

Chapter 13

“There are different points of view, German, Turkish, and so on...”—Negotiating World View and Identity in an Immigrant Family— Cemal K.



Barbara Keller, Ramona Bullik, Sakin Özışık, and Tobias Stacke

Cemal, 22 years old at the time of the interview, is a second generation immigrant¹ from Turkey. He came to Germany as a preschool child, and has, in terms of education, professional, and, finally, personal life, made his way in the immigration country. He has been struggling with conflicting demands of the different milieus and traditions of the immigration country and his country of origin. This involves responding to expectations from his parents that he be successful in the immigration country but also stay faithful to the traditions of the country of origin of the family which are valued in the immigrant community, a situation we might call complex. Cemal learned the German language when he entered kindergarten. In adolescence, he found himself confronted with the changes of puberty and the realization that he had developed a worldview different from that of his parents. Akhtar (1999) has conceptualized migration as “third individuation” or as “cultural adolescence,” making use of an analogy of a departure into strange territory which calls for transformation. Different generations within a family may handle that in different ways (cf. Özışık, 2015).

Cemal’s father had left for Germany when Cemal was not yet 3 years old. The family then stayed in Turkey, in the house of Cemal’s grandfather, who served as a father substitute. This grandfather is named among the most important people in Cemal’s life today, together with his German girlfriend. While striving to be successful in the immigrant country, the family kept to their values and traditions, including their religiosity. Cemal’s relationship to his father is characterized by separations, conflict and recent rapprochement. At the time of the interview, Cemal is relieved about a recent tacit reconciliation. His open discussion of the conflict supports the ascription of an attachment style which can be characterized as “secure,” as he shows both a positive concept of himself and others (Bartholomew & Horowitz, 1991).

¹The term generation used here refers to the familial generations.

B. Keller (✉) · R. Bullik · S. Özışık · T. Stacke
Bielefeld University, Bielefeld, Germany
e-mail: barbara.keller@uni-bielefeld.de

He describes his parents, his family in Germany, and the larger family in Turkey as religious, and religion as part of the debates he had with his parents when he started to struggle with the developmental tasks of finding his identity and establishing an intimate relationship, which involved, in his case, choosing to live with a German woman and risking conflict with his family and milieu. In this context he felt that religion was used as an instrument of oppression, as means of binding him to family and a tradition from which he strived to break free. However, he also sees religion as a source of strength and hope. Thus, his trajectory involves the ambiguities he perceives as a second-generation migrant in his family who negotiates the demands of different milieus. Based on these experiences, Cemal argues for tolerance, and discusses support for immigrant youth.

Cemal's Responses to Central Instruments in the Survey

To give more detail on Cemal's attitudes and worldviews and prepare the triangulation with the answers and narratives in his faith development interview (details on the interview are given below), we now present Table 13.1 which contains Cemal's individual scores on selected variables in comparison to the mean values of his quadrant group. For plotting all interviewees of our study in the space with openness to change and centrality of religiosity as coordinates, see Fig. 10.1 of Chap. 10. There, Cemal is located in Quadrant 1—the quadrant with high scores for *openness to change* and low scores on *centrality of religiosity*. Note, however, that we find him close to the center, where the dividing lines cross, which shows that he is not a typical example of "his" quadrant, as his position is close to the neighboring quadrants.

The selection of variables in Table 13.1 includes the majority of measures in our questionnaire that can be regarded as dispositions for xenophobia respectively xenophobia. Self-ratings as "religious," "spiritual," and "atheist" together with the centrality of religiosity scale (Huber & Huber, 2012) constitute basic information about Cemal's religiosity. A more differentiated perspective on Cemal's religiosity is presented in the subscales of the Religious Schema Scale (RSS, Streib, Hood, & Klein, 2010) together with the *ideological fundamentalism* scale, which is based on items from the Religion Monitor. Other, non-religious, dispositions are the values (assessed with the PVQ-10, Schwartz, 2003), the *tolerance of complexity* scale (Radant & Dalbert, 2007), and the *violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity* (Enzmann & Wetzels, 2003). And, finally, Table 13.1 presents Cemal's scores on the inter-religious prejudice scales. Now we turn to Cemal's scores in comparison with his quadrant group.

When we look at Cemal's position in the value space, we find him in the lower left quadrant, defined by *self-enhancement* and *openness to change*. However, we find him rather close to the dividing line regarding *openness* and his position more

Table 13.1 Comparison of Cemal K. with respect to the “Open to change & low religious” quadrant group on the most important scales in the questionnaire

	Single case variable values for Cemal K.	Values for the “open to change & low religious” quadrant group	
		<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Self-rating as “religious”	1	1.60	0.77
Self-rating as “spiritual”	5	1.99 ^a	1.03
Self-rating as “atheist”	1	3.00 ^a	1.52
<i>centrality of religiosity</i>	14	9.79	2.66
Religious Schema Scale (RSS)			
<i>truth of texts & teachings</i>	14	9.72	4.05
<i>fairness, tolerance & rational choice</i>	20	19.60	3.82
<i>xenophobia/inter-religious dialog</i>	16	15.49	3.66
<i>ideological fundamentalism</i>	26	21.65	6.83
<i>ideological pluralism</i>	14	10.50	2.91
Values			
<i>universalism</i>	1	4.15	1.30
<i>benevolence</i>	6	4.60	1.05
<i>tradition</i>	1	3.05	1.47
<i>conformity</i>	6	3.35	1.29
<i>security</i>	4	3.16	1.23
<i>power</i>	5	3.49	1.40
<i>achievement</i>	6	4.08	1.28
<i>hedonism</i>	6	4.71	1.03
<i>stimulation</i>	2	3.83	1.27
<i>self-direction</i>	6	4.77	1.07
<i>self-enhancement vs self-transcendence^b</i>	-1.41	-0.12	1.03
<i>openness to change vs. conservation^b</i>	-0.50	-0.83	0.68
<i>tolerance of complexity</i>	74	83.67 ^a	11.28
<i>violence-legitimizing norms of masculinity</i>	14	13.66 ^a	4.85
Inter-religious Enmity			
<i>anti-Semitism</i>	4	6.69	3.00
<i>Islamophobia</i>	6	8.63	3.72
<i>anti-Christian enmity</i>	9	7.84	2.58

