultimately come from the statements of the interviewees, I would like to contrast them using a set of criteria: process of identity formation, choice and continuity.

As far as an adequate explanation of the process of identity formation is concerned, the idea of an individual 'pre-occupied with the private' is sociologically untenable. And so is essentialism with its natural determinations. Garfinkel's individual is involved in making sense of the world around him, 'doing sociology' in 'artful ways'. But, how exactly does he make sense of himself, his identity, we do not know much about. Symbolic interactionism, processual interactionism in particular, explains the process of identity formation with careful detail, as it happens in the real life-world situations. While social constructivists and postmodernists, on the other hand, provide an explanation of identity formation at an abstract, generalized and structural level. At the level of practical application, I feel that the symbolic interactionist position is more suited to the explanation of individual cases, how individuals develop their sense of "me" and the "I".

This brings us to the issue of individual choice in the process of identity formation. "The point at issue is whether choices exist at all, and to what extent they are substantial" (Sen 1999: 18). The interactionist stance is presented here through Coser. Interpreting Mead, he writes: "The peculiar individuality of each self is a result of the peculiar combination, never the same for two people, of the attitude of others that form the generalized other" (Coser 1971: 337-338). In contrast to this, the social constructivists and postmodernists positions display deterministic tendencies through society, culture or power. Berger talked of "identity *types*" reflecting social structures. Although in some versions of both positions, this has been balanced by highlighting the contextual or situational nature of identity, where one is able to freely move in and out of contexts and identities, the overall accent on social structures and power discourse makes the choice seem illusory. For ethnomethodology, people do not merely represent the social world.

Third criterion is continuity. "My underlying thesis is that there is a close connection between the different conditions of identity, or of one's life making sense" (Taylor 1989: 51). This has been visualized by all except postmodernists. According to them, there is no essence in human beings and they can radically change their identities without any sense of anxiety or alienation. In the indi-

vidualist tradition, Erikson holds the "continuity of self as being an essential feature of one's identity" (Weinrich 1989: 48). Essentialists are at an extreme, talking of an immutable essence, and thus permanent continuity; or more appropriately, the continuation of sameness. Constructivists reflect continuity, but Goffman's theatrical presentation of self puts him closer to the postmodernist line. Interactionists talk of 'different selves', but there is continuity. Mead talks of "the unity and structure of the complete self" (Mead 1967: 144).

In my approach, individuals have an essence, which they can reshape according to their will to a great extent. Similarly, a "resocialization" (Giddens 1993: 80) is also possible. What is inside and what is outside does influence us, but does not determine our identity. While we do not choose our life contexts, we can definitely choose our identity options, within the framework of the given contexts. There is continuity in our identities in different time and situational zones. Overall, I think that the symbolic interactionist position is the most illuminating for our study, as it explains the process of identity formation in real life-world, with choices and a continuity.

3. Research Methodology

Up! Flee! Out into broad and open land
And this book full of mystery
– Faust (Goethe)

This is an exploratory empirical study using unstructured, conversational style interviews. And it is the first of its kind that I have ever done. What instilled the Faustian spirit in me – to go out into the world and explore the experiences of social actors – was a growing distaste for generalization, and an increasing sense of alienation from the people we study and talk about in our theoretical work. As one of the interviewees put it, "the German government talks *about* the Turkish migrants in Germany, but they don't talk *with* them". Unfortunately, such type of attitude in our field has led to what John Goldthorpe has called the "scandal of sociology" (Goldthorpe 2000: 2). Since sociology is also, if not basically, about how peoples' lives reflect their social contexts (Giddens 1993: 11), and ways in which they construct their social world, it is necessary to talk *with* them.

Strategy

The research strategy that we have adopted in this study, reasons for which shall be mentioned later, is a qualitative one – deductive in its approach, interpretivist in terms of epistemological consideration, and constructivist or interactionist in its ontological orientation. To elaborate, by 'qualitative', I do not simply imply a strategy dealing with words rather than numbers, but a framework in which primacy is assigned to people's views rather than theories, to the ways in which the interviewees construct their subjectivity rather than our own constructs, and finally to the idiosyncratic particularities and complex richness of the individuals' identity strategies.

By 'deductive', I mean that the hypothesis, theories and contextual details discussed here shall be analysed in the light of research findings, and subsequently approved, rejected or modified. Some clarifications are needed here.

A. Mehdi, *Strategies of Identity Formation,* DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-18681-8_3,

First, one may ask why a deductive, and not an inductive, approach is adopted, which is more common within a qualitative strategy. The reason for this lies in our emphasis on continuity, so that work that has already been done in the field is taken into consideration. With a deductive approach, we can also check on grand theorization, and at the same time, work within a larger framework.

By 'interpretivism' is meant understanding of *meaning* we attach to our identities and actions. This is founded on the view that, unlike objects in the natural world, human beings act on the basis of meanings that they attach to their life and the world around them. And, therefore, one of the tasks of the social sciences should be to try to empathically understand those ascribed meanings. It is about considering people's lives from their own viewpoints, something which is inconceivable in the sphere of the natural sciences, objects of which lack any perception. Interpretivism is embraced by most of the anti-positivists: the hermeneutic-phenomenological tradition, Weber (*Verstehen*), interactionists, structuralists, poststructuralists, postmodernists (Britannica 2005), etc. Coser gives credit to Mead, Cooley, and other pragmatists in making it instrumental (Coser 1971: 340).

And finally, by a 'constructivist' or 'interactionist' ontological orientation is implied that society is not a given reality, independent of us, constraining our ideas and actions, as the objectivists or functionalists would have us believe. Instead, society, as constructivists and interactionists tell us, is a human accomplishment, with a dialectical relation between structure and agency. With this perspective, our task is to understand how this dialectical relation works in the real world. So, we will be looking at how the social context influences our interviewees, and in what manner and degree do they negotiate with it. In doing so, we acknowledge that human world is different from the natural world, which is given and beyond the control of its objects. Another way of comparing the ontological perspectives is through positions that they tend to align with – objectivism with the formal, structural, macro, conservative and hierarchical; constructivists with the informal, individual, micro, negotiable and the liberal. This explains our choices well.

Design

We follow the 'case study' research design here. Bryman tells us that "some of the best-known studies in sociology are based on this kind of design" (Bryman 2004: 48). It also fits well into our commitments towards continuity, complexity,

and particularity: "Case studies are of value for refining theory and suggesting complexities for further investigation, as well as helping to establish the limits of generalizability" (Stake 2000: 448). An experimental research design is not suited to our overall approach, though most of the work on identity has been done using it. Comparative, cross-sectional or longitudinal research design could have been interesting. But, the time and resources at our disposal did not allow us to consider them as an option, although admittedly, this study was conceived of as a comparative identity study of Turkish youth in Germany and Pakistani youth in Britain, underlying factor being a common religion.

For our research, we select a single community (Turkish), born in a single country (Germany), belonging to a single life-stage (adolescence), and living in a single locality (Freiburg). If *single* is the criterion for a case study, then I assume we are to the mark. However, such a singularity does not make our study representative of the singular universe we are talking about. In other words, our observations will not represent the entire community of second-generation Turks in Germany, but only those whom we interviewed. After all, "the purpose of a case report is not to present the world, but to represent the case" (Stake 2000: 448). Perhaps, not even the case in a complete manner, as we were able to interview them only in one context and time period. If identity is contextual, then it is clear that multi-contextual interviews would be ideal. We will take up the issue of generalizability while discussing the criteria for evaluation.

Methods

As mentioned at the beginning, we have selected qualitative, conversational style interviews for this study. An information sheet was additionally used to obtain basic details about the interviewees (refer to table 1). Why this, and, by implication, not other methods, were used, requires justification at different levels. Firstly, since the "methods of social research are closely tied to different visions of how social reality should be studied" (Bryman 2004: 4), it is imperative to show how choice of methods flows logically from our epistemological considerations. Secondly, 'qualitative' rationale, which although related to the first, stands in greater need of validation, especially in the light of the fact that there has been a strong tradition of quantitative research in the field of identity studies. Thirdly, explanation for using an 'unstructured, conversational style', and not other genre, of qualitative interviews. And, why was not ethnographic fieldwork, which appears to be the quintessentially natural choice for a study that argues in

favour of a qualitative strategy, chosen. First two rationales are theoretical, the latter two largely practical.

While rationale for these shall be given in the following section, I can mention here why I did not opt for two obvious sources: the *Gastarbeiterliteratur*,[10] which has been chosen by so many scholars who have tried to understand the identity negotiation of first and second generations; and participant observation, of the kind in which one wants to compare what the interviewees say with what they actually do. About so-called *guest-worker literature*, it provides very useful insights about the minds and identities of the authors themselves, so I would contend, but not of an entire generation or community (literature is regarded as a reflection of social condition). And, from a scientific viewpoint, it contains the ideas of the author, expressed in a literary style to impress readers (for which, fads could be mixed up with facts). The impropriety of judging literature using scientific criteria is clear, but so is using literature in a scientific work.

As for participant observation with the stated intention, as mentioned in Phinney's article: "A specific question that has concerned researchers is the relationship between what people say they are and what they actually do or how they feel" (Phinney 1990: 506). My argument is that our being human makes us less, not more, consistent. Animals with instincts are consistent. Life does not stop while we think or negotiate our identity. People keep acting in a particular way even when they are in a dilemma about it. Likewise, there could be many reasons for a gap between what people say and what they actually do, including blunt hypocrisy. By saying this, I am not questioning participant observation as such, but only with the stated intention. Using it in combination with interviews could be very rewarding, but unfortunately we did not have enough time for that. So, instead of trying to verify, we just talk to people, ask them about their activities, and if we find contradictions, we ask them to clarify it, which we would do even if we do participant observation. Our task is to know how people make sense of their consistencies, as well as *apparent* contradictions. Else, we will be judging them on the basis of our own bias.

Considerations

Now, something that I, and not interviewees, have to explain and justify – the choice of research strategy and methods. Or, to use Gellner's phrase, what is the "method in my madness" (Gellner 1979: 182)? The epistemological considera-

[10] A term used to label literature by Turkish or other guestworkers, at times that of their children too.

tions involved in making the choices were discussed to some extent while describing what is implied by interpretivism.

Interpretivism, as an alternative to positivism, has its antecedents in the German hermeneutic (*Geistewissenschaften*) and *Verstehen* tradition. This approach, deriving from the writings of Hegel, Dilthey, Rickert, Simmel, Toennies, Weber, etc. emphasized that there is a difference in the subject matters of the natural and social sciences. As a strong proponent of the *Verstehen* variant, Weber believed that, "whereas in astronomy, the heavenly bodies are of interest to us only in their *quantitative* and exact aspects, the *qualitative* aspect of phenomena concerns us in the social sciences" (Weber 1969: 74). Because social actors possess will and assign meaning to their actions, the task of the social scientists is to empathically understand those meanings. And, to get to those subtle meanings, we have to respect "the social actors' inalienable right to define what his or her social action means for himself or herself" (Cohen 1996: 112-113).

In line with this approach – coming to our first question raised above – I opted for a type of interview that not only respects this "inalienable right" of social actors, but tries to understand their identity in their own terms, without the intrusion of theoretical constructs or categories, and in a manner that could make them feel as comfortable as could be possible. It is because of these that I chose to do my research using the unstructured, conversational style interviews. The idea was to keep them open-ended, and build up the conversation on the basis of what the interviewees express. Furthermore, effort was made to let the interviewees talk, while I listen to them, the recorder doing its job. In order to ask fewer questions verbally, the information sheet was used for factual knowledge.

Moving to why I did not follow the tradition of identity research in which quantitative methods are employed, first of all, I would like to admit that following the hermeneutic line of argument does not imply that quantitative methods cannot be used at all in the social sciences or identity study. Quantitative methods could be used in our field just as, "aside from pure mechanics, even the exact natural sciences do not proceed without qualitative categories" (Weber 1969: 74). Popper talked of empathy in natural sciences (Gellner 1985: 62), beyond which some claim: "the differences between the quantitative and qualitative traditions are only stylistic … methodologically and substantively unimportant" (King et al 1994: 4). However, without going to the extent that Popper, King et al did, I argue that identity "typically has a strong narrative dimension" (Appiah 2005: 68), which qualitative methods can capture best.

Beyond the theoretical arguments, our justification to use qualitative methods also comes with specific reference to the kind of group we are studying.

Charles Ragin links qualitative method with the representation of minority or marginalized groups in the society: "Often, these groups lack voice in society. Their views are rarely heard by mainstream audiences because they are rarely published or carried by the media. In fact, their lives are often misrepresented – if they are represented at all. Techniques that help uncover subtle aspects and features of these groups can go a long way toward helping researchers construct better representations of their experiences. … the qualitative approach is well suited for the difficult task" (Ragin 1994: 83). Nevertheless, at the personal level, I need to admit that my choice was also coloured by my liking. "Some people will always dislike mathematics, however well they may be taught" (Russell 1968: 78). And, I am definitely one of those "some".

The third question, as to why I did not take other types of qualitative interviews, was answered with respect to structured and semi-structured interviews in the first, when I said that the idea was to keep them as open-ended as possible. However, there is one type which I did try to use, but could not, is the autobiographical or the life-history interview. The reason why I wanted to employ it was that it could capture the "strong narrative dimension" of identity most strongly, and looked useful for describing the 'process' of identity formation in a horizontal manner, or historically. But, because of the language barrier, and lack of sufficient funds to get the translation of a large maze of information this type of interview generates, I opted for unstructured type, focusing on the vertical 'process'.

And, as for the last, the reason for not making use of ethnographic fieldwork was a lack of time. Otherwise, I fully agree that it would perhaps form the best combination with autobiographical interviews for a study like ours. Because this was just a master's thesis, with only four months to do the theoretical, field and writing work, and with limited accessibility to time and financial resources, the second-best route had to be adopted.

Sampling

Initially, the plan was to select ten people across gender, level of education, class and residence. But, when we went out to the field, we had to drop the word *selection*, and interview any willing young person of Turkish descent born in Germany (except for one, who came here as a two-year old child, and I included him to see what difference does knowledge of birthplace make in terms of responses

– and, as we shall see, it did have a strong influence), present in Freiburg. So, we may call it convenience sampling.

This was not a problem, as never was our aim to have a so-called *representative* sample, which could be a microcosm of Turkish population. The seven males that we finally interviewed did open our eyes to the richness and diversity of identity strategies that these youth employ. And now, we are faced with "one of the most important achievements of all social science: *explaining as much as possible with as little as possible*" (King et al 1994: 29).

Access and Procedures

An expert advice was not to go for those studying at the University, but to go out into the society. Although this smacks of the view that few Turkish people are able to make it to the university (and those who do are, therefore, not a representative sample), my own endeavor was to meet ordinary people in the society and record their experiences. Acquaintances were helpful in accessing them, but so was my being a Muslim. And so was my first name – "for Germans the generic name for Turks is Ali" (Veteto-Conrad 1996: 30).

Interviews were done in a face-to-face and casual interaction, so that there is no burden of formality. A digital audio recorder was used with the consent of interviewees. An attempt was made to be as friendly, natural and non-questioning as possible, to develop a rapport. Interviewees were asked at the beginning to talk about their background, anything they wished to say about themselves. From what they said, leads were followed up and questions asked. No notes were taken on the spot. Observations were written at home.

Problems

A problem at the theoretical level was approaching 'Turkish' youth. "Determining ethnicity for research purposes is in itself a methodological problem that has often been ignored" (Phinney 1990: 504). The aim was to be careful in not spelling out any identity categories. But, it is not clear if approaching them as 'Turkish' influenced their responses.

At the practical level, besides time and financial constraints, the biggest hurdle was language. I remember a song from Indian cinema: 'zabaan-i yaar-i man Turki, wa man Turki nami danam' (the language of my friend is Turkish,

and I don't know Turkish). In my case, German as well. It was a problem in accessing the interviewees, and during interviews with three people (for whom, translation from English to Turkish/German and back, was done).

