Religious Socialization and Faith Development of Adolescents in Turkey and Germany: Results from Cross-Cultural Research

by
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(Paper for the XVI Meeting of the International Seminar on Religious Education and Values, July,27 – August 1, 2008 in Ankara)

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„Comparison of Religious Socialization and Faith Development of Muslim Adolescents in Turkey and Germany"

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Introduction

This paper is a report from research in progress at the Research Center for Biographical Studies in Contemporary Religion, Bielefeld: Based on a selection of over fifty faith development interviews, this is one of the pioneering studies using Fowler's (1981; Fowler, Streib, & Keller, 2004) instrument in Islam and, to our knowledge, the first cross-cultural study on the faith development of *adolescents* comparing samples of immigrants and subjects in the country of origin.[1] To locate the research subjects in the value space, besides a demographic section, a value measure has been included. From the comparison of both Islamic samples, we are able to demonstrate how religiosity and images of God develop in different cultural contexts. Special attention here deserve issues of modernization and transformation of religion in the immigrant situation.

For a way of introduction, but also to be consistent with the decided qualitative focus of this research, we have selected four typical cases, two from Turkey and two from Germany, two male and two female adolescents. Also we chose a different order for our presentation of empirical results: First come the case studies, and only then we give some basic information about sample characteristics and quantitative results.

1. Four Typical Case Studies

1.1. Ceylan

Ceylan, 21 years old at the time of interview, grew up in a small town in central Anatolia. She is the only daughter, but has two older brothers. Her father is head of an adult education institution, her mother housewife. The family is traditionally religious, but traditional also in terms of the role of men and women. Ceylan has attended the local Imam high school, but failed in the final exams.

During high school, Ceylan experienced a crisis which was caused by the abuse and slandering of the local Imam. Since the Imam, a civil servant and also married to one of Ceylan's cousins, was well established in the community and part of Ceylan's extended family, the slandering caused much turmoil and rumor – and a crisis, including religious conflict, for Ceylan. Only gradually, and with the help of her father, Ceylan has learned to defend herself.

The crisis had an end when Ceylan was send to a town far away to prepare for the exams for studying at a university. This was the first time Ceylan has lived outside her family of origin and living in the dormitory has opened a new world of social contacts, even though some students made

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[1] There is some cross-cultural research in faith development (2003) and the Bielefeld-Based Cross-cultural Study on Deconversion recently has added 270 faith development interviews with religious persons in the U.S.A. and Germany (Streib, Hood, Keller, Csöff, & Silver, 2008).

fun of her Anatolian accent. This has been an important time of change and personal growth for Ceylan.

After graduating, Ceylan applied to study at a university. Her favorite subject would have been political science, but unfortunately, as former attendee of a religious school, she was not accepted. Finally Ceylan applied for the theology program at the university in a big city where the interview with Ceylan took place.

During the interview, Ceylan became more and more relaxed and emotional. This also included that she could talk about her traumatic past. Ceylan also experiences conflicts with her fellow students and feels inferior and uneducated because she grew up in Anatolia. But also she has found new friends, especially she admires the brother of her best friend.

Taking into account that Ceylan has moved into a new social environment, we would expect the development of critical and independent thinking. However, we see in Ceylan's interview certain constraints to be explicit about her doubts and critical thoughts. We understand this being due to the fact that Ceylan has always lived in a traditional religious environment: family, gymnasium, exam preparation, and presently: theology students. Ceylan deals with the question "what was there before Allah?" but hesitates to think about it because of the fear to become a pagan.

What is Ceylan's profile of faith development? Her average faith development interview score is 3.5 which normally indicates a position between synthetic-conventional and individuative-reflective faith. When we go more into the details of Ceylan's faith development interview, we see, on the one hand, many clear and unambiguous responses in the synthetic-conventional style, but, on the other hand, several surprisingly critical and self-reflective statements. The move to the metropolitan university is described by Ceylan herself as the turning point in her life. However values from her socialization appear strong enough to prevent an unrestricted move toward the critical and self-reflective style.