Note All comparisons have been calculated with age cohorts, sex, and cultural and economic capital being controlled. Analyses for the Quadrant 1 group are based on $n = 484$ cases. ^aAnalysis based on smaller sample size ($n = 465$), because variables have not been included in the Pilot Study (see Chap. 4)

^bThe factor scores for the two value axes Self-enhancement vs. self-transcendence and Openness to change vs. conservation are z-standardized, i.e. their means are adjusted to 0 and their standard deviations are adjusted to 1. The factor score values for the axes are the same as in Fig. 9.7 of Chap. 9 and correspond to the way the value space is usually constructed. This means that negative values express value orientations toward more self-enhancement on the first axis or toward more openness to change on the second axis while positive values indicate value orientations toward more self-transcendence (first axis) or toward more conservation (second axis)

dominated by *self-enhancement* (see Fig. 9.8 of Chap. 9). Accordingly, we find him, compared to other “rather not religious, but high in openness” participants, a little less inclined toward *openness* than most participants of this quadrant and considerably more directed toward *self-enhancement* (see Table 13.1). A closer look on his values profile shows that Cemal scores high on *benevolence*, *conformity*, *achievement*, *hedonism* and *self-direction*, followed by *power* and *security*, a low score on *stimulation*, and lowest scores on *tradition* and *universalism*.

Cemal’s pronounced high and low individual scores deviate from the more nuanced picture of the average “rather not religious, higher openness” profile. There, the mean score for *tradition* is 3.05 (*SD* 1.47), while Cemal’s score is 1.00, and the mean score for *self-direction* is 4.77 (*SD* 1.07), while Cemal’s score is 6.00.

So far, Cemal’s scores on the scales show someone who looks for success (high *achievement*, *self-direction*, *power*) and pleasure in life (high *hedonism*), who is striving to get along with his environment (high *benevolence*, *conformity*, *security*), and not too involved in doctrine or absolutes (low *tradition* and *universalism*).

Cemal’s *tolerance of complexity* is almost one standard deviation lower than that of his reference group. The subscales show that he sees complexity as necessity and as a challenge. Most striking is that complexity for him is a burden. Here, he scores two standard deviations higher than his quadrant group. It seems that he is aware of the complexities life is presenting him and also ready to cope with complex challenges, but nevertheless he feels burdened and stressed. In search of an explanation for this we might think of Cemal’s potentially ambiguous situation as a son of an immigrant family: it is expected of him that he will be successful in the immigration country, which implies a certain degree of compliance with values and customs in Germany. Also, it is expected that he is loyal to his Turkish family, shares their values, and complies with traditions brought from Turkey, including religious teachings and rituals. These, however, may be seen critically, if not looked down upon, from the mainstream culture of the immigration country. This places Cemal in a paradox situation: to comply with his parents’ aspirations and to be successful in Germany, he has to move away from them and their tradition (cf. King, 2016, p. 989). Might his profile so far be read as suggesting sensitivity toward complex and conflicting demands as well as an inclination to experience those as stressors? And might this reflect his experiences with a complex or paradox constellation which sometimes feels burdensome and which he sometimes would rather not have to deal with? For further insight, we turn to Cemal’s attitudes on religiosity and religions.

Cemal’s Religiosity and Attitudes toward Religions

It is striking that Cemal self-identifies as “spiritual” with the highest rating possible, while decidedly rejecting the labels “religious” and “atheist,” which both receive the lowest possible ratings. Nevertheless, his score on *centrality of religiosity* is more than a standard deviation higher than the average of his quadrant group. This,

again, looks contradictory at first sight: how can “religiosity” be relatively central and rejected at the same time? Then, what exactly might he reject and what might he identify with? His pattern on the RSS shows that, in comparison with other participants in the “open to change & low religious” quadrant, Cemal’s scores on *ttt* are high, while his scores on *fr* and *xenos* are about average. This makes him an interesting example of appreciation of the truth of one’s own tradition and its sacred texts in combination with appreciation of fairness, tolerance, and rational choice and xenophilia. Interestingly, this is mirrored by the combination of relatively high *ideological fundamentalism* and also relatively high *ideological pluralism*. His appreciation for the tradition, as exemplified by his relatively high scores on *ttt*, together with relatively high *centrality of religion*, suggests again a complex, if not contradictory, pattern. Taken together, this supports the impression that Cemal’s profile on the questionnaire reflects the efforts of a second generation immigrant to be successfully integrated in the immigration country and endorsing its liberal and hedonistic values, while keeping the bonds to his family and milieu.

