

**INTERGENERATIONAL CHANGES IN THE RELIGIOSITY OF
TURKISH ISLAMIC IMMIGRANTS IN CONTEMPORARY GERMANY**

A Qualitative Analysis Using the Faith Development Interview

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1. INTRODUCTION

There is a saying popular among the first generation of Turks, who came from rural Anatolia and now live in Germany: “We came here to earn enough money to buy a pair of oxen or a tractor, it’s been fifty years, and we still haven’t been able to return”. From the viewpoint of many Turks living in Germany, immigration is a family project in its essence. The fundamental motivation for immigration is to improve the family’s economic status by working within the industrial economy of Germany. Today, this economic goal has also led to a novelty in the religious landscape of Germany. Immigrants “in search of bread” now comprise the second largest religious affiliation in Germany, and occupy a niche within Germany’s religious and cultural diversity.

Islamic life in Germany is mostly Turkish in character. Over the past few decades a number of studies on the life, religion and culture of Turkish Muslims in Germany have been undertaken. Yet our understanding based on empirical data of religious socialization in immigrant families—particularly the transmission of faith from older to younger generations, and the differences between generations in terms of religiosity—remains limited. Previous qualitative studies have taken generations singly, and have concluded that religious individuation (individualization) and modernization occur both in older (Mihciyazgan, 1994), (Schiffauer, 1991) and younger generations (Sandt, 1996), (Klinkhammer, 2000), (Nökel, 2002), (Tietze, 2002) with worker migration. This means that traditional Islam is reinterpreted among immigrant Muslims and assumes a new form. So, when this individuation and modernization are considered from a faith developmental perspective, how are they realized through the generations, and what point have they reached in the third generation? This constitutes the question addressed by the present study.

In Germany today, some Turkish immigrant families are already represented by their fourth or fifth generations. As the primary context of each individual’s life, the family undeniably influences the construction of identity and the constellation of its elements throughout the course of one’s life. It provides references and resources for these identifications. Intergenerational communications, interactions and

impacts play important roles and display continuity in human social and psychological mechanisms. For this reason, the impact of the family and private familial discourses need to be analysed in the faith biographies of different generations and their connections with each other. As a system of private relations, the family is not a context in which only older generations influence younger generations. On the contrary, it is a social system in which all members engage in mutual interaction.

The studies mentioned above focus on specific historical generations. The purpose of the present study will be to consider three familial generations together and in a comparative way. The first-generation people of this qualitative - empirical study came to Germany as guest workers and experienced their early socialization in their home country. The second generation comprises the children of these early guest workers and was brought by them to Germany during childhood or early youth. Some of them were also born and socialized in Germany. Members of the third generation were all born and went to school in Germany, and had no experience of immigration.

Methodologically, this research draws on the faith development theory (FDT for short) (Fowler, 1981) and the views of those in this research tradition (Streib, 2001, 2003), in order to investigate religious development through generations of families. In the background of this perspective is an encounter of theology with developmental psychology. Thus, its structural-cognitive orientation in terms of developmental psychology is dependent on the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (1896-1980). The cognitive development approach started by Piaget was continued by Kohlberg (1927-1987) and transformed into a model of moral development. This approach has been adapted to the domain of religion by later researchers such as Goldman (1968), Oser & Gmünder (1984) and Fowler (1981). The faith development concept studies how the individual conceptualizes “I,” “I, myself and others,” “I and ultimate reality,” and the relations between these in the present and the future. Not only the psychology and sociology of religion, but also the perspectives of social psychology, ethnology, and Islamic theology, play an important role in the methodology of the present study.

This interdisciplinary approach sets it apart from many studies in past years on Turkish immigrants in Germany, and it is intended to fill a gap in the field. On the other hand, the purpose of the study is not just to apply a theory (FDT) that has emerged within a Christian milieu to a population of Muslims. Faith is not limited to the field of official religion, but is a many-faceted and dynamic human phenomenon. It is deeper and more personal than the religion itself. Fowler benefited from the phenomenology of religion, theories of psychology and philosophy of religion in order to define the concept of faith. The historian and phenomenologist of religion Wilfred Cantwell Smith's definitions and distinctions between religion, faith and belief concepts widely influenced Fowler. Smith assumes that religions are not abstract systems but "living-dynamic processes".

Smith conducted researches on understanding of Faith concept in different religious traditions when he was teaching history of religions in Harvard, Canada and his research journeys to the Far East. Smith describes the religions as "cumulative traditions". Religions are the forms of expressions of the people lived in the history and shaped in different times by accumulating. In this accumulative tradition, there can be texts of law, narratives, myths, prophecies and the elements recognized as divine. Further, symbol, verbal tradition, music, dance, ethical teachings, theologies, beliefs, rituals, liturgies, architecture and many more elements constitute religions. In this regard religions are similar to an art gallery. This accumulative art gallery influences the beliefs of people living in a later period of the history and evokes them. On the other hand, faith is deeper and more personal than religion. Faith is a person's or group's way of response to a transcendent value or power. For that reason either religion or faith depends on the fundament of mutuality. And both of them are dynamic, grow via "others" and regenerate in interaction. This cumulative tradition and its contents are renewed if they serve to shape and evoke the faiths of new generations. Faith is evoked and nurtured by the elements of tradition. If these elements find expression in the faiths of new generations then the tradition will be enlarged, modified and consequently gain a new vitality.

Smith (1979) analyzes Islamic term of faith in his work titled Faith and Belief. According to Smith existential faith exists in Islam as it exists in other religious

traditions. Smith makes conceptual analysis on the concept of *Iman* which constitutes the fundament of Islamic worldview or religiosity. Smith notes that *iman* (faith) eliminates loneliness of human being, impels to sociality, helps to be integrated in a group and enter in a dynamic solidarity with this group. Smith makes a clear distinction between the terms of faith and religion as he makes distinction between faith and belief concepts. According to him the Koranic concept of *Iman* (faith) corresponds the meaning of existential faith which he sees as cross religious. He cites from Islamic scholar Taftazani the following in the definition of faith: “appropriation of truth by the heart that reaches the point of decision and compliance” (p. 197). Further, *tasdiq* (acceptance) which means the recognition of the Islamic religious principles and existential faith are both connected with each other and intertwined according to Smith. Smith criticizes the translation of *Iman* in Koran as belief, *amene* (the act of faith) as believing and *mu'min* (the owner of faithing act) as believer, and *kafir* (who rejects the Islamic call to religion) as disbeliever (p. 38). For Smith the relation between human being and God who is a Creator, Sovereign and Judge in the Koran is represented with the concept of *Iman* (faith). This is a positive respond, the acceptance of divine calls and submission to the divine demands. In the Koran, the word of *Iman* (faith) is more used in the form of a verb than its usages as a noun derived from the verb. Not the *Iman* (faith) but *amana* (the act of faith) is to be spoken. *Iman* designates to the activities of human being. “Faith is something that people do more than it is something people “have” says Smith (p.39). Smith adds that *Iman* is a positive answer to the divine call in the existential level and *küfr* (infidelity) is a negative response to this call (s. 40). *Iman* is an act of internalization, not solely an act of verbal expression. Thus, *iman* is not formed and settled all of a sudden with a quick decision in the personality of a human being, but it occurs in course of time.

Theories play a central role in research by offering us the possibility of organizing collected information in an orderly manner (Hood, Hill, & Spilka, 2009). Fowler suggests that FDT is cross-cultural. Two recent empirical studies (Aygün, 2013; Ok, 2007) claim that faith development theory, with its broader conceptual content, may provide rich perspectives in conducting research on Islamic samples either. The broad meaning of human faith as implied by FDT magnifies the importance of these perspectives for an immigrant and multicultural situation. The faith

development approach helps us to take the whole process of lifelong development into account. It enables a deeper insight into traditions by putting the person at the center of the inquiry. With a lifespan developmental perspective, faith can take shape differently at different ages and in different contexts. FDT accepts psychological insights and also goes beyond these (Fowler, 2001). Due to its wide spectrum of meaning, FDT can provide a framework to investigate, and reflect on, the temperament and mental attitudes of larger groups such as families. In addition to individuals, faith development theory can, according to Fowler, also facilitate the study of family systems, communities, and professional groups.

This study comprises three main parts, and a related conclusion and discussion. The theoretical and methodological base of the study is described in the first part. The situation of Turks and Turkish families in Germany, religious and general education in these families, factors of socialization as well as intergenerational relations and roles in German Turkish families, are also discussed in this part. General information that can be found and has been repeated in many studies will not be recapitulated here unless necessary. The purpose of this part is to provide grounding regarding the population that is the subject of this study as well as the approach taken, and thus to make the thesis more comprehensible. This information needs to be provided if the life-world that is the seedbed within which faith develops is to be better understood. And then the fundamentals of faith development theory and the faith development interview will be introduced. These are the tools and templates of the present study.

One of the most important theoretical concerns of this thesis is the role that faith development theory can play in this kind of research, and also the possibility of a developmental approach to faith within an Islamic context. Faith development theory (FDT), which takes a developmental approach to faith, as well as the criticisms directed at it and new suggestions since its beginning in the 1980s, will be discussed in this cross cultural study with the aid of empirical findings. The conditions under which the research was conducted, the characteristics of the population being studied, the difficulties (or otherwise) encountered during the study, and information on how and where the interviews were conducted, are other subjects discussed in this part.

Fifteen cases are investigated in the third part. Faith development interviews conducted with the first, second and third generations of five families, each with three generations, are analyzed in detail. The criteria for selection as typical cases for case studies and the various characteristics that distinguish these families from each other are presented. Some of these basic differences are demographic indicators such as differing lifestyles, membership (or not) in a religious community, profession, and gender.

In the concluding part of the research, the interviews conducted with three different generations will provide the basis for assessing the religious development of Turkish Muslims in an immigrant situation, together with references to the case studies.

2. PART ONE

2.1. Family, Socialization and Religious Education of Turkish Islamic Immigrants in Germany

In the history of Muslims in Germany it is mentioned that the first contact between Germans and Muslims was in 777 A.D. in Paderborn. King Charlemagne accepted the governor of Saragossa, Suleiman al-Arabi, who was deported by the Amir of Cordoba. After this, it is reported that Charlemagne and al-Arabi signed an agreement of mutual collaboration (Abdullah, 1981, 1993) Muslims have been living in Germany since the 18th Century. In 1922, there were Muslims from approximately forty-one nations in Germany. These Muslims founded the "Islamische Gemeinde zu Berline.v." However, until 1960, which was the beginning of a massive worker migration, mainly from Turkey, the group of Muslims in Germany was relatively small (Abdullah, 1981).

With the onset of the labor migration after 1960, workers sought to obtain a few years' employment in Germany before returning to their home countries. Their primary goal was to save money and to establish a financially secure life for their families in Turkey. The family unit has been, and continues to be, an important part of the formation of a religious migrant society and of permanent settlement in Germany. According to the German Ministry of the Interior (2007), approximately 3.2 to 3.5 million Muslims are estimated to live in Germany. The younger generations are growing up in Germany, and more are obtaining German citizenships. They seemingly are familiar with the German language and culture more than with their ancestral language and culture. Their educational and professional preferences, as well as their life expectations, are and have been shaped according to their conditions and living opportunities in Germany (Alacacioğlu, 1999; Karakaşoğlu-Aydın, 2000).

2.1.1. The Migration of Turkish Families

Migration from the home country effects changes in families at a number of levels. The first effect of labour migration on the structure and function of the Turkish family was fragmentation. The separation of family members from each other for a number of years has become typical for migrants. The majority of the first generation of guest workers was married and had children before coming to Germany. Their spouses and other households did not accompany them in the beginning. If both parents were working in Germany, the children were left at the homes of grandfathers or close relatives in Turkey. Thus, because of the economic imperatives of migration, many of the parents in the first wave of migration were unable to impact the early socialization period of their children.

After being brought to Germany, the problems of the children clearly doubled. While the children attempted to integrate themselves into the local environment, they sometimes preferred distance from their parents. Perceived inability or a lack of communication skills between the child and parent, especially in mother-child relations, mostly emerged in immigration (Baumgartner-Karabak & Landesberger, 1978). All of these disruptions affected the socialization experiences of family members for many years.

The traditional structure of Turkish society and culture has been undermined within an industrial society, and visible changes in the roles of family members and authorities have also occurred (Wensierski & Lübcke, 2012). Migration to Germany can be said to have caused disintegration not only in the extended Turkish family, but it also has been responsible for disintegration in the nuclear Turkish family.

Traditional, patriarchal families have a distinct separation of roles between their members. The duties allocated according to generational or gender specifications of members in Turkish families are of great importance. For example, the authority of the father was not only due to traditional values as it had been in Turkey, but emerged as a mechanism to defend and protect family members against an environment of cultural disintegration in Germany.

Fragmentation within the family affected the social status of Turkish women as well. With the process of migration, women entered a visible domain of freedom, yet they were restricted under other enclosures. Their husbands went abroad while they remained in Turkey. Their responsibilities and new roles created new obligations within the home country, obligations which had been alien to them so far. They had to fulfil the authoritarian duties undertaken by men. They had to educate and control their children. They had to regulate the family economy.

After migration, the main role of women regarding the care of children in the family also changed. The mothers left their children to other caregivers or, if they worked, left them alone at home. The fear that something bad would happen to their children provoked psychic disturbances in some. In the stories told by the Akay family (interviews were conducted with three female generations), the narratives of both the first and second generations are good examples of this. In their family tradition, the main duty of mother was to take care of her children at home. After settling in Germany, both the grandmother and mother worked, and they left their children to caregivers and Kindergarten.

As early as the first year of the family reunion, some authors defined the situation of immigrant women in Germany as *culture shock*. Women who did not work were isolated from social life. Due to their disadvantages in language, their husbands or children mediated their social relations with the external world. After family reunion, the first generation women became more dependent on their husbands if they did not work in Germany. During the years of mass labor migration, women in Turkey did many things alone. Both sides fulfilled their duties in a hierarchical position to the children. Turkish men in Turkey do not charge their women with extra duties as is typical for immigrant men in Germany. The immigrant women in Germany could not preserve the status they had in Turkey. They provide housekeeping and have been more dependent on their husbands, who undertake communication in relations outside the family. Yet the women who work in Germany are reported to be more independent from other family members in comparison to those who do not work (Nauck, 1997 2007). Sustaining their traditional roles, the men do not help their working wives with domestic duties. At the same time, the income brought into the household by women is shared

(Karakaşoğlu, 1996). If the immigrant woman stays at home, she must take over the care of the household, such as preparing meals and housecleaning.

There are some families in which first-generation women migrated earlier and their husbands later joined their families. In such cases, the men who did not have permission to work were more dependent on their wives. The women were more familiar with the social conditions and understood the German language better (Baumgartner-Karabak & Landesberger, 1978). Another striking disadvantage of migrant women was social isolation. The views of local people are gender-centric in this respect; immigrant women have been reported to suffer more instances of exclusion (Esser, 1982).

In the interviews conducted for this study, the families reported that their initial philosophy of life had been to make more money. Their children's education was a secondary issue for most of them. Weakened family control caused problems in the appropriation of religion and schooling issues in the second generation. First-generation parents were unable to support their children at school because they did not have educational experience. The language handicap was another obstacle for the parents in dealing with their children's school problems. They had difficulties in participating in parent-teacher meetings and in communicating with school administrations. Thus, for a long time, the integration of the second generation into various educational and professional opportunities has been perceived as problematic.

Many of the second-generation participants spoke of generational conflicts with their parents, which arose from the tension between the social world and traditional, authoritarian family values. These not only included identity and family problems, but also contributed to a failure to integrate into society and lead productive, balanced lives. This failure to integrate and to participate in social life led to an exacerbation of national pride, and to claims of superiority among second-generation Turks in Germany (Türkdoğan, 1984). Intra-family conflicts and family dissolutions were common. In families fragmented by migration, spouses tended to become alienated from each other, children from their parents, and siblings from one another. For both segments of the family—those in Germany

and those left behind in Turkey—living alone also contributed to various psychological difficulties. The second generation was affected most by this situation. Due to lack of guidance and stability, they experienced uncertainties both before and after their migration to Germany.

Religious life within the Turkish family also faced important challenges from changes that came with migration. The primary concern of immigrants within a foreign culture has always been to protect the family and to ensure its future survival. Interfaith marriages, problems between married couples, the work of women, the education of children, fragmented family structures, and dialogue with other religions have, at one point or other, become issues of discussion and even tension within immigrant families. The function and significance of religious organizations have continued to present both problems and solutions for the unity of families among immigrants in their host society.

2.1.2. Turks as Muslims in German Society

Turkish-Muslim immigrants in Germany encounter various lifestyles which sometimes do not comply with theirs. The communities they hail from are of Muslim origin, while life in Germany is predominantly Christian, secular, and modern. The problem for immigrants is, and has been, how to reconcile their lives with these various cultural elements. They are faced with a choice between different alternatives, all of which require them to secularize themselves and to embrace individualism. As a result, firm adherence to their culture of origin can often create divisions within families.

From the early years of migration to our day, integration has been a point of intense debate. Muslim immigrant families are closely concerned with both their existence and the future of their children. The first-generation immigrants did not aim to integrate with local society, and they still do not seem to have such an aim. Their main goal was to return after realizing their expectations in Germany. For later generations, the situation is obviously different. They have to directly engage local culture and customs. They must behave according to the dictates of Islamic

culture on the one hand, while seeking to successfully integrate their life world outside the family on the other. Living within the context of these tensions gives rise to experiences of marginalization and exclusion, as suggested by some studies (Heitmeyer, Müller, & Schröder, 1997; Hocker, 2007; Klinkhammer, 2000).

From the beginning, religion has been the decisive element of Turkish identity. According to some studies, this confrontation necessarily caused immigrants to reinterpret their cultural and religious identity (Mihciyazgan, 1994; Schiffauer, 1991; Uslucan, 2011). Turkish immigrants in Germany possess not homogeneous but, rather, heterogeneous characters. They have very complicated interests in religious, political and social issues. Like other civil organizations, religious organizations are an extension of political, social and religious groups in Turkey. To speak of a single Turkish image accepted by local German society seems impossible (Worbs, 2003). Furthermore, there are reciprocal stereotypes between Germans and the Turkish community living in Germany (Uslucan 2011, p. 3 ff.). Germans are often stigmatized by immigrants as corrupt and lacking in religion (*BMFSFJ, 2000*). Because Turkish immigrants mostly come from poor and rural regions in Turkey, the impression that Turks are backward is strengthened in the eyes of German society.

German society represents an individualized culture, and immigrants represent the most conventional and traditional masses within their own societies. Lack of mutual understanding and the stigmatization of Turkish immigrants reflect the deficiency in dialogue between the two cultures. Likewise, Turks stigmatize Germans as emotionally cold, disconnected, technical, and remote in social relations (Frindte, Boehnke, Kreikenbom, & Wagner, 2011). Striving to protect the pre-industrial structure of collective life, immigrant social groups further brand German society as lacking in virtue. However, it is again impossible to claim a single type of German image. German society also has different layers of value, family, religion, and modernity. In the empirical part of this study, we will better observe the fears of immigrants concerning alienation from their culture, in the lives of individuals, or as part of larger familial biographies. Turkish immigrants are the largest foreign-born population and their life culture is strongly associated with religion. Thus, Turkish immigrants have sometimes been described as “those who

cannot be integrated.” It is often expressed in the German media that Turkish immigrants do not want to be integrated and are incompetent for it. Scientific surveys, however, prove that a great majority of Turks support integration with German people, and their religion does not prevent them from doing so (Bertelsmann Stiftung 2008).

According to a survey in the year 2012 by the Center for Turkish Studies in Essen (Sauer, 2012), 61% of Turks report that they no longer experience exclusion. 16% report experiencing exclusion very often, and 23% report experiencing exclusion from time to time. However, this can depend on the expectations of the people interviewed. According to the same survey, women and older generations of Turks report that they face more exclusion. The people that cannot master the German language believe that they are often excluded from German society. Those who know the language better report fewer experiences of exclusion.

Turkish immigrants mostly idealize their life in Anatolia. Most of them do not see themselves as immigrants or do not accept the fact that they are immigrants in Germany. A 69-year-old woman, while relating her family’s situation, has stated: “From our village to the city (a city in east Turkey), from there to Istanbul, and from Istanbul to Germany, we have been like migrants (*göçmen*), son!”

On the other hand, a person well-acquainted with the Turkish community can observe that they speak well of German society in many respects. For example, German society is praised as being diligent, honest, punctual, keepers of promises, and serious in all business endeavours. Almost every Turk praises the system in Germany. Nevertheless, they also complain of being cast as the “other” by both sides. That is, they are treated as a “foreigner” in Germany and as a “Germanlander (*Almanlı*)” in Turkey.

An inside look reveals that Turkish immigrants strive mostly to protect the unity of their families. For this reason, the most important concern of Turkish families is that their children should not deviate from family traditions by acquiring local values and becoming assimilated into German society. Any alienation is unacceptable and is sometimes understood as a threat to the honor of the family.

Any kind of deviation from family and cultural values are seen as defamatory of family biographies. Moreover, it creates long-term trauma for family members. When such an incident takes place, German social values are immediately accused of being responsible; younger generations of Turks bear extra responsibilities because they have to spend more effort on integration in order to realize a life free of conflict.

In a survey, Uslucan (2011) studied the value preferences and irreconcilable differences between elderly settled Germans, the Turks in Germany, and the Turks in Turkey. He conducted a questionnaire of more than 750 people—Germans from Berlin and Magdeburg, Turkish immigrants in Berlin, and Turks in Turkey. In this way, he created a comparative cultural value hierarchy. According to his results, the Turks and older established Germans do not live in very different value worlds. Uslucan adds that based on studies of the last 25 years, if a country is economically developed, values like individualism and autonomy are significantly favored (Uslucan 2011, p. 5).

Table 1: Cultural Comparison of Value Hierarchies

Elderly settled Germans in Berlin and Magdeburg	Turks Living in Berlin	Turks from Turkey
Family security	Family security	Family security
Friendships	Friendships	Freedom
Freedom	Freedom	Friendships
Inspiring life	Courteousness	National security
Courteousness	National security	Courteousness
National security	Caution against tradition	Caution against tradition
Wealth	Spirituality	Spirituality
Caution against tradition	Wealth	Inspiring life
Authority	Inspiring life	Wealth
Spirituality	Authority	Authority

Source: Uslucan 2011, p. 6.

According to the result of this comparative cultural survey, the three groups are similar to each other in their most important value perceptions. Security in the family, freedom and friendships are the most favoured values. A value of less importance is the authority to which everyone answers. Uslucan claims that in certain value perceptions, Germans and the Turks in Germany are quite similar to each other. Of course, this is a questionnaire applied to older generations. Uslucan claims further that younger immigrant generations live in a conservative life world. Courtesy, convention, and authority are more important for them. Uslucan explains this as follows: younger generations experience greater insecurity in their life worlds. Hence, they attach more importance to security and stability.

Until recently, Turkish immigrants whose goal was to return to Turkey eventually invested their incomes in Turkey. Hence, they have not paid much attention to their living spaces, their households in Germany, the size or beauty of their homes, etc. However, the majority of Turkish immigrants seem to be in communication with German society. The data of the Center for Turkish Studies supports this (Sauer, 2012, p.81). More than 51% of the participants in the survey (n = 1015) are reported to live in regions where Germans predominate, while 23% live in regions inhabited mostly by Turks, and 21% in regions where Germans and Turks are equally mixed. For Turks, friendship with Germans requires the German language. Yet this is always problematic for older generations. The younger generations are in greater contact with society. Married immigrants, housewives and the elderly are reported to be in less contact with Germans. The unemployed should also be added to this category (*comp.* Sauer 2012 p. 77).

2.1.3. Socialization and Religious Education of Turkish Muslims

Family systems and types of family socialization may vary from one society to another. Family systems are fundamental to socialization. Close relatives, peer groups, workplaces, and the communities to which they belong contribute to the socialization process. Without the influence of families within a given society, personality and identity do not develop. Behavior patterns can be exclusive to

societies, and every society presents ready-made patterns of behavior which must be adhered to by its members.

Researchers determine that there is a high orientation toward the family among immigrants. Muslim migrant families have higher household numbers when compared to other immigrants in German society. The percentage of persons in Muslim families is higher than in other families. The number of children is also higher. Compared to other families, ethnic regional or religious characteristics are more obvious among the Muslims. According to Federal Statistics, in 2009 there were more than three persons in upwards of 60% of Turkish families living in Germany. In German families at that time, only a fourth of the families were comprised of three or more persons. Among 21% of immigrant families, at least one parent is of Turkish background (Statistisches *Bundesamt*, Wiesbaden 2012). Among 92% of the families with children, parents live as married couples. This percentage is 79 for Germans. Only 1.2% of Turkish families with children have the parents living together out of wedlock. In local society, the percentage of cohabiting extramarital couples with children is 8%. Additionally, the percentage of single-parent families among Turkish immigrants is 7.3%, whereas single-parent households constitute 12.6% of German families (Bundesamt für Statistik 2009).

There are several studies on the socialization and educational approaches of migrant families in Germany. For example some authors (Alamdard-Niemann, 1992; Holtbrügge, 1975; Nauck, 1997) deal with educational styles. Merckens (1997) deals with the educational goals of Muslim migrant families. Religious socialization within the family is widely neglected in the extant empirical literature. Studies dealing with the religious education of Turkish Muslim children focus predominantly on the education presented in religious organizations (Alacacioğlu, 1999; Ritsch, 1987). The value of children among Turkish parents is explained as pragmatic/utilitarian (Kağıtçıbaşı & Esmer, 1980; Nauck, 1989). Still, the general situation of intergenerational relations and social interaction seem to depend on interpersonal loyalty. These kinds of relations can be observed among nuclear family members as well. Intergenerational dependencies are maintained on an emotional level, even when they do not include economic dependency (Kağıtçıbaşı, 1990 2002). The older generations and parents opt to live with their

adult offspring. If this is not possible, they prefer at least to be close to them. On the whole, the Turkish community does not look favourably on sending elderly family members to homes for the aged outside the family. The elderly maintain their functionality within the family as family members.

Turkish immigrants are exposed to a life world with plenty of variety, supplied by their own culture and by the outside world. This has different effects on each family and every individual. The process of emancipation from the family and starting an autonomous life happens differently for Muslim youth than their non-Muslim counterparts (Wensierski & Lübcke, 2012). In spite of generational conflicts, the closed nature of relations does not allow us to observe the changes between generations. In any case, the preservation of family unity is fundamental for Turkish families. Living together is essential, even in cases where intergenerational conflict is present.

2.1.4. Family and Education from the Islamic Perspective

As we have seen in the previous section, the family is the primary agent of socialization and is also the primary space of identity formation. The family is a central community for immigrants in Germany, and the primary institution employed in the transmission of religious knowledge and experience to future generations. In this way, the Diaspora family helps to construct and maintain religious identity. Hence, it is necessary to explore family and religious education in the Islamic perspective, because family, relatives and neighbourhoods are of great importance in Islam (Koran 16:90, 4:36, 17:23-24).

In Islam, the basis of a good family starts with the decision to marry a religious person. The basic qualities to be sought in a marital partner, as outlined in the Koran, the Way of the Prophet (*Sunna*),¹ and the interpretations of Islamic scholars, are “religiosity” and “good character.” In the Islamic understanding of education, the parents are responsible for the physical, mental and emotional

¹ The Way (Sunna): The words, deeds and life of the Prophet Muhammad. After the Koran, it is the second greatest source in Islam to be learned and emulated.

instruction of their children (Canan, 2008). This principle is stipulated by the sources of religion which are the main authorities in Islam. Education and learning are accorded great value in the Koran (94:1-4). Knowledge and strength of faith are regarded as being in mutual correlation with each other. In addition, in the Way of the Prophet Muhammad, there are many injunctions related to education.

Belief in God and belonging to the Islamic community are central to identity formation in Islam. Consequently, education is not restricted to the sacred or otherworldly domain. The duty of parents is to supply enough qualifications for their children to live happily in the world. Islamic scholars stipulate the principle of “being a good example” for children as a method of education for their parents. Harsh treatment, coercion and physical abuse are strictly prohibited. The four dimensions of education that determine human education in general are: social education, religious education, physical education, and gender education (Canan, 2008). Other areas of education are subsumed under these categories.

The educational understanding of Muslim parents is shaped mainly by the Koran and Sunna. These two sources are the fundamental authorities in the arrangement of a Muslim’s life. Children are seen as divine trusts given to the parents who sprout from their own essence. Stressing the importance of child and family education, the Prophet Muhammad says, “*A father cannot give his child a better gift than good manners*” (Tirmidhi, *Birr*, 33). The main goal is to inform a child with knowledge and ethical values, in order to raise a faithful individual who is also a useful member of society.

The significance of education is also associated with the image of the human being in Islam. “Human” is defined as a noble and honourable being. God has created humankind as a “successor” for himself and arranged the rest of existence for the benefit of human beings (Koran (17:70). According to Islamic understanding, human beings come into the world with a nature (*Fitrah*) that is pure. This purity is like a blank page with the potential to be adorned subsequently. The mission placed on parents/caregivers (mainly the family) is to adorn this blank page according to Islamic principles. Any neglect in this

education, or any miseducation, is viewed as destroying the worldly and otherworldly life of a person. The Koran commands family authorities to protect their households by setting a good example and providing proper education in life. According to Koran, supporting their children's religious and moral growth will bring parents eternal happiness, as well (Koran 66:6).

To return to the aspect that concerns Muslims in Germany: for younger generations in Germany, the relation of the family to religion, and to the social network, influences the development of religious styles. Educating their children religiously is one of the primary aims of Turkish immigrant families, because Islam is the main element in the culture and identity of Turkish people. Religious consciousness is directly associated with ethnic consciousness. Turkish and Muslim identity overlap with each other and it is sometimes not possible to distinguish between the two (Yalcin-Heckman, 1998). Research has demonstrated that religion and religiosity are a medium of self-expression in migration, both for the youth and the elderly. Religion plays an important role in the continuation of Turkish culture and customs. Religion is also a factor that provides balance and cohesion between generations (Karakaşoğlu & Öztürk, 2007; Kaya, 2009).

The above rules on education are some of the imperative demands of Islamic sources on families. The educational style of Muslim families is determined primarily by these normative rules. In each family, however, religious education and socialization occurs according to the understanding and practice of individuals. The exact style of religious education is affected by various factors. In certain families, religious education can be consciously fostered. These are in a position to offer their children a religious education.

Islam can be generally defined as a religion of orthopraxy and thus it is a knowledge-oriented official religion either. To be able to practice the correct Islam, it is necessary to receive the correct knowledge of principles and the rituals from its sources. For most families, a religious education in the family is difficult because of the insufficient grounding of parents in Islam. Moreover, the religious education of an immigrant has its own characteristics and difficulties in the family.

The children are not in an environment supported by an Islamic social context. There are many factors other than family affecting their perceptions. Families transmit basic orientation, but they seek external help. This is realized through courses at mosque organizations. Those families that attach importance to their children's religious education send them to mosque associations so that they can appropriate basic Islamic knowledge, essentials of the faith, morals, and so obtain an Islamic identity in consequence.

Faced with the lack of possibilities to give children a religious education at home, migrant communities arrange Koran and religion courses within the framework of mosque services, since the 1970s to the present. In these courses, basic Islamic subjects such as rudimentary knowledge, worship, and Koranic recitation (reading from the Arabic script) are taught. Certain chapters of the Koran to be recited during the Five Daily Prayers are memorized. In these associations, Koran lessons and religious instruction are presented not only for children, but also young people and adults. The courses imitate the religious instruction model in Turkey in a more restricted way. Participation in these courses is voluntary. The study of Heitmeyer and his colleagues (1997) informs us that two-thirds of Turkish children have had contact with these organizations. The courses take place outside school hours. The children participate in these lessons mostly on weekends. Additional courses are arranged during the summer season and other school holidays. Teaching Koranic recitation is at the center of these courses.

2.1.5. Islamic-Turkish Organizations

For a Muslim in Germany, the various types of membership in the Islamic religion display a great deal of diversity on both the practical and cognitive levels. This heterogeneity is cited by researchers as one of the difficulties in studying Turkish Islamic religion in Germany (Alacacioğlu, 2003; Waardenburg, 1999). Two main sources—the Koran, *Hadith* (the Prophet's Sayings or Traditions), and the interpretation of these two by scholars—determine the boundaries of Islamic faith. One participates in Islam by declaring allegiance to certain theological

formulations. Theologically, Islam does not accept a distinctive separation of the worldly from the otherworldly or the sacred from the profane.