Ceylan's clear preoccupation with convention and the embeddedness in traditional values comes to expression in her assembly of significant others – which only slightly and gradually expanded from her father who is still the most important authority when Ceylan need to make an important decision, to new friends she found in her new academic environment and, of course, her boy friend with whom she expects to marry. Thus Ceylan's bounds of social awareness do not exceed the family and the loving friendship of close people who are united in the religious tradition.

But also signs of Ceylan's self-determination come to the foreground: Ceylan does not pray any more five times a day. Ceylan says: "The more you learn, the more you turn away from rituals." Ceylan does not wear the headscarf, since she began to study theology; also she wears trousers in opposition to the wish of her mother who thinks wearing trousers is against Islam. Furthermore and closer to the core of religion, Ceylan has developed critical questions in regard to God and in regard to the morality of the prophet and talks about this (at least in the interview): Even though Ceylan assures that her image of God is still as she was told by her parents, she talks about doubts:

"He is our creator and master. He has sent us into this world to adore him. This is absurd for me. He creates us and then he demands that we adore him. I find this unjust. When we don't adore him, he will punish us. Why does he create me, even though he knows that I don't adore him. Really he should be gracious and merciful. [I: Did you once start to doubt him?] No, never. I adhered stronger to him. I never doubt him. He is just to everyone. He does not tolerate to be unjust to others. When injustice is done, he retaliates…"

We see in this quote both the open questions and doubts about God, but also the fear to become a pagan and turn away from belief in God's existence. This does not prevent Ceylan from uttering heavy critique against the prophet Mohammed who has been presented to her as the perfect example. Now, in her theological studies, she found that there were instances of unjust behavior (preferential treatment of his son in law) and sexist attitudes (exchange of women slaves on the battle field and marriage of a very young girl) which do not fit her image of the prophet. This causes doubts whether the image of the prophet she was told is correct and necessitates to reconstruct her own theology.

But all of these open questions, doubts and change of life style and religious rituals did not lead to the development of an overall individuative-reflective style. Ceylan thinks that everything is determined by God and our life has a divine plan. Thus Ceylan is immersed in the traditional framework of the religion in which she was introduced – despite all the doubts and open question she

has. A sign of Ceylan's overall conventional obligation is the statement that her parents matter more than Allah:

> "It does not interest me whether I go in hell or in paradise. I worry about how I appear before my parents at Judgment Day. I have the fear that they know about my sins. Thus I fear my parents more than Allah."

This confirms our interpretation that, despite some signs of development towards an individuative-reflective style and some changes in life style and religious rituals, Ceylan's embeddedness in conventions of family and religious tradition is still stronger.

A closer inspection of details in Ceylan's faith development interview reveals (despite the average FDI score of 3.5) a prevalence of the synthetic-conventional style. This is confirmed by the location of Ceylan in the value space (see Figure 3 in the Appendix): Ceylan is one of the cases in our sample with strongest preoccupation with conservation and self-enhancement and furthest distance to self-transcendence and openness for change.

Ceylan is a typical case of an adolescent in Turkey whos heritage of family and tradition is so strong that it is rather difficult to develop and consolidate alternative structures and styles of a religious and cultural identity – despite all the attempts and all the influence of peers and environment. Thus the stepping out of tradition is limited to specific domains in which critical questions and doubt is developed. And, in Ceylan's case, socialization and development are burdened with the traumatic experience in her late childhood.

1.2. Cem

Cem , at the time of interview 19 years old, grew up in a suburb of a big city in which many migrants from other, mostly Eastern part of Turkey live. Cem's familiy came from the Northeast of Turkey and was rather nationalistic and conservative. When Cem was 10 years old, his sister was born which was a crisis for him, because he felt that he has lost the attention and love of his parents. This has caused him to withdraw from the family and, as he says, from "the holy". After his family moved to an other suburb, when Cem was 15 years old, Cem lost his friends and felt pretty much alone.

Then he has found new friends and became part of a band which plays heavy metal and rap music – which is popular only in nonconformist outsider circles in Turkey. Music, Cem says, has an important impact on his character. This is one of his most important experiences. Music is a most important part of his life. But the special style of music indicates, at the same time, a clear individuative stance: it is a clear nonconformist lifestyle and identity formation.