Evaluation

The criteria for evaluating research, as used in the quantitative tradition, cannot be justifiably used in a qualitative work as this. "The more comprehensive the validity – or scope – of a term, the more it leads us away from the richness of reality … In the cultural sciences, the knowledge of the universal or general is never valuable in itself" (Weber 1969: 80). For us, "the search for particularity competes with the search for generalizability. … Each case has important atypical features, happening, relationships, and situations" (Stake 2000: 439). While a positivist methodology expects us to prove cases as "instance of a well-supported regularity" (Keat and Urry 1982: 9). In Mead's view, "the peculiar individuality of each self is a result of the peculiar combination, never the same for two people, of the attitude of others that form the generalized other" (Coser 1971: 337-38). The society could be the same, but they way one interprets it, will vary from case to case. Furthermore, there is uniqueness in response based on those interpretations. Nevertheless, we will be "timeless and timebound at the same time" (King et al 1994: 43), by reflecting on theories in analysis.

4. Narrative Analysis

The *narrative analysis* framework has been adopted to analyze the research observations and findings. It culminates logically from the 'epistemology of the particular'. People make sense of themselves, and the world around them, knitting together different situations, experiences and themes from the past and present, in a unique way. To make this sense sensible for themselves and others, they try to develop a coherent, and often sequential, narrative. As quoted from Appiah in the preceding chapter, identity "typically has a strong narrative dimension" (Appiah 2005: 68). It is through our narratives that we construct and express our identities. "A person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor – important though this is – in the reaction of others, but in the capacity *to keep a particular narrative going*" (Giddens 1991: 54). A coherent sense of identity is possible by *keeping* one's narrative *going*.

To appreciate the coherence, continuity, flow and distinctiveness of interviewees' identity narratives, and *keep* them *going*, I opted against the coding approach, considered to be a prominent feature of qualitative data analysis, of grounded theory in particular. Although we had started out with the intention that individual responses would be codified into analytical categories of a broad and general nature, the subtle inter-connections and progression of their responses made it appear irrational and unrealistic to take them out of their specific contexts and put them into common categories. Our concern, as mentioned in the preceding chapters, is with *how* they construct their identities. The concern is not so much with what people say, but how they fit all that in a pattern that makes sense for their identity. Our task is to capture the continuity, the *process* of identity formation. The '*sociologically* constructed codes' shall conceal the process of *socially* constructed identities.

However, before we start with the individual narrative analysis, let us take an overview of basic characteristics of the interviewees. As we can see in Table 1, they belong to three age groups, with at least two in each, which suggests that some sort of comparison on the basis of age groups would be possible at the end. Contrasts will also be made with citizenship, level of education, nature of work, language competence, preferences and aspirations, as identity variables.

A. Mehdi, *Strategies of Identity Formation,* DOI 10.1007/978-3-531-18681-8_4,

Table 1: Basic information about the interviewees

Information	Cahit	Ali	Adam	Yusuf	Gul	Ahmet	Fadil
Factual							
Gender	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male	Male
Age Group	14-19	14-19	20-24	20-24	25-30	25-30	14-19
Citizenship	German	Turkish	German	Turkish	Turkish	German	Turkish
Education	Hauptschule	Hauptschule	PhD (Science)	PhD (Science)	Bachelors (Science)	Bachelors (Arts)	Gymnasium
Work	No	No	No	Auction	Promotion	Interpretation	No
Fluency in German	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Very good	Good
Fluency in Turkish	Very good	Very good	Usable	Very good	Good	Very good	Very good
Other Languages	English	English	English, Spanish, French	English	English, French, Latin	English, Arabic, French	English, French, Chinese
Preferential							
Read Newspapers	No	No	Yes	Yes	German	Yes	Turkish, German
Read Magazines	Yes	Computer (German)	Yes	New technologies (German)	Biology (German)	General (German, Turkish)	General (German)
Use Internet	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Watch TV	Yes	MTV, Informative	Yes	News	News, Sports	No	News, Court
Watch Movies	Yes	Indian, Action	Biographical, Intelligent	Action, Horror	Hollywood	Art	Bollywood, Turkish, Action
Listen to Music	Yes	R & B, Turkish	Yes	Techno, Hip-Hop, Turkish, German, English	Turkish	Mixed (Arabic)	Turkish, Arabic, Indian
Play Sports	Yes	Football	Yes	Soccer, Basketball	Football	No	Basketball, Football
Favorite Food	Turkish	Italian, Turkish	Italian, Chinese, Turkish	Italian, Turkish	Turkish	Turkish, Chinese, Indian, no German	Turkish, all that tastes good
Hobbies and Interests	Play football	Play football, Run	Interested in illumination building techniques	Repair, Travel, Play football, Friends, Family	Sports, Biology	Travel	Travel, Music
Favorite Pastime	Computer games	Friends, Computer games	Sports	Sleep, Friends, Family	N/A	Read German novels	Read books
Wants to do / become	Sell cars	Computer engineer	Doctor of Science, Illumination artist	Doctor of Chemistry	Doctor of Biology	Lawyer, Work in international institutions	N/A

Cahit

The interview with Cahit was not a very long one (47 minutes and 18 seconds), but he was very expressive about his sense of identity. It took place in a religious setting, where he had come for his weekend Islamic classes. Translation was done between Urdu and German, on the spot, by a common acquaintance, and later by me into English. In his demeanour, Cahit appeared to be a well-mannered and introvert person, yet he was firm and straight-forward in his responses. He talked of the importance of future, his proximity to family, centrality of religion and ethnicity, oppression in the society, and a longing to reach back to his roots.

If by identity is meant "the socialized part of the self" (Berger and Berger 1972: 62), and family considered as the primary agent of socialization, then it apparently holds true in Cahit's case. It is widely believed that "the family occupies a key position in the society and culture of Turks in Germany" (Karakasoglou 1996: 161). The impact of his "significant others" (family) seems to be quite significant in his identity formation. He says: "I am very close to my family, love them very much. I want to go to Turkey" (4).[11] Love of family is related to his sense of roots and ethnic identity. While concluding, he tells that "there is a Turk, he doesn't pray, my father told him to pray" (15). By it, we know that his father, at least, is religious, not only in the sense of personal piety, but propagation. Or, quite religious. He also talks of his family ties in Europe (Holland), and how the death of his cousin is his special memory (3). Considering his age and culture, it is not a surprise that his family has a deep impact on his values, perceptions, choice and identity. In terms of school, he is in the Hauptschule, where many of the students are Turkish. Similarly, in his weekend Islamic classes. This much for his cultural capital. In terms of peers and social capital, he says he does not "want to have much contact with the German people. … I like to associate with Turkish or Ausländer people" (7). This much for the social constructivists.

Now, let us analyze Cahit's interview in terms of Mead's concepts of "me" and "I". How does he interpret his experiences and social universe? In his perception, "German people are very bad" (5). And "the German people give me a very bad treatment" (7). His overall tone is unforgiving and essentializing, and he makes an exception to prove the rule: "I have 1-3 German friends, they are good" (7). To support his argument, he narrates an incident, in which he is apparently beaten up by some German teenagers (8). He paints the social contradiction in real terms, the alleged oppression and bad treatment meted out to him, for

[11] See "Selections from the Interviews" for relevant quotes against line numbers given in parentheses.

no fault of his. A dramatic sense is visible in the way the incident is presented, in black and white, a stark polarization, a story one can only listen to (without verification), feel sympathy for the narrator, and anger against the perpetrators. With Park, he feels that he is condemned to live "in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures" (Park 1950: 373-374). Nevertheless, as we shall see, he is not the "marginal man", as Park characterised in an archetypical sense, for he settles down with the inherited, established.

As hinted, in his mind, society is polarized – host "German people" on one side, the "Turkish or *Ausländer* people" (7) on the other, in their "mutual otherness" (Veteto-Conrad 1996: 23). His use of the word "people" – "my people" (5), "German people" (5, 7, 8, 13), "Turkish or *Ausländer* people" (7) – shows his reifying tilt, his perception in terms of distinct communities and cultures. But, he also distinguishes between the same category of "people" – "among the Turks, there are good and bad people" (15). About Germans, he only makes an exception of his "1-3" friends who are "good" (7), and not: 'among the Germans, good and bad people'. Then, it is interesting to note that the distinction he makes with reference to Turkish people is based on religion – "there is a Turk, he doesn't pray" (15). So, he has two levels of polarization: the ethnic, and cross-cutting ethnic, religious. It appears that the latter is more important for him: towards the end, he says "we Muslims" (13), and considers the major differences between German and Turkish people as religious, not ethnic. Ataturk wouldn't have been happy with this young Turk at all!

The fifth paragraph is the most important in terms of the probable reason why he does not like Germany, why he forecloses himself in a Muslim-Turkish identity, and the identity strategy he adopts. Firstly, he "doesn't see any future in Germany" (future being so important to him: 2), because he thinks work is hard, there is discrimination in the educational system, meted out to his brother (without saying – perhaps not to give his grudge a personal touch – also to him, as he is in Hauptschule, although he is a good student: 1, 2), that the Germans have a conspiracy not to let anybody else get to high positions and be at an advantage. Compared to the situation here, his educational position and future prospects, he argues he has a comparative advantage in Turkey, where his "people" and property are – his "communal heaven" (Castells 2002: 67). Germany symbolizes uncertainty for him ("if something ends here": 4), Turkey familiarity and belongingness, roots, comparative advantage. According to a 1992 survey done in Berlin, of the people intending to leave Germany to settle in Turkey, 39 percent said it was due to increasing hatred against foreigners, 11 percent did not generally feel comfortable and secure, another 31 percent looked upon Turkey, instead

of Germany, as their Heimat (Kursat-Ahlers 1996: 132, note 4). Cahit has all the three reasons, in addition to confusion over his occupational future in Germany, to conceive of his identity the way he does. However, it seems, and Erikson said it at a broader level, "in general it is the inability to settle on an occupational identity which most disturbs young people" (Erikson 1974: 132). His future is important for him, which he does not see in Germany. From there, he proclaims his Islamic-Turkish identity, with Germans as 'the other'.

Coming to his "I", or his action in the light of his context and interpretation of social reality, he appears to be under the strong influence of the agents of his socialization, primarily his family, and shaped in some degree by the level of his cultural and social capital. Germany and German identity stand in absolute contradiction to what is his own, and he intends to leave the country and settle in the land of his dreams, where he is not rootless. He craves for roots, which he is not able to find here in Germany. In this sense, and in terms of his social polarization, he could be called an essentialist. He accepts and settles for his inherited identity. To an extent, this can be explained with reference to his age and an adolescent need for "cognitive consistency" (Van der Werff 1990: 21). But many people find it difficult to live with inner conflict (projecting it as social conflict, or vice versa), and decide for what Christopher Bollas terms a "fascist state of mind – one voice, one thesis" (Spence 2005: 120). Spence elaborates this in a very convincing style: "the inner world with its single voice effectively drowns out the outer chorus. … They have become a certain kind of victim, and in the process, have joined a highly visible and readily defined group that we have all heard of and can relate to. The new identity … can never be challenged; more than that, it gives the holder a way of explaining his or her present status, view of life, continuing bad luck, and any number of other features that had formerly seemed baffling and beyond explanation. [It] … gives him … distinction" (Spence 2005: 121-123).

Religion, it seems, provides him "with a sense of identity, a blueprint to lead [his life]… a sense of security, and … a box of tools to resist oppressive social and political conditions" (Yavuz 2004: 213) that he perceives here. Castells says that "the construction of contemporary Islamic identity proceeds as a reaction against unreachable modernization" (Castells 2002: 19). This seems to be a broad statement, but seems applicable in Cahit's case – he thinks that he has no future in Germany, and he invokes his Islamic and Turkish identity against a German one. His hobby is football, but he does not want to watch the upcoming football World Cup in Germany (2006), because Turkey is not playing (and there is no Turk in the German football team). If he were to support any team, it would

be Saudi Arabia. Why? "Because they play good football" (11). The only script running through his mind is religious/ethnic, be it any aspect of life. He has found his elixir which can cure all his troubles, an explanation that can explain out his condemnation and bad fate (Hauptschule), gives him a coherent sense of self in a chaotic multicultural society, tell him why people out there are "angry" with him, and simultaneously gives him a distinction.

However, in my opinion, the main reason why he is insistent to exclusive limits on his identity is because he does not see a future for himself in Germany, which is "very important" for him (2). He feels he comes from a good family, has a good upbringing, is a good student (1), and he expresses his desire to work "here in a nice place" (2). He has this desire in him to stay *here*, in Germany, and work in a nice place. But he knows that if he stays, he would only become like a *gastarbeiter*, in terms of work. He is born here, he 'demands' equal treatment and friendliness from the system and the society. He is no *gastarbeiter*. He does not want to become one. He wants a life of dignity. He has a high self-esteem. And knowing that this is not a possibility, he blames it on explicit discrimination and conspiracy. But, at the same time, he gives a positive meaning to his identity – it is not because he sees no future for himself in Germany that he wants to go to Turkey, but that he likes being there (6). He denies the role of 'the other' in his story, in his decision and identity, trying to show that his life mission is idealistic and positive.

One important aspect which reflects on existing identity literature is the issue of citizenship. In Table 1, we see that Cahit has a German passport, which is very unusual to have for a Turkish boy at the age of fourteen. "The passport is that object which contains the identity … supported by the seal of the issuing authority" (Hoffmann 1992: 199). According to some, not only does citizenship give one a technical identity, but also a symbolic one: it "generates 'a direct sense of community membership based on loyalty to a civilisation which is a common possession'" (Faist 1995: 23). Faist's own view is that of "social citizenship" (Faist 1995), which means that to be a citizen of a country, in a social, not just a technical sense, one has to think of oneself as a "citizen" (member) of the society in which one lives, and also be accepted by its members. In this sense, Cahit's citizenship is a technical one, and there is only counter-proof that, by virtue of it, he feels integrated into the society. At least in his case, there is no positive link between identity or integration and citizenship. Wilpert tells us that "even within states where there is a right to citizenship for the immigrant descendants, such as France or the United Kingdom, the aforementioned historical

experiences suggest that there will be very powerful forces at work shaping societal segmentation according to ethnic origins" (Wilpert 1989: 20).

As a conclusion, we can say there is a strong impact of Cahit's family, education, occupational prospect, perceptions of oppression, and transnational relations, in the shaping of his identity. But the construction of identity seems to be based on the perception of a lack of occupational prospect in Germany; it is the point from where the process of identity rationalization starts. Cahit settles down for a 'foreclosed' identity with "defensive negative" and "defensive high self-regard" (Weinrich 1989: 54) variants. He, his family, 'his country' is good; Germany is totally bad. He faces "the dilemma of unification versus fragmentation" by constructing "his identity around a set of fixed commitments, which act as a filter through which numerous different social environments are reacted to or interpreted. Such a person is a rigid traditionalist, in a compulsive sense, and refuses any relativism of context" (Giddens 1991: 190). His perceived victimisation leads him to strongly identify with groups which give him shelter and distinction. To test the hypothesis, Cahit could be called a "marginal man", at best on the constraint side. But, as far as his "I" is concerned, at best, he is a *marginalized man*, who plans to escape from what he perceives as the battleground of clash of "two fat cultures", away from the mainstream.

Ali

Ali came in when the interview with Cahit ended, and was speaking some English. I asked him if he would be interested in an interview, and he agreed. The next day we had a conversation for about 15 minutes, in the course of which he talked about his friends, referred to Turkey as his country and Turkish people as "we", and said he has been to Austria, Switzerland, Bulgaria, Slovakia, Greece, France, Italy, besides annual trips to Turkey in his car. Next day, we had the interview, in the same place, where he, like Cahit, had come for his weekend Islamic classes. The interpretation was done by one of Ali's friends who knew relatively good English, although Ali also spoke some. In between, both of them had a brief discussion in English. It was nice to listen to the issues that they raised. Ali didn't have enough time, and the interview lasted 36 minutes and 10 seconds. Still, we have enough text to be able to analyze Ali's identity strategy.