At the beginning of the labor migration in 1960s, the authorities in Turkey and Germany had little interest in caring for immigrants, especially in religious terms. First-generation guest workers lived in dormitories supplied by their employers. Thus, the first “backyard mosques” (*Hinterhofmoscheen*) emerged on the outskirts of old industrial zones in the 1960s, on the guest workers’ own initiative (Şen & Aydın, 2002). German employers also helped to allocate proper places as worship rooms. Still, these guest workers and their religion were not yet a problem within German society, as their presence was based on the condition of returning to their home country one day.

The children of early guest workers influenced the direction and developments regarding Islamic-religious institutionalization in Germany. In the middle of the 1970s, 60% of Turkish immigrants consisted of younger people under the age of eighteen (Heine 1997). Protecting their cultural identity called for a more systematic form of religious institutionalization. Towards the 1980s, the backyard mosques had begun to slip into the centers of German cities (Wunn, 2007). There have always been initiatives for the religious education of children at mosque associations (Alacacioğlu, 1999). As mentioned above, throughout the 1990s, it was reported that two-thirds of Turkish children had some form of experience or contact regarding religious education (including Koran courses) in these mosque associations (Heitmeyer et al., 1997).

In the late 1970s, the social and political atmosphere of Turkey influenced the structure of Turkish society in Germany and stimulated the emergence of, and division into, different groups. Additionally, religion and ethnicity became the agents of self-awareness and -expression for immigrants, particularly for the second generation (Thomä-Venske, 1981). The influence on Turkish-Muslim immigrants of these organizations, with their religious and national tendencies, has always been stronger than that of other organizations.

The most influential religious organizations are:

- 1) *Türkisch-Islamische Union der Anstalt für Religion* (DITIB; Turkish-Islamic Union of the Office for Religious Affairs)
- 2) *Islamische Gemeinschaft Milli Görüş* (IGMG; Islamic Community of Milli Görüş)
- 3) *Verband der Islamischen Kulturzentren* (VIKZ; Association of Islamic Cultural Centers), active since early 1970s.
- 4) Jama'at un-Nur Köln e. v. Nurculuk Movement
- 5) *Föderation der Türkisch Demokratischen Idealistenvereine in Europa* e.v.
- 6) *Union der Türkisch-Islamistischen Kulturvereine in Europe* e.v. (Union of Turkish Culture Community in Europe)
- 7) *Föderation der Aleviten Gemeinden in Europa* e.v. (Federation of the Alevi Turks Union in Europe)
- 8) The Fethullah Gülen Movement.²

These and many other institutions meet the cultural, social, and religious needs of migrant populations. Several studies have tried to describe the function of these institutions within Muslim communities in Germany, as well as their contribution to the spiritual life of Muslims, and to the social integration of immigrants into German society. By providing Islamic backgrounds, they aim to create and develop an Islamic identity in a non-Muslim environment (Alacacioğlu, 1999; Frese, 2002; Meng, 2004; Şen & Sauer, 2006).

Mosques play an important role in mediating the socio-cultural differences between generations of Turkish Muslims. This fortifies the unity and inner integrity of the migrant community. Through the agency of mosques, Turkish immigrants find ways to adjust to living in another country. They get together with people who have the same attitudes and speak the same language. Formal membership is not required for benefiting from the services presented in mosque organizations. Many

² Contrary to other groups, the Fethullah Gülen movement does not operate on the basis of mosques or centers of worship. As a Sunni religious conservative group, it emphasizes dialogue and learning activities. Its structure is geared more toward establishing schools, and courses for providing aid to children in their homework and exams. They are, however, considerably active in Germany with their adults, businessmen and all their other foundation activities. They have a TV channel that broadcasts out of Germany, a newspaper, and a number of magazines.

Muslims are connected with mosque organizations either as an official member of the mosque, or by family membership, or through rare visits on various occasions like Friday Prayers, funeral ceremonies or religious festivities. In this way, mosque associations function as centers of cultural socialization. In contrast to churches in Germany or mosques in Turkey, mosques in Germany are not only places of worship—they function as places of leisure as well. Mosque associations are places where German and Turkish language courses, professional courses, sports activities, courses for supporting the education of children, libraries, pool games, salons and many other activities are available.

According to a survey by the Center for Turkish Studies in Essen, 42% of Turkish immigrants do not have any membership contact with any association. 58% belong to some association or other (Sauer 2012 p. 84 ff). Women, older and married migrants show less interest in such membership. Women with memberships are members mostly of Turkish associations. Sports clubs and labor associations are the most attractive among German associations for Turkish immigrants. For sports and business, German associations are obviously preferred to immigrant alternatives in the same areas. The following table shows the comparative distribution of membership of Turkish immigrants to various German and Turkish associations.

Table 2: Distribution of Membership in German and Turkish organizations.

(N= 585)

German Associations	Turkish Associations
Sports Clubs.....29.7 %	Religious Organizations..... 53.2 %
Labor Unions.....20.9 %	Cultural Associations21.7 %
Professional Associations.....9.2 %	Sport Clubs12.0 %
Cultural Associations7.4 %	Educational Associations7.0 %
Educational Associations6.0 %	Fellowship organizations..... 5.5 %
Leisure Clubs5.6 %	Leisure Clubs3.6 %
Political Associations.....5.1 %	Women’s Association.....3.4 %
Women's Association/group1.5 %	Professional Associations2.1 %
Other1.5 %	Political Associations1.0 %
Religious organizations.....1.2 %	Other1.0 %

Source: Sauer (2012 p. 87)

2.1.6. Conclusion

When thinking about the historical and present condition of Turks in Germany, there are some main points to be considered. Immigration was an economic family project for Turkish immigrants. This economic goal has led to a religious community in Germany. Today, Turkish immigrants have many associations in Germany; however, religious organizations are the most active among these. These organizations bring together Turkish ethnic and religious identities. A majority of immigrants are in touch with these organizations. For Turkish people in Germany, the family institution is as important as religion and ethnicity. Even if a visible change in family structure has occurred throughout migration, the main objective is to protect family unity. There is a persistent emphasis on the family among Turkish immigrants. Even in cases of violent conflicts between generations, it is essential to maintain solidarity and togetherness.

In the process of passing from a society in which collective life is idealized, to a society where the driving force is individualism, Turkish immigrants face problems and search for a solid foundation from which to construct their identity. Almost all of the new generations born in Germany expect to continue their lives there. Their religious socialization takes place in a tension between extremes, and this creates problems, leading to a search for new pathways.

After arriving in Germany, acculturation was among the most important problems for Muslim families. The family units of guest workers, and the reunion of families and younger generations during the migration process, made their religious character more conspicuous in German society. Muslim organizations and the institutionalization of mosques were the result. The mosques have assumed a multifunctional role. They offer not only religious socialization, but also the participation of immigrants in the social systems of Germany. Among organizations, Turkish immigrants do not restrict themselves to Turkish organizations alone. German associations, particularly labor unions, sports and professional associations are attractive to them. Among Turkish organizations, they prefer mostly religious, cultural and ethnic associations.

2.2. The Religiosity of Turkish People in Turkey and in Germany: Some Findings in Field Studies

In the foregoing, a general overview of the social and family life of Turkish Muslims in Germany has been presented. In this section, we will examine some empirical studies of religion, both in Turkey and in Germany, in preparation for the analysis in the empirical part of this study.

The purpose of considering the *religious situation in Turkey* is to become better acquainted with the religiosity of Turks in Germany. For this, we should explore its roots in their home country. The religious socialization of Turkish immigrants does not take place solely in Germany and under German conditions, but is also influenced by close ties with their homeland. Even though new generations grow up in Germany and see their future as being there, most of Turkish immigrants

have not yet left their country of origin behind. For Turkish Muslims, life in Germany is conceived as an extension of life in Turkey. Close family ties, financial investments, language, and organizations that have roots in Turkey continue to keep their interest in their homeland alive. Developments in Turkey are also among the main agents determining their socialization. Furthermore, the politics of religion in Turkey affects the development of Islamic-Turkish organizations in Germany and the religious lifestyles of their adherents.

Turkish immigrants in Germany hail from a society that is predominantly associated with Islam, and from a political environment which is determined by the state ideology of laicism in Turkey. Thus, they have the experience of combining an Islamic lifestyle with laicism and secular state policies. In this respect, Turks have been reported to have a distinctive character among other Muslim ethnicities. When examining religious socialization in Turkey, we have to consider the special situation that emerged with the establishment of the modern Turkish Republic in 1923. Very early on, nearly a dozen reforms were undertaken by the state for the modernization and secularization of society. The process of transition to laicism in the modernization process of Turkey naturally undermined the Islamic value system of traditional Turkish-Muslim society. The state did not take necessary precautions in this forced secularization, and Turkish daily life sometimes turned into an area fraught with tensions (Subaşı, 2002). The participation of Islam in this laicism project has created problems in society. For this reason, many years after its establishment, the laic republic was satisfactory neither for the expectations and goals of the supporters of laicism, nor for the supporters of religious values. As Şerif Mardin (1997: 109-110) describes it, the concept of modernity that was aimed to replace traditional Islam, and the ideal type of Turkish identity described as “westernized,” have never reached their goals. Reforms in the religious domain were carried out by the state, particularly by military authorities and not by theologians. The top religious authority, the caliphate, was abolished. Mystic movements and sects were prohibited, centers of folk religiosity and the tombs of saints were closed, and traditional dress was declared illegal. These apparently were attempts to eliminate the institutional fundamentals of religion from Turkish daily life. For the founders of the modern republic, religion was a belief system that should be confined to the private life of the individual. However, in the Turkish

practice, laicism—in addition to defending a strict separation of religion from social and political life—has taken the form of a doctrine advocating opposition to and judging religion, whereas in their essence, laicism or secularism do not object to, nor directly pass judgments on, religion itself.

On the other hand, the state did not completely give up control of religion, either. The religion was subordinated to the state, under the name of the *Directorate of Religious Affairs*. In fact, it sought to create a national Anatolian religious culture with the republican reforms. First, objects representing Arabic culture and the Arabic form of religious expression were almost entirely removed from religious, social and cultural life. The revolution in language, the transition from the Arabic alphabet to the Latin alphabet, the translation of the language of worship and Prayer-calls in mosques from Arabic to Turkish, were an indication of this. For some researchers, this national concern already had its precedents in the Islamic history of the Turks. As claimed by Aktay (2002: 45), the Turks have always sought emancipation from Arabic hegemony in their Islamic history. They have chosen Islam by their own will via Sufism, and not because of any invasion or war. Moreover, even though Turks were the guardians of the highest religious authority (the caliphate), Arabs have never perceived the Turks as a religious model.

On the other hand, many Turks find the Arabic form of Islam bizarre. Even today, whether Turks could present a model of religiosity to the rest of the Muslim world is still debated. This theme was revisited by Smith (1962), whose research on religion in Turkey in the earliest years of Turkish religious reforms did not put forward a positive explanation of this Arab-Turkish tension within Islam (Aktay, 2002). The surveys of demonstrated that although the overwhelming majority of the population in Turkey is Muslim, they do not support a political role for religion in everyday life (Çarkoğlu & Toprak, 2000, 2006; Şentürk, Cengiz, Küçükural, & Akşit, 2012) Therefore, a risk of establishing an Islamic state does not exist as is feared by the advocates of laicism. The great majority of Turks see religion and faith as being limited to the private sphere and they regard the intervention of the state in religious life as wrong.

2.2.1. Religiosity in Turkey

The universality of Islam is a theme agreed upon by most of the Muslims. However, its reflection among different communities and cultures displays variation (Aktay 2002). Başer suggests that Turkish Islam is comprised of the Yasawi, Hanafi and Maturidi schools within the religion, and has a typology with its own specifications. Turkish people perceive religion as a form of conduct and have little or no interest in its theological dimension (Başer, 1998). One can observe this in the sermons or discourses of religious movements or TV programs on religion. Wandering preachers or theology professors have programs on religion with high ratings in the question-and-answer format; they deal with metaphysics rarely or not at all. They seek answers for their correct practice of religion. Turks are mostly followers of the Hanafi School (*mazhab*). Among the general characteristics of this school are ease in worship and the praxis of religious rituals, siding with the “poor and the weak,” and the importance of libertarian thinking and the person. Some empirical studies on religiosity in Turkey are presented below.

Beginning with the 1960s, there have been empirical studies on religion by Turkish social scientists in Turkey. Taplamacıoğlu (1962) and Mardin (1997, 155-167) studied Turkish religion empirically in the sixties. Especially since the seventies, the role and function of religion in Turkish society have been investigated from the sociological, psychological and pedagogical points of view. The research by Fırat (1977), Günay (1999), Yaparel (1987), Mutlu (1989), Köktaş (1993), Koştas (1995), Taş (2002) are some of these. The researchers benefited mostly from the findings and methodologies of Glock, Lenski, Hunt and King in the sixties. In Turkey today, religion and religiosity is becoming an increasingly attractive theme for research in the social sciences, mainly in faculties of theology, but also in many other fields of social science.

In some studies, religious development is generally handled in terms of different demographical variables, such as age, gender, and educational level. Özbaydar (1970) conducted research on the development of the idea of religion and God. Her study is considered the first empirical research in the psychology of religion in

Turkey. The participant group in this study comprised people of age 12 and above. Özbaydar developed a questionnaire consisting of 53 items. Particular attention was paid to the peculiarities of irrational (traditional) and rational (analytical) religious development, taking variables such as age, socio-economic status, and gender differences into account. Özbaydar identifies mostly similar developments for gender and socio-economic differences. Between the ages of 18 and 21, rational belief is higher. Later, this turns into irrational faith. In the middle-aged, rational belief again becomes dominant. In the elderly, irrational belief again predominates, after which the belief in God no longer loses significance. Özbaydar finds that religious doubts are more prevalent among higher socio-cultural ranks.

In a study at the University of Ankara, Firat (1977) investigated the religious development of university students. According to this quantitative study, the majority of youth believe in the existence of God (51%). The study at the university suggests the rationalization of beliefs on the one hand, and disinterest in religion and opposition to faith on the other. The university students attach more importance to ethical values than to religious practices. According to Firat, the feeling of responsibility to humanity and society is greater among university students than the responsibility felt towards God. The proportion of those who judge people on the basis of their religion is lower.

Yavuz (1983) conducted a quantitative survey examining the development of religious emotion and religious thought in children. He collected data from elementary school children between the ages of 7-12. He conducted interviews with some children either. Based on these interviews, he developed a questionnaire and polled 588 children. According to his findings, family plays the main and most important role in the religious development of children. He found that faith and the development of religious ideas are higher for children in the 10-12 age group in comparison to those of ages 7-9. The interest of girls in religion is higher than that of boys. He claims that children do not have true religious doubt, but they can ask some questions to learn and understand more about the religion.

Yavuz tries to demonstrate the image of God in children empirically in his study. The ideas of God in children vary from egocentric and anthropomorphic to rational

ideas. Up to a certain age, children see their parents as religious authorities. With advancing age, children leave the imitation of parents behind, and a loss of trust in parent's sets. The family determines the religious attitudes of people. Children growing up in religious families will also be religious in the future. In multigenerational families, religious tradition and practices are transmitted more successfully. The older generations transmit mythical and magical styles of religious forms in these families. According to Yavuz's evaluations, the threat of God's punishment for bad conduct and the promise of a reward from God for good behaviour lie at the basis of religious instruction in multigenerational families.

Kayıklık (2000) compares the religious settings and behaviours of middle-aged people in the 40-59 age groups versus those of advanced age, in the 60-94 age group. He probes the faith and religious life of people in a questionnaire. He finds that people in advanced ages display more interest in religious observances. Specifically, their interest is in performing the Prayer in mosques with a congregation. Religion functions as a pattern providing meaning in their life. This is more observable in older people compared to middle-aged people, whom the author takes as a control group.

Gender differences in religiosity are also a theme for discussion in Turkey. For example, Cirhinlioğlu & Ok (2011) studied the religiosity of men and women comparatively. The data, collected mostly among university students in Sivas and Kayseri, fell under three categories: Absolute Religiosity (or faith/worldview), Religious Tension (or tension in faith/worldview), and Religious Openness (or openness in faith/worldview). The authors determined that men are more interested in the cognitive and holistic dimension of religiosity, while women are more interested in the emotional and relational aspects of religiosity.

Studies examining religiosity in the sociology of religion are relatively richer than those conducted in the psychology of religion; they also predate the latter. Köktaş (1993; 2002) conducted studies on the religious life of Turkish society for the case of the western Turkish metropolis, Izmir. In his studies, he presented important results on the dimensions of religious life and statistics for the Turkey of the 1990s, using Glock's model of the dimensions of religiosity. He studied 688 participants in

his survey. According to his findings, the overwhelming majority of Turkish people, 94%, believe in the existence of God. 87% of the participants believe in Muhammad as a prophet (Messenger of God). According to 13%, Muhammad is only a human being rather than a prophet. 81% of the sample accept the Koran as a divine text and confirm that the Koran is authentic. 14% do not have any idea whether the Koran is a divine book or not. 5% do not believe in the Koran as a divine text at all. The validity of the Koran for all times is accepted by 82% of the participants, while 17% reject this. Regarding the content of the Koran, 73% believe and accept all that is revealed in the Koran. 15% do not believe the information provided in the Koran, while 9% remain sceptical.

Concerning belief in the hereafter, 81% of the participants believe in another life after death. 13% are in doubt about the resurrection, and 6% do not believe in life after death. On belief in the existence of angels, 85% believe in their existence, 9% are not sure, and 6% do not believe at all.

In his survey, Köktas asks whether or not it is necessary to be a Muslim for salvation in the hereafter. 63% believe that it is necessary to be a Muslim for salvation. According to 14%, being Muslim is helpful for salvation, and 22% do not accept the necessity of being a Muslim. Again, for 63%, it is an obligation to be a Muslim to enter paradise. 14% report that being a Muslim is not helpful for gaining paradise, and for 20%, being a Muslim is not important for entering paradise. Köktaş interprets these results as evidence of expansive tolerance towards other religious traditions among Turkish people.

Köktaş also probes virtuous conduct and its relation to the hereafter. 64% report that doing well is necessary for gaining paradise (salvation). For 29%, it can be helpful, and for 5%, it is not necessary at all. To be a good Muslim, one must necessarily treat others well according to 74%. For 20%, this is helpful, and for 4%, not necessary at all.

Concerning religious praxis, 23% do not perform the Prayer anymore, while nearly 25% do their Daily Prayers. 12% do not fast during Ramadan any longer. Because Alms-giving (*zakat*) and Pilgrimage to Mecca are religious rituals dependent on

one's financial situation, only a small number of the participants perform these rituals.³ According to Köktaş, 15% do not give voice to any religious feelings; however, the rest have the idea that religion gives the feeling of security. Regarding the dimension of religious knowledge, Köktaş indicates that 69% of the participants gave correct answers on the basic tenets of Islam. The names of the great prophets in the Islamic tradition are known by 15%.

According to the findings of Köktaş, the effect of religion is stronger on social life than on personal life. In the worldly dimension, religion plays a more powerful role in the family and on education. The majority of the people queried have been religiously married in addition to their official wedding. The majority also attach importance to the religious education of their children. As a social community, the family plays an important role, and the majority of participants accept family planning (birth control). For 77%, scientific discoveries do not contradict religion, i.e. Islam, and people must benefit from the progress of science. For 28%, human problems must be solved only by scientific methods. The majority reject the claim that Islam is an obstacle to progress.

In social relations, religiosity has significance. One-half of the people believe that friends and relatives should be religious. In politics, 38% think the selected party should value religiosity. To the question, "do you find it harmful when religion directs the state and politics?" 56% of the participants reply "yes" and 28% "no."

According to the majority of participants, wealth is important and it is a gift from God. As seen in many studies in Western countries, there is also a correlation between age and religiosity among Muslim samples. The same is also valid for the correlation between gender and religiosity. It is shown in Western studies that women have more religious feelings and are more observant than men. Nevertheless, in the study of Köktaş, there is no obvious difference between male and female religiosity.

³ In the period when Kocktas conducted his research, the economic situation in Turkey was not as good as it is today. In these days of economic amelioration, it can be said that a greater number of Turkish Muslims are performing the Pilgrimage.

In further studies, Köktaş (2002) demonstrates that religiosity is more prominent among the lower classes. There is also a similar relation between religiosity and the level of education. There is a positive correlation between increasing educational level and declining religiosity. Köktaş identifies the greatest disbelief in the existence of God among university students and graduates. This is valid for all dimensions of religiosity.

Köktaş (1997) conducted another study on the relation of religion to society and politics with the help of a questionnaire consisting of 105 questions. In total, 3,053 people from 16 different regions in Turkey participated in the study. The participants were over 18 years old. The time of the research coincides with the most heated debates on political Islam and religious fundamentalism in Turkey after 1995.

The aim of this study was to investigate religion and its relation to the socio-political situation. The author seeks to determine whether or not political Islam has a social basis in Turkey. The author sought answers to the following questions: to what extent is Turkish society religious, and how does this religiosity depend on the main sources of Islam? Is there a relation between religiosity and political tendencies? Is there tolerance towards other religious traditions? And, to what extent have the modern Republic's reforms been assimilated in Turkish society?

According to the findings, 97% define themselves as Muslims and 3% of the participants define themselves as *unbelievers*. 55% define themselves as religious, 12% as less or not religious. The degree of religiosity decreases monotonously with higher educational level. Among the participants, 91% fast in the month of Ramadan, 46% do their Daily Prayers, and 84% of the men perform the congregational Friday Prayers. 60% give Alms (*zakat*), 7% visited Mecca (71% wished to go, if they had sufficient finances).

Concerning state/religion relations, 65% of the participants find it harmful that religion should interfere in affairs of state. 16% do not find it harmful. 25% approve of the existence of political parties with religious programs. 61% do not approve of this.

59% approve the wearing of headscarves by Muslim women, whereas 33% are opposed to it. 75% support the permission to wear the headscarf at universities and governmental institutions.

One of the important controversies in recent years in Turkey is the status of the Directorate of Religious Affairs. Directorate of Religious Affairs is associated only with the Sunni practice of Islam. 82% of the people accept the necessity of such an institution. 69% affirm that this institution must also represent Alevi citizens in addition to the Sunni citizens of Turkey.

11% approve of polygamy. 14% attach less importance to daughters than to sons. 14% claim that divorces should be regulated by Islamic law, while 79% oppose it. According to Köktaş, 89% think that people of other religious traditions could also be good people. 42% believe that non-Muslims can also enter paradise if they have good morals. 29% reject the possibility that non-Muslims can enter paradise. (30% did not reply to this question.) 91% of the participants believe in the necessity of tolerance towards different religious traditions.

Köktaş's findings also point to some contradictions in Turkish religiosity. For example, the majority of the participants support tolerance of other faith traditions, but when the theme is related to their own private lives, they do not abide by this. 70% of the participants refuse the marriage of their own daughter or son to a non-Muslim partner. Only 20% approve of this. Regarding neighbours and kinships, half the society attaches importance to the religiosity of their neighbours; the rest do not.

Participants living in cities were asked about their opinion on different lifestyles. 83% claimed they would not be disturbed by the presence of women wearing headscarves in their residential quarter or environment. On the other hand, the percentage of participants with the same idea about women with miniskirts is 63%.

Köktaş states that there is a plurality in the religious life of Turkish Muslims. Variables such as educational level, socio-economic status, urban or rural

lifestyles, and the factor of age play important roles in the conception and practice of religion. He concludes that in the process of modernization, there has been a transformation in religious life. Köktaş states that the majority have internalized the system of laicism. However, religion maintains its importance in Turkish life. The majority of people are tolerant of different faith traditions and lifestyles, but the reflection of this on personal life is questionable and open to further research.

In a sociological study, Koştaş (1995) focuses on the religiosity of university students. He finds that religion is the medium of identity construction for the participants. Those who come from rural areas embrace a more traditional religiosity. In his sample, fasting is the observance most adhered to. He finds that religious training is conducted initially within the family and then at government schools. According to his findings, the impact of religion is more apparent in some specific spheres of life, such as family life, marriage, religious festivals and children's religious education, even if it does not have a strong effect on the daily life of the participants. Religion inspires meaning, goal, security and confidence in its adherents.

Religious practices are inseparably intertwined with ethical rules. Having a clean and good heart, righteousness, being useful to humanity are the main values upheld. Koştaş states that many of his participants reject religious practices divorced from ethical values. He concludes that the sample mostly appropriated the Turkish style of laicism, since only 18% of the total sample support governing the Turkish state by religion.

In the German literature Pilzer-Reyl (1996) examined the style of secularization and religious change Turkey. She conducted her research on educated people in large Turkish cities. Her qualitative analyses are based on seventeen in-depth interviews. She defines these people in the sample as *neo-modernists*. They do not define themselves as atheists or Islamists or traditionalists. Individualism dominates their style of religiosity. They determine the limits of their religiosity and largely ethicize the religion. They liberalize their devotion to Islam; however, they have not fundamentally left the religion.

Günter Seufert (1997) defines four typologies about the religious orientation of Turks.

Traditional Muslims: These people regulate their individual and social life according to traditional religious principles. They try to fulfil religious commandments faithfully. They are convinced that their own religiosity is perfect. Magical thinking, though rare, is a part of their religiosity.

Modern Muslims: For this type also, the perfect religion is Islam. They interpret the problem of evil relative to changing conditions. They search for ethical goals behind all religious commandments. They are liberal in their interpretation of religious rules. They separate their daily life into two categories, secular and religious. Religion plays a more visible role in background milieu such as village life, family, and so on. For this reason, modern Muslims have to make a special effort if they want to practice religion according to the expectations of their own society.

Kemalist Muslims: For Kemalist Muslims, religion is a part of private life only. These are the supporters of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the establisher of modern Turkish Republic. Their worldview is shaped by Atatürk's reforms and ideological principles. Generally, religion functions as a complement of national identity for them. They fulfil religious observances either very rarely or not at all. They act according to religious rules in some communal ceremonies. Wedding, marriage and funeral ceremonies are good examples of these. Like other types of Turkish Muslims, they are strictly observant of fasting in the month of Ramadan. This type refuses religious normative tendencies. When asked about their religiosity, they declare that their level of religiosity is lower. They do not attempt to present themselves as religious people. According to Seufert, this type was about 40% of Turkish society in 1985 (1997, p. 254). This is already indicative of a wide appropriation of laicism among Turks at the time.

Atheists: These do not accept the existence of God. They do not have religious experiences, and do not believe in life after death. Seufert gives the percentage of this group within society as at least 10% (*comp.* Seufert 1997, p. 254).

In recent times, folk religiosity has attracted attention in empirical studies on religion in Turkey (Günay 2003; Arslan 2004). Local folk beliefs of each region were examined at the faculties of theology. Empirical studies on the sociology of religion observe that Turkish religiosity carries a folk type of mystical character. Researchers on the history of Turkish religion also claim that Turkish religion has protected its mystical and folk style under every condition throughout history (Arslan 2004; Günay et al 1997; Köprülü 1996, 2005; Kafesoğlu1977; Inan 1976; Tanyu 1978. The folk character of Anatolian religiosity comprises beliefs from old Turkish and ancient Anatolian civilizations, and a mixture and assimilation of these with official Islamic religion. Folk religiosity of a mystical character goes back to the first acceptance of Islam by Turks.

In an empirical study conducted in Erzurum (eastern Turkey), Günay (1999: 259-264) identifies some typologies regarding the intensity and form (structure) of local religiosity.

Religiosity as regards its intensity is divided into five categories.

1) *Passionate religiosity*: These are the fanatics and people who belong to a specific religious community. They have a strong attachment to religious commandments and prohibitions. They tightly hold on to religious commandments and prohibitions. These commandments and prohibitions also regulate their worldly life.

2) The second category is *respectful of religious beliefs and commandments* and they are sincerely committed, yet are irregular in fulfilling religious observances. Their degree of religiosity increases on holy days, holy nights, and during religious festivals. Their religious commitment also increases in wintertime. Normally, they attend to the obligatory (*fardh*) and optional (*nafla*) forms of Prayer. Furthermore, they attach importance to religion in their social conduct.

3) The *religious style* of the third group: These are more or less respectful of religious beliefs. They participate in religious practices at the high points of

collective religiosity. In normal times, they do not have any interest in religious thought or practices. They participate especially when the religious atmosphere and social pressure around them increases. Particularly, their interest in religion rises in the month of Ramadan, and in some religious ceremonies like *mawlid* (celebrations of the birth of the Prophet), funeral ceremonies, and religious festivals.

4) The fourth category is that of the *opportunists*. Religion plays no role in their life except when fulfilling observances in very rare cases. They go to mosque, fast, and give alms to the poor during festivals. Yet most of the time, they have no interest in religion. They give more importance to worldly issues and leave religious issues alone. When they enter religious environments, they seem religious in order to keep up appearances and perform religious practices. They do not have a genuine interest in religion.

5) *Unconcerned religious people*. They are respectful of basic religious beliefs, yet religion does not play any role in their daily life. Günay affirms that, more or less, all the above mentioned categories have ties to, and respect, religion.

The typology of religious life according to *the "form" of religiosity*:

- *Traditional Folk Religiosity*: This largely exists among rural and lay people. In this religious type, there is a mix of Islamic tradition with traces from pre-Islamic Turkish culture. In this type of religiosity, Sufi mysticism and magical tendencies also play an important role. To ask for personal desires and pray, these people visit sacred places and the tombs of saints. Superstition is a widespread characteristic of this type. Prescriptivism, formality, ritualism and traditionalism dominate, and less importance is given to theological subjects and discussions.

- *Elite Religiosity*: This is the religiosity of elites who are better educated in religion and religious culture. They distance themselves from beliefs defined as superstitious and magical by Muslim scholars (*Ulema*). They do not countenance elements foreign to the spirit of Islam. In this type, knowledge of the Koran and the Way of the Prophet play an important role. The interpretation of these two sources and the Islamic scholarly tradition are also important for this type.

- *Laic-Secular religiosity*: This is the type that restricts religious life to the relationship between God and a person. It involves an individualistic interpretation of religion. There is a negligent and unconcerned approach to the prohibitive rules of official religion. Worldly and eschatological issues are separated from each other. In this type of religious life, religion is only relevant to the hereafter. This type is common especially among modernist and educated people in Turkey.

- *Transitional (transparent) religiosity*: This embraces all the above mentioned categories by Günay. The religious emotion is important. They always seek deep meanings in religious doctrines. In some circumstances, religious issues are separated from worldly issues. In other cases, there is place for religiously-based conduct.

According to Günay (1997-1999), the general structure of Turkish religiosity assigns greater priority to practice than to doctrine and principles. Prescriptivism, formality, ritualism and traditionalism are dominant; theological subjects and discussions are considered to be less important. Hence, this structure can easily be adapted to secular conditions. The Turkish type of religiosity is syncretistic in nature (see also Ağılkaya 2012). Sufism, Shiite Islam, Sunni Islam, and ancient Turkish beliefs all have a role in Turkish folk religiosity.

2.2.2. The Religiosity of Turkish Immigrants in Germany

Studies on Muslims in Germany generally use interdisciplinary methods in which the perspectives of ethnology, anthropology, and sociology of religion are combined. The studies generally concentrate on the lifestyles of Muslim women and men (Karakaşoğlu-Aydın 2000; Tietze 2003; Klinkhammer 2000), conversion to Islam (Hofmann 1997; Wohlrab-Sahr 1999; Baumann 2003), religiosity and integration of Muslim immigrants in Germany (Thomä-Wenske 1981; Öztürk 2008), their relations with German society, Muslim religious organizations and associations (Heine 1997; Şen&Aydın 2002; Spuler-Stegemann 2002; Wunn 2007), Islamic radicalization (Heitmeyer/Müller/Schröder 1997; Kiefer&Ceylan

2013), extremism and political conflicts (Gür 1993; Heine 1990; Meng 2004), Islamic religious education at public schools (Kiefer 2005; Mohr 2000; Reichmuth *et al.* 2006), mosque buildings with minarets (Büchner 2000; Schmitt 2003; Leggewie/Joost/Rech 2002; Kraft 2002; Hüttermann 2006) the Prayer-call (*adhan*) for Daily Prayers (Kraft 2002; Leggewie *et al.* 2002; Schmitt 2003), and the headscarf issue at schools and government institutions (Mandel 1989; Giannone 2005; Amir-Moazami 2007; Seuthe 1992).