High school turned out to also be a revolutionary turning point experience for Cem, because there he learned about leftist artists and revolutionaries such as Yilmaz Erdogan or Che Guevara and developed admiration for them. He also discovered social and political issues to be important. While still part of a conservative family and a traditional religious association, Cem began to change his world view and life-style. At the end of high school, he began to seriously deal with philosophical and existential questions. Cem started to read books and he started to doubt the religion in which he was socialized and feels that he was not told the truth about religion. Two times, Cem attempted suicide. At the time of the interview, Cem prepared for the exams for studying at a university – which he had failed previously. Cem wears longs hair which is rejected by traditional religious families. His language is rather lyric and modest in tone.

Cem's faith development interview was scored 4.0 which would indicate that he has fully developed individuative-reflective faith. Going into some detail of his interview, we see confirmation of this in many respects.

Individuative and reflective is Cem's position in regard to religion and politics. He reflectively opposes that, as he was told, religion and communism are contradictory. Communism and politically left analysis is not opposed to religion in his new identity and value system. A step on his way to an individuative stance certainly was heavy moral criticism against his father who, a strong believer in Islam, drinks alcohol; and who also, even though he does not pray five times a day, demanded this from Cem. This makes Cem's development appear as a kind of stepping out form the family of origin

in pursuit of autonomy. Cem describes this as alienation from the holy. He does not practice prayer in the formal way:

> "…I find prayer, as demanded by Allah, meaningless. If Allah knows what I do and what I need, why do I need to pray? When I listen to music, I like to move my head in time with the rhythm. This is my way of spirituality."

Details from Cem's faith development interview show that this alienation from the holy has resulted in a self-determined image of God, a kind of unconventional theology – without any claim to be final and convincing to everyone. Cem forms his own image of God and deals with serious and deep theological questions such as why we are here on earth and why we were created. Nevertheless, Cem denies to have become an atheist – even though he finds God (at least the one he was told) to be arrogant. And Cem understands his attempted suicides, as he says, as declaration of war against Allah.

> "Allah gives you your life, but forbids to put an end to your life yourself. Through suicide a war against Allah develops. This I have initiated with my attempted suicide. This was a challenge against Allah. Thus I am an individual and have an identity. I wanted to show Allah that I can kill myself."

Cem describes Allah as "eternal and absolute", but adds that space and time are always subject to change. Without having any experience or affiliation with Sufism, Cem thinks that Sufi practice and theology could be a synthesis for his unfinished world view.

Cem's rather unconventional theology comes to expression also in his new definition of sin – which, at the same time, is one of his strongest statements to indicate his individuative-reflective style explicitly:

> "I regard it as a big sin, when I would betray my own self. I like to commit other sins. But the betrayal of your own self may be a heavy burden. This is sin in the true sense to my opinion."

Taken together we see in Cem an adolescent who, raised in a strict religious and cultural family environment, stepped out from his family and traditional way of understanding and practicing religion and who is forming his identity, including his religious identity, in a clear individuative-reflective style. This is confirmed by Cem's position in the value space: Cem is among the highest in openness for change and, at the same time, not preoccupied with self-enhancement, but display at least some self-transcendence.

1.3. Serap

Serap, 23 years old at the time of the interview, is the first of three children of parents who have migrated from a small town in Anatolia to Germany at a rather young age: Serap's faith was 19 and her mother 14 years old when they moved to Germany. While Serap's father is unemployed at the present, her mother works as cleaning lady. Serap describes them as being typical Turkish parents: neither overly religious, nor politically interested.

Before puberty, Serap has attended Koran courses in a Ditib Mosque. The years between 14 and 18, Serap characterizes as time of search for her own self and her identity – which included the awareness to live in two cultures, the demand to find one's own place and the feeling that in order to graduate with success and get a better job than the parents it is required to do better than the peers. This search resulted in Serap's decision in favor for the Turkish culture and a Turkish personality, as she says.

After graduating from high school, Serap went to the university to study linguistics and history; she was in her final term when the interview took place. Serap does not organize her everyday life according to the rules of Islam, but she finds her faith very important. Questions of religion are only between God and self, she says.