Regarding inter-religious prejudice measures, Cemal shows lower (a little less than one standard deviation) *anti-Semitism*, lower (more than half a standard deviation) *Islamophobia*, and a little higher (less than half a standard deviation) *anti-Christian enmity* than his reference group. This might point to a general tolerance toward “other” religions (lower *anti-Semitism*), identification with his own tradition (lower *Islamophobia*), and a more critical attitude toward the dominant religion of the immigration country.

These findings from the questionnaire are, as mentioned above, complex and sometimes seem contradictory. In order to arrive at a deeper understanding of Cemal’s views and attitudes, we now turn to Cemal’s developmental profile as derived from the Faith Development Interview and his answers there.

Cemal’s Developmental Profile as Seen in the Faith Development Interview

The Faith Development Interview (FDI) consists of 25 questions covering four sections: (a) life review, (b) relationships, (c) values and commitments, and (d) religion and world view. For the evaluation of the interviews, we used the Manual for Faith Development Research (Streib & Keller, 2015, which is a carefully revised and shortened version of the 3rd edition, Fowler, Streib, & Keller, 2004, see also Chap. 3). The classical structural analysis proceeds by an interpretation of the interviewee’s answers to each of the 25 FDI questions; the mean value of all 25 ratings indicates the interviewee’s summary faith stage score. For further, more detailed interpretation, the questions are grouped into aspects that have been identified as “windows” to the person’s faith development (Fowler, 1980, 1981): perspective taking, social horizon, morality, locus of authority, form of world coherence, and symbolic function. Figure 13.1 presents our stage assignments for Cemal’s answers to the 25 questions in the Faith Development Interview.

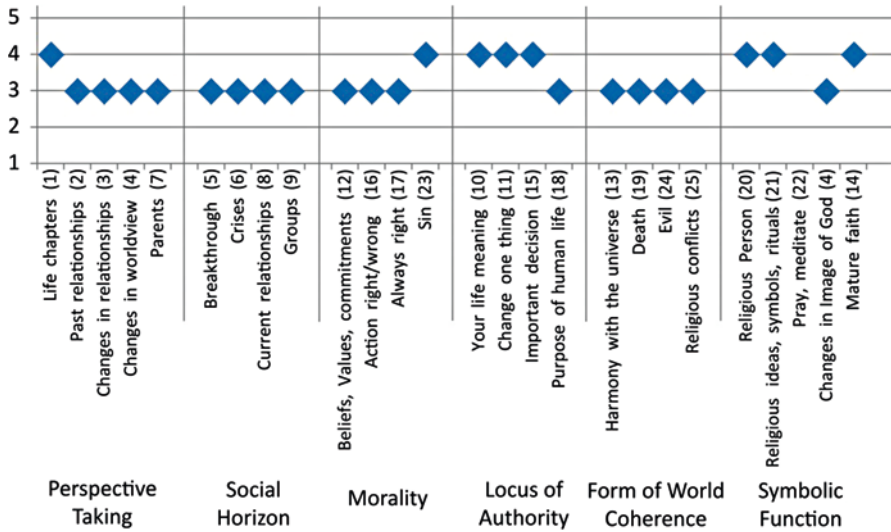


Fig. 13.1 Stage assignments of single answers in Cemal’s FDI

Cemal’s profile is characterized by mostly stage three ratings, with some stage four ratings in the aspects perspective taking, morality, locus of authority, and symbolic functioning. Social horizon is dominated by stage three which leads us to expect that for Cemal the claims and emotional ties of personal relationships and family are most important.

Also, form of world coherence has been rated stage three, which implies that his cosmology, his idea of what holds the world together, is structured by implicit notions rather than explicit reflection. While in the traditional framework of Fowler’s model Cemal might be seen in a stage three to four transition, which is likely to occur during emerging adulthood, from a religious styles perspective (Streib, 2001), we recognize a combination of styles. Thereby, interestingly, the social horizon and the form of world coherence are characterized clearly by the implicit and external orientation of stage three. In the majority of aspects, however, we see indications for the systemic and reflective approach of stage four. When it comes to perspective taking, Cemal’s review of his life was assigned the reflexivity of stage four:

“So what happened there, so this upheaval that I did no longer want to live the way my parents wanted me to. Like, forbidding many things, not allowing one’s development and yes, because of these restrictions and such: I still notice sometimes, when I act somehow, I act according to what I was taught at that time. And I do not feel so well with that myself. I notice, I still have to work on some of the things that were handed to me. Where I cannot find myself. And that I myself, the way I live, do not fit into my worldview, but since I have these two world views that clashed together, it is enormously difficult for me now sometimes in certain situations to do the right thing or (claps hands). So in itself I would say: I always make, I act in a way that I don’t harm anyone or something like that.

But with regard to other subject matters, because there are different views. German, Turkish, and everything.”²

This passage shows Cemal’s self-reflective awareness of conflicting demands which result in inner conflict, blocking his access to his own intuitions and impulses. It reflects a tension: Cemal feels torn between his wish to unfold and actualize his own self as well as his wish not to do harm to others. Cemal reflects on the expectations, which his family puts on him as the oldest son, and develops a subjective theory on what he may have picked up and internalized. He states that he feels vulnerable toward criticism from his Turkish family, while also being aware of his achievements in Germany. Thus, he gives an impression of the conflicting demands that he negotiates as a second generation member of his immigrant family between the larger society of the immigrant country and the immigrant Turkish community.