The results of empirical studies highlight the meaning of religion among Muslim immigrants in Germany. In the early years of migration, social life and the integration of immigrants were more attractive subjects for researchers (Eilers, Seitz, & Hirschler, 2008; Nauck, 1994; Perşembe, 2005; Tietze, 2002). Religiosity was studied to measure the degree of social and political integration of immigrants. High degrees of religiousness have been conceived of as an obstacle to social integration. Studies in the 1980s addressed the issue of religion in the context of the military coup of the time in Turkey, the Islamic revolution in Iran, and its relation to Islamic fundamentalism (Binswanger & Sipahioglu, 1988; Nirumand, 1990; Ritsch, 1987).

Particularly since the 1990s, qualitative and quantitative studies focusing on the theme of religiosity have increased. Some authors have hailed this process as the heyday of *an empirical sociology of Islam in Western Europe* (Eilers *et al.*, 2008). In this context, quantitative studies conducted on young Muslim populations have highlighted the point that religion plays an important role in the self-description of adolescent Muslims in Germany (Brettfeld & Wetzels, 2003, 2007; Fuchs-Heinritz, 2000; Heitmeyer *et al.*, 1997). This was actually a consolidation of the claims of researchers in the 1970s and 1980s. A summary of the relevant studies is presented below.

2.2.2.1. Fundamentalism among Turkish Muslim Youth in Germany

In a quantitative study, Heitmeyer *et al.* (1997) investigated the religious practices and fundamentalist tendencies among Turkish immigrant youth in North Rhein-Westphalia. The survey sampled more than 1,200 pupils between the ages 15-21

in secondary and professional schools. Approximately 25% of the participating students reported that they were followers of the teachings of Islam. About 17% considered themselves to be religious; however, 50% reported that they do not feel *very religious*, although they believe in the existence of God. The remaining 8% of pupils were not interested or did not want to respond to the questionnaire.

The research team described their study as the first attempt to investigate the extent of fundamentalist orientations of Turkish youth living in Germany and the factors underlying such orientations (1997, 9). Their main focus is on growing up in an immigrant situation, uncertain socialization, and the attractiveness of belonging to a minority religion among young people. In the survey, they identify themes under three categories: 1) Islamic religiosity as a personal theme, 2) the collective and cultural dimensions of Islam, and 3) the political dimensions of Islam.

The authors approach the issue of fundamentalism from the perspective of socialization theories. At the same time, they support their findings with the dimension of cultural conflict. They conclude that there is an expansion of Islamic fundamentalism among Turkish immigrant youth. Turkish youth of immigrant origin show a tendency toward religiously-motivated violence and claim that Islam is superior to Western values. They deny modernity and Western lifestyles. The authors warn against the danger of religious fundamentalism among Turkish youth of immigrant background, and the Islamization of immigrant Turks in general.

The research team found that half the Turkish youth of immigrant origin are susceptible to religiously-based violence against nonbelievers. Islamist and extremist organizations promote the tendencies to religiously motivated violence and claims of the superiority of Islam to other cultures. Almost two-thirds of these young people have ties with Islamic organizations. Furthermore, youths who experience exclusion among the majority, either at the individual or collective level, become oriented to these Islamist fundamentalist organizations. These organizations instill a feeling of security in the search for cultural identity.

The survey also offers a profusion of statistical data concerning the life of Turkish youth in the second half of the 1990s. The youth were also asked about their

relation with their families. In this way, much information was gathered about areas of conflict.

In answers given to a multiple-choice set, Turkish youth report that they frequently experience conflicts with parents/families regarding school issues, going out in the evening and at night, and dress (p. 73). According to the findings, pupils participating in the survey spend most of their time watching television and listening to music. 53.7% participate in sports activities. 61.4% fast every day in Ramadan, 25.1 % fast most days, and 12% never fast. 10.8 % do the Five Daily Prayers, 10.2% perform the Prayer a few times a day, 7.4 % once a day, 20.4% only on Fridays, 26.9% seldom, and 21.9%, never. 21% of the participants go to mosque every weekend, 10.3% many times a month, 12.1% many times a year, 22.8% only on holidays, and 23.3%, never (p. 116).

The study by Heitmeyer and his colleagues has been criticized by many authors (see Schiffauer 1999; Auernheimer 1999; Karakasoğlu-Aydın 1998, 2000) as being one-sided and unobjective, especially in its methodology and interpretation (Schiffauer 1999). The team does not impart information about the data-gathering process or interview circumstances. The criteria for choosing participants and their interaction with the researchers are not stated openly (Auernheimer 1999, 122).

Results similar to the Heitmeyer study have surfaced in some qualitative studies as well. For example, Hocker (2007) detects similar results in his sample, the participants of which also consisted of Turkish Muslim youth. In this study, Hocker addresses the relations of immigrant youth with their own immigrant society and with the majority (German) society. He conducts partly standardized/semi structured interviews with youth. During his examination of the biographies of participants, he analyzes the migration process in the context of the family. At the same time, he analyzes the relations of youth with the majority society, and the orientations and situations arising from these relations. According to Hocker, especially young males have the impression that they are not accepted by the majority society. They feel excluded, and the majority society does not respect their religious and cultural orientations. Moreover, the youths report that they

frequently experience violence in organizations belonging to the immigrant society. They emphasize their frustration both in school experiences and within the family.

The life stories and life worlds of two adolescents have been analyzed in detail by Hocker. In this way, Hocker attempts to outline the religious development of these young people. Ayşe is 18 years old, Erol is 19. Both are students at the latest grade of a *Gesamtschule* in Cologne. Ayşe has grown up in a religious family, has worn a headscarf since she was 7, and thinks she is excluded by German people. She experiences conflict in fulfilling the demands of the majority society and her own traditional Turkish family. She strives to develop a religious style that is based more on individual or inner orientation. She tries to establish new connections and an environment that reaches beyond her family. She attempts new strategies for success at school, so that she can have a good profession in the future.

Erol also lives in Cologne and attends the last year of a *Gesamtschule*. He wants to complete his high school graduation (*abitur*) at this school. Erol reports that he has been subjected to insults on various occasions. He thinks that German people have patriotic feelings against other nations, and especially towards Turks. He thinks that Turks must be united either here in the Diaspora or in Turkey and hold onto their own values so as not to be crushed.

According to Hocker, the youth are seeking models to be able to form their own religiosity. Hence, they direct criticism at the style of religious instruction of their parents. The orthodox view and the observances dominate the style of religion transmitted by parents. The youth, in contrast, are in search of critical reflection and spirituality. For this reason, says Hocker, the immigrant youth growing up in Germany cannot unquestioningly accept norms brought over from the old country. Hocker also observed a readiness for religion-based violence in his sample. According to Hocker, the isolation and exclusion experienced by immigrants pushes them and their Islam to an opposite extreme that is influenced by propaganda and fundamentalism.

In other studies, fundamentalist tendencies have been described by Nökel (2007) as using the concept of *Neo-Muslimas*, and *exclusionary lifestyle* as developed in

Klinkhammer (2000). (The term *Neo-Muslima* was coined by Nökel in 1996.) Klinkhammer discovered an Islamic way of thinking and a stance opposed to Western lifestyles in the biographies she examined. Tietze (2001) describes this as *ideologising religion*. That is, religion gains its importance within a certain social and political system of thought. Religious practices play a role in forming a society of believers and the *suppressed*. Aygün (2013) describes this as an *ideological type*. Here, Islam is seen as the regulator of public and private life. The plurality of ways of thinking, discussions, and dialogue are rejected with bias. The embodiments of this type, as identified by Aygün, are mostly adherents of political parties and their foundations in Turkey. There is a strong feeling of self-consciousness and trust in one's own thoughts. A firm identification with one's "own group" and the idea of "we" predominate.

Sandt (1996) does not interpret these tendencies as traces of fundamentalism in his study. According to Sandt, the experience of exclusion of immigrant youth by the majority society can drive them to embrace traditional values and alienate them from the society of the majority. But this does not necessarily imply, as suggested by Heitmeyer and others, a predilection towards religious-based violence and fundamentalism. In their biographical-qualitative studies, Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000) and Öztürk (2007) do not focus on fundamentalist tendencies among younger-generation research samples. The typologies of various studies will be discussed in greater detail below.

2.2.2.2. Individuation and Changes in Religious Style

In the German literature, Schiffauer (1984, 1993, 1988, 1991, 2000) has conducted numerous studies on the religion, culture and life of Turkish immigrants. In his qualitative analyzes, he deals with the transformation of Islamic traditional religiosity after the experience of permanent settlement in the Diaspora. His studies depend mostly on life stories, narratives and biographical interviews. This "transformation" or "change" is *de facto* changes in personal patterns. He defines this new situation emerging with immigration as the construction of a new individuality and, consequently, *regression from the peasant form of religiosity*

(1984). He analyzes the religious changes of immigrants in comparison with their homeland. The investigation is centered on the relations between the profane and sacred orders in the rural regions in the country of origin, and the problems with new structures emerging in the destination country. According to Schiffauer (1991), religious society and the worldly dimension of life (the sacred and the profane) are two elements complementing one another in the country of origin (Turkey). Religion and society are inseparably united with each other. A person has to possess a status that is valid for both these dimensions. He finds that religious practices are highly formalized and have a societal meaning that exceeds their individual functions. He stresses that peasants regard their position with God in the same way as their position with others. In rural society, the status of a person is defined by fulfilling certain prescribed duties. Religious practices are also seen as debts to be paid off. This is where their formality lies.

According to Schiffauer, new forms of subjectivity as well as a new identity have developed with migration. He focuses on self-perception and the forms of new coherence for individuals. Schiffauer stresses that in the Diaspora, secular society—having replaced rural society—no longer turns into a religious community on certain religious occasions or days, such as festivals. On the contrary, the person leaves secular society and participates in the religious community. Society and community do not complement each other in migration as they did in the homeland. What is more, they stand in opposition. Religious observances lose their meanings as duties to be fulfilled or debts to be paid off. Hence, individuals seek a community that is able to represent religion for them.

For Turks in Germany, the meaning of ritual practices also undergoes change. Schiffauer describes this change as a transformation from a mode of living to a choice of lifestyle (1991). Schiffauer also observes a meaningful change in the religious status of Muslim women. The importance of women in connection with religious practices is increased. The traditional status of men as bearers of family religiosity has become inverted in the Diaspora.

Schiffauer notes that the participants in his studies do not question the principle of a divine system, although they now live in a traditionally non-Islamic system.

Schiffauer claims that a “change in the structure of faith” occurs (1991, 159). In the Diaspora, attention is oriented towards the inner act of awareness rather than external/formal behavior. In rural society, self-placement and interests were fixed once the norms were embraced. With the new orientation in the Diaspora, the norms themselves become questionable as a result of exchanging environments. Consequently, Schiffauer speaks of a restructuring of value systems (1984, 491). In his view, Islam itself becomes invested with new meaning.

For immigrants, migration emerges as a phenomenon that splits the unity of religious and secular society. Among immigrants, a Muslim distinguishes between religious and secular spaces and switches between them as necessary. Schiffauer states that immigrants are not in a position to configure their religious lives as they did in their homeland. Therefore, they have to develop an individual religiosity. In an immigrant situation, one can freely choose any religious group responding to one’s expectations, and can leave anytime one wants. He summarizes this in the following quotation: “*this shows a more individualized approach to religion where social control is replaced by individual responsibility for one’s fate*” (Schiffauer 1988, p. 152).

Schiffauer (2000) deals also with religious differences between generations. In his view, immigrants who grew up in Turkey were born and raised in a society/life-world that is associated with religion. They established an unquestioning, natural basic structure, and then extended this by way of *self-education* (Schiffauer 1988, 155). However, this is not valid for the generation raised in Germany. A *pedagogical awareness* (2000, 313) must have been instilled by parents in Germany after migration. The transmission of religion had to be justified and exemplified. Thus, the Islam of the new (second) generation is less emotional and more cognitive.

Similarly, in the mid-1990s, sociologist Ursula Mihciyazgan (1994) proposed a term denoting religious changes in Turkish immigrants. According to Mihciyazgan’s thesis, there has been a process of *high Islamization* (*Hochislamisierung*) among Turkish immigrants in Germany. Her analyses of 30

qualitative interviews and participant observations among Turkish Muslim adults in Hamburg led her to propose this term.

Like Schiffauer, Mihciyazgan also affirms the transformation with migration of traditional Islamic religiosity. But unlike Schiffauer, she does not interpret this as a result of modernization, with changes in values occurring through a change in life contexts and relations (1994, 204). Rather, she views this as a process of transition from verbally oriented “folk Islam” to knowledge-oriented “high Islam” (official Islam) (1994, 203). According to Mihciyazgan, traditional folk Islam loses its significance in the immigrant situation.

As distinct from high Islam, folk-Islamic knowledge is verbally transmitted. The Holy Koran has a function solely for observances in folk Islam, and is not interpreted with the help of the Prophet’s Way. Moreover, there is a relatively liberal understanding in Islam of the folk type. In contrast, the prescribed observances have greater meaning in high Islam, and there is a strong dependence on the interpretation of the Koran.

Mihciyazgan (1994, 204) does not agree with Schiffauer’s claim that becoming modernized and urbanized after migration is a *regression from the peasant form* (Schiffauer, 1988, 147). She posits that Turkish immigrants are Muslim members of Western societies with different notions and images of self and world. The Western approach to Islam also affects this process of high Islamization. Immigrants read books, discuss religious themes with each other and with other traditions, they develop arguments supporting their faith. Particularly interesting and important in Mihciyazgan’s approach is that children who grow up in a Western culture also affect the religious socialization of parent generations and contribute to their high Islamization. They come home with questions from the outside. These questions need rational answers. Immigrants read religious texts and look for answers to these questions (Mihciyazgan 1994, 199).

2.2.2.3. Muslim Religiosity in the Typologies of Biographical Studies in Germany

This section will concentrate on the most prominent studies using qualitative methodologies in the analysis of Turkish-Muslim religiosity, determining various typologies within their research interests.

In a qualitative study Klinkhammer (2000) carried the claims of Schiffauer and Mihciyazgan summarized above a step further. In her empirical study, she probes the religiosity of Sunni Turkish immigrant women from the second generation in Germany. She conducts qualitative interviews with 19 Turkish Sunni women from the second generation with ages between 20 and 31. She analyzes 7 of the 19 in qualitative in-depth interviews. Her study includes women participating in certain mosque organizations, as well as those who have no such affiliation. Also included are those who wear headscarves and those who do not.

Klinkhammer devotes special attention to the religious biographies of participating women. She utilizes the classical data collection methods of Fritz Schütze (1981) in qualitative and biography-oriented narrative interviews. She not only identifies types of religiosity, but also illuminates the meaning of Islam in the identity-formation process of Muslim women. She discovers various individual and self-critical styles of religiosity among second-generation women. According to Klinkhammer, women have different styles of following Islam. She identifies these forms in three categories among participants. In the seven biographies analyzed, two are traditional, three are universal, and two are exclusionary.

The **traditional style** is largely the continuation of parental tradition. However, Muslim women of this type do not want to practice the passive form of their family's religious tradition. They want to attain a more knowledge-oriented religiosity. However, this desire for knowledge is not supported by an intellectual orientation to Islamic sources.

In the **universalizing** Islamic lifestyle, women highlight universal features such as truth, meaning and transcendence of knowledge; they are detached from practicing specific observances. They ascribe less importance to religious practices, and seek universal and ethical values in religion.

In the **exclusivist style**, Muslim women clearly distance themselves from the *traditional Islam* of their parents, and most of them engage in self-criticism to be able to reach *true Islam*. For them, the domain of religion covers all aspects of life. They aspire to independently understand *true Islam* from the main sources. For example, wearing a headscarf symbolizes true Islam. They possess emotional introspection and a system of thought associated with Islam. They thus close themselves to Western lifestyles. Following an unsuccessful marriage, one of the participants identified as *exclusivist* has a life world and circle of relations consisting solely of her sisters and a group of friends. In this environment, comprised entirely of women, she feels independent and secure.

In the findings of Klinkhammer, we encounter significant clues regarding generational conflict in religious transmission. This conflict shows itself in generational traditions: in other words, between “true Islam” and the “system of society.” According to Klinkhammer, the women in her interviews detach from their parental generations due to their differing views on traditional Islamic gender roles. To be able to feel more independent, for example, these ladies sometimes prefer to study at universities far from their parental homes. Another reason for detaching, as Klinkhammer shows, is the superficial religious practices of parental generations.

The experience of detaching from parents on one hand, and of exclusion from the German community on the other, is sometimes determinative for Muslim women. As stressed earlier, there are women who wear the veil (*hijab*) among the participants of Klinkhammer, yet they do not originally belong to religious families. Klinkhammer speaks of a common scenario for this group. In her view, these women initially stand in opposition to Islam. Later on, when their attitude/identity is shaken for some reason, they become informed of Islam, and conclude that Islam is not a religion inimical to women. They then experience a change in their inner

world. They wear the headscarf as an external reflection of this. Klinkhammer claims that the women she interviewed are not seeking identity in other religious traditions or cultures. On the contrary, they gain depth by individuating in the religious identity to which they already belong.

In a qualitative study, Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000) investigates the religiosity and educational perception of second-generation educated Turkish women. She determines secularization, individuation in Islam, and adoption of a Western form among participants. Karakaşoğlu-Aydın stresses that her research sample, consisting of 26 female university students, reinterpreted Islam in the light of Western conditions. These younger generations are detaching from the folk religiosity of their families. Some divergences are observed, such as atheism, laicism, and spiritualism. She determines the following typologies: atheists, spiritualists, Alevi-Sunni laicists, pragmatic ritualists, idealistic ritualists. She concludes in her study that the religious orientations of her participant group are not necessarily influenced by family background. For example, she detects neither tendencies to folk Islam, nor traces of political-fundamentalist Islam. She associates this with the educational level of the participant group under study.

Atheists: These do not have an obvious confession. Their atheism is an issue of private life. Due to their fear of exclusion, they do not disclose this to the society they live in. Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000, 190) considers them believers in science. They tend to consider science as an *alternative* or *invisible* religion. Nevertheless, Karakaşoğlu-Aydın includes them among the categories of Islamic religious orientation.

Spiritualists: This category is found among Alevi participants. Their religious orientations are associated with religious faith and experience in the spiritual and affective domains. They reject ideological and ritual orientations in religion. For them, belief in God would be evidenced in positive social conduct. They feel they are governed by a transcendent being. In their life world, religiosity brings out what is positive and provides ethical guidance.

Alevi laicists: People of this type clearly separate faith from their life world. They do not accept being marked as atheists. According to Karakaşoğlu-Aydın, this type explicitly dissociates itself from Sunni Islam (2000, 209). Alevi laicists are interested in being informed about Alevism, whereas the content of their religious tradition depends extensively on verbal transmission. Alevi rituals are practiced by the older generations—parents and grandparents—of this type, yet these are not transmitted to succeeding generations. However, new generations contribute to the development of consciousness in the religious practices of their older generations (2000, 203).

Sunni Laicists: For this type, religion can be instrumental in finding one's identity. This identity is individualized, self-determined, and largely ethicized. On the other hand, they have a different understanding of responsibility and an evident orientation toward "this world." The author identifies signs of a secular religious understanding in this type (2000, 219).

Pragmatist Ritualists: Religion plays a primary role in their life. Besides religious observances, religious experience is also important for them. Religious formalities and injunctions are also regarded as part of ritual practices. In addition, there is an emphasis on ethical values and social participation. For these participants, religious rituals strengthen religious experience. They accept Daily Prayers (*salat, namaz*) and invocation (*dhikr*) as two rituals bringing solace to human beings (2000, 227). They refuse to be subordinated to the views of people who ascribe religio-political orientations to them due to their headscarves. They stress that such an attitude does not take their individual and personal Islamic understanding into consideration (2000, 226).

Idealist Ritualists: For these as well as people in the previous category (pragmatist ritualists), religion is a lifestyle. Religion facilitates the construction of personal identity, provides them with a social network of relations, and ensures security among people with similar thought and behaviour patterns (2000, 229). The participants in this category do not ask for reasons in performing their ritual duties. Ritual practices shape their daily life. The will of God is regarded as unquestionable (2000, 236).

According to results of Karakaşoglu-Aydın, the participants fall into two groups regarding their approaches to religious education. The first integrate religious representations into the general education of their children. The second separate secular education from religious education. For example, there is an evident difference between ritualists and other types of religious orientation. At the same time, there are many points of overlap among all types in terms of educational content and goals. The first three types, namely spiritualists, atheists, and (Alevi-Sunni) laicists, prefer a noninterventionist and dialogical style of education (2000, 423). These groups emphatically reject an educational style that aims to perpetuate differences in gender roles.

The ritualists do not make any distinction between general education and religious education. According to them, Islam as a religion determines the style of education in general. The starting point for their educational image is what they perceive as *Islamic*. A partly gender-specific educational style can be observed in the educational conceptions of ritualists. Yet this preference does not imply an education that imposes different gender roles. In this connection, Karakaşoglu-Aydın observes that there is a tendency among Muslim immigrants in Germany to internalize or privatize religious control (2000, 424). This had earlier been formulated by Schiffauer as the “*development of a modern self*.”

All participants favoured partnership education supporting the personal resources of the child. Furthermore, none of the participants favoured the “typical Turkish” or “typical Turkish Muslim” educational style (2000, 426). Among the latter two groups, namely the ritualists (pragmatists and idealists), one can find a solid traditional and protective perception of education. All participants desire an intercultural education, yet their prerequisite is a lifestyle that falls within an Islamic way of life (2000, 429). Only 4 of the 26 participants expect their professional future life to involve a Muslim organization. All the rest envisage a future life at German social or state institutions.

Tietze (2001) suggests four different types of religious orientation in her study comparing the forms of religious identification of Muslim youth—second

generations—in France and Germany. She analyzes the religiosity and identity of young Muslim males from the perspective of the sociology of religion. Her study is based on the results of interviews with 25 young people and participant observation. She enriches the insights of her study with relevant literature by other researchers. Tietze develops a typology of the various forms of Muslim religiosity. These comprise the Ethical, Ideological, Cultural, and Utopian Types.

Ethical Type: This type is associated with the rationalization of religion. Religion helps to develop and consolidate one's own conduct by utilizing self-control, and provides the opportunity to develop one's personality. The ethnic, national and cultural dimensions of religion are not important for this type.

Ideological Type: This refers to transforming one's religious tradition and perception into an ideology. The aim is to create a concept of "we" as opposed to the outside world of "others". Religion gains its meaning within a group, and belonging to one's own group is emphasized.

Cultural Type: In this type, religion is perceived as a constituent of social identity. Religious practices also include certain customs specific to social groups. Unlike the ideological type, religion itself is not central. Instead, the customs and social habits of the society one belong to play a leading role.

Utopian Type: In this type, people evaluate personal problems detached from social life. Acquired theological knowledge provides guidance in life. Religious practices play an important role in self-construction. So do religious authorities and religious tradition.

According to Tietze, these four ideal types of religiosity point to the instability and dynamic character of Islam in Europe. Islam has a character that could easily be directed by religious institutions and sources (organizations, national institutions, traditional theology, orthopraxy, traditional Islamic schools of law, etc.). For young people, Islam is a source of individual emancipation and a resource for participation in society.

In Tietze's description, there is a transformation of religious tradition in younger generations. The identification of young people with Islam can be seen as a part of the individuation process in Europe. During the period of industrialization in the West, modernity—and later, globalization—resulted in individuation. Individualism leads to the weakening of traditional institutions, styles, and values. The individual has greater freedom to construct a “do-it-yourself” autobiography. In the case of young Muslims, Islam facilitates this. With its inner plurality and flexibility, Islam offers youth the resources needed for self-realization.

Nökel (2002) identifies an Islamization process in second-generation labor migrants (the daughters of guest workers). According to Nökel, a strong orientation to Islam has been observed among the second generation in Germany since 1990 (2002, 12). In Nökel's study, the interviewees are also women from academic circles, or women with prestigious professions in Germany. Nökel stresses that among her participants, Islam functions as cultural capital in creating a special lifestyle. In her formulation, *neo-Islam* or *neo-Muslimas* (2000, 264) denotes a variation from folk culture, orthodox orientations and state politics. Islam plays a marginal role in the familial socialization process of young women. The older generations define themselves as religious, whereas their daughters find them ignorant and unsuccessful in the transmission of Islamic culture and discipline. Young women do not acquire a systematic religious education, yet a strong interest in Islam is awakened in them towards the age of puberty. Young women conceive this as exactly what they were seeking (2000, 262).

In a qualitative and comparative study, **Aygün** (2013) analyzes the faith development and religious socialization of Turkish youth in the homeland (Turkey) and in the context of migration (Germany). Aygün conducted 41 faith-development interviews in Turkey and 29 in Germany with young people from different milieu, between the ages 15 and 25. Aygün's study is one of the few attempts to use the faith-development interview as a research tool on an Islamic sample. Like Ok (2007), Aygün concludes that the faith development model of James W. Fowler is well-founded, so that it can be used in Islamic samples and supply rich information for empirical study.

Aygün demonstrates that Turkish Muslim adolescents in Germany have more conservative and traditional tendencies than their counterparts in Turkey. Faith development among participants from Turkey has broader and longer continuity. For religious socialization in Germany, religious organizations play an important role alongside the family. In Turkey, single personalities (thought and opinion leaders) are taken as models in religious socialization. From the standpoint of faith development theory, Aygün finds that the youth sample from Turkey has a much more developed symbolic understanding in the dimension of *symbolic function*. Aygün identifies traditional, ideological, secular-laics and individual types, and supports these findings with detailed faith development case studies.

Overall, the faith development ratings of "worldly-secular" dimensions (form of logic, moral judgment, etc.) are determined to be slightly higher than those for "religious" dimensions (locus of authority, form of world coherence, and symbolic function). Faith development scores in the German sample are, on average, slightly lower than the ratings for the Turkish sample. Total faith development scores are highly dependent on one's age and educational level. Mosques and religious associations play significantly different roles for the religious socialization of youth in Germany than their counterparts in Turkey. Aygün (p. 94) observes that the God-image of adolescents in Turkey is broader and more developed in comparison to the German-Turkish (immigrant youth) sample. Generally, a literal, one-dimensional understanding of symbols prevails among young people, particularly in migration.

The types determined by Aygün are as follows.

Traditional Type: This type is associated with the religiosity of the family and the social environment. The traditional or religious style of parents plays a role in early socialization. Their plans for the future are determined by the expectations of the family. Shared values that match family expectations and their own environment are upheld.

Aygün divides this type into two different sub-groups, having ardent (*leidenschaftliche*) and cultural orientation. For the first, religious discourse and praxis go together. The latter is religious only in discourse. Both of these orientations are associated with institutional religious doctrines, and they have a positive attitude towards religion. They differ from each other in terms of the intensity and meaning of religious observances, and in performing religious injunctions in everyday life.

Their God-image has been associated with reward and punishment since early childhood. They perceive the Five Pillars of Islam as the most important precept. They attach importance to memorizing religious principles, and especially verses from the Koran. For them, religion plays an important role in coping with crisis situations. They orient themselves according to parents or “significant others” in their decisions and in solving problems. There is a strong feeling of responsibility towards parents and religion.

Religious scriptures are a source of pure faith for them. The perception that “human life *is a trial*” is fundamental to their worldview (religious cosmology). For this type, human beings have free will and are free to choose their own actions. We will be held accountable by God for our actions after we die. The understanding of *right action* is limited to religious observances. Aygün notes that the religious understanding of this type is limited to the main principles of Islam. Actions and qualities such as the Five Daily Prayers (*namaz*), morality, readiness to help others, and being useful to others are the main ideals highlighted. For them, Islam does not contradict science or reason. Differences in ideas and faiths are accepted and handled with tolerance by this type.

Ideological Type: This type was partially dealt with above in discussing fundamentalist tendencies. This second type is similar to the “traditional type” of religious meaning presented earlier, and especially to the *ardent* orientation. However, it is associated with an ideology or policy. Religion functions here as an instrument for the establishment of an ideology. There is a dogmatic understanding of Islamic sources, the Koran and the Prophetic Way. Young people of this type remain distant from tolerance to a plurality of ideas. Religious

rules and principles permeate all aspects of their life. Finding solutions for secular fields of life is impossible without recourse to religious dogmas. The type of family and life, education, culture, art and economy are to be determined by religious dogma (p. 140).

For this type as well, the family has a clear impact on religious socialization starting from childhood. In addition, this type is associated with strict religious education at institutions like Koran courses in Germany and Imam and Preacher Schools in Turkey (p. 141). This type displays an extremist religious lifestyle and may participate in a political movement. In Turkey, the ideas of political parties and their associated institutions are largely attractive to this type, and in Germany, their extensions as mosque organizations. This type has a strong feeling of “we” (group identification). There is a conspicuous struggle for emancipation in society among the female participants of this type. Among the male participants in Germany, the theme of *equal rights* is especially highlighted. This type is attracted to prominent Islamists and charismatic religious and national leaders. These always remain the focus of interest.

Laic (Secular) Type: The conditions of socialization in the family play an important role in the development of this type too. Laic youths are not socialized religiously in the family, since their parents are distanced from religion. Furthermore, these young people acquire less religious education, or none, at official and unofficial institutions. They have fewer religious practices and observances in everyday life. Social behaviour is more important in their daily life. They adopt universal ethical principles to regulate their social conduct. Correct religiosity is to have a clean heart, a pure intent. They strongly emphasize tolerance. They do not criticize religion itself, but they reject all kinds of ideological tendencies in religion. Thus, they are opposed to people who are religiously active. On the other hand, religion is also a part of their Turkish identity. In this respect, they are similar to the traditional type. In addition, they have a predilection for universal culture and modernity. They see religion as a private issue in their life.

Aygün finds fewer laic cases among Turkish youth in Germany. In cases encountered in Germany, at least one of their parents belongs to the original laic

environment in Turkey. Because they are impacted by the pluralist ethic in Germany, immigrant Turkish youth of this type are more tolerant towards people practicing their religion. Atheistic tendencies can also be observed in extreme forms of this type.

Individual Type: This type has a character independent of socialization experiences and today's social environment. Through critical reflection, people of this type have the ability to integrate the conceptual patterns transmitted from the outside world to their own worldviews. Religion is not a fixed and predetermined structure of beliefs, and not a basis for a political ideology. For them, personal needs and seeking the sacred are central. Unlike other types, who are religiously socialized at school, in Koran courses or in the family from childhood onwards, a religious socialization in the family is not required for this type. The style of belief in this type corresponds to conscious or "realized faith" (*Tahkiki Iman*) within Islamic theology, due to its emphasis on individual wisdom and individual-reflective faith, as described in the theory of Fowler (1981).

In this type, one examines one's own spirituality, and questions the religious convictions and settings of one's own society. It is striking in the findings on this type that unlike those with laicist tendencies, the individual type does not criticize religious people. Rather, they direct reflective criticism at conventional religiosity. They do not reject religion, but they reinterpret it when internalizing it. Aygün notes that they make a comparative and critical evaluation of their own ideas versus the Sufi interpretation of Islam.

Aygün observes a change or transformation in the biographies of this type. The transition to this type can be initiated by a change in biography, a social environment chosen by self-initiative, or by the raising of one's educational level. In the process of transformation to the individual type, a person can experience crises and feelings of meaninglessness. According to Aygün, this type can develop willingness to compromise and a tolerant personality after these crises have passed. To illustrate this type, Aygün analyzes three different youth biographies. According to Aygün, religion and the family need to cooperate so that they can cope with the problems of modernity in an immigrant situation. Thus, it is not

surprising that young people living in Germany are more family-oriented than their counterparts in Turkey (p. 117). The most important actors in developing social awareness and in the adoption of perspectives are the parents, Islamic historical personalities, and Muslim organizations in Germany.

2.2.2.4. Family and the Religiosity of Generations

Religion within the family context can be said to be neglected except in several studies. One of the earliest researches devoted to the Turkish family and their religiosity is the study by Thomä-Wenske (1981), entitled “Islam and Integration: On the Meaning of Islam in the Process of Integration of Turkish Worker Families into the Society of the Federal Republic of Germany” (*Islam und Integration: zur Bedeutung des Islam im Prozess der Integration Türkische Arbeiter Familien in der Gesellschaft Bundesrepublik*). This study deals more with the social and political orientations within the family than with family religiosity. According to the author, Islam plays a role in identity construction, particularly in the case of the second generation.