Serap's faith development interview was scored 3.6. This would indicate the presence of synthetic-conventional faith, but with a tendency to individuative-reflective faith. On closer observation of the faith development interview, we see that on the faith development interview questions which address *secular* aspects, Serap clearly scores on Stage Four of individuative-reflective faith (mean score = 4,0), while in the more specific *religious* questions, we find a prevalence of synthetic-conventional answers (mean score = 3,2). We can conclude from this observation that Serap is more advanced in developmental terms in the domains of logic, perspective-taking and social

relations, than she is in the religious domain. One way of interpretation – still within a Piagetian framework – would be to talk about a *décalage*[2] of the religious domain.[3]

A typical example for Serap's self-determination is her answer to the question what she does when she has to make an important decision:

> "It depends on the kind of problem. If it has to do with myself, I find a solution myself. Perhaps I consider the opinion of my family; on occasion, I may ask them. If it is a legal problem, I consult experts." (Interact 49)

That, in the domain of religion, Serap has, besides individuative-reflective traits, still clear synthetic-conventional structures, can be seen from the following quote, the answer to the question whether there a moral rules which anybody should observe:

> "For me, this thought is determined by religion. The present life for me is an examination, a test. All our life long, God gives us alternatives, I think. We make our decisions. We try to resolve it the best way. God is testing us. I think, what we we live in this world, we will face in the other world. I think that the world is a test place for us and that we will harbour in the other world what we sow in this world." (Interact 57)

Serap's location in the value space characterizes her as person with no extreme value preferences; only slightly stronger is her tendency to prefer conservation and to self-transcendence over openness for change and self-enhancement. Serap is a good example for the religious socialization and development of Turkish-Islamic Immigrant Adolescents in Germany who, confronted with a pluralistic and a non-Islamic majority in their adolescence, step out of their culture in terms of education and carrier, but search for and develop an identity in harmony with their religious and cultural heritage – but do so rather through individuative and reflective decision-making.

1.4. Semih

Semih is born in Germany and, 18 years at the time of the interview, preparing for final exams in high school where Semih is one of the very best students. He is the second son of a father (49) and a mother (45) who lived in Northeast of Turkey, before they came to Germany. Semih's father is a worker in a factory and his mother works part-time as cleaning lady.

Semih received religious socialization in various Koran courses to which his parents have sent him. Now he works as volunteer teacher of a Koran course in a local mosque; his experience of various teaching methods helps him to improve his current teaching. Semih also is active in youth work in a religious-political group in which his brother is an activist. Semih is against fanatic religious or political activism, but has a strong feeling of belonging to the Islamic community and feels responsible for other Moslems.

Semih's faith development interview has bee assigned a summary score of 3.26 which indicates a clear prevalence of the synthetic-conventional style, while only some passages in the interview indicate Stage Four if individuative-reflective faith.

Closer inspection of the faith development interview may illustrate this. When Semih was asked what changes have occurred in his image of God, he answers:

> "In my opinion God has the characteristics of readiness to help and of mercy. Since my childhood I think that he always helps, if I ask him, regardless what kind of problem I have. When I was a child, I went to my room and looked at pictures of mosques in calendars and hoped that he will help. I was very young, perhaps 3 or 4 years old, I think. Today I still think that way." (Interact 8)

Later in the Interview (Interact 46), when he was asked whether life is meaningful for him, we hear:

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[2] The Piagetian and, even more, the neo-Piagetian understanding of *décalage* indicates an awareness of non-synchronicity of cognitive development, but it explains only a delay of an assumed developmental progression and neither Piaget, nor Piagetian scholars have explicated a 'theory of *décalage*' (Cocking, 1979; Bidell & Fisher, 1992: 110), even though there is an assumption among some neo-Piagetian developmentalists "that horizontal *décalage* is the rule in development rather than the exception" (Canfield & Ceci, 1992: 289).

[3] We find a difference between "secular" and "religious" domains also in three more cases in our German sample in Stage Two – Stage Three "transition", and in five cases of the Turkish sample in Stage Three – Stage Four "transition".

"I think that file has meaning. But if people regard life as meaningless, then there is no meaning. I try to give my life meaning. … I have a purpose. And the purpose of my life is to be a good person. Of course I am Moslem and therefore I want to be a good person as prescribed in my religion. I want to be respectful toward my environment and a want to achieve inner peace."

In the value space, Semih is located close to Serap which means that he is in the middle field, but with a slight tendency to prefer conservation over openness to change and self-transcendence over self-enhancement.