If we look at the information in Table 1, there are many similarities between Ali and Cahit (like gender, age group, education, fluency in languages, etc.). Both attend weekend Islamic classes, and both were interviewed in the same

context. In both narratives, future, family and religion are central. Yet, their 'me's' and 'I's' are so different, showing uniqueness of identity strategies. Being in a Hauptschule implies doom for both of them; but Cahit responds with conviction, Ali talks in doubt. In the very first sentence itself, he talks in apparent contradiction (wants to go to Turkey, "but not really"), which shows his dilemma. He thinks he has to go to Turkey, has to settle for that choice, because with his Hauptschule education, he does not stand a chance to become what he wants, here. He has a comparative advantage in Turkey, where he could be a computer engineer. And, even if not, he could use his family links to join his relative's football team, not possible here, also because the German football team does not have any Ausländers.

He expresses his sense of roots and tries to justify his 'return' in terms of history and changing economic scenario. He is aware that after the second World War, the companies were bringing over workers to Germany, and that now, they are outsourcing their work to Turkey, to China, and other countries. His grandfather had to come here and work because he "had no work in Turkey". But now that so many companies (all brands he mentions are related to sports, which shows his interest) are in Turkey, he being educated in Germany stands a good chance to get a job 'in his own country' ("go back"). He does not blame the host society, though he thinks it is the "German people" who asked his grandfather to come here, so that he and his family are not uninvited guests in this country. He does not blame the German educational system, or talk of discrimination, except for the old "Nazi" teacher who had problems with him, and not vice versa.

In the light of this, it is not surprising that Ali, even when he feels that 'German people' are not friendly, and he does not have a future in Germany, opts for positive Muslim-Turkish identity, with different themes in his life, and not just one, like Cahit. Religion is "very important" for him, his "life", but he would not let his sense of belonging or association be affected by it, save for marriage. His childhood friends are German (19) – which shows his bicultural competence, and perhaps it is because of this deep association that he talks of shades in the society (16) – and he would be sad to leave them and go to Turkey. But most of his family is in Turkey, to whom he is closely attached. However, it looks like this is a solace that he provides to himself, as he does not see a future in this country, and feels he has to go to Turkey to get a job. He can go to other countries also to secure a nice future for himself (3), which shows that he is open in terms of his choices. He is not 'foreclosed'. As he said in his conversation, he has travelled to a number of countries in Europe, which might have contributed to his broader outlook. Plus, he is a sportsman with a healthy spirit. Sports seems

to have played a crucial role not only in his life – for he looked to be very athletic – but also in his sense of identity and its negotiation. He also identifies himself as a football player (4), and links self-esteem to his level of the game. His vision of religion does not obstruct his playing football, even when players drink beer (12). He does not drink, stays away from it, without having a problem with his teammates drinking. His grandfather played football; his father and brothers play it, making it a family influence.

Talking of family, he seems to be denying the family pressure on himself – he comes to Islamic classes on his own (6), his father says he can marry whoever he wants (13) – yet he wants to get a good job and feel the sense of liberation, so if his father tells him to marry somebody, or likewise, he could stand on his own opinion (13). In any case, he respects and loves them (14), and he would not marry somebody whom his family doesn't like. Or he would not do things his family doesn't like. At the moment, he appears to be under the strong influence of his family, which he wants to get over by being independent. In fact, one could claim that many Turkish youth are influenced by their families because of their financial dependence on them. And the independent spirit is not able to develop until this dependence lasts. Anyways, he does not feel the pressure of his community as well (15), because he thinks of himself as virtuous. And also, he said during his conversation that most of the time he is around the mosque, more than he is in school, so it is not difficult to understand his religiosity as well as the 'Panopticon' that is in him – the power of religion, family, community works from within. His discourse is religious. His most memorable moment (18), like Cahit, is family and death-oriented – his grandpa died. Loss of a close one is painful, and so would be the loss of an identity which is close to the heart. He is not Albert Camus – "Mother died today. Or maybe yesterday, I don't know" (the opening lines of his novel, "The Outsider") – not an existentialist, rather one who has a sense of roots.

For him, the difference between Turkey and Germany is not religious, at least in terms of what he actually said – which also shows why he does not feel that living here has a negative impact on his religion. Here, people are unfriendly, tell him to "go home" (as if here was not his home) (17), but when "German and American people" come to Turkey, Turkish people help them. He mentions Americans with German, perhaps reflecting his idea that they are all one civilization. But again, he does not generalize, and says that here too "many people help", but he also feels that "other people do not". It seems from this and other statements that he is not the person to put entire groups in one box; he makes distinctions in a calm manner, and acts on the basis of them. He would not

mind being born in Germany and leaving the country, except that he will be sad to leave his two kindergarten friends, who are German (he did not specify until I asked him about their ethnicity). They think good of him, he thinks good of them; they "understand each other very good" (20). He feels that his family and friends have a good impression about him. And this "me" perhaps contributes to his attachment to them, and a positive self-identity.

Ali's contextual "presentation of self" is visible when he says that he likes Shah Rukh Khan (an Indian film star) – knowing that I come from India – Turkish film stars mentioned next. Or to give him benefit of doubt, maybe it is his priority. Anyways, this shows his openness to distant cultures (actually, it is not so distant anymore, as Indian films are regularly shown on TV here, most of those with the mentioned actor), his Eastern preferences in terms of movies, although we can see in Table 1, Italian cuisine comes before Turkish, and R & B before Turkish music. But one could say there are a lot of Italian Ausländers, more than Turkish in Freiburg, and the feeling of "we Ausländers" results in a preference for Italian food. R & B because it is also used by Turkish rap groups in Germany, at times as a protest against German and Turkish cultures. In fact, he is familiar with all the members of the Turkish dance group in Freiburg (23). And at the end, like Cahit, he judges Turkish people in terms of his religion. For him, those who drink, go to discos, smoke – are not religious – are "aggressive"; by implication, the religious are not. Overall, one could say that religion is "life" for Ali, but his vision of religion is one of openness, not bias. He uses materials from his family, football, future aspiration, religion to negotiate his identity. Had he assumed, so it appears, he has a future here, he would have felt more German.

Adam

The interview with Adam took place in English at his residence, and lasted 1 hour 12 minutes 6 seconds. He shares his apartment with his European friends. Someone had interviewed him before on a similar subject, and it seemed that he had a few related questions in his mind. So, I am not really sure if this should be called an unstructured or semi-structured interview. In any case, he spoke fluently, and autobiographically, raising important issues which, as we shall see, prove there are other avenues between migrant and host society identities than just religious. Unlike Cahit and Ali, Adam spoke without me asking many questions, so it will be interesting to also do a narrative analysis of his interview and look at the way he developed his arguments.

Adam comes from the state of Pope Benedict XVI – Bavaria – a religiously conservative place, ruled by the Christian Social Union since 1957. However, nothing brings him towards religion. If social context plays any role, in Adam's case, it has played a negative one. He is aware that religion could provide a bonding, and a feeling of distinction for immigrants (20), but he does not believe in religion, with a conviction. He does not think of himself as a helpless immigrant who is in need of support structures. He has a feeling of independence and individuality, and with that, he thinks he does not need a community to live with. His native state, Bavaria, is the second largest IT region in Europe, fourth largest in the world, with almost 33% of Germany's computer manufacturing jobs based there (The Nation 2002). If economic context plays any role, in Adam's case, it has been a positive one: he studied Microsystems engineering for years.

But he is not the one who follows the herd, and it is not because of the prevalence of it that he chose this field, but because it is "not so interesting for many people" (2); it is "new, exciting". He wants to be different and pursue his individual talent, but he is aware that there are social ascriptions which are inescapable, so that he wants to *migrate* to "a society where integration is part of the culture" (9). So that he is integrated, and nobody points to him as a stranger, like nobody would point to a German, who is able to freely pursue his or her self. For immigrants, however, they are brushed with one stroke of identity. The struggle between an individual and general self goes on in Adam's existence, and his identity strategy revolves around that. Until he is able to *seek asylum* from the world of immigration to his society of integration – which looks to be his final strategy to overcome the burden of both – he seems to be in a dilemma, at times confirming and basking in *being* Turkish, at times desperately wanting to be recognized as an individual who can contribute to society without having to be either German or Turkish.

Castells made a distinction between "weltanschauung" (culture-centered view of the world) and "selbstanschauung", a neologism he proposed to mean "self-centered view of the world" (Castells 2002: 355). Adam could be said to having the latter, a view of the world in which he is at the center. "I believe in Nature, and I believe in my personality" (19). His belief in himself, his emphasis on an individual identity, is the theme that runs through his narrative. But he is aware of the social ascriptions that accompany him. So, he has his moments of Turkishness – culturally (6), boastfully (12, 13) – moments when he does not want to be Turkish (3, 14), his moments of Germanness (21), moments of neutrality (4), and moments of proving himself (1, 9). However, in all other moments, he is a committed individualist, for whom culture and ethnicity do not

mean anything on their own, lest for the effect of society and state. He does not want to be driven by "the winds and whims of fashion".

"For many people, social identity is the most important or salient aspect of identity; for others, personal identity is more important" (Liebkind 1989: 33). Again, Adam is in the latter group. His own identity, what he is as Adam, as an individual, and not his ascribed identity (Turkish), is important for him. He tries to isolates himself from things that are a measure of ascription – be it religion, language (7), residence, etc. – but then he also knows that his identity depends on social recognition. He identifies himself as "60% Turkish and 40% German" (quantitativists would be glad to hear that), accepting "the social construction of reality", while also protesting against the lack of integration, for not being accepted as other Germans. In his traits, he is like one of them – individualist. There is little social or political recognition and he is angry with it. He wants to overcome the threat of his immigrant identity regulating his self, he does not want others to overshadow his "individual distinctiveness" with a general, wholesome identification (Liebkind 1989: 36), considered a taboo in his society, a sign of academic inferiority and being backward. He is happy to live in a student accommodation within a multicultural environment, and he is comfortable in living away from his ascribed community, not coming in touch with them at all, lest they infect him, or he comes to be recognized as 'one of them'. He just wants to be *one*, one of his kind. Those of his kind have no interest in "continuing their ethnicity, have chosen not to live in ethnic concentrations" (Panayi 2000: 13). He wants to be Adam.

However, even unique people want to have associates, an association of unique people. And so does Adam, for he is not a loner: "I am just travelling to places where friends of mine are, or travelling with friends, places have never been before. But I am not a lone traveller" (18). He likes adventure, but either with known people or to known places. He is a "marginal man" who wants to associate with his like, but knows that widespread social recognition is not there. It is interesting to observe how his desire to be individual and his desire to be recognized go hand in hand. He wants his individuality, his talent, to be recognized. In the first paragraph, he says that when he came to Freiburg for studies, he had to prove he is "as smart as the University students here". He could "prove" his talent, which was recognized by the University (he got an admission). And he felt "nice" about it.

In fact, in paragraph nine, he says he feels that he has "to prove something", and that he can prove himself without going the Turkish or the German way, through his talents and work. He competes with everybody to prove his talents,

even with his elder brother in his class (12). But when he and his brother prove their talent in the class, by having "the best German work", he feels proud to be Turkish, and not just Adam. It is his individual achievement, and nothing to do with his ethnic identity. But he invokes it "as if" (Goffman 1958: 3) to "prove" that what is thought about Turkish people – as academically inferior and backward – is not the reality. 'Look, here stands a Turk who is better than you'. "How could it be, that the Turkish people are better in German than German people?" He talks of "people" in comparison. Anyways, I think he is just trying to make a point that: 'okay, you keep calling me Turkish, and by implication, consider me lesser. Now, see what I achieved'. He is trying to prove, to be recognized. Another possibility could be he is trying to prove his individuality by invoking his ethnicity, as there are not many of his ascribed ethnicity in his class. Being German would mean being like majority.

Suarez-Orozco, who has done a lot of research on immigrant identity in U.S., says: "My recent research suggests that immigrant children are keenly aware of the prevailing ethos of hostility of the dominant culture … Psychologically, what do children do with this reception? Are the attitudes of the host culture internalized, denied, or resisted? The most positive possible outcome is to be goaded into "I'll show you. I'll make it in spite of what you think of me". This response, while theoretically possible, is relatively infrequent. More likely, the child responds with self-doubt and shame, setting low aspirations in a kind of self-fulfilling prophecy: "They are probably right. I'll never be able to do it". Yet another potential response is one of "You think I'm bad. Let me show you how bad I can be" (Suarez-Orozco 2004: 135). This seems true to some extent with respect to our cases as well. Cahit and Ali could be said to be in the second category of responses. But Adam is one who goes for the "relatively infrequent". He has proved himself before others, not just himself, but his whole ethnic group. At the same time, he wants to internalize certain attitudes from the host culture, individuality being the important one. He wants to be accepted like the Germans, but he is not recognized, which makes him feel angry. He does not respond to this by taking recourse to religion. He wants to make *his*, fourth, way.

Let us consider his narrative in sequence. In paragraphs one and two, he talks about his family and that being the youngest, how he was influenced in his family by his elder brothers. But it is a positive influence, so he knows now, for without that, he wouldn't have been able to go so far and stand in a position to claim his individual identity. Perhaps, he wanted to work at 15 to be independent. Later, in paragraph 11, he says that, after his father's death, "I just started to go my way in school". So, even when family pressure prevailed and he went for

studies, he did not give up his quest for individuality. Twice, he shows his being different in these two paragraphs. In the third, he talks of his new German citizenship, which is important for him not as a means of identity or official recognition, but in terms of *freedom* to travel. No more check-in controls. In the fourth, he makes it clear that he is neither Turkish nor German. Not German because he feels he was not integrated since his grammar school years, when classes were segregated on ethnic lines. His school, because of government policies, ascribed him with a Turkish identity. And he was angry with this, as to why he is being treated differently than German students. He wanted to be treated like other (German) students, not as Turkish and be sent to another class. Due to this segregation, he feels a "sense of alienation" from his ascribed ethnic group, because of negative connotations he feels are attached to it. Having more German friends did not help. But, for this, he blames the government's "failed integration politics from the past". If the use of the word "politics", instead of "policies", is intentional, it means he has a distrust for the government. Throughout, he blames the state, and not society or culture.

To this point, it is clear that he wanted to be like other German students, not ascribed with an identity and treated differently. He wanted to be treated *as individual* like the former. He feels he did not get "a chance to integrate to the society". Else he would have integrated himself, and his identity could have been different from the way he proclaims it now. In the fifth paragraph, while he expresses his sense of roots, he also criticizes the politicians for not integrating people early on, not considering them "humans", just "workers". From here, he enters the world of his ascribed or accepted identity, identifying himself with it. In paragraph six, he talks of contexts or influences that make him feel more Turkish – media, music and food. He shifts the tone to accommodate and prioritize his identity as Turkish, reiterates that he is in the middle, but says he is more inclined to the Turkish. The next paragraph is some kind of regret as to why he can't be Turkish, because he doesn't have enough language skills to be Turkish enough. Appiah says that "the availability of the minority language is to a great degree a condition for the exercise of one possible identity option, namely, to live a life in which one's experience as a member of the group is shaped, interpreted, mediated by its language" (Appiah 2005: 102). He somehow seems to be regretting as to why he wanted to be more on the German side, and yet he was not socially recognized. He was isolated from perhaps the most basic requirement of getting closer to his ethnic identity, the language. So, what does he do now? He knows that he does not want to go to his Turkish identity, as that would mean conforming to a communal culture and losing his individuality to an ex-

tent. In paragraph eight, he talks of escape, blaming it on the system, that it is too "unflexible" to accept a Turkish person into its fold.

In the ninth, he is talking of how he can contribute to society without having to choose either. He emphasizes his self-worth. He feels a Panopticon – that he is "in the middle, and everyone is watching … left side and the right side". He wants to disappear in a society where nobody points to him as a stranger. He wants to be himself, without being under pressure. And the strategy that he adopts to realize his individual identity is to escape from the two aspects of his existence – one of his Turkish descent, the other of his birth in Germany – to a place where he is accepted like other members of the society. He has the sophistication to think that it is not the society, or "German people", who are responsible for his not being integrated into the society, but the government. In the eleventh and twelfth, he talks of how he wanted to be free from his family, but it kept coming back to him. The death of his father was a turning point – he started going his way. He proves his individual talent in his class, but invokes his Turkish identity to rejoice and celebrate, one sign of the contextual nature of identity – the other being the airport (14). He does not attach a symbolic significance to his German passport. He calls it a practical decision to save money and stand in the E.U. queue at the airport, recognized as other citizens.