In the aspect of morality, it is the detailed answer to what “sin” means to him, which was rated stage four. Cemal’s first response refers to doctrine and tradition: “Sin is just something that people have prescribed that is forbidden.”³ He continues to discuss regulations with respect to rituals of greeting, to clothing, to tobacco, the Islamic prohibitions of alcohol and pork. These he considers to be based on arbitrary authoritarian verdicts. They are respected “because someday someone prescribed it.” While he debates whether such prescriptions should be regarded as “sins,” he concedes that he does not eat pork, because he is not interested, but also because “in the back of his head” he knows that these things are considered a sin. Then, however, he contrasts these prescriptions with what he personally considers a sin. For him, sin means acting destructively in relationships with other human beings, harming others. Conceding that “sin” can be defined in different ways by different people, he argues against using “sin” as an instrument of restriction. He even warns that too much restriction may lead to disastrous consequences when people, after too much constraint, might “just explode.” Therefore, people should be free to live according to their religion, whatever it is, provided it does not injure other people, thus invoking the harm-care dimension of morality according to the model of moral intuitions (Haidt, 2007; Graham & Haidt, 2010).

²“So was da passiert ist, so dieser Umbruch, dass ich nicht mehr so leben wollte wie meine Eltern das wollten. So bezüglich vieles verbieten, nicht so sich selber entfalten und ja, durch die Einschränkungen und so: Ich merke es so noch manchmal so, wenn ich so irgendwie agiere und so, handle ich so, was so mir so damals beigebracht wurde. Und ich fühle mich da nicht so selber wohl. Ich merke so, ich muss noch an einigen Sachen so arbeiten, die mir vermittelt wurden. Wo ich mich selber nicht wiederfinde. Und dass ich- an sich, wie ich lebe, passt das nicht in mein Weltbild, aber da ich ja diese zwei Weltbilder hatte, die so aufeinandergestoßen sind, ist das enorm schwierig für mich jetzt so- manchmal so in bestimmten Situationen so richtig zu handeln oder (klatscht in die Hände). Also an sich würde ich sagen: Ich mache immer- ich handle so, dass ich keinem schade oder so. Aber so bezüglich so anderer Thematik, weil es gibt halt unterschiedliche Ansichten. Deutsch, türkisch, und alles.”

³“Sünde ist ja auch nur etwas, was Leute einem vorgeschrieben haben, was verboten ist.”

The aspect locus of authority is predominantly rated stage four, presenting an individualistic view, exemplified in his idea on what gives his life meaning: “Well, if you can just be the person you want to be, if you also stand for what you are.”⁴

Also predominantly stage four ratings are found for the aspect of symbolic function. Here, Cemal reflects on his way to be religious or spiritual. Although this is not an important question in his life right now, he sees options for a more intensive religious life in the future.

“But I could imagine that some time the time comes when I deal with it more. I could imagine that because... like, if you have some time off, time to yourself, time to contemplate all this and... a higher power and so on. Because in itself a religion is something good. It should be good, these religions were made for, actually, that is how I have perceived it, for people to have a connection. Like a group for example. And if you can identify with a group and gain strength from it—why not?”⁵

Cemal argues against attempts to have something imposed and criticizes unquestioned adherence to rules and tradition. While appreciating the protective function of identification with a group, he requests space for individual development. Thus he engages in working toward an individuating-systemic style of being religious. He sees functional aspects as positive: religion can be a source of strength.

Religious Development

Cemal grew up in a religious family:

“Yeah, I grew up with God, with Allah. You see, my mother prays, my parents are also religious and also my whole family in Turkey. But, you see, it is not as if my parents forced my sisters to wear a headscarf, or something like that, they have always given us freedom concerning Allah and everything.”⁶

Cemal describes that belief in God, Allah, was part of his upbringing, that he perceives his parents and his larger family in Turkey to be religious. He seems to be aware of talking to a non-Muslim interviewer when first introducing the more inclusive “God,” then switching to “Allah.” When he then emphasizes that his parents did not force his sisters to wear a headscarf, he responds to attitudes he is used

⁴“Na, wenn man einfach der sein kann, der man will, wenn man auch dafür steht, was man ist.”

⁵“Aber ich könnte mir das vorstellen, dass irgendwann mal die Zeit kommt, wo ich mich damit mehr befasse. Könnte ich mir vorstellen, weil... so, wenn man irgendwo von irgend allem eine Auszeit hat, dass man sich so selber mit allem beschäftigt und... einer höheren Kraft und so. Weil an sich ist eine Religion was Schönes. Soll auch was Schönes sein, diese Religionen wurden dafür gemacht eigentlich, also das habe ich so wahrgenommen, dass Leute einen Zusammenhang haben. So wie eine Gruppe zum Beispiel. Und, wenn man sich so mit einer Gruppe identifizieren kann und daraus Kraft schöpfen kann – warum nicht?”

⁶“Ja klar, ich bin mit Gott, mit Allah, großgeworden. Also meine Mutter betet, also meine Eltern sind auch religiös und auch meine ganze Familie in der Türkei. Also es ist jetzt aber nicht so, dass meine Eltern unbedingt so meinen Schwestern oder so ein Kopftuch aufzwingen wollten und so – da haben sie uns schon die Freiheit gelassen, so was mit Allah und alles zu tun hat.”

to encountering. He uses this disclaimer to meet preconceptions or prejudices which a non-Muslim interviewer might have. After having implicitly addressed a possible prejudice, he protects his parents from pertaining ascriptions by portraying them as relatively liberal. Then, having stated his family's position and perhaps also his loyalty, he trusts the interviewer with a critical view. He shares that they used religion in a threatening way and as a means to restrain him. He finds it unfair of his parents to use “God” in arguments with him:

“But (annoyed?) Well, if you learn things like: ‘Do not do that, you will—you go to hell,’ and things like that, if you somehow restrict yourself to accept that you will land there sometime, and that there is a higher power and everything, then this also ruins a lot of things. Also, religion in general can do damage to a lot of things, like, what you see lately, again and again, that if one does not agree with the religion of the other, then it comes to war or something, in the worst case. So I think you should be capable of leaving it to the individual what is right for them.”⁷

Here, Cemal extends his criticism of his parents' use of religion toward a more general criticism of intolerant ways of being religious, which may, when taken to its extreme, even result in war. He refers to negative consequences of restrictive ways of using religion. Cemal can be critical toward his parents, his religion, and toward God himself:

“Yes, sometimes you really were angry toward (laughing) God. Like, honestly, when you see what happens, like, with my parents, that they hold on to it too much, I was really like, ‘Meh, why have I grown up in this culture and religion, where my parents have such a way of thinking?’”⁸

This may also resonate with Özişik's observations of conflict between the second and first generation of Turkish immigrant families, which involves a tension between excessive control and lack of guidance felt by the younger, the second generation (Özişik, 2015, p. 419).

At the time of the interview, Cemal does not consider himself very religious when we take into consideration what he has answered in our questionnaire (see above). But, interestingly enough, he mentions some kind of connection toward God that he has been feeling lately:

⁷ “Aber (genervt?) naja, wenn man so mitbekommt so: ‚Mach das nicht, du kommst in die Hölle‘ und so alles, wenn man sich da irgendwie jetzt darauf beschränkt, dass man irgendwann mal da landet, und dass eine höhere Kraft da ist und alles, dann macht das auch vieles kaputt. Auch Religion generell macht auch Vieles kaputt, so, was man jetzt auch in letzter Zeit immer wieder sieht, dass so, wenn einem die Religion des anderen nicht passt, dann gibt es halt im schlimmsten Fall so was wie Krieg oder so. Also finde ich halt sollte man so in der Lage sein, dass man jedem das überlässt, was halt für den selber richtig ist.”

⁸ “Ja, manchmal war man schon sauer auf (lachend) Gott. Also ja ehrlich, so wenn man so sieht, so was passiert und so, so mit meinen Eltern und so, dass die sich zu sehr daran festhalten und so, da war ich wirklich so: ‚Oah, warum bin ich jetzt in dieser Kultur und in dieser Religion aufgewachsen, wo meine Eltern so ein Denken haben?‘”

“But otherwise, lately, when I have more time for myself, as I am living alone, I then realize that I nevertheless have hope toward God. Also that I think about Him and so on, that there is something. But I don’t pray myself or something like that.”⁹

It seems like Cemal is on his way to finding his own faith, after a period of time where he felt the need to distance himself from the belief system he grew up in. That he seems to be moving toward his form of privatized and experience based religiosity is supported by the maximum score for his self-assessed spirituality (cf. Streib & Hood, 2011).

Turkish Roots versus German Life

Cemal’s biography is characterized by tensions between his Turkish origin on the one hand and his current life and ambitions in Germany on the other and involves, besides hopes and ambitions, also separations and sadness. Cemal has known crisis and conflict and gives the impression that he has learned to cope with hardship, trusting that a challenging experience like moving out of the family home will make him stronger and that in the end things will get well again, “The sun will shine again some day.”¹⁰

When he discusses experiences of pain, he ponders whether these kinds of experiences are just more likely to stick with one’s memories. He seems to struggle to stay optimistic, while admitting that there are desperate situations in life. Thus, he seems to work toward what McAdams and his team have termed a “redemption narrative,” a narrative where something bad turns out well in the end (McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten, & Bowman, 2001). The following episode illustrates that such an ending may be difficult to achieve because it is sometimes impossible to fulfill the demands of two worlds. It is also a narrative about where he comes from and where he may one day go.

The narrative can be fitted into the classic model introduced by Labov and Waletzky (1967) and elaborated by Habermas and Berger (2011), which distinguishes five steps: (a) orientation or abstract, (b) complication, an interruption, something unexpected, (c) a solution or an attempt to solve the complication, (d) a resolution, and (e) a coda, which links what happened in the narrative to the present (Table 13.2).

The complication consists of an illustration of the tension between the demands of his current life in Germany and of his loyalties to his Turkish family: his grandmother in Turkey dies and he cannot attend her funeral because of his obligations here in Germany, an experience he evaluates as sad. The resolution consists of his portraying his late Grandmother as she used to be with the family, as family used to refer to her. Thus, he creates a picture of the grandmother he can remember,

⁹“Aber sonst, so in letzter Zeit, so wenn ich mehr Zeit für mich so habe, so durch das Alleinwohnen, dass ich dann so merke, dass ich so trotzdem so die Hoffnung zu Gott habe. Auch so daran denke und so, dass es so etwas gibt. Aber jetzt so selber beten oder so tue ich nicht.”

¹⁰“Irgendwann kommt die Sonne wieder.”