Taken together, Semih appears as Turkish-German Immigrant Muslim with a rather clear Muslim identity. Times of doubt and challenges have been overcome and resolved always to the effect of a firm embeddedness in the religious community which he serves and which he does not question.

1.5. Case Study Comparison

The four cases may yield insight into a variety of trajectories of religious socialization and development. Our aim in presenting these four cases has been to profile possible differences. Here the difference between Turkish adolescents and immigrants in Germany in terms of religious socialization and religious development stands out:

Cem and Ceylan both are examples for religious socialization in a taken-for-granted environment of traditional, if not conservative families. Religious socialization and the search for religious identity here may include doubt and perhaps denial of Islamic teachings, but the general tendency may be described as pursuit of autonomy – which may include the construction of unique – individuative-reflective – personal "theologies," as we see in both Ceylan but even more decided in Cem.

Serap and Semih, in contrast, may serve as examples for religious socialization and development as Turkish-Islamic immigrants in Germany. There another factor plays an important role: the host culture and the experience of belonging to a religious and ethnic minority. Serap and Semih illustrate a solution to the search for religious and personal identity: to find, as Serap says, a Turkish identity and an Islamic identity. It is therefore understandable that these adolescents prefer a synthetic-conventional style, especially for questions of religion.

2. Faith Development and Religious Socialization of Islamic Adolescents in Germany and Turkey in Comparison

2.1. Sample Characteristics and Methods of Investigation

Sample Charactisitics

This is work in progress. As it stands to this date, 58 research participants have completed a faith development interview; using maximal contrast as selection criterion, 16 cases (10 from Turkey; 6 from Germany) have been selected for detailed analysis of faith development and narrative analysis attending to the various dimensions of the interview texts in order to elaborate case studies.[3]

Methods and Evaluation Procedures

The classical faith development interview stands in the centre of this research. The faith development interviews were conducted using the 25 FDI questions as suggested in the *Manual for Faith Development Research* (Fowler, Streib et al., 2004). Evaluation followed the *Manual* and thereby the computer-assisted procedure which allows to score each question and each Aspect separately and import this data in SPSS.

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[3] As evaluation proceeds, it may be suggested to conduct some more interviews in addition, especially in Germany; this may be necessary, when we have the suspicion that another – contrasting – type is still missing.

Second, besides basic demographic questions, the 14 bipolar values questionnaire (Strack, 2004) based on Schwartz's (1992) value concept has been used. The resulting 14 variables allow to construct the value space in which the cases have their location.

2.2. Results

Faith Development

Evaluation of 58 faith development interviews shows a slight increase of faith development in association with age, as Figure 1 shows. This can be expected on the background of previous faith development research, including Fowler's own research.

Furthermore we observe that, if we round the FDI score to full stage numbers, the majority of cases (89.7%) have been assigned Stage Three of synthetic-conventional faith (92.1% in the Turkish sample; 85.0% in the German sample). Stage Four of individuative-reflective faith has been assigned to 6.9% (7.9% in the Turkish sample; 5.0% in the German sample). Finally 10.0% of the German sample has been assigned Stage Two of mythic-literal faith. This indicates that the faith development of Turkish adolescents may be slightly higher than the faith development of Turkish-Islamic Immigrant Adolescents in Germany.