Yalcin-Heckmann (1998) analyzes religious expression in Turkish families, and deals with the conditions of religious socialization. She conducted a study in Nürnberg on 30 Turkish families with 82 qualitative interviews from various generations, including 8- and 9-year-old children. Her study focuses on daily religious life within the family, and the process of religious socialization and appropriation of religion in the familial context.

According to the findings of Yalcin-Heckman, families vary from each other in terms of religious praxis. All of the participants accept the basic principles of Islam. Yet they also stress the impossibility of practicing all these principles in the immigrant situation. In the sample, fasting during Ramadan is the observance most adhered to. All of the families support their children in receiving a religious education. However, they vary in the notion about the exact time and age in which this should start. The author concludes that the religious socialization of children and youth differs from one family to another. The intensity of religiosity between

generations and genders also differs within the same family. Yalcin-Heckman observes a religiosity adjusted to the immigrant situation.

Diehl & Koenig (2009) conclude in a study that religiosity in the inter-generational process has remained stable. They ignore family generations. Goldberg and Sauer (2001) identified a lower level of religiosity among second-generation Turks compared to the first generation. With regard to certain religious practices, they found no difference between those who describe themselves as religious and those who do not. For example, people who do not identify themselves as religious act carefully and observe Islamic rules about fasting in Ramadan and “permitted (*kosher*)/prohibited” (*halal/haram*) foods. Older generations are more religious than younger generations. The majority of Turkish immigrants define themselves as religious. There is also a connection between the duration of immigration and religiosity. Korucu-Rieger (2014) finds an intensification of religiosity in the younger of three generations of Turkish women.

Part Two below will include a detailed discussion of these findings in the empirical literature and their relevance to the Faith Development model (Fowler 1981), which constitutes the empirical framework for this study. First, however, the conceptual model of this study will be introduced, and the findings of former studies will then be discussed in the light of this model.

3. PART TWO

3.1. Conceptual Considerations and Hypothetical Model: Faith in the Islamic Tradition

The aim of the empirical part of this study is to examine religiosity and faith development in a group of Turkish Muslims. Thus, an introduction to the theoretical background and terms that shape the content of Muslim faith is necessary. The purpose here is not to suggest a new theological definition of the Islamic faith. Dealing with the conceptions of faith in its many dimensions lies beyond the scope of this study. Discussions about faith (*iman*) in the Islamic tradition and its connections to related concepts are available in the literature of *Kalam* (systematic theology) (comp. Ok 2007, p. 48). Furthermore, the present purpose is to offer an evaluation of the Islamic faith from the developmental perspective. This position is overtly scientific, and should be flatly distinguished from a theological stand. Broadly speaking, theology defines its own conception of faith, and deals with its normative dimensions to prove its accuracy. However, the goal of this study is to investigate the reflections of human beings regarding their faith. Thus, it is necessary to make a short clarification about the concept of faith in Islam.

3.1.1. Faith (*Îman*): an Etymological and Conceptual Clarification

Within the Islamic tradition, the concept of faith is associated with its usages in the Koran. *Îman* is one of the most fundamental terms in the Koran. The explanations of this word in Islamic theology have established its lexical meaning in the Arabic language. It is usually translated into English as “faith”, “belief”, German *Glaube*, and Turkish *İman*. Throughout the Koran, *iman* is repeated 500 times in verb and infinitive forms, and 873 times with its derivations. The word *îman* is the infinitive form of the Arabic tri-consonantal root A-M-N (أمن). Its verbal meanings are: “To confirm somebody’s or something’s words, verifying, to accept what is said. To adopt with peace of mind is to place confidence and trust in. To be in security and

to believe/ accept from the heart without any doubt” (Fîrûzâbâdî, 1986; Taftâzânî, 1989).

Like other religious communities, Muslims also took their own tradition into account in further definitions of faith. When a Muslim hears the word *îman*, s/he establishes a direct connection in the mind with religion and especially with Islam. The Islamic understanding of “faith” (*îman*) denotes the acceptance of a transcendent reality (Hökelekli, 2005). Also mentioned in the Koran is “the Unseen” (*al-Ghayb*) (Koran 2:3). The Unseen is interpreted as abstract metaphysical realities lying beyond the bounds of human comprehension. God, angels, the reality of prophecy, the hereafter, the creation of cosmos and its end on the Day of Resurrection (*Yawm Al-Qiyamah*), the reality of death, spirit, Satan, and Djinn are among the themes implied by “the Unseen” (*al Ghayb*) in the Koran (Çalışkan, 2002).

Regarding the conceptual definition of *îman*, Muslim scholars (*ulema*), and especially those of Sunni persuasion, provide mostly similar definitions. The Directorate of Religious Affairs in Turkey is widely regarded as the representative of the official Sunni perspective of Turkish people. Its conceptual definition of *îman* reads as follows:

To confirm the Prophet Muhammad in terms of the essentials of religion (*zarûrat-i diniyye*) which he received from God Almighty. To accept the elements he declared without any doubt and to believe wholeheartedly in the correctness of true revelation. (Diyanet İşleri Başkanlığı 2006, 68).

By this definition, the primary element of Islamic faith is the confirmation (*tasdîq*) or the wholehearted acceptance of official religion. *Tasdîq* is accepting and confirming the Prophet and the essence of the religion, without any doubt, from the heart. This is in line with Iqbal (2003), who writes that the “main purpose of the Koran is to awaken in man the higher consciousness of his manifold relations with God and the universe.” In accordance with the above definition, one responds to this awakening with a positive reply to the official call of religion (Smith, 1979 p. 45). Acceptance and confirmation, then, are critical stages in the making of a believer in Islam, because without them one cannot consider oneself a Muslim.

This necessarily raises the question of how one is to understand and/or experience knowledge—a longstanding debate in early Islamic theology (Rosenthal 2007).

3.1.2. The Concept of *Îman* and its Relation with “Islam”

The relationship between the concepts of *îman* and *Islam* has been a controversial theme among Muslim theologians. Throughout the Koran, these two terms are sometimes used in different meanings and at other times identically. According to Mâtûrîdî (*Kitabu't-Tawhid*, 393-394), *îman* represents an inner affirmation (*tasdîq*) of the heart (*qalb*), while *Islam* refers to the visible acts of human beings. In this case, *Islam* is evaluated as appearance, while *îman* refers more to the heart (*qalb*) and an inner attitude.

In the following Koranic verse, for example, *îman* and *Islam* are used in separate meanings:

The Bedouins say, “We have attained to faith” (*amenna*). Say unto them: “You have not yet attained to faith (*lam tu’minu*); you should rather say, ‘We have outwardly surrendered’ [in Arabic: *Aslamna* - we have become Muslims]—for true faith has not yet entered your hearts. But if you truly heed God and His Messenger, He will not let the least of your deeds go to waste: for behold, God is much forgiving, a bestower of grace (Koran 49:14).

However, in the verse below, they seem to be used in an identical sense:

They count it as a favour to you that they accepted *Islam* (Arabic *aslemu*). Say: “Do not regard your (accepting) *Islam* as a favour to me; rather, God has bestowed a favour on you by guiding you to faith, if you are truthful (in your claim to be believers)” (Koran 49:17).

We have seen that the lexical meaning of *îman* is to affirm and confirm, to accept the correctness of something and to verify it. However, *Islam* means submission or surrender. These two words, therefore, have separate meanings. The famous

Hadith of Djibril/Gabriel supports this separation (Bukhârî, “*Îmân*”, 37; Müslim, “*Îmân*”, I, 6-7; Ebû Dâvûd, “*Sünnet*”, 16; Tirmizî, “*Îmân*”, 4; Nesâî, “*Îmân*” 5-6; Ibn Mâce, “*Mukaddime*”, 9-10)⁴. Moreover, there seems to be an obvious distinction in the related *Hadith* (Tradition, Saying of the Prophet) between three concepts relating to religion, namely “*Iman*”, “*Islam*” and “*Ihsan*” (Bukhari; *Iman*, 37; Müslim, *Iman*, 1). In the following Tradition, these three concepts are defined by the Archangel Gabriel as:

Iman: "...It is to believe in God, His angels, His inspired Books, His messengers, the Last Day, that destiny, good and evil, are from God."

Islam: "...Islam is to testify that there is no god but God and that Muhammad is the Messenger of God, and to perform the Prayer, give Alms (*zakat*), fast in Ramadan, and perform the Pilgrimage to the House, if you can find a way."

Ihsan: "...It is to worship God as if you see Him; even if you see Him not, He nevertheless sees you."

In this *Hadith*, *îman* denotes acceptance and confirmation by the heart, while *Islam* is the practice of religious observances, and *ihsan* is a deeper experience of religion. *Ihsan* is the highest stage in the religion according to this *Hadith*. This denotes to whole orientation of inner and outer potentials of human being. In the Islamic tradition this stage has been as the ideal point of relation with religion and God. In this stage a believer feels him or herself under the continuous divine observation and regulates his/ her life according to divine will with great carefulness. This is actually a spiritual union with God in the Islamic Sufi perspective. A believer has God in front of own eyes, the mercifulness and love of God felt in the hearth deeply (comp. Khorchide 2013, p.26)

⁴ These are six major collections of hadith (al-Kutub al-Sittah) by Islamic scholars who lived approximately 2 centuries after Muhammad's death. The authors collected "hadith" attributed to Muhammad by their own initiative. Sunni Muslims view these collections as their most important and authentic source in religion after Koran (comp. Khoury 2008 p.18-19).

The discussions around the concept of Faith (Iman) disseminated the initial fundamentals of theology among the Muslims in early Islam (Izutsu 2006). Fazlur Rahman (1966) notes that there were critical approaches to this concept in early periods. Whether or not *'amel* (works, praxis) is a part of *îman* (faith), and the nature of the relationship between them, remained a point of intense debate. Mutazila (the sect representing rationality in Islam) and the Kharijites (representing extremism) argued that *'amel* (practice) is an inseparable part of *îman*. Sunni theologians, however, claimed that *îman* and *'amel* were two separate concepts. According to Sunni theology, *îman* is the attestation of the heart, yet *'amel* is related to deeds, practices, and these two are different things.

This led scholars to discuss the merits of questioning whether or not faith-*iman* can increase. The greatest Sunni representatives—Abu Hanifa, Mâtûrîdî, Djuwayni, and Asharite theologians—argued that *iman* is static, i.e., it neither increases nor decreases. However, according to Baqillani (d. 1013), *îman* decreases or increases according to statements and works, but not as regards affirmation (*tasdiq*). In the Modern Islamic theology (*kalam*) Fazlur Rahman represents the idea of dynamic character in Islamic faith and he supports his claims with Koran and prophetic Tradition. According to Fazlur Rahman (1966, 93) one of the widely discussed themes among the Muslim theologians in the early periods of Islam was the “degrees of Faith” or if it is possible to speak about grading the phenomenon of faith. This was discussed with the question of practice and *tasdiq* (acceptance) in Islam, that is if the works are a part of faith or not. The theologians representing the idea that iman is a divine gift and grace to the human claimed that iman neither increases nor decreases. This means in our terms that faith/*iman* is not developmental and dynamic but static. The sects like Kharijites and the Mutazila in the Islamic history insisted that iman increases, develops and regresses. Because they believed that the human acts were an essential part human faith. They still expressed that iman can quantitatively described. One can speak on someone`s iman about a zero degree. Even if someone declares to the community that he accepts (*tasdiq*) the essentials of religion, the same person qualitatively can be out of iman because of the lacking acts. In opposite to this position about the faith, the sect of Murjites denied the quantitative and qualitative analyzability of faith. Murjites believed in the simplicity of Iman. Sunni theology

tended to find a middle position between these two perspectives (Kharijites-Mutazila&Murjites) but it adopted on the whole the tenets of Murjites. Fazlur Rahman supports the idea that *îman* can increase or decrease qualitatively. This means that *iman* can be strong or weak, perfect or incomplete—that we can distinguish between gradations of faith. *This notion can provide the possibility to approach the Islamic faith from a developmental perspective.*

3.1.3. The problem of Development in the Islamic Faith

The issue of **imitation** (*taqlid*) and **realization** (*tahqiq*) in faith has also been one of the topics discussed by Islamic theology, yet the conditions of its development process are often overlooked. In *kalam* literature, it is emphasized that *îman* is individual because it depends on intellectual justification. A faith depending on intellectual reasoning has been seen as a requirement of **realized, actualized, conscious, or mature faith** (*tahkîkî îman*). Any faith not rooted in right knowledge and investigation is not considered ideal faith in Islam. Because people are responsible for what, how and why they believe, they are also responsible for basing their faith on solid foundations. (Kılavuz, 1997). Thus, there is a responsibility to strive and improve one's faith, from imitation to realization in Islam.

In the cognitive context of the believer, we observe some conceptualizations in the classical Islamic literature. In his *Fasl al-Maqal*, Ibn Rushd (known in the West as Averroes; 1126-1198 AD) mentions different categories as regards differences in the intellectual level of individuals. Like several medieval Islamic thinkers, he takes the concept of affirmation (*tasdîq*) as fundamental for *îman*. However, he lays specific emphasis on the role of personality traits, suggesting that there are individual differences in cognitive contexts among people, and varying styles of affirmation. He mentions three types of people in the context of faith:

- The **sophisticated** (*hikemî*) type of thinking represents an advanced stage of development. Hence, people of this type desire accurate rational, scientific and philosophical proofs when justifying something.

-In the **dialectical** type, people make their decisions or justifications by mutual discussion. Dialectic is their style.

-In **induced** types, the emotional dimension is more pronounced (in contrast to the rational type). They tend to easily accept a judgment presented to them via advice or sermons. (Ibn Rushd 2010 p.17-18), *comp.* Hökelekli 2005 p. 162).

Cognition is the key here, as we will see in the work of Fowler (1981) as well, for it assists us in thinking about the phenomenology of faith development as the interplay between what faith *is* and what faith *does* (Fowler, 2004). By extension, reason and ability—as articulated in Ibn Rushd's *Fasl al-Maqal*—represent advanced stages of faith development. This necessarily leads us to establish links between *îman* and *Islam* on the one hand, and *tahqîq* on the other, and what they mean in the overall conception of faith development.

With regard to the level of awareness of its owner, *îman* is divided into two categories: imitative (*Taqîdî*) and realized (*Tahqîqî*) *îman*. This categorization also refers to two different types of cognitive operation. Imitative (*Taqîdî*) *îman* (“blind” faith) is a natural consequence of being born and growing up in an Islamic society. It does not depend on rational proofs. Thus, it can easily be undermined by external objections. Sunni theologians agree that this kind of faith is valid. Yet people are responsible for strengthening their faith with rational (*aqlî*) and transmitted/religious (*naqlî*) proofs, because knowledge protects faith from possible objections and doubts. *Îman* resting on proofs, investigation, and comprehension is called “realized” (*tahqîqî iman*) (Kılavuz, 1997 p. 33). Realized (*Tahqîqî*) faith is associated with knowledge, reflection, inquiry, and understanding.

Knowledge and reflection have been stressed as preconditions for the progress from imitational to realizational faith. Muslim scholars view the heart (*qalb*) as the locus of *îman* (Esen 2008, 81). The “heart” (which needs to be understood not as the physical organ, but as its metaphysical extension) was also regarded as the seat of pure reason (intellect). Thus, it is stressed that there is a close relationship between *îman* and the intellect (*aql*). Because the Koran emphasizes the

importance of the mind and reason (2:164, 41:53, 51:21), seeking to understand the themes of *îman* using the intellect is a religious obligation. The heart affirms and extrapolates; it carries out the activity of intellection.

Theologians support their claims about the heart as the locus of understanding and intellect with some instances from the Koran:

Have they not traveled through the earth, and have they not hearts with which to reason and ears with which to hear? For indeed, it is not eyes that are blind, but blind are the hearts within breasts. (22:46)

Do they not reflect on the Koran, or are there seals upon [their] hearts? (47:24)

Among the Traditions (Sayings) of the Prophet and the perspectives of Muslim theologians, there are implicit and explicit references to the developmental dimension of faith (i.e., religion). In a Tradition, the Prophet said: "Every child is born upon (the original) human nature (*fitrah*). It is his parents who make him a Jew or a Christian or a polytheist" (Muslim, Book 33).

The theologian al-Ghazali (1058-1111 AD) has explicitly and critically questioned the relation between contextual conditions belonging to a tradition, and its effect on religious development. Referring also to this Tradition, al-Ghazali (1980, 3), in his autobiographical work "Deliverance from Error" (*al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*), describes his own development and crises of thought, and how he evolved from *taqlîdî* (unaware) faith to *tahqîqî* (realizational-conscious) faith, as follows:

The thirst for grasping the real meaning of things was indeed my habit and wont from my early years and in the prime of my life. It was an instinctive, natural disposition placed in my makeup by God Most High, not something due to my own choosing and contriving. As a result, the fetters of servile conformism fell away from me, and inherited beliefs lost their hold on me, when I was still quite young. For I saw that the children of Christians always grew up embracing Christianity, and the children of Jews always grew up adhering to Judaism, and the children of Muslims always grew up following the religion of Islam. I also heard the tradition related from the Apostle of God — God's blessing and peace be upon him!—in which he said: "Every infant is born endowed with the *fitra*: then his parents make him Jew or Christian or Magian." Consequently I felt an inner urge to seek the true meaning of the original *fitra*, and the true meaning of the beliefs arising through slavish

aping of parents and teachers. I wanted to sift out these uncritical beliefs, the beginnings of which are suggestions imposed from without, since there are differences of opinion in the discernment of those that are true from those that are false. (1980, 4)

On the disintegration of synthetic conventional faith via criticism, and its necessary reformulation via changes in thinking patterns, Ghazali notes in the same work:

...a prerequisite for being a servile conformist is that one does not know himself to be such. But when a man recognizes that, the glass of his servile conformism is shattered—an irreparable fragmentation and a mess which cannot be mended by patching and piecing together: it can only be melted by fire and newly reshaped (1980, 5).

Here, Ghazali emphasizes the importance of social circumstances in the transmission and appropriation of religious tradition. At the same time, he emphasizes awareness and the individuality of faith as important to a person's inner dynamics and level of consciousness (*tahqîq*).

In his book on the revival of Islamic thought, Iqbal presents a “stages of development” model of faith (Iqbal 2003 p.209). According to Iqbal's classification, the religious development of a person can generally be divided into three periods. These periods seem to include religious development from knowledge to experience. These are „faith”, “thought” and “discovery”. Iqbal's categorization does not depend on any empirical inquiry, as it employs a more mystical perspective on religious development.

In the period of “Faith,” religious life is still in the form of a discipline. People accept the precepts of religion without an understanding of the rational and ultimate meanings of commandments and doctrines. At this stage, the inner growth of the individual is beyond consideration. Such acceptance is not fruitful for individual self-enhancement and inner development. In this period, there is only submission.

In the period of “Thought” or reflection, the former object is understood rationally and the person moves toward the perception of its ultimate source. A person at

this stage seeks harmony with God and the cosmos. Religious life is based on metaphysical foundations. A consistent cosmology arises in this phase, and the worldview of a person reaches a harmonious integration with the God-image.

In the period of “Discovery” or Unveiling, the metaphysics of the previous stage is replaced by psychology. Religious life becomes a person’s mediator or connection with Ultimate Reality. The person strives for direct contact with Ultimate Reality. Religion pervades one’s life. One attains an autonomous personality and discovers the ultimate source of law in the depths of one’s own consciousness. To describe this stage, Iqbal quotes from the Muslim Sufi Farid al-Din ‘Attar: “no [true] understanding of the Holy Book is possible until it is actually revealed to the believer just as it was revealed to the Prophet” (2003, p.24).

To conclude this section, reference will be made to the criticisms and suggestions of Ok (2007) about the term “faith” in the Islamic understanding. The concept of attestation (*tasdîq*) is taken as basis by Sunni theologians in the definition of faith in Islam. In this perspective, faith is always perceived as the opposite of unbelief (blasphemy). However, *îman* is also defined as confirmation by the heart, declaration (*iqrar*) with the tongue, and bodily praxis (*amel*). As stressed by Ok (2007), there is emphasis on the individual dimension of faith, but the social conditions in which the person internalizes faith remain out of sight.

Second, the interaction between the object of faith and the subject is also neglected. The subject is in unilateral relation with the object. For example, the declaration of faith is related to the social dimension. Ok suggests further research in this regard. In his view, *îman* is defined as a static phenomenon rather than a dynamic activity. From a social-sciences perspective, Ok states that the Koranic call to faith means a call for the transformation of the entire personality. In this respect, faith should be—more than a simple verbal affirmation—an activity of appropriation.

Considering the discussions presented above, we can develop new approaches in the study of Islamic faith. It is necessary to approach faith by taking social conditions, biographical antecedents and psychodynamic personality traits into

consideration. As we have seen above, faith has been defined in Islam internally from an Islamic theological perspective. However, we also need to investigate the dimension of faith as related to personality traits. The meaning of *îman* can be expanded to include the entire inner world of an individual.

The concepts related to cognition and knowledge (or *taqlid* and *tahqiq*) indicate previous attempts to categorize faith and religiosity in a developmental perspective. Also, these categorizations concentrate on the end result of faith in a person, rather than examining the process of its construction. In the empirical research on religious development, the faith development approach can provide tools to consider faith and religiosity within a wider spectrum. A general outline of the Faith Development Model of James Fowler, and of followers in that research tradition, will be presented in the next section.

3.2. Faith Development Models

In modern times, the concept of faith has brought psychology and theology together. Developmental perspectives of religion have provided theories classified as cognitive/behavioral-oriented knowing (Meadow & Kahoe, 1984), Emotion-oriented (Erikson 1982; Fowler 1981), or Cognitive Structural Stage (Piaget 1929, Kohlberg 1969; Goldman 1968; ElKind 1964, 1970, 1971, 1999; Oser & Gemünder 1984; Oser 1991). It should be noted, however, that since the 1950s, the theoretical formulations of Piaget have heavily influenced cognitive developmental psychology in Europe and the United States, with heavy reverberations in the domain of religion as well.

After the 1902 publication of William James's seminal work, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature*, research in the 1960s by Goldman (1968) following Piaget in the field of cognitive developmental religious studies acquired new importance within the psychology of religion. With the impact of developmental psychology, the psychology of religion found a new paradigm. Borrowing its new models from developmental perspectives, empirical research in the psychology of religion began to concentrate more on the process of religious

development, and less on religious content (Slee, 1991). It is here that Fowler's contribution with faith development theory assumes greatest significance.

Although an extensive literature had emerged after him (Streib, 2003), Fowler is of critical importance on this issue. And although Fowler has been criticized for empirical neglect, he distinguished himself from previous studies evaluating religious development in three stages similar to that of Piaget. Fowler identified six phases of development throughout one's lifetime. Piaget raised the "formation of knowing" with his model of cognitive development, Fowler raises the formation of "meaning making" in the connections between his six phases of development. Fowler established a linkage between Niebuhr's understanding of universal and dynamic faith and Erikson's concept of the psycho-social self. He benefited from Erikson's separation of faith development into stages, and the determination of psycho-social crises arising during the transition between stages of faith. In this sense, Fowler's model was to be found somewhere between Piaget, whose rational dimension is significant, and Erikson, whose emotional dimension is more apparent and Kohlberg's work who developed a theory of stages for the development of moral reasoning.⁵ Fowler 1981, 38 – 39; 2001, 159)

3.2.1. Faith Development Theory of James W. Fowler

When Fowler published *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and Quest for meaning* (1981), the concept of faith development was relatively new to the psychological study of religion. Since 1981, his theory of faith development has influenced pastoral care, practical theology and Christian education.

Fowler approaches the concept of faith from the structural developmental perspective. In *Stages of Faith* (1981), Fowler makes a clear distinction between faith and religion. He argues that a human being can be without religion, but in no

⁵ Fowler followed Niebuhr and Tillich in theology, Erikson, Jung and Freud in psychology, Paul Ricoeur and Barfield in hermeneutics, and Kohlberg, Selman and Kegan among developmental psychologists. In his theory he included the relations between religion, emotion and the self, which was neglected by Kohlberg. He also enlarged the psychology of personality of Kegan (1982), who studied the complete development of self, by integrating it into his theory (Ok 2007).

way without faith. What is the meaning of faith, how does it evolve and flow within human life, what kind of changes does it pass through? How does faith exist within the medium of religion? This new perspective and these kinds of questions gave him the opportunity to examine the concept of faith in a broader area, reaching beyond the classical understanding of religious faith. He concluded that faith is a means of connecting with one's ultimate concern. This ultimate concern may be God for one person and something else for another. In this way, faith has been an important theme of empirical research in the psychology of religion, particularly after the 1970s.

3.2.2. Fowler's Definition of "Faith"

According to Fowler, faith is:

People's evolved and evolving ways of experiencing self, others and world (as they construct them) as related to and affected by the ultimate conditions of existence (as they construct them) and of shaping their lives' purposes and meanings, trusts and loyalties, in light of the character of being, value and power determining the ultimate conditions of existence (as grasped in their operative images—conscious and unconscious—of them) (Fowler 1981, pp. 92-3).

According to Fowler, faith comprises both rationality and indulgence. In a broader context, it includes the activities of knowing, valuing and attachment (Fowler 2004). Further, the factors that are related to the relational dimension of faith reach beyond personal predictors. Faith is affected and shaped by a wide variety of sociological factors, in addition to temperament, knowledge, and psychology which constitute the personality. Fowler describes the development of capacities that shape the relations of the self with self, self with other, and self with the ultimate (Fowler, 1987). Community, language, ritual, and care are needed for the proper development of faith (Fowler 1981).

Faith is always relational. In other words, faith always involves "others." In expressing faith as an action, one uses statements such as "I trust in...." or "I relate to..." (Fowler 1981). Thus, religiosity is also a process of interaction that is fundamental as an element of the living form of faith. Religious symbols and

ceremonies mediate the articulation of faith. People use them in connection with each other (Streib, 2001).

Fowler prefers to use the expression "shared center of values and power" in place of the concept of God. He claims that not only God, but also the ideologies and personalities to which people devote themselves, may exist in a position of "shared center of values," for the content and context of faith is not always religious (Smith 1979; Fowler 1981). Existentially, therefore, the conceptual structure of faith can be filled with any other content, such as secularism or humanism, rather than a particular historical religion (Fowler 1981).

Niebuhr and Tillich had already described faith as a universal human concern. They claimed that people are familiar with the phenomenon of faith, whether they are religious or not. Faith is a *sine qua non* of existence; it is social memory. As a cumulative tradition, it is renewed as long as its contents prove able to arouse and shape the faith of new generations. Faith is nurtured and woven by elements that make up the tradition. If these elements are able to express the needs of next generations, they receive fresh life, and expand by gaining new devotees (Fowler, 1981 p. 10).

3.2.3. Definition of Faith Development

Fowler explores the faith development of human beings in successive stages. The development of people's faith takes shape around the centers of power and values they are connected to. If there are no changes in faith structures, there is no development as long as there is no growth in knowledge (Mayer, 1992). The structures of meaning that shape one's faith may not be comprehended directly, but they can be understood by analyzing thinking processes, which are observed in responses to related interview questions. In other words, they can be understood on the basis of the cognitive operations of individuals on contents of a specific format (Moseley, Jarvis, & Fowler, 1993).

The structure of faith is a complex unity composed of the interaction of multiple components or capabilities (Fowler *et al.* 1992). For example, an orchestra is composed of a group of different musical instruments. Although each of these instruments will generate a different sound, together they create a complex musical structure. Any trouble or incompatible sound in one of the instruments entails lack of harmony with the others. Discord with other instruments continues until harmony is re-established.

Changes in faith also include self-modification (Fowler 1984, p. 57). Like Piaget and Kohlberg, Fowler argues that developmental stages are universal and that they exist in successive order. In terms of stages, changes in faith do not necessarily occur with advancing age. Development means the change in the form of belief of a person, and the development in cognitive capabilities (Astley 1991, p.18).

Faith development could take different directions throughout one's life. For example, a person can extend, deepen, or experience a restructuring within a given religious tradition. Developing each new stage means emerging new clusters and capabilities in faith activity. These capacities and capabilities supplement earlier forms of capacity and skill, or give a whole new meaning to them (Ok 2007).

Fowler states that 30% of his research sample of 359 people in *Stages of Faith* involves transition between different stages. The longest process is from Stage 4 to Stage 5. Transition from one stage to another generally entails traumatic processes. Such transitions are found mostly in the case of university students who have traditional backgrounds, newly married couples, or those who experience major changes in their lives due to various reasons. For example, divorces and the loss of significant others can trigger a transition from one stage to another (Backlund 1990; Astley 1991).

Hamrick (1988) argues that transitions between stages occur in four phases: breaking, developing, recovery, and reintegration. Fowler (1981) mentions three reasons for transition from one stage to the next:

- When the person realizes serious contradictions and conflicts between sources of authority considered important.
- When one concludes that one's values and beliefs belong only to one's own group and can be considered as relative.
- If one thinks over one's own system and dares to break one's own myths. The person can then terminate attachment to external authorities.

Transitions between stages sometimes take longer, sometimes fail, and sometimes cause serious crises and deep anxiety. When one's religious symbols lose their importance, the sacred is removed for that person (Fowler 1981). The crises and levels of anxiety differ according to the age and maturity of a person. They are lower in early or mid-life and higher in advancing ages, particularly between 30 and 40. This happens more painfully in advanced age. Fowler states that experiencing doubts and anxieties are also part of faith. De-conversion or transformation can be seen as a new formation of life and an interpretation of personal faith.

To empirically determine the aspects of faith, Fowler begins with the aspect of *form of logic*, which is derived from Piaget's cognitive development model. He adds Selman's (1980) *social perspective-taking*. The *form of moral judgment* depends on Kohlberg's concept of moral development. The remaining four aspects (*social awareness, locus of authority, form of world coherence or cosmological coherence, and symbolic function*) were developed by Fowler himself. Human faith develops in these seven aspects, all connected to one another. The average of these seven aspects determines the stage of faith. Form of logic, world coherence and symbolic function more clearly refer to cognitive contents, and these constitute a cluster related to each other (Moseley *et al.* 1993, p. 25). Perspective taking, social awareness, and form of moral judgment are related both to cognitive and psycho-social content, and compose a second group or cluster.

Fowler has been criticized for some shortcomings in his faith development theory. According to Moran (1983), the term "development" is reminiscent of capitalism or modernity. Moran argues that Fowler does not adequately define the concept of faith. His definition is limited to the cognitive realm of humans; other dimensions

are left out of sight. Fowler also met with criticism for “methodological incompetence” regarding Stages 5 and 6. For example, the sample size in Stage 6 (universalizing faith) is only 1. Fowler argues that examples reaching this stage are very rare. Thus, he analyzes the biographies of personalities who played important roles in the transformation of societies they lived in, such as Gandhi, Martin Luther King Jr. and Mother Teresa. Another point was his contrast studies rather than longitudinal analysis, leading him to ignore the frequency of certain ages in stages. According to Fowler, backward development (regression) is not possible. However, in the first years of adulthood, the second stage (mythic, literal faith) disappears, but may reappear in advancing ages.

In *Stages of Faith*, his sample consists of interviewees from Jewish and Christian traditions. Hence, he has been criticized for working with a small group, using Christian terminology, and generalizing from this. However, his aim is not to restrict these stages to the Jewish-Christian tradition. He has also been criticized for the intellectual idealism of his theory (Hull, 1992). In reply, he argues that higher stages do not have greater faith value than lower ones. His is not a classification of value.

3.2.4. Religious Styles Perspective of H. Streib and Faith Development

In the account of Streib (1991, p. 89) the theories of structural development of religion share common values emerging in the modern world, such as autonomy, rationality and subjectivity. Stressing the inadequacy of a merely structural approach to faith, Streib (2001, 2003, 2005) criticizes Fowler for ascribing less importance to the content of faith and more to its structure in faith development theory. Streib develops a further concrete proposal for the revision of FDT. He recommends a typology of religious styles consisting of five categories in geological layers rather than stages in an ascending staircase. In contrast to the stages, the styles proposed by Streib have fewer boundaries and are more resilient. In addition, they allow for more options in biographical change. In this model, interpersonal relations and their psychodynamics are both indicators and

promoters of religious development. Therefore, the religious styles perspective gives more importance to the overall life world and life stories in studying religious development.