Table 13.2 Cemal’s narrative segment: “Missing Grandmother’s Funeral in the country of Origin”

	English translation	Original German interview text
Orientation	Or then, again, what really touched me, was when my grandmother died, about 3 years ago I think. That means, the wife of my grandpa, with whom I have such a close relationship. She was also living there, when we [were] in Turkey.	Oder auch noch mal, also was wirklich mir sehr nahe ging, war, als meine Oma gestorben ist vor drei Jahren ungefähr. Also die Frau von meinem Opa, mit dem ich mich so gut verstehe. Die hat ja auch da gelebt, als wir da in der Türkei [waren].
Complication	No, it was very sad, really, that upset me a lot and what I found worst is that I did not attend her funeral. Because that all took place in Turkey and I had my things here and ...	Nein, das war auch sehr traurig, also hat mich sehr mitgenommen und am schlimmsten fand ich auch, dass ich nicht bei der Beerdigung war. Weil das war in der Türkei alles und ich hatte hier meine Sachen und...
Evaluation/ attempt to solve	yes, that still makes me sad sometimes when I fly to Turkey, to visit the family and you know: “She is not there any more, like that.” That is, that way I have also seen that it is just sad, when someone so close...	ja, das macht mich immer noch manchmal traurig, wenn wir dann zurück in die Türkei fliegen oder so, Familie besuchen und man weiß so: „Die ist gar nicht mehr da und so.“ Das ist schon so, wo ich auch so gesehen habe so, dass es einfach nur traurig ist, wenn jemand so nah...
Resolution	And my granny, she always just sat there. She really only just sat there and only talked to you and sometimes, when you are on the phone, like “Hello, how are you? How is uncle?” and then, you used to ask: “How is granny?”	und meine Oma, die saß da immer nur rum. Die war halt krank. Die saß wirklich nur und hat immer nur mit einem gequatscht und manchmal, wenn man am Telefon ist, noch so: „Hallo, wie geht’s euch? Wie geht’s dem Onkel?“ und dann... hat man immer so [im Kopf]gehört: „Wie geht’s der Oma?“
Coda	And this is just sad. I had not experienced it before, luckily, but at some point it happens, that someone who is important passes away.	Das ist halt immer traurig. Ich hatte es davor nur nicht erlebt zum Glück, aber irgendwann kommt es ja, dass irgendwer mal so, der einem sehr wichtig ist, geht.

including the phone calls, which point to the effort of keeping in touch with the family in Turkey. In the coda then, which ties the experience with the Turkish grandmother to his present life in Germany, he neutralizes the impact of the experience by stating that something like this is bound to happen sooner or later, thus glossing over the tension involved in the migration experience.

Conflicting Milieus and Family Conflict

Cemal is keenly aware of the demands his family has toward him:

“I always had to present myself like the best son possible in front of other relatives, always the model son. I had to be present at all family meetings, things like that. Also, there were very high expectations toward me. What I notice nowadays is that I have high expectations toward myself to make things right, while it is only human to make mistakes.”¹¹

What is most striking in this statement is the discrepancy between his parents’ expectations (that, in the end, have become his own expectations as well) toward him on the one hand and his objective awareness that people have flaws and make mistakes. Having to be the model son seems to have put him under a lot of pressure. His efforts at liberation lead to conflict: when he decided he wanted to move out to live with his German girlfriend, his family, especially his father, did not approve of this decision, and his father showed his disapproval by not talking to his son for two years:

“When I did what I wanted to, (sighing) he did not talk to me for two years, did not like what I was doing. That was just when I did not fit into this world-view anymore because I wanted to do what I wanted to, live alone, decide for myself whom I can, may love. And that was important, it was a decision.”¹²

What Cemal describes sounds like an impasse in the relationship between him and his father that lasted for two years. Cemal’s explanation involves a world view in which he did not fit anymore and, therefore, he had to be cast out. The father refused communication with a son who, from his perspective, had acquired so much of the life style of the immigration country that he had become a stranger. Choosing a local, not a Turkish woman, possibly meant breaking away from the father and his tradition. However, equating the conflict as one between father, who supports tradition, and son, who wants to break free from his parents and their milieu means to discount ambiguities involved in the migration experience of the family, which was initiated by the father. He was the first to come to Germany and wished for his son to be successful in the new country. So the story of the conflict between father and son might also be read as bringing the paradox of the immigration situation to its extreme: the son choosing to live with a German woman might be interpreted as continuation of the father’s striving for a new life in a new country. We may then look for different conflicts challenging the father (or first generation) and the son (second generation) of this immigrant family.

¹¹“Und ich musste natürlich immer da stehen wie der beste Sohn, vor den anderen Verwandten, immer Vorzeigesohn. Immer, wenn irgendeine Familienveranstaltung war, musste ich dabei sein und so. Auch sehr hohe Erwartungen wurden an mich gesetzt. Was ich jetzt heutzutage zum Beispiel merke, dass ich selber einen sehr hohen Anspruch an mich habe und immer so Vieles richtigmachen will, obwohl Fehler machen total menschlich ist.”

¹²“Als ich das gemacht habe, was ich wollte, (seufzend) hat der gut zwei Jahre nicht mehr mit mir gesprochen. Fand das nicht gut, was ich mache. Das war halt also das, wo ich dann nicht mehr in dieses Weltbild gepasst habe, weil ich das machen wollte, was ich wollte. Alleine wohnen, möglichst entscheiden können, wen ich lieben kann, darf. Und das war halt wichtig, das war eine Entscheidung.”

Cemal’s Challenge: Negotiating Different Milieus and Intergenerational Conflict

It seems that for Cemal and his family the challenges of migration are interwoven with the developmental tasks of identity and intimacy for the younger and of generativity for the older generation (Erikson, 1950). King observes: “Migration can frequently be seen as an ‘intergenerational expectation project’ in which the children are expected to furnish ‘proof’ that the effort of migration has been worth all the trouble.” (King, 2016, p. 981, translation BK).