Figure 1. FDI Scores and Age in Turkish Türkish-Islamic Immigrants in Germany
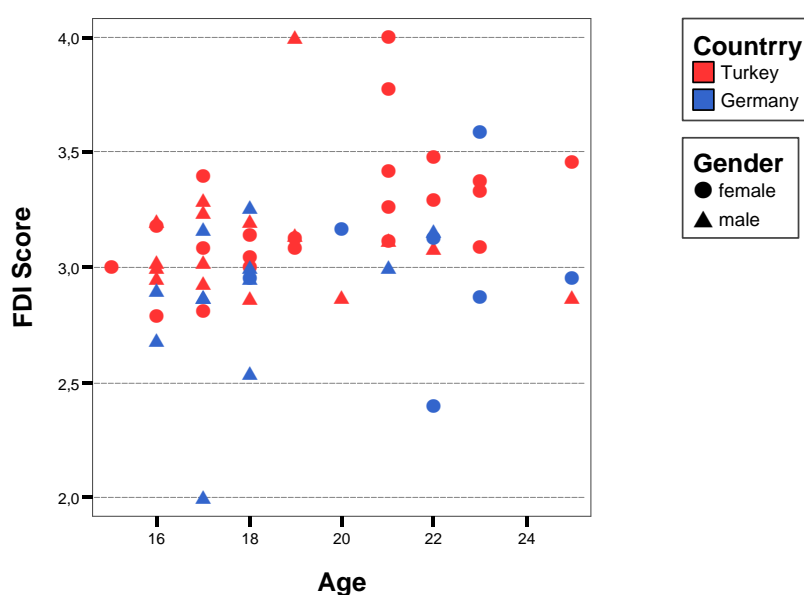
We find some confirmation for this by calculating the FDI score means: Adolescents in the Turkish sample have a mean of 3.2, while Turkish-Islamic Immigrant Adolescents in Germany have a mean of 2.9. To view this difference in greater detail, we have separated the answers to secular question from the answers to more specific religious questions in the faith development interview and calculated the means. Results are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. FDI Mean Scores to Secular and Religious Questions in Cross-Cultural Comparison[5]

Countrry		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Turkey	FDI (secular questions only)	36	3.2	.26	.04
	FDI (religious questions only)	34	3.2	.38	.07
Germany	FDI (secular questions only)	19	3.1	.38	.09
	FDI (religious questions only)	17	2.8	.35	.09

While we find almost no mean difference between secular and religious questions in the Turkish sample,[6] we observe some difference in the sample of Turkish-Islamic immigrant adolescents in Germany: they have a mean score of 3.1 for the secular questions and a mean score of 2.8 for the religious questions. We conclude from this that there may be a cross-cultural difference: While Islamic adolescents in Turkey and Germany differ only slightly in their development in regard to *secular* domains such as logic, perspective-taking and relationships, the faith development of Turkish-Islamic immigrant adolescents in Germany is somewhat lower with regard to the specific *religious* domain, especially in the "transition" between Stage Two and Stage Three.[7]

Value Space

When we locate the 58 cases in the value space which is calculated from the answers to the value measure and create the space with two dimensions (x) Openness for change vs. Conservation and (y) Self-enhancement vs. Self-transcendence (see Figure 2), we observe that the difference between self-enhancement and self-transcendence does not cause so much distribution than the difference between openness for change and conservation. In other words: the tension between the concern for oneself and concern for other and the universe is not the primary criterion for difference between the cases. Nevertheless we see a slight tendency toward self-transcendence across the sample.

It is rather the tension between openness for change and conservation which makes a difference. And this accounts for a difference between the German and the Turkish sample: the majority of Turkish-Islamic immigrant adolescents in Germany assembles in the right segment and thus displays more concern for conservation, while the cases from the Turkish sample scatter both left and right. Part of the Turkish adolescents (but none from the German sample) assembles in the upper left segment displaying higher scores in openness for change and self-transcendence. Thus here we see some confirmation for our assumption of a cross-cultural difference. The concern or even preoccupation of Turkish-Islamic immigrant adolescents in Germany with conservation and traditional values may correspond to their slightly lower scores in the faith development interviews which is especially the case for the specific religious questions.

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[5] We are aware that high standard deviations and small sample size does not allow for inferences on the general difference between Islamic adolescents in Turkey and Germany. Theses calculations are more of an explorative nature.

[6] As mentioned in Note 3, we do find some FDIs in the Turkrish sample with indications of a difference (or *décalage*') between the "secular" and the "religious" domains, but they are counterbalanced by other cases with reverse difference.

[7] We did not find such mean differences between secular and religious faith development questions in other studies such as the Bielefeld-Based Cross-Cultural Study on Deconversion, neither for the German nor for the US sample (even though there *are,* of course, some single cases in the deconversion study with a difference > .5 between "religious" and "secular" domains, but the *décalage*' is on both sides.