According to Streib, the family of origin, significant life events, and the culture one is raised in, are some of the many factors determining a person's religious style. Religious styles occur sequentially, but beneath each lie all the previous styles (and stages), so that a person could revert (or regress) to a prior style if forced by the stresses of life. In an article, Streib (2005) summarizes his own model as follows:

Religious styles are distinct modes of practical–interactive (ritual), psychodynamic (symbolic), and cognitive (narrative) reconstruction and appropriation of religion, that originate in relation to life history and life world and that, in accumulative deposition, constitute the variations and transformations of religion over a lifetime, corresponding to the styles of interpersonal relations.

Streib brings the phenomenological perspective of Merleau-Ponty and the philosophical perspective of Ricoeur into the picture, aside from Noam's approach which depends on interpersonality. Rizzuto's (1979, 1991) approaches to the psychodynamic domain play an important role in the religious styles perspective. Streib stresses that the contribution of Rizzuto's view to his model is the greatest. Rizzuto integrates the development of the God-image into the psychodynamic perspective. Rizzuto sees the origins of religious development in the interaction of the mother-child dyad. She states that the first image of God emerges with the interaction between mother and child. Thus, religious development is basically an interactive process. In her view, religious development is explicitly linked with object relations development in the psychoanalytic model (Streib 2005).

In his critique of the structural developmental model, Streib states:

The religious styles perspective is able to provide an explanation of fundamentalist orientations and turns that the structural-developmental theories of religious or faith development have not been able to provide because their framework cannot account for regression, or the kind of partial

regression onto, or revival of, earlier rigid or do-ut-des [reciprocity] styles. The cognitive-structural theories of development in their traditional form of structural, hierarchical, sequential, and irreversible logic of development result from an all too optimistic interpretation of the project of modernity. If left unchanged, they cannot provide us with an explanatory framework for understanding fundamentalism and individual fundamentalist revivals. Fundamentalism is a special and outstanding instance, but only one instance, of the more general complexity of faith trajectories that includes the possible presence of more than one style in a person's life. There is reason to call into question the assumption of a "structural whole" in faith development—and implement this view in the research method (Streib 2005 p. 114).

A person does not necessarily have different forms of faith or religious style throughout life. The person can, at any time, have attitudes toward some features of the third, fourth and fifth stages. There is the possibility that a person will return to features of past stages with advancing age.

According to a criticism by Ok (2007), Streib seems to have neglected the principle of the universality of faith in faith development theory by calling his model "religious style" instead "faith."

A summary of Streib's religious styles model is presented below.

Subjective Religious Style: This style is the typical religious style of children. It corresponds to Fowler's intuitive-projective stage and Noam's (1990) phase of the subjective-physical self in early childhood (Streib 2001). It is dominated by egocentrism, by infants regarding themselves as the center of life. Basic trust and companionship begin to develop in this phase. Fantasies, images and feelings arise and play important role in later developments; these are always open to change and take new shapes. The image of the Almighty emerges, and in this image the "Almighty" supposedly sees and punishes. If it is found in an adult, it can be accepted as a clear indication of inhibited development.

Instrumental-Reciprocal (Do-ut-des) Religious Style: According to Streib, this style is similar to Fowler's second stage (mythic-literal). The person's approach in this style is one-sided. One has the impression that one will reach salvation by strictly following the rules of one's own religion. In this style, "doing good" means

imitating adults or religious elders. In Streib's account (2001), religious fundamentalism may be better explained by this style.

The point which Streib finds interesting is that a number of technical people can find solutions to quite complex scientific problems. Yet in their search for meaning, they tend to the simplest or fundamentalist rhetoric of religious elders, accepting what they say without criticism. It is a characteristic feature of this style that ideas and criticism about other matters are freely discussed, and yet undisputed submission may be required when the subject is religion or divine authority.

Mutual Religious Style: This style corresponds to the synthetic-conventional stage of Fowler. Persons in this category are very dependent on their own group, which is mostly of a religious character. Being respected and loved by others is one of the important characteristics of this style. The individual acts according to the best-held norms of one's own group. They fear being thrown out of the community if they were to oppose these. If one religious haven is left, another will be desperately sought (Streib 2001).

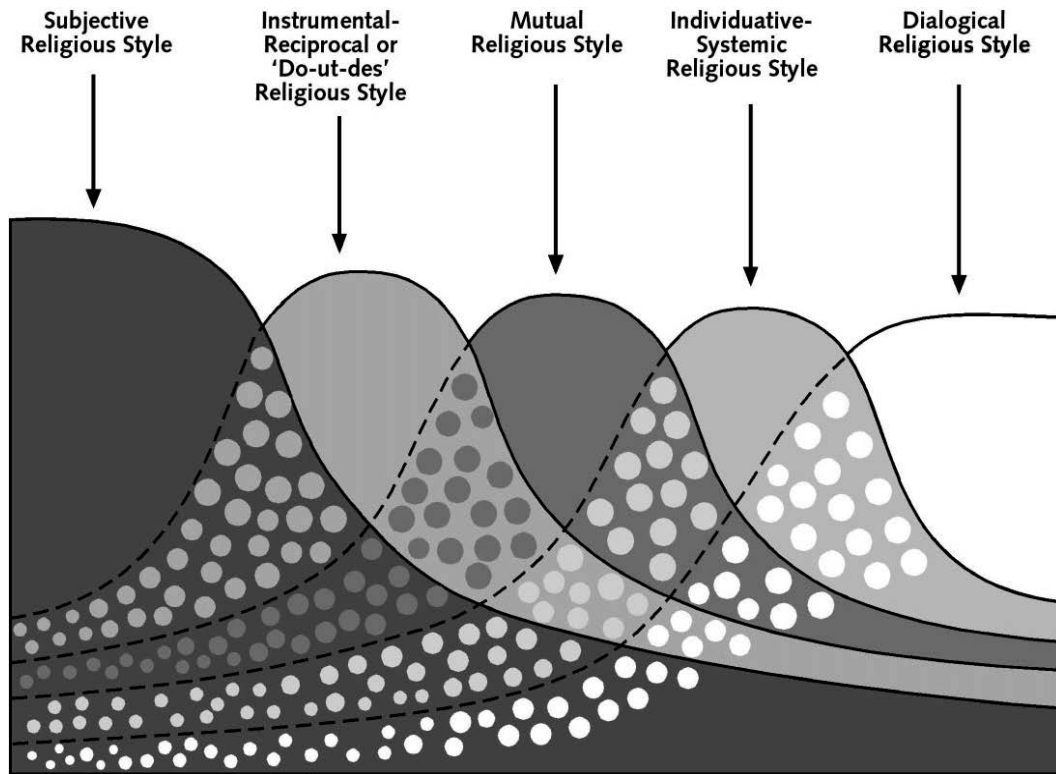
Questioning conventional values is unthinkable for them. If there is a leader of the group, s/he represents the absolute authority and is believed to be infallible. This is the companionship style of institutionalized religions, and generally the widest masses are to be found in this style. "Over-identification" and altruism are two other characteristics. This style adequately explains the types of traditional religiosity or folk religiosity.

Individuative-Systemic Religious Style: This style corresponds approximately to Fowler's fourth stage (individuative-reflective faith). The decisive characteristic of this style is the logic: "I have my own position." People in this style act more independently and with greater reflection. The religious symbols of actors, for example, God, religious community, and "others," have clearly defined positions and roles. They make their own decisions about religious matters and beliefs, feeling themselves free of authorities. Therefore, the people of this style can question religious norms and can be seen as heretics by conventional circles.

The cognitive structure of this style is determined by rationalization and argumentation of beliefs, and scepticism and reflection on religious issues. Taking the Islamic tradition as an example, they can deny many *Hadiths* (Sayings of the Prophet) and the transmitted tradition of Muslim scholars, referring only to the Koran and the concepts therein. There could even be a distanced emotional positioning to symbols. There is also a kind of longing for “intimacy,” “relatedness to identity” and trust under the layers of the psyche. And this suggests traces of coexistence with earlier styles. Contrary to the mutual religious style, the people in this style may refuse common concepts and tradition.

Dialogical Religious Style: This style corresponds to Fowler's fifth stage (Conjunctive Faith). In the dialogical religious style, the person develops openness to the ideas of "others." They do not feel threatened by different beliefs. Dialog here means that we can be open to other traditions and learn from them as well. In this style, there is no reason for the exclusion of other people or of foreign ideas. Hence, wider inclusion dominates this style. There is an acceptance of religious texts and concepts as symbolic and not literal. A new openness and approach to the symbol can emerge, which has been termed “Second Naiveté” by Paul Ricoeur (Streib 2001). In the logic of this style, contradictions and other people must not be met with intolerance and exclusion. People at this level display a wholly different sense of trust. They may not be able to adequately define the symbolic "god" they hold on to, but whatever it is, they trust in its goodness.

Figure 1: Streib's Model of Religious Styles.



Streib, H. (2001). "Faith Development Theory Revisited: The Religious Styles Perspective." *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 11, 143-158, <http://repositories.ub.uni-bielefeld.de/biprints/volltexte/2009/1659>.

Fowler has a further stage, called the Universalizing Stage, which probably also could be added to the Dialogical Religious Style. According to Fowler, people attaining this stage are so rare that there is hardly any way to describe them. As pointed out before, Fowler has been criticized for the insufficiency of empirical evidence for this stage.

3.3. Conclusion: Evaluation of Field studies on Muslims in Germany from the Perspective of Faith Development

The findings of field studies, faith in Islam, and the perspective of faith development theory having been presented, it remains to review former studies on Muslim religiosity and their findings.

Werner Schiffauer demonstrated individuation of self-structure and religiosity in the immigrant situation. This is conceptualized as “*regression from the peasant form of religiosity.*” In Schiffauer’s account, migration led to the construction of a new individuality. This is created by the social context of migration, where the religious and profane areas of life are segregated from each other. Social control has been weakened, and the individualized self takes over and has its own responsibility. Schiffauer also observed visible changes between generations. The older generations were mostly born and raised in the villages of Turkey, where they also constituted a religious community. They internalized religion without questioning. Immigration, then, inspired a pedagogical consciousness in them. Thus the generation they raised, namely the second generation, has been less traditional, less emotional, and more intellectual.

Klinkhammer (2000) found a tendency toward religious modernization among second-generation women. A visible detachment from parental tradition is observed by all three types, including the *traditional* lifestyle. The divergence from parental tradition and experiences of exclusion from German society stimulate young women to develop a greater interest in Islam. Gender-specific education of families plays another significant role in this process. The interviewed women become more deeply rooted in their own traditions, but they do not seek answers to their problems of meaning in other religious traditions. This means that Islam does not lose its meaning as a religion for them.

Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000) found that secularization, individuation and Islam were gaining a Western form among participants. The religion of educated young women did not necessarily correspond to family religiosity. Karakaşoğlu-Aydın observes that there is a tendency to internalize and privatize religious control among Muslim emigrants in Germany. All of the participants favour partnership education, thus supporting the personal resources of the child. Furthermore, none of the participants favour the educational style that is “typically Turkish” or “typically Turkish Muslim” (2000, 426). All participants desire an intercultural education. Yet their prerequisite is to preserve a lifestyle that falls within the boundaries of the Islamic way of life (2000, 429). Only 4 out of 26 participants

expect their future professional life to involve a Muslim organization. All the rest imagine their future life as involving German social institutions.

Tietze (2001) focuses not only on the Turkish sample in Germany, but includes young Muslim people from Germany and France. Her typologies are similar to the typologies of other studies. She also observes an individualization of religiosity among young Muslims. Islam allows young men to write their own biographies. In Germany, where Islam is represented by Turkish Muslims, religious socialization takes place in religious institutions, whereas in France it takes place in the Muslim quarters of cities.

Mihciyazgan observes that there is a transformation in Islam in Germany from folk religiosity towards higher and official Islam. She uses the term “high Islamization” (*Hochislamisierung*) to denote this religious change. It is more apparent in the studies of Klinkhammer, Nökel, Tietze, and Karakaşoğlu-Aydın that there is change and detachment from the tradition of earlier generations. Like Klinkhammer and Karakaşoğlu-Aydın, Nökel stresses a strong Islamization process in the second generation in the sample of educated women since 1990. According to these three authors, Islam helps to create a differentiated lifestyle. Younger generations charge older ones with lack of knowledge and a failure to transmit religious knowledge. Towards the age of puberty, there emerges a strong interest in Islam among young women and men.

In his study, Aygün demonstrates the difference between the Turkish sample and the Turkish-immigrant sample. The conventionalism of immigrant youth is higher than that of youth in Turkey. An important point is that the realm of faith is uncoupled from secular dimensions in faith development. In religious socialization, religious organizations and family play important roles in Germany, while family and single personalities are more determinative in Turkey. Young German Turks are more traditional than youth in Turkey. Generally, the worldly dimensions in faith development are higher in both samplings. Aygün determines that there are four typologies which are fundamentally similar to previous studies: traditional type, ideological type, individual type, and secular-laicist type. According to him, family and religion need each other to be able to survive in modernity. This fact is

more visible in the German-Turkish sample. The youth in Germany are much more family-oriented than their counterparts in Turkey.

Aygün's findings do not seem to overlap with the claims of individualization in the religiosity of younger generations put forward by earlier studies. His comparison between Turkey and Germany makes his claims plausible. Like other studies, traces of a struggle for emancipation are found among Muslim women both in Turkey and Germany. This has also been stressed by Klinkhammer, Nökel and Karakaşoğlu-Aydın. Aygün determines less laicism (secular) tendencies among Turkish youth living in Germany and more among those living in Turkey. This is the contextual effect in the development of religious style. In his study, Aygün provides pertinent information about the family-based religious orientation of youth. Yet his information again depends on interviews conducted only with younger generations.

The typologies of Aygün (2010), Tietze (2003), Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000), Klinkhammer (2000), and individual biographies generated via qualitative interviews by these social scientists, present many similarities in terms of the forms and practice of Islam in Germany. To recapitulate these types:

- Tietze—cultural, ethical, utopian and ideological.
- Karakaşoğlu-Aydın—spiritual, atheist, laicist (Sunni-Alevi), ritualist (pragmatic, idealist).
- Klinkhammer—exclusionist, traditional, ethical.
- Aygün—ideological, traditional, laic-secular, individual.

Günter Seufert also spoke of four types in his study: Traditional Muslims, Kemalist Muslims, Modern Muslims, and Atheists. Günay again determined four religious types in Turkey: folk religiosity, elite religiosity, spiritual-transparent religiosity, and laic religiosity.

The question, then, arises: how can we be certain of the detachment of younger generations from the traditions of their parents, if we take only one generation into consideration and neglect older generations? Studies in Germany have

overlooked older generations, focusing only on youth. Nökel (2007), Tietze (2003), Klinkhammer (2000), Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000), and many other researchers claim an individualization of religion in younger generations with migration. An intergenerational comparative study—especially in the same families—would have much to contribute to these discussions.

From the perspective of faith development theory, these claims imply a transformation from mythic-literal faith and the mutual religious style to the individual-reflective and dialogical religious styles. This methodology calls for an approach to the phenomenon of faith from a multidimensional perspective. According to the results of Schiffauer—which are also supported by later qualitative analyzes—a serious change in the structure of faith as a result of migration is observed in the first and second generations, and due to growing up in Germany in the third. Mihciyazgan's thesis also refers to changes and development in structure and content, because in folk Islam, the content and structure of faith is different from that in official/high Islam. In folk Islam, there is no critical reflection on the sources and varied meanings in Islam. There is mostly a verbal transmission of cultural religion. In folk Islam, for example, we speak of mystical narratives and a literal understanding of faith elements and applications.

In official Islam, however, there is reference to the main sources as well as an intellectual effort. In official/high Islam, we see contents that have been discussed throughout the centuries in the classical literature of Islamic theology. Any orientation to these sources, particularly in a style demonstrated by Mihciyazgan in her findings and interview quotations, refers to the conventional style in faith development. Thus, in the framework of this thesis, transformation and change in religiosity deserves attention. If there is high Islamization or change in the understanding of religiosity among younger generations, how can we explain this? To speak in the language of faith development theory, the transition from folk Islam to official Islam denotes a transition from Stage 2 (**Mythic-Literal faith**) towards Stage 3 (**Synthetic-Conventional faith**), or at least a form of deepening in Stage 2. When the beliefs and values of the older generations do not work for the younger ones, they are exchanged for new beliefs and values. This comparative study will present the religiosity and faith development of generations.

3.4. Research Questions

From the empirical literature presented up to this point, the following conclusion can be drawn. Young people growing up in Germany do not appropriate the style of formal religiosity and norms of the parents representing the homeland without questioning them. What kind of contribution have the dynamics of Western society made to the cognitive religious understanding—faith development—of immigrants in Germany? From the faith development perspective, the experience of migration can be seen as a significant breakthrough in the biography of families undergoing self-transformation, creating new compositions of identity as a consequence of the social and cultural influence of the host culture or country. Individuation, modernization, detachment and deviation from the tradition of older generations should also be investigated in the context of those generations. The religious development of new generations has not been directly compared with older generations in previous studies.

At the end of this research, answers to the following four main questions will be sought on the basis of empirical information gathered in faith development interviews (Fowler, Streib, & Keller, 2004).

- What are the major differences between three generations in terms of God-images and worldviews?
- In a migrant context, how does faith develop/change throughout the biography of a person, and how does this development/change take place over three generations? (Religious transformation.)
- What are the socio-cultural conditions that affect the faith development of three family generations?
- In faith development, are there characteristic differences in structure and content between generations? If so, how can these be defined and what are they?

In addition, an attempt will be made to answer the following questions: who is the main actor of religious transmission in Turkish families, and how is religion transmitted from one generation to the next?

3.5. Methodological Perspective

In this section, the basics, structure, and implementation of the empirical part of this study will be introduced.

The present research on faith development and religious change was not initially conceived as multigenerational. Considering the difficulty of accessing enough three-generation families—in which the lowest age limit of the third generation is 16—the original goal was to perform the research without regard to family generations. After engaging in the field for a few months, it became clear that it would be possible to access enough Turkish immigrant families represented by three-generation participants. With that realization, the focus was shifted to family generations. This provided the opportunity to analyze contrasts and to develop a dual perspective. One perspective is “vertical comparison”—comparing members from various ages and socialization groups within the same family. The other is “horizontal comparison”—studying the situation of faith across families and between generations from different families. The second and third generations were chosen from among the children and grandchildren of the first generation members selected earlier.

3.5.1. Research Instrument

A series of procedures have been observed while conducting interviews and analyses for this study. For the interviews and empirical data collection, the semi-structured faith development interview questions from the *Manual for Faith Development Research* (2004) have been taken as basis. With its strong qualitative specifications, the faith development interview is suitable for a study of this kind. The faith development interview is semi-structured and open-ended, but it has a special agenda. Depending on the flow of conversation, it is possible to

fine-tune the interview with in-depth questions or explanations. Faith Development Interviews yield profuse biographical and narrative data on the life of interviewees, as well as their reflections on self-biographies. In the faith development interview, participants are requested to provide, in 25 questions, information about their biographies, values, past or current relations, and religion. A one-hour interview is ideal for acquiring sufficient information, but this length may change from one participant to another (Fowler *et al.* 2004). An outstanding characteristic of the faith development interview questions is that they enable the participant to think spontaneously and to organize and present them in a way not attempted before.

Six trial interviews were conducted in 2008 to acquire skills in managing faith development interviews, and in scoring them according to the *Manual for Faith Development Research*. All other interviews, i.e. the main interviews of this study, were conducted between January 2009 and March 2010.

3.5.2. The Sample

Qualitative research processes have a strong interpretive character. A qualitative method is more adequate for researching and interpreting a complex system such as human faith and delineating its social structures. Furthermore, qualitative research requires strict definition of its boundaries and samples.

Among the Turkish Muslim immigrants in Germany, three generations from the same families have been chosen as the sample of this study. However, living in the same home was not a precondition of choice. Methodologically, the study does not favour family interviews. Attendance of all three generations together at the same time and place was not necessary. Families and their members in North Rhein-Westphalia were chosen for ease of access. Participation of more people from the same generation was desirable. In three families, a second member from the same generation also participated in the interview. The third-generation participants have been chosen as at least 16 years of age. The aim was to better observe childhood and adulthood religiosity and possible deviations from older generations. Children are not included in this study.

A total of 76 people from 27 families were interviewed. In 23 families, there is a complete chain of three generations. In the remaining four, at least one generation—sometimes two—remained missing because the related member either rejected interviews or could not be reached. The interview partners were found sometimes via mosque associations, sometimes via friends and relatives, and sometimes through the advice of other participant families. The shortest interview lasted 28 minutes, the longest, 2 hours and 15 minutes. A faith development interview of more than one hour leads to diminishing concentration both for the interviewed and the interviewer, but sometimes it lasted longer, due to the desire of the interviewee to explain more. 6-7 hours were spent with each of the families visited.

Except for one family, all of the people participating in this study are from Sunni families. Among this Sunni sample, not only members of certain religious organizations, but also people not affiliated with any mosque organization, have been interviewed.

The only Alevi family interviewed, with three members, was from southern Turkey. For the analysis, this family was excluded from case studies due to the lack of similar samples for comparison and generalization. It will be briefly dealt with here. Based on the faith development interviews and narratives of three generations in the Alevi family, a sharp line was observed leading from traditional religion to atheism over the generations. The first generation, of Arabic Alevi origin, had a traditional lifestyle and a conventional God conception. The second-generation, 45-year-old son had atheistic tendencies denying the existence of a God. However, he felt closer to the Sunni conception of God in difficult moments of his life. Affiliation to national-Ottoman history was highlighted many times throughout his interview. Tolerance to religion as a human reality was observed with this second generation participant who claims that he is an atheist. In the third generation of the same family, religion was associated with weakness and the purpose of human life was evaluated from an atheistic viewpoint. He denies also the existence of a God. Sharp criticism was directed at religious communities and religious people. The Muslim community and German society alike were criticized, because he encountered exclusion from both societies.

It should be noted that a comparative analysis of Alevi religiosity between generations would be a theme worthy of independent inquiry. This could allow us to observe how a verbally-oriented religious tradition contends with modernity and how Alevi theology reflects on this. A comparative study conducted on different Alevi generations would provide rich information on religious diversity and on the transformation of the Alevi community over generations in modern societies.

3.5.3. Process of Data Collection

Before the beginning of the interview, the aim and logic of the study was explained to each participant. They were informed about the aim and importance of the study and assured of the privacy and anonymity of personal data. It was confirmed that the collected data would not be used for other than scientific purposes. It was also stressed that there were no right or wrong answers to interview questions, that the answers they gave and the stories they told were important for this study. They were further informed that they were not alone in participating in these interviews; many others were also replying or would reply to the questions of this research.

As a faith development interview takes more than an hour, it was scheduled in advance with each participant. During interviews, a good audio recording device and copies of the German and Turkish version of faith development questions were present. With the first and second generations, the interview language was mostly in Turkish, but the third-generation participants used a mix of German and Turkish. These third-generation youths have been observed to speak better Turkish when the subject turns to religion.

The life tapestry exercise proposed in the Manual was not applied during the interviews, as the participants were not interested in it. This was also noted by Aygün (2013) and Ok (2007). The contract for secrecy between researcher and interviewees was also not signed as Üzeyir Ok (2007) did for his study in Sivas. This causes people to take the interviews more seriously than necessary and bears the risk of discouraging participation. To establish a better trust with people,

the letter of legitimization for empirical data collection was shown, which was prepared by the author's supervisor. This established sufficient trust during interviews. In particular, when they saw the emblem of the University of Bielefeld on the top of the legitimization letter, their suspicion and distrust were dispelled.

Except for a few cases, all interviews were conducted in the homes of participants. Accordingly, sometimes the home of the first generation was the meeting place. Yet mostly, the others came to the homes of the second generation. The presence during interviews of a second person other than the participant was not desired. Almost all families that accepted an interview provided sufficient and favourable spaces for face-to-face interviews. Sound isolation was preferred when available. But sometimes, due to the lack of such places, extra rooms, etc., the interview was disturbed by the noises from other members of the family. A few interviews were conducted outside homes, in locations such as work offices or at mosque associations, with the consent of the participants. One family—with three generations—was interviewed at their summer resort in Turkey during their holiday in 2009.

To encourage the flow of conversation, various questions were sometimes asked in addition to the faith development questions. It was important for the participants to feel free and secure throughout the conversation. For example, in Özkan 3. Generation (interact 170), the interviewee feels like she is in an oral exam in front of a committee and is being soothed by the interviewer. Questions the participants did not want to answer were not insisted upon and skipped. Especially when people were speaking of their biographies, they shed tears on some dramatic occasions. On the other hand, formality and distance were avoided during the interviews. When they wanted to speak more, it was preferred not to interrupt them.

The questions were asked sometimes in Turkish and sometimes in German, in accordance with the will of the participant. The second and third generations understood faith development questions better and explained their ideas. The first generations had greater difficulty in understanding the contents of interview

questions. For this reason, some metaphorical expressions were resorted to during questioning.

Interview questions include some items alien to the Muslim tradition. To avoid much misunderstanding, an adaptation of certain questions to the Islamic tradition was necessary. Questions about symbols and religious ceremonies may be cited as an example. Laypersons are not too accustomed to the usage of such concepts in their everyday life. Some faith development questions were understood more easily: for instance, belonging to a group, to religious or other organizations. The question about the problem of evil required much more explanation. This question was made comprehensible only with examples such as natural catastrophes, death, etc. (*comp. Ok 2007*). The question of religious conflict was understood by some as conflicts within the Islamic tradition, but by others as between different religious traditions.

Explaining the content of the study to people and convincing them to do an interview was sometimes difficult. For example, a man from the second generation was contacted and initially consented to an interview. He said that his children are also students at the university. However, the interview was ultimately prevented by the grandfather (first generation).

A second-generation man introduced the author to his family and interviews were conducted with three generations. He asked many times to receive the records and transcripts of all the interviews conducted with his family members as a memento. Privacy considerations prevented their delivery.

Although it was difficult to convince people for interviews, all participants later expressed satisfaction with the interviews. They experienced a systematic self-reflection. Convincing participants to abide by interview rules was another problem. For example, during some interviews, mobile phones or home calls interrupted the conversation many times. One participant left in the middle of an interview and went to a football match.

In a study like this, single and isolated interviews are more informative in obtaining an impression of single faith biographies. Isolated interviews give interviewees the opportunity to go deep into their own life stories and freely mention significant relations.

3.5.4. Transcription of the Interviews and the Evaluation Process

The interviews recorded via a digital recording device were transcribed with the aid of a transcription program. For transcriptions, the instructions proposed by the Manual for Faith Development were followed. During transcription, the original dialect and language spoken in the interview were first recorded without changing it into written form. Each interview text was checked by listening to audio recordings more than once. During the transcription work, places, names, people mentioned and any other data which could reveal the identity of the interviewed person, were kept anonymous and changed. The majority of the interviews chosen for case studies have been translated into English by a bilingual Turkish-English native speaker or partially checked by the same person in written English. (These translations have been edited for clarity of meaning.) A Turkish-German bilingual speaker also did a complete check of three interviews conducted in German.

In the process of analysis, a stage-specific scoring and structural analysis have been followed according to the manual for faith development. The faith stages/styles of 30 interviews have been determined. The scores of the interviews have been checked with the help of a second rater. The results of different raters are generally close to each other, yet sometimes a wide difference in some aspects has been observed. This difference could not be eliminated even after discussion of scores with the second rater.

In the Fowlerian approach, the determination of stages with the help of faith development questions plays a central role in faith development research. The content is of secondary importance. But this does not necessarily mean that the material from the faith development interview cannot be interpreted for other than

structural purposes. It provides extensive data on one's biography, narratives, and the meanings attributed to religious symbols.

Narrative analysis of faith development: Special attention has been paid to the narrative structure of life stories. The life history should play an important role in an innovative faith development research. Streib (2005, 111) underscores this as follows: "The entire project of faith development theory consists of telling developmental stories, of recognizing these developmental stories in the interviews." "When we analyze the present, we analyze how it has historically evolved and how it has been established over time. Thus, content, structure and narrative material have been integrated with each other in the analysis in this research. The main reference in the faith development analysis here is the classical Faith Development Manual of 2004. But the new innovative approaches in faith development analysis in Bielefeld tradition went beyond this classical method taking more multidimensionality and multidirectionality of faith development (Keller, 2008; Keller&Streib 2013). This means according to Keller (2008 p. 79) "...individuals may function on one (cognitive, moral or else) level in one area and on a different level in another area, depending on what they perceive as adaptive at a certain point in time". Each interview in the case studies was divided into two main sections taking the content in the consideration. The first is the biographical and narrative contents and the other is the contents relating to the religion. In the former the reflection of the individual to the self biography and the way he / she constructs own world have been handled. The detailed biographical reflection from the perspective of participant was made in order to emphasize the importance of life world, relations and the environmental factors on the development of faith. Faith development interview questions include references to the developmental psychological theories. Mentalizing, wisdom, attachment, moral, social and cognitive development perspectives were all brought together in various interview passages acquired by faith development interview (Keller & Streib 2013). The critical life events have a special importance with its probability of provocation in change in the faith structure. With a generalization in the end, common biographies, life worlds and God representations, understanding of religiosity and the images of metaphysics in religion were crystallized and compared between generations.

The way how a person reconstruct own biography is related to the structure in the faith development. The other important point is how the person evaluates self in the relations with others. At the end of each personal case study the structural trajectory of the faith development quantitative assignments were illustrated on a lineal figure. This is the indication of importance given to the structural development either. However, we have to note that solely the structural approach does not say everything in the faith development analysis. That is only one of the elements assisting us to understand the whole picture. The new experiences in the Bielefeld approach of faith development have been used in the case studies. The faith development interview questions and the Manuel for the faith development give big importance to the social - historical context of the person. With a citation from the classical faith development manual of 1986 Streib (2005, p. 111) says that "When abstracted from the context of life history such "scores" are meaningless. With the narrative analysis integrated into other processes it aimed to understand the patterns under the biographical depths and meanings. This crystallized more in the contrast comparisons between the generations in order to show the communalities and differences. Here it also crystallizes the reflection strategies of the people on the past experiences and life events. The support of these narrative sequences with rich passages from the faith development interview helped to show the dynamic character of human faith development. Biographical Reconstruction, Relation with Significant Others, Current Image of Parents, Social Relations and Friendships, Appropriation of Religion, Image of God, Meaning of Religiosity, Moral Justification of Authorities, Form of Beliefs in Metaphysical Themes are some of the areas derived from the faith development interviews. These very detailed divisions do not refer solely to the structural perspective but puts especially the faith contents in the center of the analysis. However, the structural analysis is not wholly left (comp. Streib 2005, 102). The faith styles of all interviews in a sample and their developments represent special contents and beliefs.

4. PART THREE

4.1. Case Studies and the Results

Of the families interviewed, five have been chosen as case studies for detailed and in-depth analysis. All these families are represented in three generations. In the case studies, the youngest person is 19 years old and they have long years of experience in migration. The main criterion for choosing these five families is their (partially) representative status among the families interviewed. Before detailed presentation of the single- and three-generation cases, a brief introduction to the five families is presented in ascending alphabetical order.

- Akay Family Case Study: In this interview group, three persons from the Akay family—the grandmother, daughter and the granddaughter—have been interviewed. The grandmother leads a traditional and ritualistic religious life. Traditional and ritualistic religious discourses occupy a central place in her life. By the second and third generations, attachment to religious rituals is not necessary for being religious. Yet this does not mean that religion has lost its meaning. They highlight that rituals are necessary in life, yet in their implicit and explicit definitions the core of the religion has an ethical meaning and a general sense of “being virtuous or it is characterized with humanitarian values.

- Demir Family Case Study: This case covers three generations of males. In each of the three generations, the necessity of religious rituals is affirmed, and religion is defined as a sequence of religious observances. However, the overwhelming dimension in their understanding of religion refers to ethics, respecting the rights of others, and good relations with others.

- Özkan Family Case Study: In this family, the grandfather, daughter and granddaughter were interviewed. All three generations show a traditional ritualistic style, and at the same time an understanding of religion in terms of ethics. Religion plays an important role in personal, family, and social life

and relations; it has a central place in the life of these three people. Furthermore, this case study yields insights into the biographical narrations of a Turkish woman with head scarf (second generation) who works for a public institution in Germany, and her struggles for emancipation within her family. The findings in this study overlap with the conclusions of Klinkhammer and Karakaşoğlu in their earlier studies on Turkish second-generation women, even in those having traditional types of religious images, and their search for emancipation from the family's restrictive rules.