Intergenerational conflict may involve attempts by parents to give guidance and preserve identity, which might well be perceived by the children as restrictive and not helpful in the immigration country (Özışık, 2015). Cemal’s case is exemplary for that dilemma: while his parents do grant him certain liberties, they still want him to stick to a certain degree of tradition which Cemal still finds too constricting. Growing up in different milieus, between expectations of the family in the country of origin, the hopes of the parents, and the demands of the mainstream culture in the immigration country may result in a complex situation: not being able or not wanting to fulfil the parents’ hopes may, at the same time, imply “estrangement” from tradition and home country—unless there is an option for dialog, which can be used as space to share experiences of ambiguity, of loss and separation, of being a stranger in an unknown territory.

Cemal’s Response: Acceptance of the “Strange” as Space for Individual Development

Cemal’s ideal of mature faith stresses space for individuality:

“But I think that there is no perfect definition. Anyone can believe as much or as little in someone as they consider necessary. It is only important that you do not want to impose it on anyone. Like: ‘You have to do that, you have to do that. If you do not do this, if you do not do it—oh, you’re doing this wrong!’ (bewildered) How can you believe in something incorrectly? Ah, that’s totally absurd, because the thoughts and everything, that’s individual. And that happens in your head, and it happens for a reason. And I think everyone should take it that way. Everyone should do what they think is right.”¹³

This statement can be read as plea for tolerance, but also as a plea for space for individual ways of believing and for individual development. Cemal also wishes for

¹³“Aber ich finde, es gibt keine perfekte Definition. Jeder kann ja so sehr an jemanden glauben oder so wenig, wie er das für nötig hält. Nur wichtig ist, dass man das niemandem aufdrängen möchte. So: ‚Du musst das machen, du musst das machen. Wenn du das nicht machst, wenn du das nicht tust- oh, du machst das falsch!‘(fassungslos) Wie kann man denn an etwas falsch glauben?? [...] Ah, das ist total absurd. Weil der Gedanken und alles, das ist individuell. Und das passiert ja in deinem Kopf. Und das hat Gründe, warum es passiert. Und ich finde, das sollte jeder so wahrnehmen. Jeder soll doch das machen, was er (für) richtig hält.”

young immigrants who are confronted with the intertwined tasks of making their way toward adulthood and finding their place in life in the immigration country to receive respect as well as support. Thus he generalizes his plea for space for development.

In his recent rapprochement with his father he demonstrates that he is able to take the other's perspective:

"So my father just came for a visit some day. And we just had a chat. And then this happened more often and then we visited more often, mutual visits and so on. And now we're talking normally, as if nothing ever happened. But anyway: I thought it was a pity. I do not think he'd ever apologize or anything. (Laughs) This he cannot do. And also never admit that he ever made a mistake (grinning) or something. He was also the eldest son in his family and he had to really do a lot and so on. But I think he just does not want to show any weakness before anybody. Yes. That's it."¹⁴

Thus, he can accept what he perceives as his father's shortcomings and leave him space. He even goes so far to show understanding and find explanations for his father's behavior. He may use the implicit offer to identify with his father's fate. The next step in the development of *xenosophia* might be the development of some dialog between father and son, involving the obligations of first and only sons to their families and milieus of origin and their ambitions and hopes in a new country. Cemal with his rather open attitude and understanding is on a good path here. His roots are in two different worlds; taken together, these are very good prerequisites for developing a *xenosophic* attitude.

This is further demonstrated by Cemal's answer to FDI question 25 about how to solve conflicts that arise from differences in worldview and religious belief. Cemal's response brings a vision of encounter with the strange into play that is based on radical individualism:

"I believe if in fact everyone insists on their opinion, we will not find a solution, because ... I think everybody has an individual worldview and one should never make fun of another's worldview. Because, after all, I do not know why they think like this. Why do they think that way about that topic? Did they relate to [this topic] at some point? Do they have some relative or people or friends who had experience with that? Because I think everyone has their worldview, and this is very individual. Everyone thinks differently about something else. And I think that one should simply have the strength and the peace to let everyone have their opinion."¹⁵

¹⁴"Also mein Vater hat mich irgendwann mal einfach so besucht, also dann haben wir einfach so gequatscht so auch. Und dann wurde es halt öfter und dann haben wir uns auch oft besucht, so gegenseitig und so. Und jetzt reden wir ganz normal, so als wäre nichts. Aber trotzdem: fand ich schade so. Ich glaube, er würde sich auch niemals entschuldigen oder so. (lacht etwas) Das kann er nicht. Und auch niemals eingestehen, dass je er einen Fehler gemacht hat (grinsend) oder so. Also er war auch der älteste Sohn in seiner Familie und der musste halt auch wirklich vieles machen und so. Aber ich glaube, der will einfach vor keiner Person irgendwie Schwäche zeigen. Ja. Das ist es."

¹⁵"Ich glaube, wenn jetzt wirklich jeder auf seiner Meinung beharrt, dann findet man auch keine Lösung, weil... ich finde, jeder hat ein eigenes Weltbild und man sollte das Weltbild des anderen nie blöd darstellen. Weil ich weiß doch nicht, warum er so denkt. Warum denkt der jetzt so über diese Thematik? Hat der vielleicht selber mal da einen Bezug gehabt mit? Hat der irgendwie Verwandte oder so Leute, Bekannte, die damit Erfahrungen hatten? Weil ich finde, jeder hat sein Weltbild und das ist so individuell. Jeder denkt anders über etwas anderes. Und ich finde, man sollte einfach die Kraft und die Ruhe haben, jedem seine Meinung zu lassen."