Figure 2. Turkish adolescents and Turkish-Islamic Immigrant adolescents in Germany in the Value Circle
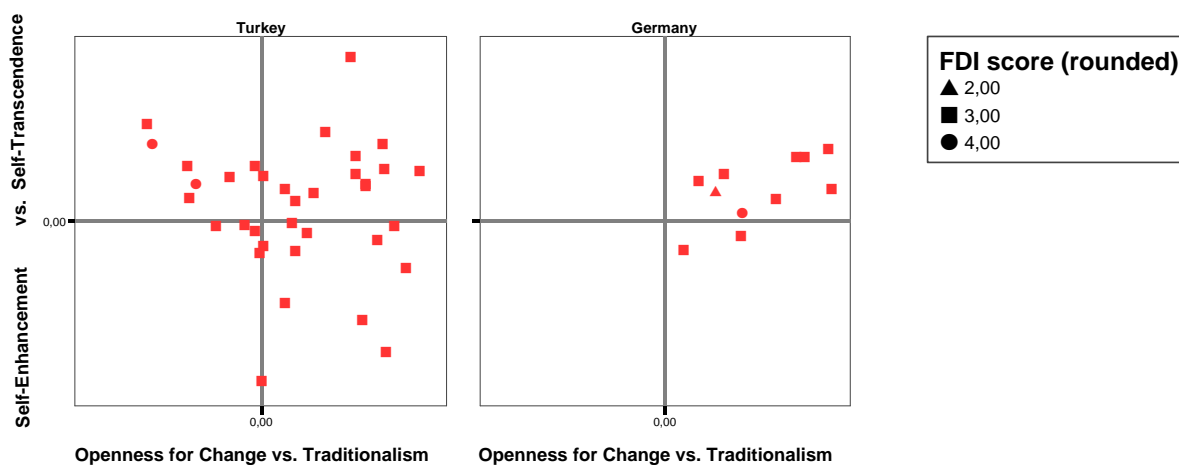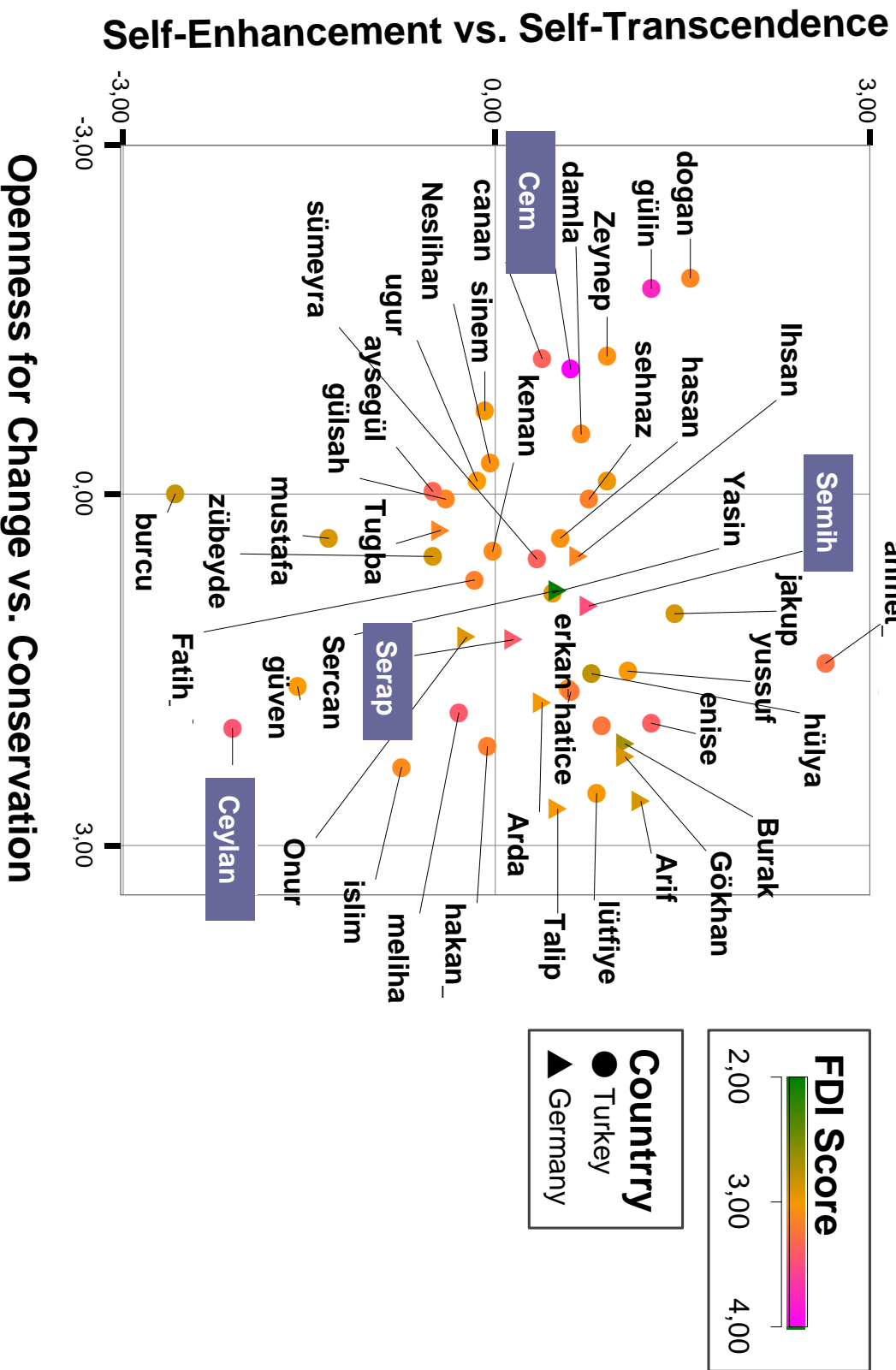