- Polat Family Case Study: In this family, three people with traditional religiosity were interviewed. Religion occupies a central place in the life of the first and second generations. It regresses to second place in the third generation. The second and third generations have been influenced by the Erbakanist (Milli Görüş) view.

- Yıldız Family Case Study: In this case study, the main challenge is to show how religion is modified over generations experiencing severe intergenerational conflict. Inability to gain autonomy from the family, but living together alongside conflict, is a characteristic feature of this family. Neither in the past nor in the current life of these three male generations does religion have a central place in daily life. Religious people are criticized; certain religious forms and patterns are rejected. Official religion is approved, yet there is a gap between belief, practice, and religious knowledge. Especially in the third generation, religious knowledge has almost disappeared. They do not have any direct relation with religious institutions. Their life world is entwined with problematical family relations. This three-generation case is a good example of “*du ut des*” and “conventional religious styles” in the generational process. In this case, we can observe the struggle for individuality, yet at the same time its failure due to environmental conditions. The case of the father and the grandson especially are striking examples of a dilemma, consisting of a simultaneous attachment to tradition and being in conflict with it.

In the case studies to follow, information about the family and interview conditions will first be documented, and then single cases will be presented sequentially. At the end of each single case, there is a summary for the related person and a comparison of the three people, with a summary of the three-generation constellation.

At the end of the first two case studies, detailed faith development comparisons will be presented separately. For the remaining three families, faith development analyses and comparisons will not be presented under different headings, but will be dealt with in the case studies. Because the second and third stages of faith development are dominant in almost all family generations, this will cause repetitiveness in faith development comparisons. To avoid this, faith development comparisons have not been made after the case studies for the last three families. The priority will be given to the narrative and content elements of faith (Keller & Streib, 2013). The comparison will be made at the end of the thesis for the entire sample. In addition, the Turkish or German original of each interview quote will be given in the footnotes.

4.1.1. Demir Family Case Study Over Three Generations

The Demir family lives in a city to the east of North Rhein-Westphalia in Germany. By now, the fourth generation of the family lives in Germany; they immigrated from a village in the Black Sea region of Turkey. The oldest person in the family is the grandfather who was interviewed. The youngest family member is his grandchild's one-year-old son. Mr. Demir 1 (the grandfather) was the first to come to Germany in 1969. He has 6 children, all of whom live in Germany, and are all married and have their own families.

The interviews were conducted with Mr. Demir 1, the second of his six children, the 45-year-old son, and his grandson who is 27 years old. Three separate meetings were arranged with these three family members at the home of the second generation.

Grandfather Demir is retired; he has worked in an iron and steel plant, after working in mining for a very long time. He has received no formal education. His second-generation son is working for a company as an unskilled worker. Grandson Demir graduated from a university's economics department, is married, the father of two children, and at the time of the interview was studying for his Master's degree. The son and grandson live in the same house. Grandfather Demir lives in the same neighbourhood, but in a different house. During the analysis, the pseudonyms Mr. Demir 1, Mr. Demir 2, and Mr. Demir 3 will be used to denote the first-, second- and third-generation interviewees, respectively.

Interviews: Contact was established with three members of the Demir family via a friend in July 2009. They agreed to give an interview. During the Christmas holiday of the same year, the family was visited at the home of Demir 2. All three generations were present at the first meeting. The wives of the second and third generation were also present. The wife of Demir 2 wears a traditional headscarf—the headscarf style of Anatolian housewives—and the wife of the third generation did not. There was no picture or symbol representing religion in the modern luxury living room of the second generation.

At this first meeting, the three generations had an open and fluid dialogue with each other. They could talk freely about various subjects and could tolerate criticism. The men were sitting as a group on the couch on the left side of the room, and the women were at the seats around the dinner table. They were speaking openly, and the women also participated in this conversation. They each completed their sentences without interfering with the words of others.

During this first meeting, Mr. Demir 2 reserved many of his criticisms for the immigrant-Turkish society. He argued that the Turks were more respected in Germany and had a better image in the past. They destroyed this good image and respect by closing themselves to German society. In his view, Turkey is excluded from the European Union because Turks in Germany have failed to represent the Turkish image as it should have been. If the immigrants in Germany had lived up to the respect for Turkish society, Turkey would have entered the European Union long ago.

The cause of this situation is not primarily the religion of the Turks. In his opinion, not only mosques and religious organizations, but Turkish immigrants themselves close themselves to German society, regardless of their religious affiliation. In addition, he argued that Turks in Germany establish a ghetto culture and distance themselves from German society. Further, German society is not sufficiently acquainted with Turks. If they knew the Turks better, they would not generalize the bad habits of a few people to the whole of the immigrant society. In his opinion, the image of Turks has been scarred, with only the negative aspects being considered in Germany. All family members agreed with these thoughts of Mr. Demir 2.

The interview with Demir 1 was conducted at the end of this first meeting. Mr. Demir 3 reserved his working room in the second floor of the house for the interview with his grandfather. The interview with Demir 2 was conducted two weeks later in the living room. Demir 3 had his appointment one week later at the same place. All interviews were conducted in Turkish and in isolated conditions. Demir 2 insisted on speaking Turkish during the interview, although he had difficulties with the Turkish language. His command of German could not be assessed. Demir 3 speaks fluent German and Turkish.

4.1.1.1. Mr. Demir 1

Mr. Demir 1 is 69 years old at the time of interview. He has a clean-shaven face, he does not have a moustache or beard, is well-dressed, wears a hat, and has a sense of humour. Yet he appears very exhausted, due to an illness which he has been suffering for nine years. He has had lung surgery several times in the last five years.

He was born in 1940 in a village in Turkey's northwest Black Sea region as the elder of a miner's two sons. When he was six years old, he was given away for adoption to his paternal aunt and her husband, who didn't have any children. His younger brother grew up with his real parents. Later, this brother also migrated to Germany for work. He died in a traffic accident a few years before the interview.

4.1.1.1.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Mr. Demir 1 does not divide his life into different chapters. He relates that he worked two years for a factory in a big city in Germany. Later, he moved to the town where he lives at present. He worked more than twenty-five years until his retirement, which he had to accept due to health problems.

Initially, Mr. Demir 1's migration to Germany was not official, he came "as a tourist," (6) as he says. He did not come via an employment agency, as was usual for the first generation of guest workers. The word "tourist" here is used among the Turkish immigrants to describe illegal entrance to Germany and an unofficial accommodation without official permission. He says he acquired his residence and work permits after the German Chancellor Willy Brandt pardoned those who entered Germany in illegal ways in those days. His goal was to save 10,000 Turkish Liras and return to Turkey. After 40 years, he is still in Germany and never went back. He describes this process as follows:

D1: Yes, I came here with difficulty. After arriving here, I was jobless for six days and found employment on the seventh. After that, there was Cevdet Sunay, he was our president, at that time there was Willy Brandt, the Chancellor here. Willy Brandt invited him (Cevdet Sunay). Actually, Willy Brandt settled this foreign matter. At that time Cevdet Sunay came here, he invited him and we benefited from that. He (Willy Brandt) granted amnesty to the tourists who came here. They gave us permission to become residents. They gave us health checkups, kept the healthy ones and sent the unhealthy ones back.⁶ (6)

About crisis situations experienced in his life in the past, he says:

D1: Well, son, let me tell you something, I was never in crises. You fall into crises when you don't have money, this and that, you have difficulties and so on ... I've never lacked money. I've married off my children, I've never been penniless. God always gave me, I would work. I've never been in depression.

I: To what do you attribute this, is it because you always had money? Or are there other reasons as well?

⁶ *Evet, zahmetli geldim. Buraya geldikten sonra altı gün boş durdum, yedinci gün işe aldılar beni. Ondan sonra ee buraya ee bi şey vardı, Cevdet Sunay diye bi bizim cumhurbaşkanı vardı. O zaman Willy Brandt vardı başbakan burda. Willy Brandt, Willy Brandt buraya onu davet etti. Şey, ee esas bu yabancıyı bu Willy Brandt kurdu. O zamanları, ee Cevdet Sunay buraya geldi, davet etti o da bize rast gitti. Bu bi sefere mahsus buraya gelen turistleri affetti. Bize oturma verdiler, muayene ettiler burda, sağlam çıkkanı burda kodular, sağlam çıkmayanı geri yolladılar.*

D1: This is because I have faith in God Almighty.

I: How does he protect you from crises, can you give an example?

D1: ... Well, if you go in every which way, everything occupies your mind. But when you say "There is no God but God" (*La ilahe illallah*), you feel relieved, you know? You're filled with joy, peace comes over you. But if you think this and that, depression will come to you. But when you say "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful" (*Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim*) and go to work, it's good for you. I used to wake up in the mornings and say "In the Name of God" [...] you understand? (*Laughs*)

I: All right. If you had the power now, what would you like to change in yourself or in your life?

D1: Honestly, if I had the power now, I wouldn't change anything at all. I've experienced everything possible, you see?⁷ (101)

In his statements, there is no concrete reference to a specific person influencing him in the process of decision-making.

D1: I don't ask one person, I ask ten people. Now (for example), my grandchild takes me to a doctor, I make him repeat ten times. What is this prescription? Is it white or black? Whether he really knows or not. After I make him read the prescription, I ask another, (so that I can check) what he (the earlier one) read is correct or not. This is me, I don't believe only in you (*laughs*). If he reads (the prescription) in the same way, then it's correct.⁸ (215)

In retrospect, Demir 1 uses a logic which is not coherent. Although some statements in his biographical narratives present himself as the main actor in his life, he cannot produce a coherent life story from various life events and/or experiences. Some complex stories told by him are of a romantic, legendary and narrative nature. Similarly, he has expressed elsewhere that he has "experienced many difficulties," but cannot reconstruct these in a systematic way. He states that he would not change anything in his life. He believes he has experienced everything in this world, and does not want more. This designates a structure

⁷ D1:Valla oğul ben sana bişey deyiverem, ben hiç bunalıma girmedim. Bunalıma ee parasız kalırsın, şunsuz kalırsın bunsuz kalırsın, zorun olur şunun olur ben hiç parasız kalmadım, uşakları everdim meverdim, hiç parasız kalmadım. Allah bi yandan verdi. Çalışırdım, hiç bunalıma girmedim.I: Bunu neye bağlıyorsun? sadece parasız kalmadığına mi? başka nedenleri de olabilir mi bunun? D1: ee işte Cenab-ı Allaha inancımdayım. I: O nasıl kurtarıyor seni krizden mesala? D1: Şimdi ee yere indimidi doğru gidersen yoldan doğru gidersen herşey geliyor aklına. Emme la ilahe illallah dersin sana bi esnemek gelür, anladın mi? bi sevinç gelür içlerine, yanı huzur gelür. Ama onu düşünürsen bunu düşünürsen, sana bunalım gelür. Ama bismillahirrahmanirrahim la ilahe illallah dersin gidersen işiğin başına sana şey gelir, ee iyi gelir. Ben sabahleyin kalkardım, bismillahirrahmanirrahim işbaşı ileri şeytan başı geri derdim, anladın mi ? (gülmeler)I:Peki şimdi bi gücün olsa, kendinde ve hayatında en çok neyi değiştirmek istersin? D1:Valla şimdiki bi gücüm olsa hiç bişeyi değiştiremem gayrı. Herşeyden merakımı aldım, anladın mi?

⁸D1:Bi kişiye de danışmam, on kişiye danışıyorum, şimdi torunum beni doktora götürüyor, on sefer tekrarlatırım, bu yazı ne? ak mı kara mı? doğru biliyon mu deydi. Buna bi yazı okutursam bi de ötekine okutuyorum onun okuduğu doğru mu değil mi deydi. Ben öyleyim, sadece sana inanmıyorum (gülmeler). O da aynı yazıyı okursa o zaman bu doğrudur".

which is the mixture of reality and fantasy. Thus, his form of logic is assigned as a mix of Stages 2 and 3.

In his statements, Demir 1 does not mention any conflict, crisis, or breakthrough throughout his life. He reports the reasons why crises or breakthroughs did not occur. He tells the result but he cannot explain the process. He associates this with always working and the grace of God on him. Some religious practices and symbolic formulas function as authority in coping with life challenges. Phrases used in popular and traditional religiosity, such as *La ilahe illallah* and *Bismillahir Rahmanir Rahim*, are among them. However, there is no sign of a coherent evaluation of these.

In order to evaluate the bounds of his social awareness in faith development, Mr. Demir 1 was asked about his life chapters and the groups or organizations he feels himself close to. Demir 1 was assigned as Stage 2 in this respect. He reports only on his work in two different cities of Germany. He cannot arrange his life chapters and high points systematically. He does not see any changes in his relations and thoughts: he is not aware of any.

4.1.1.1.2. Reconstruction of his Relations with (non-)Significant Others

Mr. Demir 1 had schooling neither in Turkey nor after moving to Germany. The most influential person in his personality development during childhood was his aunt, who adopted and raised him. His relations with his true parents were confined to visits. Demir 1 says that his separation from his real parents did not affect him and that he easily got used to the home of his aunt. He called her “big sister” (*abla*) and her husband “maternal uncle” (*dayi*).

Demir 1 says about his adoption and being raised at his aunt’s home:

D1: My aunt had no children... yeah; my father gave me up for adoption to them. She cared for me, she took care of me, she brought me up ...

I: Did you know that you were given for adoption?

D1: I didn’t know very well, I mean I went there.

I: How were your relations with your true parents then?

D1: I did not have any relations with them after that.

D1: What kind of parenting did they (the adopting family) show you?

D1: They took good care of me.

D1: Did this situation cause you to feel sad?

D1: No, I became accustomed to the others.

I: How was their religious life?

D1: I used to call him *dayi*, and the other *abla*. They were careful about their Daily Prayers (*namaz*). They didn't have illegal dealings, stealing and suchlike. Then, he (uncle) worked in mining; he bought a vehicle and so on, a truck. He had a good income; they brought me up like that."⁹ (52-73)

His family was at the center of his relations before his migration to Germany, and still remains central to his current relations after migration. Today, his family and children make his life meaningful and worth living. He says that he is pleased with the present situation of his family members, especially about his children and grandchildren in Germany. He has no worries about their situation, because he believes that he took good care of them. "I didn't let them go hungry and thirsty; each of them started working... this is the best thing,"¹⁰ (176), he says.

Mr. Demir 1 believes that he fulfilled his responsibility to his children as a father. To express that he properly performed his duties to his offspring, he compares himself with other fathers. This gives him a feeling of comfort. In his account, there are a lot of people and friends who lack this feeling, because they couldn't take good care of their children or broke their ties with them. As an example, Mr. Demir 1 tells of his friend, also a first generation labor migrant like himself, who worked very hard and earned lots of money in Germany. This friend now has lots of possessions in Turkey and Germany. But he couldn't raise his children properly, and some of them were put in prison or went astray. Mr. Demir 1 says that the possessions of this friend are useless to his children. With this comparison, he implies that the nonmaterial—spiritual—education of children is more important

⁹D1: *Ablamın çoluğu çocuğu olmadı... Evet, babam oraya evlatlığına verdi beni, o büyüttü. O baktı o büyüttü. ... I: Biliyor muydun evlatlık verildiğini? D1: Eyce bilmiyordum yani oraya gittiğimi. I: Anne babayla ilişkilerin nasıl oldu o arada? D1: Onlardan ilişkim kalmadı I: Nasıl bir babalık annelik yaptılar sana. D1: İyi baktılar. I: Sende bu herhangi bi üzüntü falan oluşturdu mu? D1: Yo ben ötekilere alıştım. I: Onların dini yaşantıları nasıldı? D1: ee ona ben dayı derdim, birine abla derdim. Ondan sonra namazkar idiler öyle haramzade değildiler, çalıp çırpma bi insanlar değildiler. Ondan sonra ocakta çalıştı araba filan aldı, kamyon. Talibati iyiydi, öyle beni büyüttüler.*

¹⁰D1: *Aç bırakmadım susuz bırakmadım.... ehm herkesi kendi işine başlattım. En güzel iş bu.*

than providing for their physical needs. In this sense, he feels that he has completed his task in both fields. In the earlier quote, he also mentioned that he met their physical needs. He believes that he cared for their health. This is why Mr. Demir 1 finds his present life meaningful and peaceful. With this in mind, he thinks he has lived and tasted everything in this life. (180)

Harmony in the life of Demir 1 is what makes it meaningful. He feels himself responsible to his family, and is pleased by their current situation. He uses a traditional language to express this. Statements are implicit. The authority of a certain group or a point of view does not play any role here. The concepts demanding interpersonal harmony are associated with the authority of God.

Mr. Demir 1's perspective taking was assigned as Stage 2. He does not speak of important relations outside his family members. Among his past relations, central place is given to his aunt who brought him up. He reports this relation in a narrative and linear style of meaning making. He does not reflect critically on what kind of an impact this relation had upon him. He reports events in a narrative style, and a simple perspective taking (Manual 2004, p. 36-37) is to be observed in his statements.

4.1.1.1.3. Appropriation of Religion

From his biographical reconstruction, it is apparent that his first encounter with religion starts in the family. He remembers the period after being given up for adoption when he was six years old. He does not speak about the religious atmosphere at the home of his true parents. Demir 1 reports that his aunt and his uncle who adopted him were religious and financially well-off. Their religiosity is identified as being devoted to Daily Prayers (*namaz*) and avoiding what is forbidden (*haram*). The *haram* here refers to the rights of other people. His aunt and her husband were described by him as being careful about not violating the rights of others. However, he says that they did not force religion on him in his childhood or oblige him to become religious. Like every child in the village, he briefly attended the village mosque where he was informed about religion. A

Prayer-leader (*imam*) taught them to memorize some prayers and chapters from the Koran.

Mr. Demir 1 lived his childhood in a period when religion was under strict control by the laic state ideology of Turkey. This period seems to have affected his early religious development, even though he is not aware of it. In those days (especially from 1933 to 1950) the language of worship and the religious ceremonies in the mosques were changed from Arabic into Turkish. Perhaps for this reason, he talked many times about the Prayer-call (*ezan*) throughout his interview. He has the idea that *Ezan* was originally Turkish, but that people changed it to Arabic later on. He says:

D1:Now, I think... I'm 69 years old, I think now, God Almighty revealed one Book, in the past, at that time they used to recite that, "God is Great" (*Tanrı uludur*). God has written that there only once, not twice. Then, the call was "God is Great," now it is different (recited in Arabic). Who changed that? You and me, we change it. I write it down. And? And now? God has revealed this only once, not twice.¹¹ (137)

In reality, the opposite of what Mr. Demir 1 states had happened in Turkey. In the history of Islam, the original language of the Prayer-call has always been Arabic. It was changed in Turkey for a while into Turkish (Başgöz; 1998). When we consider what he says in his interview, it is understood that he was not in a religious organization or group before or after he came to Germany. He was not an active or passive member of such organizations. However, as we will see later in this case study, he has sympathy to the DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union of the Directorate of Religious Affairs) organization in Germany. Yet this is limited only to sympathizing, and there is no indication that he participates personally in the activities of this organization. He was also asked about his associated groups or ideas. From his statements, it is obvious that he does not have outside relations. His life world consists of his family and its members. He did not enter dialogues on politics or religion with other people so that he could verify, for example, his understanding about this change in the Prayer-call language. Another interesting

¹¹D1: *Şimdi ben düşünüyorum... ben altmış dokuz yaşındayım, ben şimdi düşünüyorum, ee Cenab-ı Allah bi kitap endirmiş, o zaman bunu okuyolardı, Tanrı uludur deydi. Bunu ee bi sefer yazmış Allah kitabı oraya, iki sefer değil bi sefer endirmiş, bi sefer endirmiş, o zaman Tanrı uludur deydi okuyolardı. Şimdi başka okuyorlar. Bunu kim değiştirdi, sen ben değiştiriyom. Yazıyom şuraya, eee? bu nerde? bu ee şimdi, bunu bi sefer indirdi Cenab-ı Allah, iki sefer değil.*

point about the above quote is that it implies that the Koran can also be altered—or falsified—along with the Prayer-call. However, this does not seem to be theological scepticism. Because he does not discuss and bring arguments for the theme he defines.

Here is an example from a quote in which he mentions the religious group he feels himself closest to:

I: Alright, which is the closest to you among these mosque organizations?

D1: It's Diyanet (DITIB).

I: Why is this closer to you than the others?

D1: Why? That's where the religion spread from.¹²(164-165)

In his words, Diyanet (Turkish-Islamic Union of the Directorate of Religious Affairs: DITIB) has an outstanding position among the Turkish religious groups in Germany. In his view, all other associations originated from it. Hence, it is the source of religion. This group is determined by his social context and is not an independent choice; other groups are undervalued. We do not find traces of Stage 3 in his statements. All things considered, it is obvious that his social world is limited to his immediate family (Manual p. 25).

His notion of intra and interreligious conflict seems to be more liberal; it is based on the logic of interpersonal harmony. He finds the existence of different religions “normal.” No one should be forced to accept any religion, and should not be forced to perform a ritual.

D1: ... well... Everybody says, err... you don't go to mosque, let's say. God knows whether you go or not. I can't push you into a mosque by force. One man (*laughs*), one man in a village didn't go to the mosque and didn't perform Prayers... In Ramadan, the villagers came together and said, “that guy doesn't come to Prayers, so we're going to take that guy to the mosque tonight.” And the hodja says “OK,” and all of them went there and dragged him to the mosque by force. They made him take an ablution and they all started Prayer (*namaz*). He performs it and after the Prayer ends, the hodja asks: “How are you?” He says, “How can I be? You guys brought me here. So I didn't perform it as required. If I feel it in me I'll come, if not, I won't.” He says, “I won't come again

¹²I: *Bu camiler içerisinde en yakın hangisi sana?* D1: *En yakın diyanet.* I: *Neden diğerlerinden daha çok yakın bu sana?* D1: *Yav neye ee ordan yayılmış şey, din ordan.*

tomorrow or the day after.” See? Only God can punish that, you can’t. He will give (the punishment) on the other side (in the afterlife).¹³(311)

He supports tolerance as a solution in conflicts between religions. Nobody should be forced to accept a certain religious confession and to practice the rituals of a religion. In his view, forcing someone to practice religion does not yield positive results. The existence of differences in the world should be perceived as a blessing, not as a reason for conflict. For example, differences of language are a good opportunity for people from different origins to get along with each other. He understands differences as the will and blessing of God. But he expresses this in a different style. He says if there were a single language in the world, everyone would understand each other and would figure out bad intentions right away, and as a result nations would go to war with each other at the slightest provocation.

D1:... in this world, in the world generally, if there was a single language, err... if it is German, you can’t agree with them, they can’t agree with you. Do you understand? If there is a single language, you talk but you say something different, suddenly I hear that and I talk about it. But God created this different, God makes that speech, too. Do you understand? He gave everybody a different language, if he gave a single language, that wouldn’t work. The whole world would start fighting. But you don’t hear (understand) what he says; you don’t hear what I say. Now, when there is the same language, someone says “I will shoot landlord Ahmed,” you [Ahmed] hear about it directly. “Ouch, landlord Mehmet will shoot me,” because the language is one, see? He takes precautions. But now, since there are different languages, Greece says: “I will hit Turkey.” Will you be able to know if or when it is going to hit?—because you don’t understand the language. It will hit you in the evening. Like I said, God Almighty created different languages. This is a language, God created it, too. God Almighty created everything. This place is also really created by Him. Err... God creates a huge plane, let’s see you create it. He didn’t create everyone’s brain the same, look, as it’s said, the five fingers of a hand are not the same size. If all of them were same, if the five fingers of a hand were the same, all of them would say the same thing. But one of them knows this and another one knows that, God brings them together here, you understand?¹⁴ (314)

¹³ D1: *Ya herkes , ee sen şimdi şeye camiye gitmiyon, anladın mı. Senin gittiğini gitmediğini Allah bilir. Seni zoran tutup da ben camiye atamam. Adamın biri (gülme) köyde adamın birisi camiye gitmemiş, namaza gelmiyormuş. Şeyde ee ramazanda köylü toplanıyor, arkadaş diyor filanca namaza gelmiyor bu akşam diyor bu adamı dutup götürürecez buraya diyorlar. İyi diyo hoca. Hoca moca gidiyorlar yaka paça götürüyorlar, götürmüşler ee bi aptes aldırmişler namaza durmuş, durdurmuşlar, kılmış, namaz bitmiş. Hoca sormuş, nasılsın demiş, nasıl olcağım demiş, buraya siz getirdiniz beni demiş. Ben de okuyup kılmadım ya demiş. Benim içerimde varsa gelirim, yoksa gelmem, yarin ertesi günü gine gelmem demiş. Ya bunun cezasını Allah verir sen veremezsin. O öbür dünyada verecek onu.*

¹⁴ D1: *Bu dünyada genel dünyada bi dil olsa, almanca olsa, eee sen onlan anlaşılamazsın, o senlen anlaşılamaz, anladın mı, bi dil olunca, senin dediğini ee sen konuşuyorsun ama ayrı bişey konuşuyorsun, hemen ben duyuyorum, şu şöyle oldu diyorum. Emme Cenab-ı Allah bunu da ayrı yaratmış, bunu da konuşturan Allah, anladın mı, herkese farklı farklı dil vermiş, bi dil verse olmuyor. Dünya birbirine girer. Amma onun dediğini sen duymuyorsun, benim dediğimi sen duymuyorsun. Şimdi ayrı dil oldumuydu ben diyor vuracağım diyor Ahmed Agayı diyor, hemen sen duyuyon. Ooo Memed Aga beni vuracak, çünkü dil bir. Tedbir oluyor. Ama şimdi ayrı dil olduğu için, Yunanistan diyor ki Türkiyeyi vuracağım diyor, sen bilebileceen*

If someone makes a mistake, God will give its punishment. Thus, humans are not allowed to judge. The existence of various languages is also the will of God. About this diversity, he displays a more dialogical attitude. He is opposed to religious particularism, but this is not a conscious opposition. He does not express any idea on the validity of other religious traditions. He accepts their existence and difference. He does not advance ideas on the legitimacy or existence of other religious traditions. At the same time, he does not report a contradiction between his own faith and accepting the existence of others. However, his references depend mainly on his own tradition: namely, if there is punishment for the followers of other religions, which is up to God. This can be evaluated as simple moral relativism (Manual p. 44), rather than the dialogical perspective of Stage 5 in faith development. He does not have a regard for the critical complexities of religious pluralism (Manual p. 44). His moral view is based mainly on protecting harmony and interpersonal concord. And this bears the characteristics of Stage 3, the mutual religious style.

4.1.1.1.4. Image of God

The God-image of Mr. Demir 1 is rather complex, consisting of contradictory elements. For Demir 1, God is the creator of everything. God has the power to change or do anything in human life. For instance, a human has to leave this world for good when God wishes, nobody can stand against God. God is the power that creates the world and plans life. Mr. Demir 1 further thinks that this power can also punish. He was asked about his image or model of mature faith. He says that he prefers to follow the path of God instead of any specific individual or anything else. In his view, because people are different from each other, they think and talk differently.

In a passage he speaks about God to prove the power of God:

D1: God shakes the ground, joins it and you go down, if you shake it, why don't you shake it; make me move if you can. But God makes lots of things move. Who does the shaking, is it you or me?

mi vuracağını, ne zaman vuracak, dilinden bilmiyonkine. Akşam vuracak seni. Yaaa ayrı ayrı dil yaratmış Cenab-ı Allah. Oysam dil bi bunu yaradan da Allah. Herşeye Cenab-ı Allah şey yaratmış. Burayı da asıl o, ee kocaman uçak yapıyor Allah, uçağı sen yaratsene. Herkesin beynini bir yaratmamış, bak beş parmağın beşi de bir değil diyorlarya. Bunların hepsi düz olsa, beş parmağın beşi de düz olsa, hepsi de kitap der. Ama biri ondan biliyor biri ondan biliyor, burda birleştiriyor Allah. anladın mı ?”

Who goes underground and shakes the earth? Trees recline to the ground and rise again. A tree that reclines, can it rise? It rises suddenly. I saw an earthquake while I was herding animals, herding cattle, beside a mountain. It (the earthquake) struck, I looked and found myself by the forest. The whole forest is lying down and rising back up... The tree lies down and then rises.¹⁵ (247)

He believes that his faith in God protected him against all kinds of crises. He thinks that if people fall into crises, this is because they have financial problems or are poor. He has always worked very hard, and God has rewarded him in return. It is obvious from his biographical reconstruction that his trust in material security gives him an inner stability, security in life, and trust in God. He believes that he has been in charge of his own life with the help of God. He has worked and God has provided; if he had not worked, God would not have.

Mr. Demir 1 reports God and death as religious symbols without any analytic reasoning. These symbols are taken unilaterally and in their literal meaning. The narrative functions as a unique source for giving meaning and unity to his symbolic experiences. He tries to tell stories and events from his own life. He harbours conventional thoughts on God. Anthropomorphism and literalness predominate his statements. These are signs of Stage 2: mythic-literal faith.

In addition to his God-image as creator, he has a punitive image of God. He associates this punitive image with an earthquake he experienced in his youth. He is clearly embedded in the lived story and does not show reflective distance on these stories (Manual p. 56). He prefers the style of story-telling in giving unity and value to his experiences (Fowler 1981 p. 149) He thinks God gives warning and penalty in this way. If people do good deeds, they will not incur punishment. This reflects the criteria of mythic-literal faith: good will automatically be rewarded, and the bad will be punished. A sense of cosmic reciprocity can also be observed here: that is, what you get out of life is determined by what you put in. Demir 1 does not reflect on the formation process of his God-image, or on changes in this image.

¹⁵ D1: ... o bi sallıyor yeri, kavuşturuyor gidiyorsun aşağı. Sen sallasan şurayı, niye sallamıyorsun. Beni oynat bakalım. Ama o nelerini oynatıyor. Kim sallıyor, yerin altına ben mi giriyom sen mi giriyon da sallıyon. Ağaçlar aşağı doğru yatıyor, yerinden doğruluyor. Bu yatan ağaç doğrulur mu? Bir anda doğruluyor. Ben bi zelzele gördüm, dağın kıyısında hayvan güdüyordum, davar güdüyordum. Bi geldi, bi de baktım, ormanın kıyısında idim. Orman aşağı yukarı yatıyor, yere yatıyor yerden kalkıyor, orman. Ağaç yere yatıyor, ondan sonra kalkıyor.

4.1.1.1.5. Religiosity

Demir 1 received only a brief religious education, but he often refers to the Book (the Koran). These are generally things he has heard in daily life, learned from sermons in mosques, and elements imposed by culture and tradition. So this frequent reference to the Book is not because he reads the Koran, or even its Turkish translation. Mr. Demir 1 talks about the importance of praying with a *hodja* (*imam*, Prayer-leader). The personal lives of hodjas are none of our business according to him. Everybody should respect their (*hodjas'*) privacy. But still, Mr. Demir 1 complains about frauds and quacks who claim to cure by breathing (healers), since these fake hodjas hurt people with their supposed magic and destroy families.

It should be noted that the Pilgrimage to Mecca is an important milestone in the religious life of adult Sunni –mainly traditional- Muslims. Normally, it is common for Sunni Muslims to want to go on Pilgrimage after a certain age. Demir 1 has not yet gone on pilgrimage to Mecca. He does not mention his intention to do so. Mr. Demir 1 does not have any spiritual practice either. He prays continuously, and in his prayers he calls upon God for the protection of his family, his children, and the welfare of human beings.

According to Mr. Demir 1, who is truly religious can't be known; only God knows that. He says he is not a religious person: because of his illness, he can't fulfil many religious duties. For example, he is unable to fast in Ramadan and perform Daily Prayers like he used to. This makes him uncomfortable sometimes, but he comforts himself by saying that religion is a private relationship between God and a person.

His statement "I work, God provides," supports his conviction that human actions will face two kinds of consequences after death: if a deed deserves punishment after death, it means that deed was wrong. For example, he brings up two points when he tries to explain why killing is wrong. First, nobody has the right to kill, only God as their Creator has that right. Second, such a deed will be judged by God after

death. His statements about the division of human actions as right and wrong are demonstrated in the following quote, which points to Stage 3 of moral judgment.

I: Well, how do we know if something is right?