In the fifteenth paragraph, he talks of his prestigious internship, and rules out discrimination on the basis of his ethnicity by the said company. This is significant, as Faist, in his article, 'From School to Work' (1993), talks about Turkish students not getting good internships. He is not overwhelmed by a sense of oppression, as we see in Cahit's case. Talking of context, Adam feels that Freiburg changed him completely, whose multiculturalism provoked his interest in meeting people and coming out of his individual cocoon. It seems that he got more fields and options in front of him than the exhausting bipolarity of Turkish and German. A neutral space, where many of the students are foreigners, in comparison to whom he is less of a *foreigner*. In the same paragraph, he affirms the importance of his family for himself. Now that his life has changed, and he has attained freedom to a certain extent, he looks back in retrospect with love for his family. He judges his past from the lens of his present – "they were right" (2). He thinks that there is no pressure on him from the family, friends, society, and claims an indifference to religion. Toward the end, he comes back to his new found sense of freedom, which he obtained through his German citizenship. And finally he compares U.S. with Germany – not Turkey and Germany – looking upon the former as a rather successful model of integration, blaming politicians in Germany, who do not talk "with", but "about", people.

In terms of the hypothesis, he could be called a "marginal man" in the sense that Cahit is, only on the constraint side. Because, although he is "a cosmopolitan and a stranger", "relatively to his cultural milieu", "the individual with the wider horizon, the keener intelligence, the more detached and rational viewpoint", it is not in his mind that "the changes and fusions of culture are going on". He cannot hold the constraint, and wants to escape from this society, calling it "too unflexible" (8). However, although he is not the archetypical "marginal man", he proves the constraint side of our hypothesis, that the host society or government place greater strains on the identity formation of the *nachgeborenen*. Adam would agree with Panayi that "the state has clearly played a central role in creating outsiders" (Panayi 2000: 11-12). His identity status could be termed as "diffused", of "diffuse high self-regard" variant (Weinrich 1989: 54). This is what differentiates his escape from that of Cahit to Turkey. He clearly says: "Turkey is not my home" (6). He "won't stay here in Germany, and I won't go to Turkey" (9). He is in the middle, but he does not want to be like that. He is an individualist, not a visionary or revolutionary.

Yusuf

The interview with Yusuf, the longest of all – 2 hours 14 minutes 59 seconds – was done in a student dormitory room. He spoke in English, but occasionally took the help of a student from Turkey, who translated from Turkish to English. If identity is constructed through discourse, then it does hold in Yusuf's case, as one can analyze from the interview text, that he kept negotiating and nuancing his identity during the course of the conversation, though maintaining the rhythm of his Islamic-Turkish identity throughout. He raised a number of very important issues – trends among Turkish youth born in Germany, changing patterns of acceptance and multiculturalism in German society, integration, types of Turkish identities and, like others, the centrality of family, religion, etc. After the interview ended, he wrote on the back of his information sheet: "Meine Heimat ist Deutschland, but my heart beats for Turkey", and "I have the Turkish passport and don't want to change it with the German one". The import of these statements becomes clear only in the light of what he said before.

He starts with an unambiguous statement of his identity position – "I am Turkish, and I am Muslim" (1). He is very clear about it, its reasons and repercussions, about its dynamics and dimensions. But before we discuss that in detail, let us consider the sources of his identity, the agents of socialization that

have influenced his "me". Admittedly, the deepest influence, as in other cases, comes from his family. In paragraph two, he states that most of what he knows about his culture and religion has come through his parents, who are "extreme" in religion. I don't think he means "extremist" by it, because in the very next paragraph, and in other places, he suggests that they did not tell him to let his peer associations be affected by his religion. From them has come his sense of roots. However, later in the interview, he said that the influence of his Turkish and Islamic classes has been profounder in this regard (17).

From these sources, he has borrowed the raw materials for the construction of his identity. At the level of work, he is doing a part-time job (25), that not only gives him some spare money, but also spares him from the regulations of his family. He wants to be independent. For his studies, he gets a scholarship from the government. Talking of his education, he studied in the Realschule, then Gymnasium, and now he is in the University, which is not a common trajectory among Turkish youth. In Realschule, he says, there was greater strain in maintaining his identity (4). But his friends, and also their families, accepted and respected him and his religion. "In Gymnasium, it was easier", and in the University, very much so (5). Before coming to Freiburg, most of his friends were non-Turkish, "Catholic" (4). And now, he has a German girlfriend (22, 27), who is learning Turkish from him (of her own volition), and whose parents tell him that they are proud to be living in a multicultural Germany.

His perception about the society and system is also very positive. He does not think there is discrimination, only "bad reaction" towards religious extremists, that too "not so often" (6). The younger generation is multicultural in its vision (6, 21), and the people older than forty have a tendency to insist on integration in a 'Germanizing' sense (6). But, sometimes, even the old people are flexible (21). Asked about extremist people in the society, he thinks that they are in an "absolute minority" (23), and supports his answer with an incident, when the people in Freiburg did not let neo-Nazis enter the city. This tells us about his perception of the context where he lives at the moment. He thinks that if one interacts with members of the host society, they are very "tolerant" and accepting (28). He thinks that Turks after his generation are more integrated as Germans, and are also more accepted by the people (7). Because the society has accepted these people, and is "very open to new religions", there is no possibility of something similar to the French riots happening here (21). In the schools, he "sometimes" felt discrimination, "but not always". He thinks, in fact, it is lack of trust in the Turkish students and their families (because they do not know German properly, and are not able to help the children with the assignments), and not

discrimination as such (30). Although he does think that, with a little trust, they can be encouraged to excel in studies.

How does he interpret others' views about himself? He thinks his colleagues in Realschule, and their families, gave respectful recognition to his identity as a Muslim and belonging to a different culture and ethnicity. In Gymnasium and University, it was even more respectful. In paragraph twenty-eight, he articulates: "I often hear it from German people that I can speak better German than they can. Most of them say I am very well-integrated. … I think they are more tolerant … someone like me is interested … more successful maybe in the school". In his perception, because of his educational success and interactive spirit, people give him recognition, because many Turkish people do not go to higher levels of education, and usually do not mix up with members of host society. For him, recognition is dialectical: "I accept them, and they accept me. So, I don't have a problem here" (19). If one wants to be recognized and accepted by members of the mainstream society, one needs to, according to Yusuf, accept them first, talk and integrate with them. Still, he thinks, "nobody" accepts him "as one hundred percent German or Turkish" (11). In Turkey, people recognize him as Turkish, but of a German type (*almanyali*). In Germany, people acknowledge him as German, but of a Turkish type (Turkish-German). He, then, asks himself: "what am I?" (8).

How does he perceive and respond to this constraint? In Realschule, he felt "it was a little bit hard, not so hard" (4). He was young, and there was a temptation to do what his friends did. But he was convinced of the teachings of his parents. Nevertheless, very significantly, he thinks that these moments of constraint were few, while those of sharing were more – "we did everything together, except some". This implies that, for him at least, the feeling of being between "two fat cultures" is not all-pervasive; there are moments of apparent clash ("some"), while most of them, by implication, are moments of *sharing*. Such a statement adds a powerful qualification to our hypothesis. The "marginal man" is not always marginal; only for "some" moments. For most of the other time, he is a *mainstream man*. However, this is Yusuf's perception, and not Cahit's, for whom it is an all-out war. So, the former's sense of constraint is limited. Moreover, his friends' families contributed to an extent in making him feel comfortable of his difference, helping him deal with his constraint side.

And, how does he feel about being in the middle, not being recognized by anybody as "one hundred percent German or Turkish"? He thinks "it's funny" (12). "It's okay" for him. He is "happy" with it. Not only this, if he is given a choice of being born again, he would like to be born once again in Germany,

instead of Turkey. In constraint and dilemma, in an *impure* state of identity (not hundred percent on the either side), rather than in clarity, in the land of his parents, in a pure state of identity. In fact, he is proud to be "one of 2 million Turkish people in Germany who can feel this". He does not lament being born in confusion, instead he talks of his comparative advantage – not in Turkey, as Cahit and Ali did, but – being in Germany, as against Turkey. "I can speak German, while people who live in Turkey cannot. I can speak English, a little bit of Spanish". After finishing his studies, he does not want to *return back* to Turkey (15), as his "Heimat ist Deutschland". He was born "in this system, in Germany", and he knows it well. It doesn't matter if his heart is in Turkey. He can live in Germany as a Turkish. As a Muslim, perhaps a better one, for the legacy of Ataturk persists in Turkey. He is neither an escapist like Cahit, nor like Adam. He will stay here, as "German-Turkish".

Within the world of these contexts, experiences and perceptions, Yusuf proudly asserts an Islamic (18) "German-Turkish" (13) identity. But what exactly does he imply by the clauses of his identity? First of all, his and his parents' understanding of Islam is of Sufi type, which is "without the 'other'" (Yavuz 2004: 220). "I can follow my religion and culture, and also be with Germans" (28). His parents expected of him obedience to his religion and culture, but did not stop him from associating with his German, Portuguese or Italian friends (3). Once again, it is clear that he does not have an overburdening sense of constraint being religious. However, he does feel that it is difficult to live his Turkish culture here (11, 18). He cannot be one hundred percent German, he cannot be one hundred percent Turkish here, but he thinks one can be hundred percent religious, as a matter of possibility. He does not say that he is (2), but it is something which he thinks is achievable. Perhaps, it is in pursuit of this possibility that he emphasizes his religious identity over the ethnic, the 'third way' between two established rigidities, toward a condition of "alchemic absorption" (Anderson 1991: 15).

And what does he actually understand by "German" and "Turkish" when he says none of them is purely possible? In paragraph ten, he claims: "I cannot say that I have nothing of the German culture, I have nothing of the Italian culture, or so … I eat German meals, without pork … You take some of their culture, but not religion. I am Muslim". So, for him, German culture is one thing, German religion another. While the former is acceptable to him (within the bounds of his religion), it is not possible for him to "be Catholic" (6). This is the condition on which he wants to integrate in Germany. Once again, quite significantly, he breaks the dilemma of being caught between two cultures by bringing in other

cultures present in the society. After all, Germany is a "multi-culti" society (21). In his vision, unlike Cahit's, the social field is not polarized into the "German people" on one side, and "Turkish or Ausländer people" on the other, in an essentialist sense. It is diffuse and harmonious. On what it means to be Turkish, he makes a distinction between German-Turks and Turkish-Turks (11). And what exactly is the difference between the two? The former have imbibed some German traits – doing "everything in time" and being "workaholic" – which are found lacking, or in lesser degree, in the latter (13). While these traits form the German half of his identity, the Turkish half is shaped by proximity to the family, lacking in the Germans (14).

So, in the light of this explanation of Yusuf's identity dimensions, we could say that he does not have the desire to change his ethnicity or religion. He is proud of, and happy with, it. In other words, he has a 'positive self-concept'. His identity status is 'foreclosed' in its broader framework, but 'diffuse' in its nuances. He has his own understanding of German, Turkish, Islamic, and that of integration. While he rejects Germanizing integration and Germanized-Turks, along with Turkish-Turks, he wants *integration in moderation*. His mind is German, his heart Turkish (8). "It is better that the soldier of reason remains close to the heart; but sometimes, leave it alone" (Iqbal). Yusuf would agree. However, if he were to choose one, he would listen to his heart. "Undauntedly jumped into Nimrud's fire love; reason is still on the rooftop a perplexed onlooker" (Iqbal). But, because his Turkish identity is related to his heart, it is basically emotional, while the one related to his mind – the German identity – is based on a rational decision. "The majority of second-generation Turks in Germany appear to have developed emotional and cultural ties to the country of origin of their parents, Turkey, and also to the country where they live and intend to remain" (Kursat-Ahlers 1996: 116). Beyond this, even though Yusuf says that his mind tells him he is German, it could be his heart too. "Most people shape their identities as partners of lovers who become spouses and fellow parents" (Appiah 2005: 21). And he does listen to his heart. In terms of our hypothesis, he is a "marginal man" who deals with his constraints, to the extent they are, in a positive way, but the "fusions of culture" are yet not going on in his mind. As to which of the cultures or spheres has the strongest strain on his identity formation, although he does not say it explicitly, it seems it is the Germanizing notion of integration, as he constantly claims and celebrates and basks in his Turkish-Islamic identity.

Gul

The interview with Gul also took place in a student dormitory. It lasted 1 hour 20 minutes 16 seconds, during which he spoke in Turkish, translated into English by one of our friends. He talks about his positive childhood experiences, his struggle to be independent from the control of his family and community, and, at the same time, his desire "to make both sides happy somehow", his negotiations of identity within the basic realization that he is Turkish, his dislike for religion and people religious, about his peers, the views of his 'significant' and 'generalized' others about him, and ultimately where his *Heimat* is. After the interview, he mentioned that when he applied in a particular state for his German citizenship, somebody discriminated against him for being a Muslim, questioning: 'what do you think of 9/11?', etc.

From Gul's account, it is clear that before coming to Freiburg for his higher studies, he was living in a network of Turkish neighborhood, friends and family (8). He was at good terms with his family until he went to Gymnasium, and started feeling the constraining influence of, and generational difference between himself and, his father (4). He was proud to be one of the few people from his community who got to this high level of education (3), and was tempted to be like his majority colleagues, to pursue the lifestyle of his German friends (4), with whom he spent "the whole time" (3). Writing in the U.S. context, Suarez-Orozco says: "Schools represent an important first host-culture site encountered by the children. There, they meet teachers (who are usually members of the dominant culture), as well as children from both the majority and other minority backgrounds. … The relative rapidness of the children's adaptation may create particular tensions in the household. … Children may also have feelings ranging from vague to intense embarrassment with regard to aspects of their parents' "old country" and "old fashioned" ways. … Most children long to be like others: many will quickly show a preference for the language of the dominant culture" (Suarez-Orozco 2004: 131).

This description seems to explain Gul's situation precisely. Before the Gymnasium, his peer affiliation was limited to his Turkish friends within the community, and even at lower level of education, there were many Turkish students. Gymnasium was the first major encounter with pupils from the host-culture, where, besides one, he was the only Turkish student (3). Even when he played football for his town team, most of his teammates were German (2). The only segregation came when he went to the Turkish class and his German friends went to the religious. This was not a choice imposed by his father; but his inner

voice calling him to learn *his* language (9). Although he spoke Turkish with his family and in his community, he wanted to learn how to read and write. And he enjoyed learning it (8). However, it was only the voice of his ethnicity, not of religion. He was never amused by his Islamic teacher, or the Arabic script in which he taught. There was a disparity between what and how he studied at school and at the weekend classes. "There was a big pressure on me" (12). Similar was his first impression of prayer in the mosque (13). But like Turkish classes, his father did not insist on these, although he did tell him that "we are Muslims", "we are all family". And when it came to choosing between playing for the town's football team and Islamic classes, both of which happened to be on the weekend, his father allowed him for the former (11). He had come from the rural part of Anatolia in Turkey, which is a stronghold of Sufi Islam, and had himself, very unusually, decided to learn German before he started working (7). "A study conducted in 1970 found that only about 6% of the foreign workers had completed a language course" (Watzinger-Tharp 2004: 288). He also wanted his children to learn it (11).

The longed-for freedom came to him when he came to Freiburg, leaving his family, friends, football, community and culture behind (5). However, it did not mean the end of his identity strain. If anything, it got deeper. "[I] started discovering myself in another way". He started missing what he left behind, although he is happy to be free. Here, he has more international friends than Turkish [only one, the interpreter] or German. He now feels that "it's not easy to get into German groups" (16). Nevertheless, this has not driven him to the 'third way', for he keeps the local Turkish community at bay. He doesn't "feel any need" for being with them; rather, he feels a need to stay away, for he is not amused by the religious lifestyle, "how they approach women" (17). He has a German girlfriend here (26) and wants to "enjoy" life, be "very open", not "conservative" like many Turkish youth born here (17). It would be useful to discuss some of his experiences, and his perceptions about the context.