3. Conclusion and Discussion

Relating faith development evaluation and value scores of our sample, the difference between adolescents in our Turkish sample and Turkish-Islamic immigrant adolescents in Germany is obvious. We also find some correspondence between our qualitative and quantitative approach: The cases (Cem, Semih and Serap) find their proper place in the value circle (see Figure 3 in the Appendix) – with a still surprising position of Ceylan as case in the extreme position of both very high scores in conservation and in self-enhancement.

Taken quantitative and qualitative results together, we may conclude with an interpretative portrait of the difference between Turkish-Islamic immigrant adolescents and adolescents in Turkey: Turkish adolescents, in their religious socialization and religious development, have to deal with a taken-for-granted environment of traditional, if not conservative, and strictly religious families who in turn are part of a local culture of similar religious and cultural habits. Thus, religious socialization and the search for religious identity here, in the first pace, requires coming to terms with one's heritage and tradition which is not far away, but the dominant presence of parents, family, neighborhood or school. Stepping out therefore is the normal direction of development for adolescents. The search for identity possibly may include doubt and perhaps denial of Islamic teachings, but the general tendency may be described as pursuit of autonomy – which, as in the case of Ceylan, has still a long way to go.

In contrast, for Turkish-Islamic immigrants in Germany, another factor plays an important role: the host culture and the experience to belong to a religious and ethnic minority. Islam and Turkish identity are at best half of the "authorities" these children and adolescents have to deal with. These adolescents have to find a solution in terms of religious and personal identity – which, for many, may mean finding, or returning to, a Turkish identity and an Islamic identity. And they have little help from religious education, because, with only few exceptions, Islamic religious education is not established in public school in Germany. Instead children are sent to the Koran courses which are taught by Imams sent by the Turkish State and who are not really familiar with German culture or contemporary pedagogical standards. Thus, it is understandable that concern with conservation is prevalent in these adolescents and faith development, especially in the religious domain, is behind the faith development of their peers in Turkey.

Turkish and German Faith Development Interviewees in Schwartz's Value Space

Self-Enhancement vs. Self-Transcendence

Openness for Change vs. Conservation

Cem

Semih

Serap

Ceylan

dogan
gülin
damla
Zeynep
şehnaz
hasan
Ihsan
canan
sinem
kenan
Neslihan
sümeyra
ugur
ayşegül
gülsah
Tugba
mustafa
zübeyde
burcu
Fatih_
Sercan
güven
islim
Onur
meliha
hakan_
Arda
Talip
lütfiye
Arif
Gökhan
Burak
hatice
erkan
enise
yussuf
jakup
Yasin
ahmet_
hülya

Country
● Turkey
▲ Germany

FDI Score
2,00   3,00   4,00

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