D1: The Book says and the hodjas say, "you should believe." There are some things in which you should believe, and some things you should not. Look, you are gathering these sentences now and you select one among these. Why do you choose? Write it all! But you choose the good ones, not the bad ones. Now, there are both bad and good in what I say. But you know the bad. When you don't know and write all, and bring it to your teacher, he says: "You've written these, they're good, but these ones are bad!" You know they're bad too. Would he then let you become a teacher?¹⁶ (223)

We learn the measure of right and wrong from books and hodjas (religious authorities). Still, he is rather critical of religious authorities. He thinks there are things to be believed and things not to be believed, and people should make this distinction on their own. We should be selective and not take everything at face value. He attempts a critical approach to the distinction of human deeds as right and wrong, but the example he gives is rather conventional.

In Mr. Demir 1's worldview, the foremost moral quality everyone should have is honesty (*dürüstlük*). The criterion of honesty resides in complying with the rights of others. To be called honest, two things are emphasized: "not being ill-tempered, and not deceiving this or that person." (232) Frugality is also another moral quality. God creates us together with our destiny (*nasip, kismet*) in this world. Mr. Demir 1 explains in the inexact third-person singular form: God gives people three, four chances in their destiny. People face many situations in their life, such as wealth, poverty, hunger, and thirst. Everyone should be careful. If a person becomes rich and has opportunities, but does not act with humility, "Deceive this person, deceive that person, say 'I'm the greatest,' then God's slap is mighty. 'Did I tell you to do it like that?' A slap in your face! You go down; the one you wronged goes forward."¹⁷ (232) He believes that injustice must

¹⁶ I: *Peki nerden biliyoruz biz bir şeyin doğru olduğunu, nasıl biliriz? D1.Kitap söylüyor, hocalar söylüyor, inanacaan. İnanacağın da olacak inanmıyacağın da olacak. Nasıl bak şimdi o cümleleri topluyon da arasında bi tene seçiyorsun, niçin seçiyorsun, hepsini yaz. Emme eyilerini seçiyorsun, kötülerini seçmiyorsun. Benim şimdi lafladığım kötü de var, eyi de var, ama kötüyü sen biliyorsun. Emme bilmesen hepsini yazsan, şeyin önüne götürdünmüydü , öğretmenin önüne götürdünmüydü okur, sen bunun hepsini iyi yazmışın ama şu kötü der sana. Amma kötüyü sen de biliyorsun. O zaman seni öğretmen yapar mı?*

¹⁷D1: *Ahmedi kandır, Mehmedi kandır, ben agayım ben en büyüğüm dersin, Allahın şamarı büyük. Ben sana öyle mi yap dedim! bi şamar da sana! aşağı. O ileri.*

be punished immediately. Here he highlights the justice of God on one hand, and the retribution of God on the other.

For Mr. Demir 1, in the end honesty means following the path of God, not the path of the devil. Human life has meaning and purpose: if humans live like human beings, then their life means something. He has a rather positive view of the world and life. In his reckoning, the world is a place full of wonderful things. To benefit from these blessings, we should act like human beings, not like animals.

D1: If you aren't going to live like a human being, then just stay here briefly and leave. If you act like a human being, see, there's grass (there's beauty), that kind of thing, you can play with your children, spend time one way or another, but if you won't act like a human then you'll soon be ruined.¹⁸(240)

He speaks almost pedagogically in this quote. He explains the meaning of being human as recognizing/acknowledging the value of everything one has been given. For him, being human actually represents being good and respectful towards all existence. Especially, being thankful is a lofty human quality. Being human requires good deeds. Righteousness, honesty and not violating the rights of others are held as the foremost moral values which people must agree upon. These are reported by Demir 1 as virtues that contribute to the enhancement of interpersonal relationships.

People who violate the rights of others will be punished by God. In this respect as well, he is strongly oriented to his family members on the one hand and religion on the other. Although these two are signs of Stage 2, he can support his predefined meaning patterns. Yet it is not at the level of Stage 4. Authority (God), beliefs and values (own children, righteousness, not violating the rights of others) are felt deeply but held tacitly, which are indications of Stage 3.

The concept of sin seems to have a meaning denoting social relations in his view. In Demir 1's book, violating the rights of other people is a sin. He draws attention

¹⁸ D1: *İnsan gibi durmazsan uğra git. İnsan gibi durursan bak çimen var şu var bu var, çoluğunun çocuğunun oynuyon, şöyle ediyon böyle ediyon. Emme insan gibi durmazsan iki günden telef oluyon.*

to social ethics and interpersonal rules: he does not have a conventional perception of religiosity implying religious rituals. The iniquity of violating the rights of other people is written in the Koran. Here we can observe "law and order" statements. His statements are basically aimed at the protection of society and interpersonal harmony, rather than serving a personal stance. There are no "prior to society" elements in his statements (Manual p. 43).

4.1.1.1.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

He says of the existence of evil in the world:

D1: (evil) bad things, er, it is said, the moist (logs) will burn along with the dry. Where bad people are present, the (good) suffer too. That's the way it is, this is why earthquakes happen.

D1: Nothing comes to my mind. This is from God, God shows that to you, so that you do not do this (bad act) once more. God shows it to you as a lesson. He says, "I'm behind you." He says, "No one is greater than me." That's why he does that and says, "Shake things up like that (if you can)."¹⁹(305)

In his opinion, the problem of evil arises because of bad people. When disaster strikes, it makes no distinction between the guilty and the innocent. Evil and the existence of bad events in the world are to be thought of as punishment from God. For example, the death of a baby in an earthquake, or the occurrences of similar natural disasters are the result of God's will to teach people a lesson. People get punished by God because of their bad deeds. Besides, God wants to show his power to people in this way. When someone makes a mistake, God metes out punishment. God is powerful, nobody can resist him. God teaches human beings lessons, and reminds them of their limits.

He speaks of death as a religious symbol as mentioned earlier. Death has reminded him of religion since his childhood. His statements about this topic are purely emotional, which can be rated as an indicator of mythical-literal faith or instrumental-reciprocal "do ut des" religious style. A person belonging to this style

¹⁹ D1: *Kötülükler ee , kurunun yanında yaş da yanıyor derler. Kötü insanların yanında kuru da gidiyor yaş da gidiyor öyle işte, ondan deprem oluyor.*

.....
D1: *Aklıma gelen bişey yok, Allah onu sana öyle gösteriyor ki bi daha onu yapma, o tarafı yapma deyi. Allah sana onu ibret gösteriyor. Ben varım arkanda diyor, benden başka büyük yok diyor. Onun için yapıyor, şunu sen sallasana diyor.*

has the impression that one will achieve salvation if the strict rules of one's own religion are followed (Streib 2001) as stressed in moral judging by Demir 1. Adults at this stage tend to use narratives in symbolic function and more generally in other aspects of faith development. This is their primary way of communicating their meaning to others.

Death has always been scary for him. When he was asked about a religious ritual important for him since old times, he talks about his fears when he was a cowherd alone on a mountain, while there was a funeral in his village.

D1: I used to herd cattle, there used to be deaths, whenever a person died, I used to sit next to the herd and cry, saying "Right, but what are we going to do." I used to say, "This one has died and is going;" I used to cry for that person. I mean I was afraid of dying... well... it's scary, well... he left and disappeared. I used to say that I would also disappear like him.²⁰ (281)

According to Mr. Demir 1, the real purpose of human life can be known only by God. "God knows, we came from earth and we return to it. I don't know what's going to happen after we return; only God knows that."²¹ (243). In this statement he is rather fatalistic. He leaves the decision to God. In this way, he has a strong connectedness to God. God determines the beginning and the end of life. His image of the hereafter is associated with punishment. He adds that there is always punishment after death; this is what God says, what the Book (the Koran) says. But Mr. Demir 1 also says there's no one who has returned from the hereafter. This seems to be a contradiction at first sight, but it is not. Nor is it scepticism about his belief in the existence of life after death. In the passages quoted earlier, Mr. Demir 1 seems to portray God in diverse images, like negative and punitive, as creator and dispenser of justice. This is also the case with his image of death. He emphasizes the forgiveness of God in the hereafter, for example in the following quote:

²⁰ D1: *Ben davar güderdim, ölen olurdu, ölen oldumu o davarın kıyısına oturur ağlardım. Öyle de biz ne yapacağız deydi. Bu öldü gidiyor derdim. Öyle ağlardım. Bu insan için ağlardım. Hiç kimse de yok idi yanımda, kendi kendime ağlardım, yani korkardım ölümden. Korkutucu, o gitti kayboldu, ben de kaybolup yok olacağım derdim.*

²¹ D1: *Allah bilir, biz topraktan gelmişiz toprağa gideceğiz. Topraktan gelmişük, toprakta ne olacağız bilmiyorum, orasını Allah bilir.*

D1: Well, they'll reckon your sins, but still, God forgives you. He punishes, but He forgives, too. Just like amnesty is declared in prisons, it's the same.²² (270)

As the statements in this quote indicate, Mr. Demir 1 has the confidence that whatever he does, he has the chance to be forgiven by God. This confidence is one of the outcomes of his belief and trust in God. For understanding life after death, he brings concrete examples from worldly life. Those who do good deeds will be acquitted, and the owners of bad deeds will be punished. However, chances are always available for forgiveness.

Mr. Demir 1's answer to the question about "sin" is related to laws that hold in interpersonal relations. The final trial of disputes between people will take place in the afterlife. In this sense, observing the rights of others is, for him, much more important than observing daily religious rituals. Daily rituals are between God and a person. If God desires, the person can be forgiven. But there is no forgiveness by God for violating the rights of other people. The following quotation describes how this interpersonal judgment will take place in the afterworld.

D1: My debt, you think about when you die, how will you collect it... how is he going to take it from me, is there money there? you say. But (the creditor) will receive it from your good deeds. If you have ten good deeds, he will take five. And sins and good deeds will balance each other. If you have more bad deeds than your good deeds, then God will take half of them and throw you back there (in hell). This is written in the Book. You should believe in everything, son! You should believe. You (*laughs*) just create an ant if you can, can you? No. God created that, too.²³(270)

He believes in the necessity of being good in this world. We are created from earth and we will be returned to it. There is punishment after death; however, there is also forgiveness. He says that the sins of people will be tallied after death. God will either forgive or punish a person. He compares this with amnesty in the jails of this world. "Well, according to your sin, they will count it, God forgives you after all. He punishes, but he forgives you in the end. Just as it is here, amnesty in jails here in the world, it's the same

²² D1: *Valla günahına göre ölçekler biçecekler gene de Allah seni affediyor. Ceza da veriyor da, affediyor gene. Bu nasıl af çıkıyor, mapushanelerde, orda da çıkıyor.*

²³ D1: *Borcum, ölünce sen düşünüyorsun, nerden alacak orda para mı var diyon ya. Benden nerden alacak diyon. Oysa senin yaptığın sevaptan alacakmış. On sevap yaptıysan beşini o alacakmış. O sevabınan o günahı da bi yere götürecekmış, yaptığın sevaplardan fazla olursa yarısını alacakmış seni geri atacakmış oraya. Bunu kitap yazıyor. Inanacan herşey oğul inanacan. Inanacaan. Sen (gülme) bi karınca yaratsana, yaratabiliyon mu? yok . Onu da Allah yarattı.*

there.”²⁴ (270) The word “they” refers to the angels of reckoning on the day of resurrection. This reflects the classic, traditional after-death image in the Islamic-Sunni tradition, indicating that Mr. Demir 1’s explanations fit the criteria of stage 3.

4.1.1.1.7. Summary

The religious life world of Mr. Demir 1 starts with the family. His aunt and her husband as primary religious caregivers are at the basis of his religiosity. Their religiosity is associated with Prayer (*namaz*) and “avoiding Forbidden things.” He was never pressured or obliged throughout his initial religious socialization. Further, nobody influenced him systematically or consciously in his religious socialization at home. In the Anatolian village where they lived at that time, he visited the village mosque like every other child of the same age, and received his first religious knowledge and formal religious education at the mosque. His early childhood coincides with a time at which religion was under pressure in Turkey: the state insisted on having Daily Prayers performed in Turkish. Thus, he says that the Koran and the Islamic Prayer-call (*ezan*) were changed by people, but he does not provide enough evidence for his claims. His statements about the Prayer-call demonstrate that he never entered into political and social discussions about the change of Islamic ceremonial language from Arabic to Turkish. He preserved the religious style he acquired in Turkey very strictly, and never made an addition to that after arriving in Germany. He has no organizational membership, nor is he active in religious or social associations. For many years, his social environment has been confined to his immediate family. Work and family have always remained at the center of his life. For example, there is no religious actor by whom he was influenced in his adult life. This has inhibited him from self-enhancement in this respect.

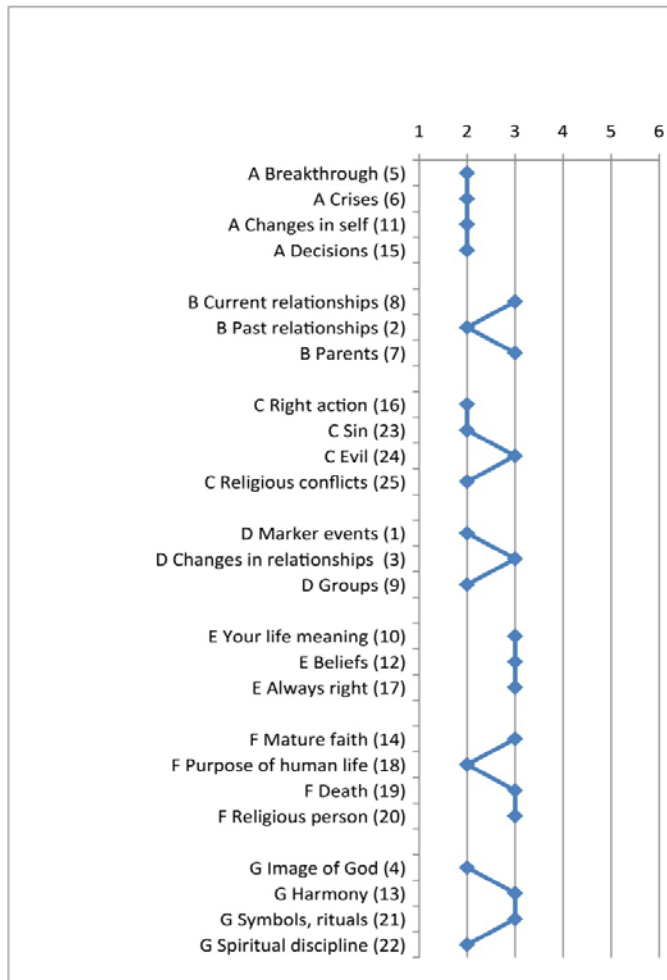
Generally, he has a positive view of the world. Righteousness is an important concept for him: it consists mainly in observing the rights of others. To be religious means to strictly perform the rules and rituals of the religion, yet he himself cannot

²⁴ D1: *Valla günahına göre ölçecekler biçecekler gene de Allah seni affediyor. Ceza da veriyor da affediyor gene. Burda nasıl af çıkıyor, mapushanelerde, orda da çıkıyor*

perform many of these, especially the daily ones: in other words, the Daily Prayers and fasting in Ramadan. He cites his illness as an obstacle. This makes him uncomfortable. In his supplicatory prayers (*dua*), good wishes for his family and humanity are included. His God-image has both positive and negative contents. God is creator, powerful, and punitive. The evil in the world is a punishment from God. Bad people are the main cause of evil. Nobody should be coerced to accept or practice any religion. After death, the good-doers will be praised and those who do evil will be punished. Mr., Demir 1 supports following the imams, but people must be selective. In the interview, he emphasizes money and its benefits many times.

In sum, the Faith Development Interview of Mr. Demir 1 exhibits different stage assignments for the seven aspects of faith. Assignments change between Stages 2 and 3, between mythic-literal and conventional faith, or between the “do-ut-des” religious style and the mutual religious style. Statements in the aspects of form of logic, form of moral judgment, locus of authority, and form of world coherence, were assigned to Stage 3, while on perspective taking, social awareness and symbolic function, Demir 1’s statements were assigned to Stage 2. This is illustrated in the figure below.

Figure 2: Stage Assignments of Mr. Demir 1.



4.1.1.2. Mr. Demir 2

Demir 2 was 45 years old at the time of the interview. He was born in a village in northwest Turkey in 1965. He is the second child of his father, who came to Germany when he was two years old. He lived with his grandparents until the age of 11 and joined his parents in Germany in 1976. He went to primary school in Turkey and an additional school in Germany for a year, and then attended professional courses, but could not finish those.

4.1.1.2.1. Biographical Reconstruction

With reference to marker events in his life, he divides his life into three main chapters. He was asked:

I: If you divide up your 45 years life, your own life, how many chapters would be in your life? Which marker events stand out as especially important?

D2: (Thinking long) umm there's my youth, there's childhood. And then also the time when I got married.

I: What are the especially important things, for example?

D2: For example in childhood some ... in the past everyone couldn't see something and get it. When you got it, you were very happy. We used to rejoice when we received something in childhood (*laughs*). I mean, I couldn't sleep. So, er... when we go to school, when trousers were bought for me or anything else. I mean, a pair of shoes and so on, I mean I couldn't sleep for a few days. Everyone was like that, not only me, you know... And then there was no TV and so on, for example. We were taken to, there was a movie once a week. There was a cinema in the city, we used to feel happy for that, I mean. And then, when I came here in my youth, when I reached 18 years of age. Because I was not allowed to enter everywhere before I was 18. Lots of things were forbidden here. I mean I could not go by myself to the cinema and so on. The films I mostly wanted to see were permitted only to those who were above 18. And some arcade rooms (*spielothek*). "Let me be 18, buy a car, get a driver's license," there was this, I mean. And then of course, a job was more important than these things. I mean I used to (be very concerned). There were friends of my age, they did nothing (weren't concerned). I didn't have any vocational training, the vocational training was about printing, yet I couldn't complete it then. Later, I had many other things, my idea was, I mean to earn more money, and I liked to go for walks, too. I used to like to walk.²⁵(15-24)

Soon after, at the beginning of early adolescence, Demir 2 and his elder sister were brought to Germany by their parents, and he suddenly found himself in a totally different environment. (10) After arriving in Germany, he had to wait until the following semester to continue his education, which he had to leave when moving

²⁵ I: 45 yıllık hayatını bölümlere ayırsan, senin hayatından kaç bölüm olabilirdi, hangi belirleyici olaylar özellikle ön plana çıkmaktadır (uzun düşünme). D2: ya bi gençlik şeyim var, çocukluk var. Ondan sonra bi de evlendiğin zaman bi zaman oluyormesala çocuklukta bazı ee eskiden bazı şeyleri herkes göremezdi alamazdı aldığın zaman da çok sevinirdin. Acayip sevinirdik çocuk iken (gülmeler) yani uyuyamazdım, öyle bi ee okula giderken bi pantolon ya da bişey alındı mı. Yani bi ayakkabı ee bi iki gün uyuyamazdım. Herkes aynıydı sadece ben değil yani. Yeni bi şey alan o zaman, ondan sonra televizyon falan yoktu mesala. Şeye götürürlerdi haftada bi ee sinema oluyordu. Şehirde sinema olurdu, orda ona sevinirdik mesela (gülme) o çok yani o olurdu. Ondan sonra gençliğimde ben buraya geldiğimde gençliğimde ee şeydim, 18 yaşına gireceğim. Çünkü 18 yaşına girmeyince her tarafa giremezdim. Burda çok şey yasak. Yani kendi başıma sinemaya falan gidemiyordum yani, çoğunlukla bakacağım filmlere 18 yaşından büyükler girmesi lazım, öyle olsun ee bazı oyun salonlarına falan ee hani yaş 18 olsun ehliyet alayım araba alayım, o şeysi var. eee ondan sonra tabi benim onlardan fazla iş kendime iş, yani o çok seyderdim ya, benim yaşımda arkadaşlar vardı onlar şeyetmezdi de. Meslek ee yapmadım işte, meslek o zaman şey üzerineydi ee ney üzerine bişey üzerine ama onu tamamlamadım. Druckerei üzerine idi ama tamamlamadım onu. Ondan sonra biraz, o zamanlar işte daha değişik şeyim vardı, düşüncem, yani daha çok para kazanmak iyi idi de gezmeyi de çok severdim yani ben. Gezmeyi de çok severdim. O şekilde, yani ikisinden de vazgeçemedim.

from Turkey to Germany in the middle of the school year. He waited out the semester and he continued with the next. However, he says that he had to drop out of school in the final year, because of his father's lack of interest and support in his education. He speaks of this disinterest as follows:

D2: When I brought the paper err... Actually I still had one more year to finish school, I still had one more year for graduation (*abschluss*). I brought it to my father and he said, well... "What do you want to go to school for?" (*laughs*) He signed it and gave it, then I left (*Abgang*)...²⁶ (18)

He has always blamed his father for this decision. If he could have finished school, he would have liked to become a teacher. And even today, if he had the chance, he would prefer to be reborn as a teacher. After dropping out of school, he started vocational training, but couldn't finish that either. Then he started working when he was 16 years old. He says that he was a young man and he had to take care of himself. He had to learn to stand on his own feet, make money, and live his life independently. But things did not go as he planned. His father forced him to get married against his will. He was 17 years old and he did not feel ready for marriage at all. To him, this was a *fait accompli*. In the third chapter of his life, he speaks of his marriage.

D2: And then marriage happened. In marriage, for example, I had difficulties, I got married early.

I: How old were you?

D2: 17-18. I had great difficulties in marriage, because...

I: In terms of getting accustomed to domestic issues?

D2: I mean (in those terms), it was very difficult, I mean. It was difficult both for me and my family (wife). It was ruined; I mean that thing (*laughs*), marriage. And then as I have said, I liked to take walks, it (helped) a lot.²⁷ (66).

His wife was from Turkey, and migrated to Germany after marriage. She is a housewife and did not work in Germany. Their first child, the son (Demir 3), was born one year after the marriage. By then he was 18. Three years later their

²⁶D2: Babama ben o kağıdı getirdiğimde ee o zaman ee aslında bi sene falan kalmıştı bitirmeme. Abschlusu almama bi senem kalmıştı. Babama getirdim, haa! dedi okuyup da ne yapacaan (gülmeler), imzaladı ve verdi, Abgang.

²⁷ D2: Evlilik ee ondan sonra evlilik oldu. Evlilikte mesala ben çok zorlandım, erken evlendim.

I: Kaç yaşında?

D2: ee 17-18 yaşında, o zaman çok zorlandım evlilikte, neden?

I: Eve bağlanma konusunda mı?

D2: Yani, o yönden, çok eee zordu yani. Benim için de zordu ailem için de zordu. O ee karambola gitti yani o şey (gülmeler) evlilik, ondan sonra da daha dediğim gibi gezmeyi çok seviyordumya, o bayağı şeyaptı.

second child, a daughter, was born, and the third child eight years later. The first child is now 27, the second 25, and the third 18. The first and second children are married and the first has two children, the second has one child. The third child is still single and lives with Demir 2.

Demir 2 has been employed as a worker for 30 years. He was jobless only for a short time. He owns a separate luxury house. In the interview, he states that he never had serious crises in his life. He thinks it is due to God's help and hard work. Still, his biggest crisis came when he was fired. This was due to his financial problems and his fear that he wouldn't be able to pay off his car's debt instalments.

The main factor in determining his faith stage is his form of dividing his life into chapters and his quality of reflection on these. His way of dividing life chapters includes narrative episodes. Still, reflection upon these episodes is lacking. Instead, we can observe emotionalism and nostalgia in his statements on life events, and this is a feature of Stage 3. Instead of reporting qualitative differences between life sections, he prefers a narrative style of meaning-giving to his past, particularly as regards thinking on the abstract meanings of life events. The distinguishing characteristics of life events are not at the level of consciousness. He sometimes presents himself as the victim of circumstances. His strategy in meaning transfer is an affective narrative.

Mr. Demir 2 submits that he has now changed from what he was in the past. He says he learned everything by himself. In his opinion, even if you don't want to change, the natural flow of life changes you.

I: At the moment, what kind of changes have you had, for example?

D2: Within that decade when I used to go out, I used to drink alcohol and go to work like that, can you imagine. Now there is no alcohol, for example smoking, smoking was also the same, some bad habits... I left these with resolve, and I mean you leave more and more...

I: Uh-huh.

D2: More and more automatically. Not only smoking but also other bad habits, (for example) you have eyes for other women... umm..to have other women or something like that... let me keep other ladies or something, I mean. You stay away from these. Honestly, I left all these behind... I mean

(these are) not so good, I think. These got you in trouble, too. But of course I was a young, I never got tired.²⁸ (217-223).

In this quote Mr. Demir 2 can reflect on the changes in his life as a successive chain of events. He is conscious of the process of some change throughout his life, and holds this to be a systematic whole. In this way, he is able to produce a coherent life narrative. But this reflection excludes changes in his worldview. This refers to his lifestyle which took shape and changed depending on conditions and was not governed by his executive ego. Above he refers to the disinterest of his father in his life when he was brought to Germany, yet he does not direct criticism at his father's worldview or thoughts. He articulates literally and in a linear way how his father did not help him. He presents himself as the victim of some incidents at a certain phase of life. He was married off by father at the age of 17. He can reflect on this period and tries to tell his life story. Yet narrativity again dominates these statements, looking at the story from the inside (Fowler 1981). On the other hand, he explains the changes that happened to him as follows:

D2: Ten years passed, after being married for ten years err... well... I saw and experienced many things. Married life, fights, err... everything. After that, I said to myself, this isn't my thing, I'd better change. So I stopped seeing my friends, automatically. I had to do it, there was nothing else to do. I refused to go to some places and I just stopped, you know. But it took me until I was almost 30.²⁹ (66)

He can distinguish between the present and the past. This distinction is also not explicit enough to indicate the individualism of Stage 4. Meanings are merely tacit in his statements. On the other hand, the dominating narrativity in his statements is beyond the straightforward and linear appropriation of Stage 2 (Manual p. 32).

²⁸J: *Şu an ne tür değişiklik var mesala sende?*

D2: *Şu an ee önceden ben çok içki içerdim, benim o şeyi ee ettiğim zaman ee başkası belki alkolik olabilirdi (gülmeler), gerçekten*

I: *Hmm*

D2: *O on sene zarfında ben o gezdiğim zamanları, içki içerdim gine o şekilde de işe de giderdim düşünsene..şimdi içki yok mesala.. sigara, sigara da öyle, bazı kötü alışkanlıklar, inadına onları bıraktım, gittikçe de bırakıyorsun yani.*

I: *Hmm*

D2: *Gittikçe otomatikmen gittikçe, çok kötü yani sadece sigara değil başka kötü alışkanlıkları, işte gözün dışarda...hanımlarda olsun veya öyle şey, başkasını ayarlayım veya şey yani onlardan uzaklaşıyorum daha doğrusu.Onlardan uzaklaştım daha doğrusu ben.. yani çok da iyi değil bence, biraz da kafa ağrıtıcı şeylerdi, çok da kafa ağrıtıcı şeylerdi, ama tabi biraz genç olduğum için yorulmak bilmiyordum.*

²⁹D2: *On sene geçti aradan, evlilikten başlangıcından 10 sene sonra ee tabi gerçi çok şeyi gördüm şeyettim, tabi evdeki hayat olsun, kavga güdültüyü ee hepsi. Ondan sonra dedim bu bana göre değil, bi dönemim, bi dönüş yapayım en iyisi. Ondan sonra arkadaşlardan koptum otomatikmen. Kopmam lazım başka çarem yok, bazı yerlere gitmedim, reddettim, kestim yani, ama o 30 yaşına yakın sürdü yani.*

As the center of his relations, his circle of friends remains in the past; family members are now at the center of his life. This does not imply a transition to an abstract or systematic world view. Rather, it is an indication of simple logic, which can be assigned to Stage 3. It is understood that this change is not ideological or based on reasoning, it is more a change in lifestyle. What is lacking in his statements is a third person's perspective. The principles of Stage 3 are more apparent when he explains the lack of serious crises in his life. He associates this with God: "...Well, I mean... It is something coming from God, I think... What else, err... You know what they say: nobody can change that which is decreed by God, something like that. I don't know...What else. Something coming from God."³⁰ (137)

4.1.1.2.2. Reconstruction of Relations with Significant Others

He never had a chance to share much time with his mother because she was in Germany, had to work hard, and died early. The quotes below are about his parents, and especially his mother.

D2: She did not live long, I mean one or two years at most. She did not have a long life, and because I was a child at that time, I (don't know) exactly who my mother is, actually she loved me, she had great love. Only that, I mean, I knew she loved us very much. Others, err... as I have said, when I came here they used to go to work, they used to work hard in shifts, my mother used to work in shifts at that time. For example, my mother used to go to work at midday, so did my father. When I came here... It was like that, then my mother, I loved my mother very much and she loved me too. I mean, I couldn't know what a mother means because I didn't (live with her) in my childhood or later, and now I don't know, because we didn't live together when I was young. It was only a short (time), I was a child.³¹(141, 149, 159)

On his relations with his father:

I: Your relations with your father?

³⁰ D2: *Valla onu Allaha, yani başka.... yani Allahtan gelen bişey bu, bence... başka ee ne derler, Allahın yazdığını kimse bozamaz, onun gibi bişey yani. Bilmiyorum daha başka. Allahtan gelen bişey.*

³¹ D2: *Çok kalmadı pek, yani bi iki sene anca, doğmuşum bi iki sene . Çok kalmadığından ee o zaman da çocukluk şeyinden tam annemin ne olduğunu .. ee gerçi severdi, sevgisi çoktu, anca onu yani bizi sevdiğini çok bilirdim. Başka...bi de dediğim gibi ben buraya geldiğim zaman onlar işe giderlerdi, çok vardiyeli çalışırlardı. O zaman annem vardiyeli çalışırdı. Mesala öğlen işe giderdi annem, babam da giderdi. Buraya geldiğimizde fazla bi ee öyle oldu, onun için annem, annemi severdim o da beni çok severdi. Öyleydi, yani çok uzun bi süre gençliğimde veyahut da orta yaşımda öyle bi şeyetmediğimden bilemedim, bilemiyorum şimdi, onu yaşamadık çünkü, orta yaşken gençken, bi çocukken kısa bişey oldu.*

D2: With my father, I mean with my father my relations are fine. My father err, he made many mistakes. For example, school attendance. There, for example, we did not attend classes sometimes, of course we used to go out because of other children. We used to go to school and not attend classes, some classes. The teacher would complain, of course the thing the teacher did was to call my father.... Err my father used to go in and come out, I would ask my father... "What did he say?" He would reply: "Oh, never mind," (*laughs*), you see? Actually the teacher would call him to tell him about me... He didn't take it seriously, this was his mistake, I mean, when you're young you can't think, the father has to warn against such things. If your father warns you, maybe you can correct yourself a little. ...when he didn't do that, we would continue to do the same thing, (and say) "my father doesn't say anything" (*laughs*). The teacher, too, warns at first, but after a while he also stops saying anything. Maybe he used to think, "his father doesn't care enough," and so it went.³² (161,165)

He doesn't mention anybody who was influential in his personal development. His family and children stand at the center of his life at present. He spends time mostly at home, except for his job. He states that the most he does is watch the news on TV or read newspapers. Lately, he has become bored of working; he has to force himself to go to work, unlike before when he loved to go. He describes himself as robotized by work, but he still has long years until retirement. He has almost never stopped working in 30 years. He does not make any reference to any group or outside authority. The harmonious life of his three children makes him feel good. Concerning his children, he says:

D2: They all have chosen their own professions and keep going, so I'm not much concerned... but if I had problems with my children, (it would be different). This is a source of pleasure, I mean, I have no concerns at the moment. (178)

I: You mean, it makes you happy that your children don't have problems?