At the very beginning, he attributes his "very good" knowledge of German to the caretaking role of an old German lady, when he was a little child, while his father was at work, and his mother in the hospital (1). The fact of being a child, and the cruciality of that moment, was a strong life-time influence on him, so it seems. His German "grandmother" also helped him with his class assignments at the primary level, and perhaps in securing a place at the Realschule too. He is "comfortable" living in the society as a person of a different ethnicity and background (15). Not only did the old lady contributed to his comfort, whenever he played football for his school or the town team, they specially cooked *halal* food

for him, even when they ate pork themselves, being accommodative and respectful of his religious requirement. He does not think that there is any discrimination in the society or school (23), although his German citizenship effort did make him feel it at the state level. In Turkey, "people don't approach [him] like a Turk, but like a German" (18). Here, his girlfriend and a close Bulgarian friend regard him as German, his parents and Turkish friends as Turkish. "There is a tension" (26).

How exactly does he deal with this identity tension and constraint? Now, he has "got used to it". He thinks the people in Turkey are right. "I don't really feel Turkish like them, and I don't really feel German" (19). At this moment, when he and his father consider him as "an adult", there is no, or negligible, strain from the family (14). But, talking about his "identity career", to use Becker's term, he felt the Realschule stage "was a big challenge". He "wanted to make both sides happy somehow, both the family and the friends", "to be grown up as a Muslim and as a Turk, but at the same time study and spend time with the Germans and Christians" (6). He wanted to do and be like his German friends, which was met with strict control by his father, adding to his inferiority complex with reference to his ethnicity and religion.

However, at the university stage, he has realized that "a person's ethnicity is ascribed in the sense that one cannot choose the ethnic group into which one is born" (Liebkind 1989: 31). He affirms his Turkishness. He knows that his appearance, his "character", his "habits", his "behaviour", his "communal style" of living, all he has inherited from his parents. "So this is nothing related to German society" (24). He unhesitatingly identifies himself as "Turkish-German". He supports the Turkish, not the German, football team, because he does not see a place for himself in the latter (25). He played football representing his school and town; he left his weekend Islamic class to play for the latter. But, neither his talent nor preference will take him into the German team. There are a number of German-born players in Turkey's football team, while there are none in the former. In terms of food as well, he is Turkish.

At the same time, he does not "want to go back to Turkey" (20). *Back* to the roots, is not a consideration. His *Heimat* is here, his home-town in Germany, "not Turkey, not Germany". His heart does not beat for Turkey (28). He is "happy to live here", wants German passport, not because he regards it as important, but for a practical reason, to save money (20). In any case, he is uncomfortable with its practical-symbolic implications – how can he do military service when he doesn't feel like a German! "In between. But I think I am Turkish" (21). He is aware of the "contradiction" (6) in his existence, and takes it very casually

now. In certain contexts, taking advantage of his paradox and German skills, he theatrically presents his self "as if" (Goffman 1958: 3) he is German (22). After all, he speaks German better. "most of the children of *Gastarbeiter* speak better German than Turkish" (Veteto-Conrad 1996: 49).

Finally, it appears that, like Yusuf, his positive sense of the German half of his identity is an affirmation coming from the people closest to his heart – his girlfriend and Bulgarian friend. As Appiah was quoted above: "most people shape their identities as partners of lovers who become spouses and fellow parents" (Appiah 2005: 21). Gul has a highly diffuse sense of identity. He is a "marginal man" on the constraint side; might become on the typical side as well.

Ahmet

Meeting Ahmet was like meeting the hypothetical "marginal man" in real life. His profound knowledge of Turkish and German cultures, fluency in his "mother tongues" (4), his ability to compare and contrast his condition, his insightful and synthesizing capabilities, the desire to build bridges between cultures and his own self (3), by rethinking established identities – make him worthy of being identified as Park's "marginal man" in an almost archetypical sense. We had conversations in two rounds, first of 8 minutes 55 seconds [interrupted], second of 1 hour 28 minutes 29 seconds. Knowing the theme of this study, he spoke fluently in English. Since he was well-aware of the issues and terminology, the questions asked to him were, in many cases, theoretical, and he answered them quite comprehensively, though we included only relevant portions of them due to lack of space. He talked of his identity struggle in an autobiographical way, with a narrative style. For him, identity is a "process" (1), showing his "capacity *to keep a particular narrative going*" (Giddens 1991:54). Thus, it seems worthwhile to discuss his identity negotiation strategies in a sequence, from the childhood to this stage.

As a child, his parents naturally told him about religion and culture. Beyond that, instead of spending time with his friends and playing football during the weekends, he went to Islamic classes, which he found "exhausting" (24). There was a desire to "adapt" to the lifestyle of his peers (11). Nevertheless, in his school period, he had a religious sense, and would use his spare time to have inter-cultural and inter-religious dialogues with his friends (2). The "crisis" to his Islamic sense was posed in the late teenage years under the influence of his school teachers. Kant, Nietzsche, etc. had almost turned him into a sceptic (24),

and he thought of escape from the dilemma posed by the weight of "two fat cultures". He wanted to settle for one identity – and it explains Cahit's, Ali's and, as we shall see, Fadil's situation, who happen to be in this stage – and overcome his existential crisis. But, instead of actually doing that, he became, in sociological terms, an interactionist or constructivist, believing that social reality or identities are not just given, rather they could be negotiated. His strategy was to accept Islam, but not in the form that he had learnt from his parents or the weekend school. "While the older generation are clinging to their familiar ways, most of their German-born children do not expect the Islam of their parents to help them along in this country" (Abdullah 1995: 70). He went through an overall process of "resocialization", rethinking "some essential principles" he had learnt from his family, school and society (12).

So, the question is: where does the *resocialized* Ahmet stand? Before one reads *recycled* and takes him as a postmodernist who is able to shed his identity without feelings of alienation, it is to be made clear that a thread of coherence and consistency runs through his narrative. He is not the person to be driven by the "winds and whims of fashion", nor is he like Adam whose individuality tells him to escape the tyrannical lack of integration and recognition in the society. He proudly says: "Meine Heimat ist Deutschland" (28), feels happy to be "back home" (27) from the country of his parents (8), and loves "to be here in Germany, to be a German" (7,8), a German with a Turkish background (17), a "German-Turkish" (33). While he often feels "like a strong German", he cannot recall if he felt like a strong Turkish. He believes in turning the tables, converting vice into virtue. He does not want to reject or escape, he wants to cope with his situation, "work with these two cultures", "make the best of it" (6), "feel this as an enrichment" (11). However, before we see how he actually does it, let us grasp under what circumstances, contradictions and constraints, as he perceives them.

First of all, he accepts that Germany offers him more possibilities than "the country of [his] … parents" (8). However, he feels that the old notion of ethnic citizenship and the concept of *pure* German lingers on in some circles, making the recognition and integration of people with a non-German background, those who identify themselves as German, problematic. Sometimes, the politicians try to classify people in these terms, overlooking the provisions mentioned in the Constitution [quotes Article 116 to define a German, as somebody who has German citizenship] (10). At another social level, some Germans also do not recognize and accept the religious preferences of Muslims, and expect them to "always" explain (16). These attitudes also get reflected at an economic level,

making it difficult for people with a Turkish or Muslim background to fairly get a job (17). Having said that there is "sometimes racism or discrimination" against Turkish people and himself, he thinks it also depends on individuals (9). Those who are illiterate, are not able to speak German, face problems (22). At the same time, they should be treated as individuals, not representatives of a particular ethnicity or nation. About the two cultures, he admits "there are some contradictions" (11, 32).

Now, we come to how he actually works with these cultures, within the given context. He responds with reflexivity in the first place. In the opening sentence itself, he claims that his interest in identity dates back to his school days; the "process" is still on. It is not something he has inherited from his family, or accepted by way of social ascription. And, although he feels that his concern with identity is socially constructed (3), a reflection of the "collective mind" in his "individual mind" (25), yet he is of the view that he can define himself, his self, "at some point", without caring if people do recognize him as such or not (29). So, for him, it is a process in his mind, though within the parameters of the society and the time he lives in (24). Still, it "hurts" him "sometimes" that some people do not accept him for what he thinks of himself (28). When asked explicitly about how others or his friends think of him, his "me", he said he doesn't "really know" (31). In any case, it is clear that he is aware of the "contradictions" that exist in society (11, 32), tries to contemplate over them, and build bridges externally as well as internally (3). One could say that his self, arisen in social experience, is now in a "solitary" stage when he can tackle identity within (Mead 1967:140).

And how exactly does he build these bridges? First of all, he admits the limits to cognitive reconciliation – at times, he tries to find a solution; at other times, he leaves contradictions on their own (32). This implies that there will always be grey areas that will have to be left out, or simply overlooked. Anyways, he thinks, with "philosophical ideas" and "concepts", it is possible to solve the riddles (21), by comparing his situation with that of others living in a similar situation in other countries (1). He tried to find out how Pakistani and Indian youth face the challenge in U.K., while he was there on an exchange program. Externally, he tries to do it through "intercultural meetings" (2), "doing translation for German people trying to meet Turkish people, and vice versa" (5). We can see in table 1 that he is in fact a part-time interpreter. However, while he works towards the "fusion of cultures", he also seeks a *pure* identity, into which he can *alchemically absorb* himself without the constraint of rigidities.

At this stage, he turns to religion. He clearly states: "More and most important for me is my religious identity" (18). Why? "My ethnic identity is mixed, and the most pure identity … is religious identity". He also thinks that religion "makes it easier to cope with the situation, you don't have one single country, so you don't feel homeless" (20). Beyond this cognitive and emotional necessity, there is a practical one as well: "this is also a point where you find some freedom, some safe harbour. But not because I need some harbours that I cling to religion, also this is part of my Turkish culture". Taking the 'third way' derives from his desire to be free of external constraints, whether that of his ethnicity or society. But then, by calling it a part of his Turkish culture, he does not think it is separable from his Turkish identity. However, just as he does not accept the German and Turkish parts of his identity as such, he does not accept the religious identity as pre-given. He understands religion "in a very positive light" (18), wants to modify religious ideas (23), in accordance with the spirit of his specific social situation and time (24). For him, "Islam is a very tolerant religion" (15). His vision of Islam does not forbid him from having a German girlfriend, something which alienated him from his family (14) and, if he were to speak, also from his community (26).

Here, we have a good example of how a person can successfully deal with contradictions in a conceptual way, rethink and reconcile, accommodate apparently fragmented identities in a coherent frame, and form an integrated sense of self. "A person may make use of diversity in order to create a distinctive self-identity which positively incorporates elements from different settings into an integrated narrative. Thus a cosmopolitan person is one precisely who draws strength from being at home in a variety of contexts" (Giddens 1991: 190). It is not necessary for him to be a postmodernist in order to be context-conscious. He is able to blend in his own personality the hospitality, warmth and friendliness of Turkish culture, on the one hand, and "German values" of "being more rational, pragmatic" on the other (33). He is, without doubt, "a personality type that arises at a time and a place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence" (Park 1950: 375). And by virtue of it, he confirms both aspects of our hypothesis.

Fadil

Fadil's case is different from others – born in Turkey, he was brought over to Germany as a two-year old child. He was included in this study with the impres-

sion that the experiences of a child at this age are either not remembered, or do not apparently matter in the identity formation process. However, the tone and tenor of his narrative confirmed the assumption behind interviewing youth born in Germany – that, seem it may as essentialist in its import, the mere knowledge of birth-place has a strong influence on the perceptions and identity of people. Although a keen sense of roots or of discrimination in the land of birth could produce a similar sentiment, as it did in a few cases, compared to nachgeborenen, Fadil's basic outlook is markedly different.

He is surely a good case for comparison, to demonstrate the influence of awareness of one's birthplace. Nevertheless, we shall reserve comparisons or general conceptualizations for the final chapter, and for now, discuss Fadil's identity negotiation in a country where his grand-father, and later his father, came as "guest-worker" (1). We had two rounds of conversations, the first of 14 minutes 20 seconds, the second of 1 hour 20 minutes 56 seconds. He spoke in English, relatively fluently according to his education level, and expressed himself properly. Perhaps, it would be relevant to mention that the interview was done in a place with no air of religiosity, and that the concrete context does not appear to have influenced his responses, as we shall see. However, he did voice his preference for culture and people Indian (19, 27). Once again, the centrality of religion, ethnicity and family is visible, with a desire to 'return back' to the "communal heaven" (Castells 2002: 67), with mixed feelings about host society.

Let us start with the agents of socialization that have played a significant role in his identity. On the family side, his parents are religious (25), and his mother only knows Turkish, father a "little" bit of German (6). The latter had studied Hauptschule in Turkey before coming to Germany and working in a factory. Fadil is completely dependent on his father's money for his studies and living (9, 11), and does not want to do anything that could hurt him. In this, he contrasts his situation with "a German youngster", and likens it to that of an Indian. Nevertheless, his parents do give him freedom, as they trust him. Every weekend, he visits his family, and will "maybe" settle back with them after finishing school (10). By doing that, he would also be able to work in his father's factory (9, 10), while continuing his studies at the university. He studied at Hauptschule, then Realschule, and is now in a Gymnasium (3). He took religious classes since early childhood, and "everyday" when he arrived in Freiburg (25). But he does not take them anymore, although he is a regular visitor to the mosque. At the time he was in Hauptschule, he was with a number of Turkish friends, and did not get the chance to improve his German language skills, which he did only after being with German friends at Realschule and Gymnasium in

Freiburg (7). However, outside school, his friends are all Muslims, Turkish and German, who supported him here, and with whom he lives in a shared flat (2). He says he wants to make Turkish friends only if they are religious (28).

Coming to his views on the context, he thinks that the German government is "very okay", because it gives "freedom to live like a Muslim". And as far as you follow the rules, you are fine (13). For him, the law of the land and his religion do not clash, making it possible to be obedient to both at the same time. His experiences at school are also positive – his teachers and classmates like him, and understand his religion (24). He thinks that the media presents a bad image of Islam, which makes people prejudiced. So, when he explains "real Islam" to the people in his school, they appreciate it. However, he narrates an incident in which one teacher asked him to explain about the headscarf in French language, in which he is not so fluent, and they thought he does not know about his religion (23). This problem, he feels, is in the society as well, where many people are prejudiced (13). "The school, government, rule is very good. … But people, they are not okay" (15). There is racism in the job market as well (17). All this makes him "don't love Germany", even though he "grew up here" (15).

He wants to go back, because of this prejudice and racism, also because he was born there. However, he is aware of "the bigger problem" back home – that "you can't study with scarf" (13, 14), and that the people there "want to be like Europeans" (30). So, what is to be done? He thinks Turkey should be changed (14). He could go and become a government minister, and try to reform things. Besides that, "there are good schools", and "if you have a good job" and money, "you are the king" (16). People identify him as German in Turkey, and Turkish in Germany (22), but that is "no problem" for him. What matters ultimately for him is that he is a Muslim (23). He loves the Germans who are Muslims. They are like his "brothers".

With this "me", he negotiates his identity. Firstly, he has the feeling of being a "real Turkish" (4), since he was born in Turkey. This is why he has a special sense of attachment with his "mother language" (8), which is "very important" for him. To retain it at a conscious level, he speaks Turkish with his family, reads Turkish newspapers [though he also reads German newspapers and magazines, as shown in table 1], watches Turkish television, and listens to Turkish music, in addition to Arabic and Indian. In fact, he is the only interviewee who is more fluent in Turkish than German (table 1). And, if language is an indicator of identity, it links positively in Fadil's case. He thinks he is "very very different" from Germans (12), and also to some extent from the Turkish-Germans. But this is for him an advantage, as he has a pure identity, just Turkish, and not mixed or

hyphenated. In his view, a "mixed" identity or culture is no identity or culture at all (29). He is a puritanical essentialist, no negotiations or dialectical formations. Its given. "Every people know that I am Turkish". He accepts a social identity as self-identity without any bargaining. Nevertheless, sometimes he identifies with Turkish-German youth's crisis – "we are swimming between Turkish and German culture".