In this quote, Cemal develops—not in philosophical language, but in impromptu interview speech—a model of inter-religious or inter-worldview dialog. Based on the assumption of individual ownership of one’s opinion, the ethics of dialog does not permit over-hasty and downgrading interpretation, but requires an approach of tentativeness and hermeneutical humility that is open for new insights in potential experiences that may have contributed to the development of the other’s worldview.

Conclusion

Cemal has, as the son and second generation member of an immigrant family, a complex role. While he is, in terms of education and profession, fulfilling his family’s expectations, he lived through conflicts with his family and the surrounding Turkish immigrant milieu. Conflicts started around adolescence and involved his loyalty to values, including religious practices, which are held by his parents, in the surrounding immigrant community, and the larger family in Turkey. The clash of values culminated when Cemal decided to share his life with a German woman. This led to a longer separation from his father who disapproved of his decision.

Cemal responded by staying with his individual plans, moving out and making his own home with his partner. However, when his father came for a visit after 2 years, he could talk to him. That separation and the rapprochement both point to some reliable, if implicit, understanding between father and son.

While Cemal wishes for a more open dialog, he is also able to see his father’s problems. Therefore, he is able not to impose his wishes on him and to accept him as he is. In this implicit way he establishes space for talks between father and son, which may provide space for further development, showing a perhaps implicit version or enactment of xenosophia.

References

- Akhtar, S. (1999). *Immigration and identity: Turmoil, treatment, and transformation*. Lanham: Jason Aronson.
- Bartholomew, K., & Horowitz, L. M. (1991). Attachment styles among young adults: a test of a four-category model. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *61*, 226–244.
- Enzmann, D., & Wetzels, P. (2003). Ethnic differences in juvenile delinquency: The role of violence legitimizing norms of masculinity. In F. Dünkel & K. Drenkhahn (Eds.), *Youth violence: New patterns and local responses - Experiences in East and West* (pp. 316–345). Mönchengladbach: Forum Verlag Godesberg.
- Erikson, E.H. (1993) [1950]. *Childhood and society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company.
- Fowler, J. W. (1980). Faith and the structuring of meaning. In C. Dykstra & S. Parks (Eds.), *Faith development and fowler* (pp. 15–42). Birmingham: Religious Education Press. 1986.
- Fowler, J. W. (1981). *Stages of faith. The psychology of human development and the quest for meaning*. San Francisco: Harper&Row.

- Fowler, J. W., Streib, H., & Keller, B.s (2004). *Manual for Faith Development Research*. (3rd ed.) Bielefeld; Atlanta: Research Center for Biographical Studies in Contemporary Religion, Bielefeld; Center for Research in Faith and Moral Development, Emory University.
- Graham, J., & Haidt, J. (2010). Beyond beliefs: Religions bind individuals into moral communities. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, *14*(1), 140–150.
- Habermas, T., & Berger, N. (2011). Retelling everyday emotional events: Condensation, distancing, and closure. *Cognition & Emotion*, *25*(2), 206–219.
- Haidt, J. (2007). The new synthesis in moral psychology. *Science*, *316*(5827), 998–1002.
- Huber, S., & Huber, O. (2012). The centrality of religiosity scale (CRS). *Religions*, *3*, 710–724.
- King, V. (2016): Zur Psychodynamik der Migration – Muster transgenerationaler Weitergabe und ihre Folgen in der Adoleszenz Psyche – Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse und ihre Anwendungen 9/10 Doppelheft zu „Heimat, Fremdheit, Migration“, 977–1002). (Psychodynamic Issues of Migration – Patterns of Transgenerational Transmission and its Consequences in Adolescence, Psyche – Journal for Psychoanalysis and its Applications, Double Issue 9/10 on “Homeland, Strangeness, Migration”).
- Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In I. Helm (Ed.), *Essays on the verbal and visual arts. Proceedings of the 1966 Annual Spring Meeting of the American Ethnological Society* (pp. 12–44). Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.
- McAdams, D. P., Reynolds, J., Lewis, M., Patten, A. H., & Bowman, P. J. (2001). When bad things turn good and good things turn bad: Sequences of redemption and contamination in life narrative and their relation to psychosocial adaptation in midlife adults and in students. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, *27*(4), 474–485.
- Özişik, S. (2015). Intergenerational changes in the religiosity of Turkish Islamic immigrants in contemporary Germany. A qualitative analysis using the Faith Development Interview (Doctoral dissertation, Universität Bielefeld).
- Radant, M., & Dalbert, C. (2007). *The dimensions of the complexity tolerance: A synopsis of personality constructs*. Paper for the 10th European Congress of Psychology. Prague.
- Schwartz, S. H. (2003). A proposal for measuring value orientations across Nations. In *Questionnaire Development Report of the European Social Survey* (pp. 259–319). Online at: www.europeansocialsurvey.org
- Streib, H. (2001). Faith development theory revisited. The religious styles perspective. *The International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, *11*(3), 143–158.
- Streib, H., & Hood, R. (2011). “Spirituality” as privatized experience-oriented religion: Empirical and conceptual perspectives. *Implicit Religion*, *14*(4), 433–453.
- Streib, H., Hood, R. W., Jr., & Klein, C. (2010). The Religious schema scale: Construction and initial validation of a quantitative measure for religious styles. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, *20*(3), 151–172.
- Streib, H. & Keller, B. (2015). *Manual for Faith Development Research. Short Form*. Bielefeld: Center for Biographical Studies in Contemporary Religion (unpublished manuscript).