Still, it does not disturb his mind. He is clear. He is Turkish. And an ideal Turkish is one, as defined "hundred years before, in Germany". Which is, whenever somebody said Turkish, it automatically meant Muslim. "I think that must be so". However, he rearranges the order of these inter-related identities, and gives primacy to the religious one, so that he is a Muslim-Turkish and not a Turkish-Muslim. "At first, I am a Muslim, then I am a Turkish". That is why he is not happy with "the bigger problem" in his own country, the Kemalist legacy. In this sense, he finds Germany better than Turkey. Still, the former does not find any share in his identity. He is a guest, his grandfather, and father had come here "as a guest-worker" (1). "As if" he is German, only to the extent that he "can speak German". Despite this, he wants to have a German passport (20), without symbolic significance of citizenship or nationality. In fact, "nationality is not important"; if at all, he would like to be born again as Arabic (31). In the practical sense, the German passport will not only mean easier travel, in Turkey, he can translate it into social and economic capital (21), like his German education and system. If, at all, he has to mix up his identity, he will prefer to do it in India, rather than Germany. Ideally, "it would be better if I marry somebody with same religion, language, culture" (27). If not, he could marry somebody from India, which is also "the next goal" after Turkey (19).

Once again, Erikson proved right. "In general it is the inability to settle on an occupational identity which most disturbs young people" (Erikson 1974: 132). Like Cahit and Ali, Fadil is most worried about his future. Like them, he feels that work is "very difficult" in Germany, and there is job discrimination (17). "That's what hurt me". At the end, he does say that "if I have a good profession, I can live everywhere. That's no problem for me. I grew up here, I know the system …" (33). He can work and live here as well, but since he cannot visualize that happening, he wants to leave. Going to Turkey is then rationalized through arguments – better job chances there, Turkish employers prefer Europeans, "if you have a good job in Turkey … then you are the king", "there are good schools too" (16), "whole family, uncles, cousins, all are there" (18), "its your land, your people, your country, everyone speaks your language, people have same religion", Germans are "very very different", "are very cold" (12). While these might

be his true feelings, the reason why they are invoked is related to his job insecurity consciousness. Nevertheless, he is also conscious that this might finally not work out, that his dreams could be shattered, and he may have to 'return back' to Germany (32). Still, he would not include German elements in his identity, and shall be a cosmopolitan – "my Heimat is everywhere" (33). At the most, he could be "like a German, not a German".

In conclusion, we could say that, since Fadil primarily denies that he is caught between two cultures [even though he exceptionally identifies himself as Turkish-German (29)], holds to a single identity, "with same religion, language, culture" (27), does not feel there is anything for negotiation on the table, to debate on, he is, in no sense, a "marginal man". However, his identity status cannot be labelled as 'foreclosed', since he shows feeling of openness to other cultures besides his own (19). And, it is to a great extent, positive in nature, for he does not comprehensively vilify the German state, system, schools or the society as 'the other'. With job security and financial independence from his family, he can join the negotiation process, so it seems. He could, like "the young generation of fervent Muslims who insist on religious practices and on social integration (on their terms) into German society", be one of the so-called "post-modern Muslims" (Karakasoglou 1996: 173-174), if he finds outer security (job). But, until then, he attains inner peace and security with *the power of* religio-ethnic *identity*.

5. Conclusions

Toward the end, it would be theoretically meaningful to draw certain conclusions, based on the analysis of interviewees' responses, to be "timeless" after a period of being "timebound". First of all, the "marginal man" hypothesis, described in the first chapter, was confirmed to a varying degree in cases where the effort was at negotiation and renegotiation, formation and reformation, of identity. Those who settled for an established identity category, exhibiting a preference for essentialism, were those who were uncomfortable with being in the middle, not able to cope with the stress of the situation. So, we could refine the notion of "marginal man" by adding that, only those who do *deal* and *negotiate* with the predicament in positive manner, and attempt a blend of civilizations, or try to construct new spaces or alternatives, could be called 'marginal men'. Not everyone who "lives in two worlds, in both of which he is more or less of a stranger", or "whom fate has condemned to live in two societies and in two, not merely different but antagonistic, cultures", deserves the appellation. Or, it is "I" that makes a person "marginal man", and not just "me" in a narrow sense of the term (meaning the situation in which one exists). It is about 'becoming', not simply 'being'. Toennies' idea of an "individual man" is abstract, and could be applied in the case of visionaries.

About the constraint side of the hypothesis, even those having a strong sense of affiliation with their families, did feel the pressure coming more from the public, rather than private, domain. The influence of the latter was reduced with age and independence, while that of the former was felt to stay, the final remedy being leaving the country. It is obvious that in a liberal country like Germany, it is not so difficult to live without the support of family structures, compared to Turkey. Moreover, the parents are always under the threat of being deserted by their children, or them going on a 'wrong' path. Parental insecurity is reflected in not only trying to exert a tighter control over their children, specially at an early age, but also in sending them to weekend religious classes. At the social and political levels also, one could witness such a feeling of insecurity, related to these youth, in the integration debate. However, the difference is that parental insecurity and control is overcome at a certain age, while that of the

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society/state starts early on, and continues until one lives, in the country. Rather, the realization of latter's sharper controls begins at an age when one is able to think, and ready to seriously negotiate one's identity, at least potentially. However, the degree and dimensions of the constraints as perceived by different individuals varies tremendously, and it is, at best, their own understanding based on their experiences, and not necessarily the reality out there.

On the motivational side, there has been a connection between identity and integration. In cases where individuals were ethnically addressed or segregated in schools, or discriminated, the identity has been negative. While those who had nice experience at school, had a better opinion about the society in general, and about themselves. At a more general level, when a person had freer peer contact with German friends, he had positive, or at least less negative, feelings about the host society, without religion coming in the way. In fact, the religious tag was invoked using 'the other' by those who mostly had Turkish and Ausländer affiliations. Away from integration, or between the two cultures, it is not always 'the third' (religion); in a case, fourth (escaping to a neutral society: Adam), or the fifth (city-centricism: Gul), way.

The second motivation was related to individual identity, which has been verified in every case. Even those who had commonalities of either age, educational level, family proximity or religious learning, expressed unique, complex and exclusive "me" and the "I". Whatever conclusions are being drawn here are solely with reference to people who were interviewed for this study, at least for the moment. If these concepts are explored by means of future research, their scope would be broadened, and so would be their degree of generalizability. However, these general conclusions would always be tentative, and will never be universal. This is a case study of seven individuals and the results of their responses do not even apply completely to them in the future, or even in the present, stage. Individuals and communities are evolving in experiences and their selves. A small change in an ingredient of one's identity could trigger a bigger modification. Who knows if Cahit meets an old woman tomorrow, as in Gul's case, who helps him with his home-assignments, making him rethink his notions?

Coming to the strategic sphere, the arguments made by Leiken in his *Foreign Affairs* article, do seem to hold true in three instances (Cahit, Ali and Fadil), but are related not to religion (for Yusuf and Ahmet are very religious as well). It owes to future insecurity, usually found in the age group those three are. There is a feeling of being grown-up and a desire to be free from the pressures of the family (quest for independence is visible in the case of everybody, if not since

childhood, then at their present stage, vocally or silently). If higher education seems altogether unattainable (being in a Hauptschule), and chances of getting a decent job nowhere on the horizon, they look to a 'comparative advantage', putting the blame on the system in some way or the other, and trying to maintain self-esteem. It is very clear that the children of the *gastarbeiters* are not ready to accept the same situation or positions as their fathers or grandfathers did. They consider them *at par* with children from the host society. As repeated during individual narrative analysis, for most of them, their occupational future is important. And, professional uncertainty restricts their capital to the ethnic and religious.

Talking of religion, some of the responses have revealed that though certain people adhere to a traditional vision of Islam – these are also those who strongly evoke their ethnic identity – the ones in a more mature age, while confirming their attachment to religion in a broad sense, negotiate and embrace quite a reflexive notion of it. If one says Islam, there are a lot of images and notions that come to our mind. But their Islam is not the Islam of Mullahs, or Shaykhs or Ayatullahs. It is their version of Islam, to understand which is important from a sociological viewpoint. It is a social construction of religion, undertaken by these 'marginal men', who in doing so, are opening new frontiers of challenge and constraint for themselves, this time not simply confined to the national. Even when religion is 'the third way', it is also a third source of constraint in the process of negotiation. These youth are being involved in, what Anderson has termed, "territorialization of faiths" (Anderson 1991: 17). They want to adapt Islam to their own conditions, desiring to follow a 'Euro-Islam', not a "Turkish Islam". They are, according to Karakasoglou, "post-modern Muslims" (Karakasoglou 1996: 173-174), combining apparently contradictory categories (*Euro*pe-*Islam*, *Ger*man-Tu*rk*). However, it could be said that behind this endeavour is also an aspiration to be the leaders of 'the new Islam'.

The idea of "post-modern Muslims" takes us to the fact that most of these people "do not identify in an all-or-none fashion with the values and characteristics of various groups and individuals" (Liebkind 1989: 32). They are partly Turkish, partly German, partly Muslim, in the conventional sense of the terms; and then in lower proportions, partly Ausländer Italian or Spanish or other. They have very hybridized identities. Some try to maintain a 'pure' one on the side, for a safe haven in times of crisis or stress, or to continuously give them a sense of being like others. There are moments of marginal-ness and moments of mainstream-ness, or moments of purity and moments of hybridity. As a result, the conventional categories of 'we' and 'they' are no more valid or inseparably dif-

fuse, in their religious or ethnic identities, and "discourage a simplistic 'we-they' representation of the groups" (Liebkind 1989: 32). It is not a problem for them to be religious and have a German soul-mate. In fact, the emotional dimension was found to have a profound influence on the identity affirmation of the youth.

Finally, after all the talk of identities and categories and constraints, I can think of no better ending to issues like these than what the progenitor of identity studies, Erik H Erikson, said:

> "The question is – will mankind realize that it is one species – or is it destined to remain divided into "pseudo-species" forever playing out one (necessarily incomplete) version of mankind against all the others until, in the dubious glory of the nuclear age, one version will have the power and the luck to destroy all others just moments before it perishes itself?" (Erikson 1975: 47)

Selections from the Interviews

Cahit

Asked about his background, he said he had studied in different cities for his kindergarten and primary school, before he came to Freiburg. Following are relevant portions of his narration:

1. My parents were happy, I was also happy. Then, I came to Freiburg, studying in a new school (Hauptschule). I come to the mosque to study the Quran. I am good at school. My upbringing is good. My father works in the field of computer hardware.
2. [What is important for you?] My future is very important to me. I want to study well at school, finish well. I want to work here in a nice place. Later, I want to work in the automobile sector, selling cars. I am fascinated by cars.
3. [Any special memories:] My cousin was pregnant in Holland, had appendicitis. … (She dies when he reaches there)
4. [Are you close to your family?] I am very close to my family, love them very much. I want to go to Turkey. I want to work there. If something ends here … Turkey is my country, I feel good there, so I want to work and live there.
5. [Why not in Germany?] I don't see any future in Germany, so I want to go to Turkey. … (Here) work is very hard. I know Turkish language very well. My people go there. I have 2-3 houses there. … German people are very bad. My brother finished school and wanted to go to the college. He could have gone there, but the German people said: 'Don't go to school, you work!' Because these Germans don't want the aliens (this is the word he originally used) … to do big work, so that the doctors, engineers, advocates, everyone – all these only German people could become.
6. [Is this why you want to leave Germany?] No, it's not like this. I also like being there (in Turkey).
7. [Your friends?] … I don't want to have much contact with the German people. I am not happy with them. I like to associate with Turkish or Ausländer people. I only want to be in touch with Ausländers. … The German people give me a very bad treatment. I have 1-3 German friends, they are good … But these people here and there are not nice to me, so why should I be to them?

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8. [Any thing happened?] I went to Stadt (the city) to buy something. There were 7 or 8 German people, 17 to 18 years old. They were staring at me. So, I asked: 'what's the matter?' So, the German people beat me up.
9. [Which countries have you been to?] Turkey, Switzerland, Italy, Bulgaria. I go in a car to Turkey.
10. [Which country do you like most?] Turkey. [Why?] In Turkey, in the markets, they say: 'come and buy from me'. There, you can bargain. … If I go to a shop here, there is something for 26 Euros, and I say make it 10, then he (the shop-keeper) will say: 'this is my thing, go out of the door'. In Turkey, when there is azaan (call to prayer), shops close down, and they go for the prayers. … In Turkey, if its time to close the shop, and I ask them to keep it open, I am coming to shop, so they keep the shop open. In Germany, if there is a second beyond 8, it's closed. … They talk to you nicely (in Turkey). Here, everybody is angry.
11. [Are you going to watch the World Cup?] In World Cup, Turkey is not playing, so why should I watch. [Do you like any other team?] Saudi Arabia. [Why?] Because they play good football. (Laughs).
12. [How do you want to live?] Playing with friends, loving parents, studying, learning something in life.
13. [What is the difference between German and Turkish people?] When German people come from the toilet, they don't wash hands. But we Muslims wash our hands. We Muslims pray 5 times a day.
14. [Do you watch films?] I like car films. … I don't like painful, romantic movies.
15. [Any view about Turks in Germany?] Among the Turks, there are good and bad people. There is a Turk, he doesn't pray, my father told him to pray.

Ali

1. [Anything you want to say] I want to go to Turkey, but not really. Now, I am in school. When I finish school, then I want to go back to Turkey, because it is not easy to be here and work. And I want to become a computer engineer. My family came here from Turkey, because they had no work in Turkey. My grandpa came here. The German people had talked to him, and asked him to come here, and work in Germany. Because the Second World War … And then my father and grandmother came here too.
2. [What things are important in your life?] The future (promptly). Yes. If I don't go to school, then I don't have any chance to work here in Germany. But with Hauptschule, you cannot do anything. Work is hard here in Germany. Very hard.

3. [But you said you want to go to Turkey?] Yes. Not really. If I don't have a job here, then I will go there. Or to another country.
4. [Why do you think the work is difficult here?] All these fabrics, these companies – Adidas, Puma, Nike – go to Turkey and other countries, China or so, so you cannot find work in Germany. It's very difficult.
5. [How do you think of yourself?] I think I am a good football player. The club in which I play is not easy to get in. There is a training. I like football because my father has a football team. My grandfather played football. With football, I have a chance in Turkey. In Turkey, I have a team that plays in the first league, and my father's uncle is the president of this team. I have chance to play in this team and go to big teams. First, I want to be a computer engineer. And if not, then a football player.
6. [How important is religion for you?] Religion is very important for me. I come here for Islamic classes.
7. [You want to come, or your parents want you to come here?] No, I want to come.
8. [So, what do you understand by religion?] Religion is life for me.
9. [If you have to make friends, would you do that on the basis of religion?] No, no. My friend must be a real friend.
10. [And would you marry on the basis of religion?] Yes. I can marry here in Germany, but the wife must be Muslim.
11. [The interpreter asks: Must she be Turkish?] No, the important thing is she must be Muslim.
12. [Anything else?] For me, its important to finish the school in a good way and get a good job. That is for me the first.
13. [But you said religion is the most important for you? So, if you have to choose between your future and religion, or compromise, what would you do?] When I play football, and we win the match, everybody drinks beer, but I don't. For me, its not a problem.
14. [How do you want to lead your life?] I want to buy my parents a big house. And when I have a good job and so, and my father says: 'you must marry this girl', then I can say: 'no, I want to marry this girl'. But my father says you can marry whoever you want.
15. [So, your parents are very flexible?] I don't want to marry somebody whom my father or family don't like. They must like her.
16. [Do you feel pressurized living in your community?] If I do something, there are people to watch me. But I don't do any bad thing.
17. [Do you like living here in Germany?] Yes, yes. German people, many of them are nice. But my old teacher was a Nazi. And I was an Ausländer, and then he had problems with me. Many German people have problems with Ausländers.

18. [What is the difference between Germany and Turkey?] Turkish people are friendly to everybody. But in Germany, it's not so. When German and American people go to Turkey, Turkish people help them. But in Germany, they say: 'go home', or so. Many people help too, but other people do not.
19. [Any special event you remember?] My grandpa died when I was 6 years old. We were in Turkey on a vacation, he died there.
20. [How would you feel, you were born here, and you go and live in Turkey?] For my friends, it is very hard if I go. But I have friends in Turkey too. My cousins are in Turkey. Most of my family is in Turkey. I have two friends here since I was three years old, in kindergarten, and still we are together. So, it would be difficult to leave them. (They are German).
21. [How do your friends think of you?] I think good. These two friends of mine, when they have a problem, they come to me and speak. And we understand each other very good.
22. [What does your family think of you?] They like me, and I like them.
23. [Any thing else?] [You like watching films. Any favourites?] I like Shah Rukh Khan (an Indian film star). Turkish film stars.
24. [I heard in Freiburg there is a Turkish dance group] Oh yeah, I know them. There is a group from us. [Oh, are you part of them?] No. But I know everyone from the group. One of them comes to the mosque. They do traditional Turkish dance.
25. [What do you think of other Turkish boys in Germany or Freiburg?] Here, there are many Turkish boys who are very aggressive. [In what sense?] They are drinking, going to discos, smoking. [But most of them don't?] Most of them do that.

Adam

1. … born in … Bavaria. I grew up with my brothers and sisters. ... youngest. … moved to Regensburg to study … (came to Freiburg) had to attend 1 year further classes in order to prove that I am as smart as the University students here … it was ... nice.
2. By the time of 15, I never thought of doing my PhD thesis or studying. I was thinking to find a job and to settle down. … my father died when I was 14. … (he) always wanted his boys at the universities. My older brother had this opinion that you are not going to start working. You have to go to high school and then to the university. And so I had to accept it. … I was thinking what to study at the university, mathematics or … But finally, again my brothers were influencing me, that mathematics is not really a nice subject for me. I mean I love mathematics … they were right, so I choose Microsystems engineering … because it was some kind of new, exciting. …

not so interesting for many people. And I am not the person riding the race as a lot of people do.

3. Yesterday, I got my German passport. … I changed my citizenship because I wanted to travel freely in Europe and to other countries. Because with this Turkish citizenship, you always needed some kind of visa. I mean its some kind of weird, I am born in Germany, and if I travelled with my Turkish passport, I am more thoroughly controlled through the check-ins.
4. But if someone asks me if I feel like a German or like a Turkish, I would say neither German nor Turkish (with a reflective mood). I don't feel like to be a German because I mean, I don't know, I was not integrated I think. … I had more German friends than Turkish friends. So … But the society … I mean I was in a grammar school, in a Turkish grammar school, which was separated from the German grammar school. … we also had different breaks. So there was a separation. And every time when politicians are talking of integration, then I have to say: 'Hey, come on, … you don't give them a chance to integrate to the society'. I mean this kind of grammar school example is a really good example for this failed integration politics from the past.
5. And when they hire this whole people from Italy, Greece, and other countries, they wanted workers. One Swiss poetry man had a nice sentence: 'Germany wanted workers, but humans came'. … I am angry with these politicians.
6. Back to the question [which I didn't ask] … if I see … some reportage about Turkey, about Turkish culture, if I listen to Turkish music, or if I go to a Turkish restaurant, something like that. … (I am) attract to the Turkish culture … I mean I am attracted to the Turkish culture more than to the German culture. But at the right time I know, since I never lived in Turkey, I was just there for holidays … I know that Turkey is not my home. … I think I am in the middle …But more, the tendency is more to the Turkish side.
7. … if my Turkish language skills were better, I think I would be at the Turkish side. Because then I wouldn't be afraid of going to Turkey, going to a country which language I barely speak. … But right now, I think 60% Turkish and 40% German. And this 40% of German decreases with every discussion about integration from the German politicians. I am actually angry.
8. Right now, I don't want to live in Germany forever. … There is a over-regulation in this country. … Its too unflexible.
9. [So, how do you feel being in the middle?] I think I feel like I have to prove something. Even if I am not completely Turkish or German, I can go my own way and I can prove that I can give something to the society. … just by getting a lot of scientific publications. I feel this pressure. … I am in the middle, and everyone is watch-

ing me. The left side and the right side … I won't stay here in Germany, and I won't go to Turkey. .... Maybe I can find a society where integration is part of the culture.

10. [So, you feel the integration policy of the government is related to how you feel being in the middle?]. Yeah.
11. [You said when your father died, that was a turning point in your life. Could you please elaborate?] I knew that my father wanted to have maybe a lawyer, a doctor, so … and after his death, I just started to go my way in school. I never belonged to some kind of big groups of pupils, pupils who were in and pupils who were out. But just again in the middle. And was dealing with both.
12. I was graduating in 8th grade, one of my older brother came to the same class … I think this was the bad thing that could happen to me because before he came to my class, I was really eager student. In the beginning, I thought … you are in my territorial … At the beginning, I was better than him. And after half a year of studying, he was better than me. And then I recognized oh damn, fuck, he is better than me. It's a shame for me, its my class. I can't be the second. … then there was a little competition. … we had an influence to other peoples, the friends. Every time when the German teacher told us: 'again here, our Turkish friends had the best German work'. It was a shame for the German pupils. … how could it be, that the Turkish people are better in German than German people? … it was really nice, because it was at the end, our class was one of the best which teachers had.
13. [Do you think the teachers consciously referred to you as Turkish?]. Yeah. [Do you think they did that on purpose?]. I don't know. [But, it had an effect on you?]. Yes. … when I got my work back, it was A or A+, I was …proud to be really really good in German in the German courses, and to be better than the German. I was like 'huh, I got you, again'. … proud to be Turkish at that time.
14. [Are there any other times when you feel proud as a Turkish, or when you don't feel Turkish?] That's the time when I travel, when I am not so proud of being Turkish. … standing in the other queue than the European citizens … also … pay the visa cost.
15. Second internship I did … at Daimler-Chrysler … [Was it difficult to get?). No, it was not difficult for me than the German ones.
16. … when I moved to Freiburg, I changed 180 degree. I was totally interested in other people, and I really wanted to live in a youth, a student, dormitory … For me, it was really new experience to be in a place where you meet new people around the world from one week to another. This helped me a lot to change to the opposite direction. … of course, my family is also important for me.
17. [How was the experience before Freiburg and now?] … I think maybe I cant separate from before Freiburg and after Freiburg. (During internship) I had no computer, no television. And before … I was playing computer games, hanging around at home.

18. [What countries have you been to?] Mostly Europe. Because I am just travelling to places where friends of mine are, or travelling with friends, places have never been before. But I am not a lone traveller.
19. [Would you mind marrying in Germany or you would like to marry in Turkey?] No, I don't mind. … [And do you think religion is important for you?]. No, religion is not important for me (with certainty). … I believe in Nature ... in my personality.
20. [Do you think there is pressure from your family, friends, society to be religious?] No, not at all. … Maybe, religion is some kind of …. It's a last, I don't know … Its just to get together, here in Germany. Just to feel like … different.
21. [Any thing else important for you?] Right now, I am happy with my German citizenship … because I am free (laughs heartily).
22. USA is an integration country, and Europe is going to be a big integration country. … Especially Germany, they cant face the truth, Germany right now is an integration country. … They are talking about them, but not talking with them.

Yusuf

1. I am Turkish, and I am Muslim.
2. … My mother is I think extreme in religion. My father also thinks so. … They gave me a lot of their culture. Most of it that I know yet was told by my parents. I am happy … Because it is important to know … my roots. I pray, not five times a day, but I try to.
3. … My parents don't say: 'you can't have German … or Portuguese or Italian friends. They must be good … who can accept me as a Muslim, who don't try to change me'.
4. When I was a child, it was not easy for me because most of my friends were Catholic, and I was the only Muslim. You know they go to discos, everything. They have a girlfriend. They are free. It was a little bit hard, not so hard. I believe in what my parents told me about my religion and culture. It was harder to explain to my friends… We did everything together, except some. But I think they accepted me. Because when I went to their house, their mother made only halal meat, no pork … Not especially for me, they also don't eat pork on that day, to show respect to me as a Muslim.
5. In Gymnasium, it was easier. The age was 16, 17, 18 years old … They can react a little but respectfully than the people in the Realschule. … In University, it is very easy.
6. I think when you show you are extreme in religion, then sometimes, sometimes, not so often, I think there can be a bad reaction. Discrimination, I don't think so. The

newer generation here in Germany … But older than 40 years, sometimes, they have feelings. They say: 'you don't have to be a Muslim in Germany. You have to be a German. Please have our religion, our culture'. They want to integrate you. But I … don't want to be German … have German culture … be Catholic. My father came to work here. I was born here. I didn't have a choice. It would have been easier to be born in Turkey.

7. The newer generation who was born after me, they want to be freer. I think there are more people now who want to be German. They are not so interested in the Islamic religion or Turkish culture. But I am not so. … the German people [accept them].
8. When I go to Turkey, most people say you are German. Then you are in the middle. Then you ask yourself: 'what am I?'. My head says you are German, but my heart says you are Turkish. If I have to choose one, then I will accept what my heart says.
9. … A German child everywhere in Germany always has Turkish friends, Italian friends, Spanish friends … They grow together, and now it is so that there are no differences.
10. Okay, I want to be Turkish and Muslim, but I cannot say that I have nothing of the German culture, I have nothing of the Italian culture, or so. … I eat German meals, without pork … You take some of their culture, but not religion. I am Muslim.
11. I must say there is a difference between Turkish people in Germany and the Turkish people in Turkey … You cannot live here the Turkish culture … one hundred percent. They accept me as a Turkish, but the difference is I am born in Germany. But not 100 percent. And the German accept me as a little bit of German, and a little bit of Turkish. But nobody accepts me as one hundred percent German or Turkish.
12. … [How do you feel about it?] I think its funny. … Its okay for me. Because I can say I am one of 2 million Turkish people in Germany who can feel this. I can speak German, while people who live in Turkey cannot. I can speak English, a little bit of Spanish, … I am happy with this. … If I have a second choice if I want to be born in Germany or Turkey, I will say Germany.
13. German people do everything in time, for example. In Turkey, the people are not so bound. I must say German people are really workaholic. And when you are born here and raised here, you take a little bit of this culture. … I am German-Turkish, and they are Turkish-Turkish. On the whole, there are not so many differences.
14. I think one difference between German and Turkish culture is that German people are not so much bonded to their family. … In this sense, I think I am more Turkish. But when I see Turkish people here in Germany, it is not my mentality to go and talk. … I am must say I am little bit shy. … In this part, I think I am more German.
15. I must say that when I am finished [with studies], I don't want to go to Turkey. I was born in this system, in Germany. You know how the system goes.

16. [I tell him that the first two interviewees want to go to Turkey] They are at a critical age, and they don't know what it means to be Turkish, what it means to be in Turkey … I think it is important what your parents told you about your culture and religion.
17. [Do you go to weekend Islamic classes?] Yes, I go. I go to the Turkish school. They teach me Turkish language and script. … I went to both. I think when your parents tell you about your culture and religion, you listen with one ear and pass out with another. But when you go to the Turkish or the Islamic school, then you really learn.
18. [What is more important for you: culture or religion?] I think religion. I think its harder to live your culture here. It is easier to follow your religion here.
19. [Could you say something about Turkish people in Freiburg?] A lot of them are from Turkey, the others were born and raised here, and come from every place in Germany. … [Do you think there is a special area where they live?] No, no. They are mixed … You can have your Turkish culture, but you must be with them, you must work with them. I accept them, and they accept me. So, I don't have a problem here.
20. My sisters don't wear hijab (veil) here, because they think its easier for them here when they don't wear the hijab. They think when they get married, then they can wear one.
21. [Do you think riots like France could happen here?] I don't think, because Germany is very open to new religions. Most of my German friends say: '…It's multi-culti Germany what makes me live here'. Sometimes, the old people also say this.
22. I have a German girlfriend … [Her parents] … go to Turkey, to Greece. … [They say:] 'I am happy to be in Germany that there are so many cultures here'.
23. [Do you feel there are extreme people too?] Yes, but its absolute minority. I remember some neo-Nazis wanted to make a rally in Freiburg, and around 20,000 people went to the train station and didn't let them come out. … People are very open here.
24. [After studies?] … I will go to Switzerland, you don't have to pay so many taxes.
25. I work … part-time. … My parents want to give me money, but I don't want to take. I want to try to live independently, its important for me. I first started working when I was 13, to earn a little bit of money and be independent. I think its important.
26. When I have free time, I am footboholic. I love it. I do a lot of sports. On holidays, I go to big cities. … I want to make holidays in different countries.
27. I have a girlfriend. … She is learning Turkish. I didn't say [ask her to learn it].
28. [How do you think others think of you?] I often hear it from German people that I can speak better German than they can. Most of them say I am very well integrated … I can follow my religion and culture, and also be with Germans. … I think they are more tolerant … someone like me is interested … more successful maybe in the school.

29. … I think in Germany … You cannot say: ‘okay I am Muslim, but I don’t pray’. … Then they will think: ‘okay, Islamic people say, but they don’t follow it’. … Then they don’t trust you. They think he says Islam is not a radical religion, maybe it is.
30. [Do you think there is discrimination in schools?] Sometimes, it was so. But not always. … I think they don’t trust in you, a little bit. Its not discrimination.
31. [Would you call yourself German-Turkish or Turkish-German?] I think this is the hardest question of all. … I cannot say I am 100% Turkish or German. … there are times when I am German Turkish, and times when I am Turkish German. When I go to school, then I more feel German Turkish, because I feel like a German student, I am integrated, I learn German, I speak German …When I am at home, I feel Turkish.

Gul

1. … when I was very little, my father had to work every day, full time. And my mother was sick at the moment, staying at the hospital. Then … there was a neighbour, but a German. So, she took care of me the whole time. That’s why maybe my German is very good, because of her. And I call her like a grandmother. She helped me for my classes in the primary school. And I was also helping her for shopping and these kinds of things.
2. And also, I met a lot of Germans because I was playing soccer in the team of the town. So, I spent a lot of time with Germans from the beginning of the childhood … But when German students took religion class, I took the Turkish class.
3. I also studied in the high school. … Everybody cannot get into the Gymnasium. And there were only two Turkish in the class. And I had Turkish friends only at the quarter that I lived … But the whole time I spent with Germans … in the school.
4. My father was a little bit traditional. Like, its very common in that age, the ones who came to Germany to work. And I had some problems actually, from the high school on. … my father never let me do that. … I always wanted to do like the Germans, to be [like them].
5. I got the freedom after coming to Freiburg to study. I am quite comfortable here, there is no control from the family or the community. I enjoy my freedom at the moment. I also changed at this time and started discovering myself in another way.
6. The biggest problem was basically to be grown up as a Muslim and as a Turk, but at the same time study and spend time with the Germans and Christians. But I wanted to make both sides happy somehow, both the family and the friends. So, it was a big challenge for me … Or to live in this both … Yeah, so it is a contradiction for me.

7. [If you don't mind, could you tell more about your family?] My parents came from a city in central Anatolia. But basically from the village, not from the city. … Before, my father's uncle was here. My father first took German course. This is very uncommon.
8. [Did you enjoy learning Turkish?] Yeah. … even before I started my education, at the primary level, I had Turkish friends, and the network, the family, the neighbours.
9. … My father didn't push me to take Turkish [at the school], but it was my choice. I felt like: 'I am Turkish. And this is my language'.
10. … we had Turkish channels at home. But normally I watched like at that time German channels. But, for example, when my mother came, I put Turkish channels.
11. [You said your father is traditional, then why didn't he insist on you studying Turkish?] … My father was aware of the importance of German in this country, so he wanted his children to learn German. At the same time, during weekends, I went to the mosque to learn something about religion. I did it for 2 years. And after starting playing football regularly, I stopped my religious classes. … I had to choose because both football and religion courses were at the weekend. And the football team in Aachen was very very famous at that time. And the trainer came and asked my father whether he allowed me. And my father was also very happy that it is a very good thing and I can do it.
12. I never liked to go to mosque to take religion courses … there was high discipline. And the religious teacher was also punishing students. And at the same time, I really didn't understand because it was Arabic. … In the school I was learning something else. And this is not only religion, but another language … There was a big pressure on me.
13. Actually, my father didn't take me to the mosque. A friend of him … [did]. Of course, my father also asked me to go after that. … The first impression was not positive. Then my father explained that we are all family, we are Muslims [at about the age of 10].
14. … I am an adult now. My father also talks to me like an adult now. At the beginning, my father was phoning me … But now he doesn't ask very much.
15. [How do you feel being in Germany?] I am comfortable with society. There is nothing negative. [Do you feel different from others?] Of course, there are some differences. For example, at the school or in the football team, so they cooked pork or something else for themselves, but at the same time, they were also cooking something halal for me.
16. [They didn't object to your religion?] No. Yeah, it's not easy to get into German groups. I have better relations with international students, like Polish, Russian and Spanish. In the school, I had many German friends. But now, I have very few. …

[Do you also have a lot of Turkish friends?] At home, but here only one [interpreter, who is from Turkey].

17. [Are you in contact with Turkish community here?] I have no connection with them. I don't feel any need. That is one point. The other point is that I don't like the idea, the lifestyle being religious, how they approach to women. I want to enjoy my life. … I am very open, so I don't have any strict idea like them. … And most of those born here, like me, in my age, are like this, having this kind of approach, being conservative.
18. [Do you like being in Turkey?] I like to be there, but when I go, people don't approach me like a Turk, but like a German. … They accepted me, but sometimes made fun.
19. [So how do you feel, being Turkish and excluded in Turkey?] I got used to it … they are right. … I don't really feel Turkish like them, and I don't really feel German.
20. I don't want to go back to Turkey. So this is one point. And also I am happy to live here. I want to get a German citizenship. I didn't think it is very important … I wanted to go to Bulgaria with friends. … I almost spent 500 Euros just for visa.
21. And yeah it was tough point for me to decide to get German citizenship. [Because of practical reasons?] Military service … I don't feel like I am German. In between. But I think I am Turkish. … First, because my outlook is Turkish. And when people ask me.
22. For example, last week I applied for a job on the phone. The people asked him where I come from, so I said German. If I told them I am Turkish, I will definitely or most probably lose the job. So they said: 'your German is quite good, but where your name is coming from; it's not German?' So I said I was born in Aachen.
23. [Do you think it's some kind of discrimination?] Its not maybe a discrimination. But for example, if I go to a disco in Aachen, they can easily notice that I am Turkish, and then probably they don't let me in. Because they have some experiences with young Turkish people, they get into fight easily. … if you go with German friends, its won't a problem.
24. … of course, it's not only outlook, my character, my habits, my behaviour come from my parents. For example, I like living in a communal style, sharing things with other people. So this is nothing related to German society. I got these aspects from parents.
25. [Will you call yourself Turkish-German or German-Turkish?] Turkish-German. [When do you feel Turkish, when German?] It's a very difficult question. I support the Turkish team, not the German team. I see myself in the Turkish team. I cannot identify myself to the German team … For food, I am also Turkish. I don't eat pork, for example.

26. [How do you think others think of you?] My parents, and also my Turkish friends, take me as Turkish. And when I try to get a German citizenship, there is a tension. But for example, my girlfriend, I have a German girlfriend, she thinks that I am German. And one of my best friends, my Bulgarian friend, also thinks that I am German.
27. … it is clear that I have grown up with two cultures. And immigrants have very diverse lives because of their income, where they come from. So, it's hard to generalize.
28. [Your Heimat?] My Heimat is Aachen, not Turkey, not Germany. I was born there. [A person said: "Meine Heimat ist Deutschland, my heart is in Turkey.] No [emphatically].

Ahmet

1. I was always interested in identity. Who am I? My parents. The country I live. Can I identify myself with German, Turkish or both. … until I finished school … It's not a process I finished. But I think its similar to other people living in two cultures.
2. During my school time, I did in my free time some inter-cultural meetings with friends.
3. … in order to understand my self, I tried to approach both cultures … build a bridge … metaphorically building a bridge in my self, in both.
4. Both [German and Turkish] are my mother tongues.
5. Doing translation for German people trying to meet Turkish people, and vice versa.
6. … if you call this a problem. Either you reject, or you try to cope … and make the best of it. … And you can work with these two cultures, combine it and so on.
   [End of the first session of the interview – 8 minutes 55 seconds]
7. I really like to be here in Germany, to be a German. … the Germans must get used to this situation, that there are people who identify themselves as German as well. … the definition of German is not that German anymore, not purely German. Its mixed.
8. I love this country … possibilities … Maybe, I won't have in the country of my parents.
9. I sometimes experience racism or discrimination, discrimination against Turkish people and myself. But often, it was very nice … I think it also depends on yourself.
10. [How would you define a German?] I live in a democratic country, and the constitution is like the fundament of the state. We have to define it through the constitution. There it is clear. German is someone who has the German citizenship. … some poli-

ticians don't stick to their constitution when they say, Germans are according to Article 116 … try to classify it, and this is wrong. … integration is not a one-way road.

11. As a child, I think its not easy, because you feel really unsafe. You have some wishes, aims, you want to be with your friends, you want to adapt to their social behaviours. There are some contradictions, but after a while, when you grow up, you can make your own idea … And its easier if you feel this as an enrichment … But it's hard job.
12. And I in my situation had to rethink some essential principles I learnt at home. … And also from the school and German society.
13. [In doing so, do you feel alienated from your family?] Unfortunately yes … upto now.
14. [Can you elaborate on the flashpoints between you, your family and the society?] In my situation, my girlfriend is German. My mother was a little bit disappointed. … religion … was not a big problem with my family. But culture. … For my father, it was easier to accept because when he came to Germany, he married a German woman … If we can handle this, we can show to the society that there is no contradiction.
15. And also from the religious point of view, Islam is a very tolerant religion.
16. … it is difficult for some Germans to accept that someone has to choose halal food, or has to say: 'no, I don't drink … its very uncomfortable for you to explain always.
17. … if you apply for job, it wont be easy for you as Turk, or Turkish German, or Muslim … I always regard this discrimination as a motivation to work harder, to show them that Turkish, or German people with Turkish background, are as clever as German.
18. [Which identity is more important for you?] More and most important for me is my religious identity. Since my ethnic identity is mixed, and the most pure identity … is religious identity. Maybe, this is also a point where you find some freedom, some safe harbour. But not because I need some harbours that I cling to religion, also this is part of my Turkish culture. I also try to understand my religion in a very positive light.
19. The concept of brotherhood in Islam … Also in Islam, there was racism sometimes. … I like the concept, people from different countries belonging to this religion. … links between these people, although they speak different languages.
20. … And maybe this makes it easier to cope with the situation, you don't have one single country, so you don't feel homeless.
21. … the world is like a house with different rooms … If you accept this approach, then it will be easier for you to be in one room, and then in another. … but you need

some philosophical ideas … concepts to solve all these problems. … you have to think.

22. When I see friends from Turkish ethnicity, they cannot speak German properly, they have difficulties … it's a matter of education than belonging to a country or culture.
23. [But educated people can be religious and non-religious?] Of course, being religious or not is highly determined by your family … My first meeting with God was arranged by my parents …but afterwards you can decide for your own …modified religious ideas.
24. [When did you start thinking about religion?] As a child, you know its exhausting to go on weekends for religious classes. People want to play football. So I had my struggle. … When I was 18 0r 19, I had some crisis with religion, thinking, rethinking … And I think I was also influenced by some teachers in the school. We discussed about religion, some Nietzsche, some Kant. … I asked: 'do I have to live like this for the whole of my life, captured between two cultures?' I thought: 'no, I just need one culture'. So, this was the crisis. Before this, I was very involved in Islamic way of living, then I thought I want to escape. But then, I relaxed again, and thought twice about this, that religion could be a good thing, maybe you have to … modify it , to your social environment and the time you live in … rather than to be stuck to the conservative view.
25. And not only me, the whole society, maybe the whole world, is thinking about these topics. … not only in the individual mind, but also in the collective mind.
26. These ideas are not common among Turkish people here. Often, I don't mention this. In my friends, I try to discuss it. … People are conservative … will exclude you.
27. [Do you go to Turkey?] Yeah … I really enjoy it. … Always when I cross the border to Germany: 'I say, okay, you are back home'. So, this is also a psychological criteria where is your country. So, I don't need other people telling me where I belong to.
28. [So you would say your "Heimat" is here?] Yeah, Meine Heimat ist Deutschland. … And sometimes … people living in this country don't accept this … it hurts you sometimes.
29. [So, who defines?] I think its your self defining it. So you can say, whether you want to be or not. At some point, you don't really care what people say.
30. [What do you think has the strongest influence on you?] I think the studies, the books I read, trying to reflect. Family, not anymore to that extent. I think they gave me the fundament. Friends to some extent. … mixed, very international, very different people. … he is Turkish or German [doesn't matter], you feel you have the same platform.
31. [How do your friends or others think of you?] … Interesting … Let me think … I don't really know … I have to think about this.

32. I just want to correct … of course, I also see contradictions, bridging two cultures, there are contradictions. … sometimes, I try to find a solution … sometimes, I leave them.
33. [What would you call yourself, German-Turkish / Turkish-German?] German-Turkish. … I often like a strong German, but I don't remember if I feel like strong Turkish. Turkish more maybe in a cultural way … hospitality, warm culture, friendly people, this I am proud of. On the other side, German values, being more rational, pragmatic … I try to combine those. … two ingredients for a good soup. … instead of saying I just want this. … I think the Turkish culture lacks these pragmatic, rational, analytic [values].

Fadil

1. … My grandpa came about 1960 to Germany as a guest-worker. And then after 10-15 years, he invited my father to come to Germany to work … After 4-5 years, he … bring his family here … My father wanted me to have a better future.
2. Here in Freiburg, I got help from some Turkish students, and also from some German students, German but Muslim. We had a flat, and we lived together.
3. From Hauptschule to Realschule, and then to Gymnasium … I hope that I could go to a good university. … Born in 1985.
4. [So how do you feel here?] I know that I am from Turkey. I have this feeling, because I was born in Turkey. … I could say that I am like a German, like a Turkish youngster who is born in Germany. Its not so different, but you have this feeling that you are real Turkish. … If I was born in Germany, maybe my German was better.
5. In Germany, many Turkish youngsters, they cant speak Turkish. … but not so good.
6. [How did you learn Turkish?] My mother. She cant speak German. My father, little.
7. The problem was in school [Hauptschule], we were 7 Turkish friends … But I think that's not so good, because we always speak Turkish. I think I improved my German here in Freiburg, because I had here only German friends.
8. I think mother language is very important, so I don't want to forget my language. ... Speaking Turkish with my family, reading newspapers, watching Turkish TV.
9. My father sends money for us [he and his brother]. … We are depend … I always go to visit them on the weekend. … After finishing my school, maybe I will go back to my family. There is factory, maybe I can work and study … My father works in this.
10. Now I think its better to live with my family … [So, you are very close with your family?] Yes. … My parents always give the freedom to me, because they trust me.

11. My parents give me this money for all things since 6 years … so I don't want to hurt … a German youngster don't think … Turkish and Indisch maybe have same mentality.
12. [How do you think you are different from Germans?] Very very different … I would like to go to Turkey. … [You don't want to live here?] No, never. … I was in Turkey in holidays … Its your land, your people, your country, everyone speaks your language, people have same religion … I think I need something like this. … Here in Germany, German people are very cold. I know, I grew up here. … They are not so bad.
13. [Do you think it's a problem following religion here?] No, no. The German government I think is very okay. They give freedom to live like a Muslim. But that is the problem in Turkey. … Here, only you don't have to break the rules, then you are okay.
14. [Then why don't you live here?] This is the problem, many people, they have prejudice. … in Turkey the bigger problem is you cant study with scarf … must be changed.
15. I don't love Germany … okay, I grew up here … it's not what I search. The school, government, rule is very good … the system … I tried to have system in my life too … But people, they are not okay. They don't disturb or hurt me. But I want to go back, because I was born in Turkey. Maybe in the holidays, it's a good time. I don't know.
16. Maybe, for living, Germany is very good. … But if you have a good job in Turkey, … then you are the king … There are good schools too, but with money. [Do you think its possible to get a better job in Turkey?] Of course, of course.
17. [Is it difficult here?] Yeah, its very difficult. … German people say: 'here is democratic'. But here, its racism … maybe. … I apply to 20 companies, always: 'no, no'. … 'you have the same qualification, but we take another person'. … that's what hurt me.
18. I think its normal. If I am in Turkey … here comes German, here comes Turkish, I will take Turkish. … But now, the Turkish people will take the German, not me. … Why? They think European people are very good, and they know all things. [But if you are also from Europe, and the German candidate is there, will they take you?] Of course, I can speak Turkish, I can speak the same language like him. That's very very advantage for me. … [So, that's the main reason to go to Turkey?] Yeah [laughs]. No … My whole family, uncles, cousins, all are there. … My father cant. … cant find a good job.
19. The next goal is India [to work]. I was in China last year, about 3 months. It was very interesting, it was a good experience for me.

20. I want to have German passport, but not now, because I will have to go to military.
21. [But if you want to live in Turkey, then why do you want a German passport?] That's a good question. … In Turkey, there are lot of German companies … And I love travel, if I have German passport, it would be easy for me. And if I have German passport, in Turkey, its no problem. You are like a Turkish. You have more freedom. Its better.
22. [How do people see you in Turkey?] … when we are here in Germany, we are Turkish people. But when we are in Turkey, we are German people [laughs].
23. [So how do you cope with it?] … Its no problem for me. … For me, I am Muslim. That's enough. Here, in Germany, a lot of German people are Muslims. And I love them, like it's my brothers … [And other Germans?] No … in school today, the teacher asked me something about scarf. And she want that I explain in French.
24. So I said: 'I can't. I know but I can't say in French'. And they think I don't know about my religion.
25. [Do you feel your teachers think differently of you?] No. … I think all teachers like me, my classmates. Because every time I explained them about Islam … they said, we had lot of prejudice … but now, we know about real Islam. … media, they are stupid.
26. [Why are you religious?] The first reason is of course my parents. And when I came to Freiburg … everyday I [had Islamic classes]. … Now I don't.
27. [Do you feel being like other youngsters?] As I was 15-16 years young, then maybe. Yes. … But now, I don't do something like that. I know that is a mistake in the religion.
28. … it would be better if I marry somebody with same religion, language, culture … in this, I am very open … maybe from India … Indian girls are culturally good.
29. [In making friends?] … If I have Turkish friends, then I want they should be religious. And now, I don't have lot of Turkish friends. … its no problem for me to have German friends. In school, all German friends, and I am the only Turkish. … But outside school, not so many. … very nice people in the school. I don't know how they are outside.
30. [Who is a good Turkish person according to you?] Hundred years before, in Germany, when you said 'Turkish', people think okay, he's Muslim. I think that must be so. … At first, I am a Muslim, then I am a Turkish. … [German?] No. Only I can speak German. … Every people know that I am Turkish. … we are swimming between Turkish and German culture. But I think German people doesn't have a culture. … They are mixed.
31. … people in Turkey want to be like Europeans … I see the European culture.

32. [If you have a choice to be born again, how would you like to be born?] Arabic. Then I can … study the Quran. … But I think nationality is not important, religion is first.
33. Maybe I live in Turkey for half a year, and I realize it's a big mistake. Then I will come back to Germany. Maybe. [Would you feel more German then?] No, no change.
34. [Where is your Heimat?] My Heimat is everywhere … If I have a good profession, I can live everywhere. That's no problem for me. I grew up here, I know the system, I know the people in Germany, like a German. Like a German, not a German.

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