D2: Of course it makes me happy, the reason (is) because I was never jobless, I don't like unemployment, I also don't like my children being unemployed. I don't expect anything from them, I mean materially, but let them be useful to themselves..they can be useful to others a little bit if they can, when they can, but mostly to themselves.. We've gone on for 30 years and we'll go on for another 40, anyway let them go on this way, I want this, I mean, other, er, they can try to be better

³²1: *Babanla (ilişkilerin)*

D2: *Babamla yani ee babamla zamandan beri iyi. Babam çok şeye ee bazı şeye çok hatası oldu. Mesala o dediğim okulda, devam mı şey mi ? orda. Mesala biz bazan derse girmedik, tabi başka çocukların şaysinden giderdik dışarda. Okula giderdik, düşün okula gider derse girmezdik, bazı derslere girmezdik, şikayet ederdi ee tabi öğretmenin yapacağı iş babamı çağırırdı... eee babam giderdi, sonra çıkardı, babama derdim .. ee ne dedi? , ya boşver derdi (gülmeler), anlıyor musun? aslında bizi şikayet etmek için çağırırdı.önemsemezdi, o hatalarıydı aslında, o zamanki şeyde çünkü sen düşünemiyorsun, baba hatırlatması lazım öyle şeyleri. Baba hatırlatsa sen biraz daha kendine çekidüzen verirsin belki.. onu da yapmayınca aynı şeye devam ederdik yani nasıl olsa babam da bişey demiyor (gülmeler). Öğretmen de bi kaç uyarırdı o da şeyetmezdi (gülmeler) babası uğraşmıyor derdi heralde, öyle giderdi.*

if they can, I mean. I, for example, like I said, I could not finish school because (I missed) some opportunities. If I had finished school, I would've had many opportunities; therefore the best thing to do is to study. To really finish school, I mean, and then opportunities come knocking.³³ (180)

In terms of social perspective taking, Demir 2 reports more than one instance throughout his faith development interview. His job, family and friends are central to his life and work. First, he mentions that his job is central to his life, both in the past and today. He seems to be partly aware of his mental states. Yet this is not at the level of individualism required by Stage 4. Meaning is derived mostly from the outside. Overlapping with the interpersonality criterion for Stage 3, he views his own happiness as linked with family life. The interiority of the other is imagined, but not in a systematic and analytical perspective. His desire for his children to lead their lives shows that he supports the continuity of harmony. This is the most characteristic feature of Stage 3. There are no changes in his relationships; we do not observe any traces of reported inner change or any reasoning on this. When he criticizes his father, he does not consider the father's inner world or worldview, as seen in the quotation above. This is a feature of the second stage. He seems to evaluate the past as the source of the needs of self.

4.1.1.2.3. Appropriation of Religion

Demir 2 says that his grandparents (the adoptive family of his father) had a religious lifestyle. He started learning religious observances when he was living with them during his childhood in Turkey. Describing the religiosity of his family, he says:

In my family circle, my grandfather and grandmother were religious people. Especially my grandfather, I mean err... he was err... he was very religious. And

³³D2: *Kendi mesleklerini seçtiler onu devam ettiriyorlar, onun için fazla bi kaygım yok yani, öyle yani..ama çoluk çocuktan bi ee şey olsaydım tabi ... `sorunlu olsaydı, onun için bi sevinç kaynağı veyahut da kaygım, öyle bişeyim yok yani şu anda, yok yani*

I: O seni mutlu ediyor yani çocukların problemlerinin olmayışı?

D2: `Tabi o beni mutlu ediyor, etmesi.. çünkü ben hiç boş kalmadım, boş duranı çoluk çocuğum da olsa boş duran da hoşuma gitmiyor bi kere, yani onlardan zaten hiç bişey beklemiyorum, yani maddi olarak, ama kendilerine faydalı olsunlar.. e olursa başkalarına da olsunlar, biraz da başkalarına yapabiliyorlarsa, ama daha çok kendileri bi ehm... biz otuz sene sürdürdük veyahutta kırk sene daha sürdüreceğiz, neyse onlar da öyle sürdürsünler yani, daha şeysi, onu isterim yani, başka ... ee yapabiliyorlarsa daha üstün olmaya şeyetsinler, yani ee imkan olur , ben mesala dediğim gibi , bazı imkanlardan okulu bitiremedim, eğer okulu bitirseydim ben, daha çok imkanlar geçtiydi elime, bu şeyde en iyisi okumak yani.. okulu bitirmek gerçekten.. yani ister istemez imkanlar geliyor hayatta insana.

he never stopped performing (the Five Daily Prayers, *namaz*), he was very kind-hearted, and he never gave up until his death.³⁴ (36-37)

While his parents were in Germany, he and his elder sister were raised well in a loving environment by the grandparents. He says his grandfather did not discipline him and never tried to impose religion on him. Among his relationships, he mentions the mosque and the religious courses he attended. There wasn't much religious education in public schools when he went to elementary school. He was sent to the village mosque course to learn religion, but he claims he couldn't learn much about religion there because the method of teaching was oppressive. He says that there was an old hodja (*imam*) at the mosque who would beat small 6-7 year-old children. He and his friends couldn't learn much, except how to perform certain Prayers. He always thought about running away from these courses. His learning of religion is restricted to this experience in the village in Turkey. After coming to Germany, he did not go to Koran courses. Further, in his youth or later on, he has not been a registered member of any religious organization. Demir 2 says that he feels close to the DITIB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs) community in Germany. He isn't an active member of this association either, but finds this community more suitable to himself. When asked why, he says: "Why... because... they are like, they fit my, I mean... err... they are more like, in every way, educate children, or well... they're not oppressive (*laughs*) I mean, I see it that way." ³⁵(188)

He thinks respect stands out as an important concept in relations between religions. People shouldn't make the mistake of trying to convert other people to their style of thinking. He suggests toleration and dialogue in times of conflicts between religions (345). Asked about his opinion regarding conflicts between religions, Demir 2 responds as follows:

D2: Calmly, without anger, without violence, you can understand each other very easily... understandable, there is no reason, err... not to understand, I don't see a reason for not understanding each other. It's easy and it's about dialogue... but still, respect is err... respecting

³⁴ D2: Aile ortamında dedem ve babaannem çok dinlerine düşünlerdi. Hele dedem, yani ee son şeyine kadar da ee şeydi dinine çok düşküdü dedem. Ailede de dedem hiç namazını şeyini bırakmayan birisi idi, çok hayırsever, ondan sonra " ta ölünceye kadar şeyetmiştir yani dininden vazgeçmemiştir.

³⁵ D2: Neden..nedeni emm onlar biraz daha şey gibi geliyor, benim şeyime uyuyor yani... ee her yönden biraz daha ... çocuk okutmak olsun, şey olsun, baskıcı değil (gülmeler) daha doğrusu, 'ben öyle görüyorum yani,

other religions, but don't dissuade, why are you trying to dissuade them anyway? If they're going to change their minds, let them do it themselves, why do you try to (change) it?... but do you know what happens... err... well... they denigrate each other, they speak ill of each other, they run each other down, they revile each other's religion, so they fall into discord, actually, well... it's understandable. This is my opinion, but still, everybody's opinions, err... they have their differences of opinion... it happens because of people's different views."³⁶ (345)

Demir 2 does not mention any group he belongs to from the heart. He only has sympathy for DITIB, and does not speak in support of any ideology. At first sight, the quotes above can be evaluated as belonging to the individual-reflective or dialogical-religious style. Yet the style of his statements refers much more to maintaining interpersonal harmony. An explicit separation, namely a good people/bad people distinction, is observable in his words. Furthermore, he implicitly places himself in the first category. The ambiguity of expressions again places his faith in Stage 3. He does not have a conscious identification with a specific group. However, there is no sign that he sees himself as belonging to anything other than the Islamic tradition. He explains his occasional visits to DITIB mosques and feeling closer to them in terms of their tolerance and non-coercive style in the religious education of children. People in Stage 3 hardly know how they got their faith or where their faith comes from.

4.1.1.2.4. Image of God

Mr. Demir 2 has conceived of God as a helpful power in rough times since childhood. He was taught that God is invisible, and he knew that God is great and powerful when he was a child. In the past, he thought God was in the sky. The image of God as being in the sky has obviously receded now (102). As creator, the power of God is irrevocable and unshakable. He says that he experiences this in his own life as well. For example, he ascribes the absence of a serious crisis in his life to the power and will of God (298).

³⁶D2: Sakince, hiddetsiz, şiddetsiz, rahat anlaşabilirsin yani..anlaşılabilir, anlaşılmayacak bence emm ben göremiyorum bişey, kolay bu diyologla ilgili.. ama saygı da emm dinler arasında saygı, ama caydırma sen onu niye caydırmaya çalışıyorsun ki, cayarsa kendinden caysın, sen uğraşma.. ama ne oluyor emm o onu emm şeydiyor kötülüyor, o onu kötülüyor, o onun dinini kötülüyor, o onun dinini kötülüyor, böyle anlaşmazlık oluyor yani, aslında emm anlaşılabilir aslında, aslına kalırsan öyle bence, ama her insanın seysi görüşlerden ileri geliyor.. çoğu değişik değişik insanların görüşlerinden ileri geliyor bu anlaşmazlıklar.

In the interview, his image of God is closely interrelated with other religious symbols. In further talks about his God-image, he mentions the mosque, minaret, and religious life in the village where he lived until he was 11. He mentions the devotion of the villagers and the presence of a few mosques in their village. His townspeople were very religious, because there were more than three mosques even though the village had a small population (92). At present, he says the mosque is where he feels greatest harmony with God and the universe, although he rarely goes to mosque. Asked about changes in his notion of God, he gives the following answer:

D2: Umm, actually there was no change, it was the same when I was a child.

I: How did you perceive God when you were a child?

D2: When I was a child, er, of course it was a village that was very devoted to its religion. I mean many, umm, many people were devoted to religion in the village. I mean you know that from, I mean there were a few mosques in our village, (*laughs*) though there wasn't much of a population, there were 4-5 mosques in our village.

I: Yes

D2: (*laughs*) though there wasn't much of a population, there were 4-5 mosques, you already see it from that, I mean during religious festivals and other (occasions) we used to do everything very regularly.

I: Uh-huh.

D2: And then, whether it was Koran (recitations), death issues, I mean, it was obvious from those. ... from the things people do, from their actions, from the people I used to (learn the religion from). And no increase or decrease has occurred from that time on, you see?

I: Hmm, all right, how did you imagine God in your childhood or youth, or later on?

D2: When I was a child, umm, when I was in trouble, my first (thing) was to say "My God," I mean pray, (*laughs*) when I was in trouble, that is. Or while (listening to) Koran recitations, during religious festivals and Ramadan (*laughs*). ... As I just said, when I was in trouble I would say: "my God!" That is, I used to pray to him...³⁷ (98)

³⁷ D2: *Ha o ee aslında olmadı, küçükken de aynıydı*

I: *Hmm, küçükken nasıl anlıyordun Allahı?*

D2: *Küçükken ee tabi ee köyde dinine düşkün bir köydü. Yani çoğu, köyde yani köyde herkes dinine düşkün, yani ordan doğru biliyorsun. Yani bizim köyde bi kaç tane cami vardı (gülme) nüfus olmadığı halde gine de 4-5 tane cami vardı.*

I: *Evet*

D2: (*gülme*) *Nüfus olmadığı halde bile dört beş tane cami vardı. Zaten ordan anlıyorsun, yani bayramda olsun, şey olsun ee herşeyi düzenli bi şekilde yapıyorduk, din üzerine.*

I: *Hmm. hmm*

D2: *Ondan sonra ee Kuranlar olsun, ölümlerde olsun, yani ordan biliyordum daha çok, daha çok hocadan fazla (gülme) yani dini o insanların yaptığı şeylerden yani, hareketlerinden, ordan doğru şeydiyordum. Ordan beri de hiç yani ee ya azalma ya da ilerleme olmadı daha doğrusu, anlıyor musun?*

I: *Peki Allah sana nasıl bişey olarak geliyordu, çocukken veya gençken veya daha sonr?a*

D2: *Çocukken daha doğrusu emmm ... başım bi şeye sıkıldığı zaman ilk şeyim şeydi, 'Allahım' demek yani, dua etmek*

Mr. Demir 2 claims there were no changes in his God-image. But from his explanations, we understand that his first God-image in childhood and the one formed later are obviously different in character. He moved towards a more abstract image of God, compared to the earlier one which shows anthropomorphic, childish tendencies. He avoids attributing a definite shape to God, who was a big power in the sky. At present, the God-image has not changed, but the idea that he is in the sky seems to be gone.

I: Now, OK, was there any shape of him in your mind?

D2: As a shape, we were taught in childhood that he is in the sky and invisible. Besides that, I know from childhood that God is supreme and powerful. I know, I learned this very well when I was a child... ³⁸ (99-100)

I: All right, at this moment, who is God for you, or what is he?

D2: ... I still think the same. I mean, how did I, err... There is only one God. God... God is essential for a Muslim. The creator of human beings, I mean us. And, what else... God is indestructible, immortal. Precisely, you can perish but God won't... that way, I mean...³⁹ (90-102)

He reports feeling communion with God and the cosmos in the mosque (which is a religious symbol), when he is alone, and when he lies down to sleep in the evenings, but he cannot explicitly describe the nature of this:

I: Well, When or where do you find yourself most in communion or harmony with God or the universe?

D2: Mostly when I go to mosque.

I: hmm

D2: There, and sometimes when I'm alone, it comes to my mind...

I: What kind of experience is this? What is it like?

D2:...experience? umm I mean, honestly speaking I don't know what it is, but when I'm alone it comes to my mind, and also when I go to bed (*laughs*).... Anyhow, when I wake up, I get up with

(*gülmeler*) daha çok yıkıldığım zaman öyleydi. Veya işte, Kuran okumalarda, bayramlarda veya, işte ee ramazanda (*gülmeler*) daha çok o zamanlar öyleydi yani. Söylediğim gibi, sıkıldığım zaman derdim yani, 'Allahım'. yani ona dua ederdim yani.

³⁸ I: Evet, bi şekli var mıydı peki onun, kafanda?

D2: Şekil olarak yani tabi Allahın gök yüzünde olduğunu yani o zaman küçükken yani ee görülmez olduğunu bize öğrettiler yani, ondan sonra Allahın büyük olduğunu güçlü olduğunu küçükken, onu biliyorum yani, onu iyi öğrendiğimi biliyorum küçükken

³⁹ I: Peki şimdisi için, şimdi için mesala, Allah senin için kimdir, nedir ?

D2: Şimdi de aynı görüyorum ben. Yani nasıl şeyittiysem yani Allah bir, Allah bir müslüman için, yani vazgeçilmez Allah. Yaratan, insanları, bizi yaratan. Ondandır ee Allah ölmez, kalmaz yıkılmaz. Öyle, sen yıkılırsın, Allah şeyetmez. Yani o şekilde.

“In the name of God” (*bismillah* or *basma*: a phrase which Muslims repeat when they begin to do something). Yes, I always repeat it while I’m going to work, and when I go to mosque.⁴⁰ (247)

There is rich information in these interview passages for analyzing his form of faith in the aspect of symbolic function. They represent the aspect of cognitive religion in the traditional style of a typical, lay Muslim. First, the symbols are undifferentiated and not overtly separated from each other. Religion, God, Praying five times a day, mosque and minaret are all intertwined, and the meanings these are charged with are implicit in his statements. He also has a pre-critical openness to these symbols. He does not defend them passionately, and does not seem inclined to translate these symbols into their conceptual meanings. Second, as stressed in the *Manual for Faith Development*, there is no sign of opposition to the interpretation of symbols. Nor does he exhibit a critical notion against symbols. For example, he was taught about God in the past in a traditional way, and now he does not attempt to approve or reject that.

4.1.1.2.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Mr. Demir 2 states that his connection with religion gets stronger as he grows older. He says he is becoming more and more religious, because he avoids what he describes as evil things. These are alcohol, gambling, women (fornication), and so on as mentioned above. He admits that this situation is directly related to his age. He adds that some people get older, but change in the opposite direction: they become distant from religion.

In his opinion, the only salvation lies in religion. As a person grows older, he feels and sees more clearly that everything is meaningless. He believes that nothing—neither money nor anything else—can save people, except, ultimately, religion. Thus, teaching religious values and handing them down to future generations is

⁴⁰I: Peki kendini hangi zamanlarda ve nerelerde Allah’la ve kainatla bir bütünlük içerisinde hissediyorsun?

D2: Daha çok camiye gittiğimde

I: Hmm

D2: Ya bazen yalnız kaldığımda ..o geliyor aklıma

I: Nasıl bir tecrübe bu, nasıl bir his, nasıl birşey bu?

D2: Tecrübe ee yani ..valla onun nasıl olduğunu , nasıl olacağını da bilmiyorum ama yalnız olduğum zaman geliyor aklıma, bir de yattığım zaman.. yattığım zaman da (gülmeler) geliyor

I: Hmm

D2: Zaten kalktığı zaman bismillah ile kalkıyorum....Evet, işe giderken falan onu devamlı yaparım.. ondan sonra ee öyle yani, bi de camiye gittiğim zaman.

very important in his view. He displays ideas in the interview about the interpretation of religion (e.g., who is competent or not to discuss religion). He is opposed to the interpretation of religion by laypeople, because not everybody is qualified to do that. Whatever is written in the “Book” should be told. His criterion of being religious is knowledge of the Koran. Hence, he identifies religiosity with knowledge of religious matters. Additionally, he doesn’t view himself as a religious person. He does not do the Daily Prayers, but he fasts in Ramadan. He has not yet gone on Pilgrimage to Mecca. He attends Friday Prayers and Festival Prayers when he has the time. He speaks of an ideal praxis of religion which, in his view, is impossible to perform, since today’s circumstances do not allow that. Especially, he says it is impossible to be completely religious for a Muslim person working in a foreign Western country (251). For him, Islamic and Turkish cultures are two important and inseparable elements. He doesn’t support exaggeration in religion. Although religious orientation is a must, it still needs to be tempered. He thinks worldly matters have to go hand in hand with religion: both need to be balanced equally. (209)

He takes the advice of experts when he needs to make an important decision. In his opinion, when a hodja (*imam*) gives religious advice, he needs to be trustworthy. One should also consult with persons knowledgeable in other fields. For instance, when he was buying the house he lives in, he showed the house to a construction expert and a decorator, and requested their advice. In his view, experience is very important in understanding what is right or wrong. In order to know what is right, one has to live and learn.

He tries to differentiate his perception of religiosity. This shows that he puts himself and others in different categories. When asked about model persons whom he looks up to as examples, he says there is no such person, because there are contradictions between what people say and what they do. In his opinion, this is due to ignorance (*cahillik*): most people give their own views without referring to the Book (the Koran).

He says he is rather critical about the styles of imams. For Mr. Demir 2, hodjas or imams can be evaluated in two categories. The first are those who distort issues,

and the second are those who tell their life stories as sincere religion. People have to be careful and selective about this. The hodjas should tell what is written in the Book directly, and they should add nothing to the Book, nor should they remove from anything from it. (257)

D2:.....for example, whether the hodjas (imam), well err... those hodjas can be, well... there are respectable ones as well, the hodja has got the thing... sometimes when they talk, well, I evaluate them in my head while listening, I mean, that guy is really right, I mean. He talks well err... the point, he talks about the main issue, he doesn't wander off too much..but some of them do, there are also those who distort, for instance, I mean there are also those who talk about their own lives. To give an example, now listen, telling about your life is something, and talking about religion is something else, telling your life is different, but you realize that some people assume he is talking about religion... No, some of them talk about their own life or what they have heard. Sometimes this makes people, well... confuse the truth; the best thing is to tell the truth... To tell whatever is written. I mean, there's no need to enhance that or whatever, or to diminish it.⁴¹ (255-257)

Here, he claims to listen to the imams, grading them critically in his head. But he does not report any critical and systematic reflection on the contents of what imams say. For him, knowing right and wrong is relative. One should have experience to make this distinction. He accepts everyone's own perception of right and wrong. It is obvious that the form of his perception of sin is determined by conventional sources. This is evident in his further explanations. The classic sin-repentance relationship and the expectation of forgiveness stand at the center of his perception of sin. For him, the concepts of resignation, trust and acceptance are in the foreground:

D2: Sin... sin means doing evil things, it is sinful to do bad things, lots of things are sinful, I mean, in life (*laughs*). There are some old ladies who think everything is a sin. "Don't do this, it is a sin, don't do that, it is a sin," so there are lots of things, I mean there are things which are not sinful, but still we say it is a sin... sometimes, whether you want to or not, you can commit a sin. For example, well... if I realize I've sinned after doing it, I pray, for example: I say "please, God, forgive me but (*laughs*) I've done it already and I won't to do it next time,' I say... Bad things are sinful, there are

⁴¹D2: ...mesala hocalardan olsun veya ee var öyle düzgün de var hocanın şeyi de var, bazı iyi anlattığında ben, dinleye kendi kafamdan not veriyorum yani, gerçekten bu adam, yani korrekt yani ortasını şeydiyor, konuşuyor işin ortasını konuşuyor, hiç saptırmıyor fazla.. ama bazıları saptırıyor, saptıranlar da var mesala, yani bazısı kendi hayatını da anlatanlar var mesala, şimdi din ile kendi hayatını anlatmak başka, dinden bişey anlatmak başka, kendi hayatından anlatmak başka, ama sen anlıyorsun ki bazıları onu dinden anlatıyor zannediyor... Hayır, bazıları kendi hayatını anlatıyor, veyahut da duyduğunu anlatıyor, o insanları bazan şeydiyor işte, şaşırtıyor, doğrusunu en iyisi doğrusunu anlatmak, bu ney? yazılan neyse, çizilen neyse onu anlatmak. Yani bunu daha çok çoğaltmaya bilmem ne yapmaya, azaltmaya hiç gerek yok yani.

lots of things, you can do it suddenly, but if you can discern it later, that's good... But sometimes you can't notice it. May God forgive us, may God forgive us for these things, lots of us can do these things, you know.⁴²(330)

At first sight, he seems to be beyond the conventionalism that portrays *harmful-evil things* as sin. As a feature of Stage 3, for example, he could report "sin is what God prohibits" or "sin is *what is harmful to society.*" He attempts a different perspective here, but cannot carry this further. First he appeals to a literal style, and then refers to the conventional forgiveness concept. Even if he is seen as referring to a literal expression, he falls within conventional faith—a feature of Stage 3—which uses the forgiveness concept. The important thing is that he is unaware of his system of thought. Unconsciously, he exhibits the belief of sinning, repentance (*tövbe*)⁴³ and forgiveness (*af*) in traditional Islamic thought. This can also be perceived as an unconscious mutual relation with God. That is to say, the circle of people or the idea to which he relates still provides his meaning making about moral situations.

He expresses his connection to authority as follows:

D2... Value... Belief... of course, religion is very important in my life, I get more and more attached to my religion. As I get older, I mean necessarily the religion, umm... I mean you understand that... Everything is devoid of meaning.

I: Uh-huh.

D2: I mean, I see religion as the only thing that will (save) you in life. And more and more this... other thoughts, let us say the desire to be rich... I do not have these, I mean there isn't... you live to sixty or seventy, you see someone that age hardly able to stand on his feet. S/he is old. What use are riches? You're the same and I'm the same, I mean what does it matter if I have money at that

⁴²D2: *Günah.. günah zararlı şeyleri işlemek, kötü şeyleri işlemek günahdır, çok şey günah yani, hayatta (gülmeler) bazı yaşlı teyzeler var her şey günah derler, şunu bunu yapma günah, çok şey var yani, bazı olmayan şeylere de günah deniyor bizde ama, bazen ister istemez de günah işliyorsun mesala. Mesala bak o emm günah işledikten sonra farkına varırsam onun da duasını yaparım, mesala, Allahım beni affet en azından derim ama, (gülmeler) ben bunu yaptım ama ne olursa olsun bi daha böyle bişey yapmak için uğraşacağım, çalışacağım derim..işte zararlı şeyler günah, çok şey var, bazen ansızdan da yapabilirsin, sonradan ama farkına varırsan iyi ... bazan farkına da varamıyorsun, Allah affetsin , Allahım affetsin bazı şeyleri, çoğumuz işleyebiliyoruz yani*

⁴³Tövbe: *Repentance, turning back from things defined as sins in the Koran. God forgives sins when a person renounces and quits sins for good (Koran 2:160). According to modernist theologian Güler (2002:100), from the Ankara University's Faculty of Theology, this very important term has lost its real meaning among Muslims, especially its dynamism and activity, and gained a trivial literal and static meaning in time. The very common phrase the Turks use, "May God forgive me" (estaghfirullah), is an indication of this. Imams in some mosques gather their congregations on Friday evenings to literally beg forgiveness and ask God to forgive their sins. According to Güler, tevbe is a cleansing of the human heart itself and a new beginning. It means self-reflection, self-criticism and self-correction. It has, however, lost all these meanings and become a cliché that is repeated mindlessly (2002 :100).*

age? I see this (reality), I mean. After a certain age, one has to prepare for the afterlife. One has to prepare with that in mind.⁴⁴ (203-205)

The person he accepts as a knowledge authority is one who is informed about the Koran and practices it. He criticizes those who claim they are religious while they actually are not.

D2... umm... completely so umm... perfect religious... I don't know... I don't see myself as very religious as so....

...To see myself as perfectly religious, I have to read more, because as long as I have many shortcomings, I can't say I'm religious. I mean, religiosity is one thing, belief is another. To be religious, one must know many things, many things from the Book. Maybe then you can be counted as a religious person.

I: Which book do you speak of?

D2: I mean the Koran; you have to know something from the Koran. Not the things you have heard from others, or from a novel or some such, this is not what I mean, but if you have knowledge of the Koran, and you fulfil (its requirements) perfectly, then maybe I can say that I'm religious. But now I can't say that, because there are shortcomings, I have to work very hard, but there are those who don't work and yet perceive themselves as religious. He considers himself religious; I don't know, there are such people here.⁴⁵ (309-313)

In reply to a question about ideal faith, he explains what he understands from religiosity in a clearer way.

D2: To practice all of the requirements. This is really difficult for someone who works. I mean to Pray five times regularly in daily life as a working person... I mean, this is something impossible for me. I mean, performing the requirements of Islam and then not to interfere with the matters of

⁴⁴D2: Değer.. inanç... tabi .. dinim çok önemli hayatımda, gittikçe daha çok şeyediyorum dinime.. bağlanıyorum daha çok, yaşımı aldıkça yani din ister istemez... yani bazı şeylerin boş olduğunu anlıyorsun.

I: Hmm

D2: Yani en çok hayatta seni tek şeydecek şey din olarak görüyorum, yani gittikçe de bu.. her başka düşünceden, işte zenginlik hayalleri falan, yok onlar bende yok yani, gelmişin yaşın almış yetmişe, görüyorsun yahutta, adam ayakta zor duruyor yaşlı, o zengin olsa ne olur, sende aynı ben de aynı , yani düşünerekten öyle diyorum ben de aynısı, yani param olsa ne olur bu yaşta... biraz da (gülmeler), öbür dünyaya şey yapmak lazım belli bi yaştan sonra, ben onu görüyorum yani, hazırlığını ona yapmak lazım.

⁴⁵ I: Kendini dindar bi insan olarak görüyor musun?

D2:..... emm ' tam böyle ee tam dindar ... bilmem... 'o kadar görmüyorum yani kendimiTam dindar görmem için ben biraz daha okumam lazım çok şeyi, çünkü emm çok o yönden eksikim olduğu için ben kendime dindar diyemem.. yani dindarlık başka inanç başka, dindar çok şeyi bilmek lazım.. yani kitaptan çok şey bilmen lazım, o zaman belki onları bilirsen belki.

I: Kitap hangisi?

D2: Kurandan yani, Kurandan bişeyler bilmen lazım, başkalarından duyduğundan değil veyahutta romandan bilmem nelerden, onlardan değil yani, yani onlar da on tanesi doğruysa, vardır içinde bi tane şeylik, ama daha çok Kuran kitabından bilgin olursa, onları tam uygularsan, o zaman ben kendimi dindar şeyderim, sayabilirim.. ama şu anda ben sayamam kendimi dindar olarak, çünkü eksiklikler var orada, çok çalışmam lazım, ama çalışmıyan da var bazı, kendini dindar şeydiyor onu bilmiyorum, öyleleri de var.

others, not to interfere with issues and other things, to do it regularly, this is the most I mean, to practice these... I think the best thing is to practice your faith as well as you can. But it's... it's impossible for a worker to perform the Five Daily Prayers, and then the food, I mean in this country... the food products, let us say (being careful about) meat and things, to practice these all, the conditions are not very appropriate, I mean. ⁴⁶ (248)

From his statements, we realize that the real object world and his ultimate environment (faith, religious understanding) are at odds with each other. He sees a contradiction between his faith and the world he lives in. To pray and practice religious rituals is difficult while he works—indeed, impossible. On the other hand, in his view the misinformation of people obstructs truth. Here an implicit world coherence or worldview is observed. He is not conscious of the group (Sunni Islam) he relates to, but represents its worldview.

In his understanding of symbols, a notion of one-sidedness, narrative and literal styles of meaning making are observed. Furthermore, the instrumental-reciprocal or “do-ut-des” religious style is more evident in his image of God and approach to prayer. Praying is one of the important practices he resorts to when faced with serious matters, when he is alone, or during journeys.

D2: ... There is one thing I do, there is a prayer book, and I sometimes choose prayers from this book and read those. Not much. I read from the book, I mean. There is a book of prayers, I open that and look, which prayer do I need today? Sometimes there is prayer before going to sleep, sometimes, for example when I go somewhere, for example for a particular affair. I look and choose a prayer, I read this prayer and then go... For example, I'm going to draw credit from a bank (*laughs*) I say a prayer and then go out of necessity, I mean, or let's say I'm going to buy something somewhere... ⁴⁷ (325)

...umm, religion... (is a part of) culture, you see? For example, in the event of death or at funerals, and at ceremonies celebrating the Prophet's birth (*Mawlid*), we necessarily remember (religion), I mean (religion is) a part of culture. A part of our culture, I mean an inseparable part... occasionally

⁴⁶Bütün şartları uygulamak gerçekten de biraz çalışan için zor.. yani beş vakit namazı düzenli kılmak günlük hayatında çalışan için.. ' Yani benim için imkansız bir şey, yani İslamın şartlarını yerine getirip, ondan sonra onun bunun şeyine karışmamak, ee işine bilmem şeyine karışmamak, düzenli yapmak, bu en şeysi yani, yani onları uygulamak en şeysi yani..... ama inancını en iyi şekilde uygulamak en temiz bence, ama bu işte bu çalışan için imkansız, beş vakit namaz kılmak, ondan sonra emm... yiyeceklerden olsun şeyden olsun, bu ülkede yani, hani yeyecek mamülleri, et olsun şey olsun bunların hepsini uygulamak (için) şartlar fazla değil, uygun değil yani.

⁴⁷D2: ...yaptığım bi şey var şey için..... dua kitabı var ara sıra ondan dualar çıkarırım onları okurum, yani başka yok...kitaptan okurum yani, dua kitabı var onu açarım bakarım, bu gün bana hangi dua lazım, bazen yatarken için var dua, bazen başka, bi yere gideceğim zaman mesala önemli bi işe, hangi dua olduğuna bakarım, o duayı okurum da giderim mesala, öyle yani. Mesala gideceğim bankadan bir kredi çekeceğim (gülmeler) bir dua okurum ve mecburen giderim yani ya da diyelim ki bir yerden bir şey satın alacağım.

at such (times)... sometimes you do it every day, sometimes occasionally... I mean religion is an inseparable part.⁴⁸ (319)

As seen in these and earlier passages, there is not enough evidence about his openness to group consensus. Also, he does not seek the approval of others for his acts and conduct. Further, he does not refer to the authority of socially determined figures. Authorities are not chosen for their personal charisma, or on the basis of feelings and appearance. Still, he does not fit the technical criteria of Stage 4 in the aspect of form of world coherence.

4.1.1.2.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

He has a fatalistic (*kaderci*) understanding about the goal of human life in the world. God is the greatest power that determines human life (the absolute will of God) and human will does not have a role in the matter (298). Thus, the purpose of human life cannot be known. God regulates human life. He thinks death is an inevitable end and a place where people will be held to account for their actions in worldly life. In his statements, death is defined literally on one hand, and traditionally on the other.

D2: (Laughs) when we go there, I mean, many came into this world and many departed, the same with us, everybody will go when their turn comes.... there, heaven and hell will be separate over there, everyone receives what he did in this world... I mean, what I do here will be sorted over there, whatever you did, you will see there if you committed good or evil. (Laughs) That's what I think, everybody will see it over there, I mean... everyone (who deserves it) will be punished, and those who did good and evil (will be separated)....⁴⁹ (304)

For Demir 2, the afterlife is perceived as a place where one will be recompensed for deeds in this world, where the wheat will be separated from the chaff. (304)

⁴⁸D2:... ya dinde ee din biraz kültür şeydiyor, kültüre doğru anlıyon mu, mesala ölümlerde olsun cenazelerde olsun, ondan sonra mevlütlerde olsun ... öyle şeylerde hatırlıyoruz inan ister istemez, yani kültürün bi parçası, bizim kültürümüzün bir parçası, yani ayrılamaz bir parçası, bi bakarsın her gün şeydersin bi bakarsın ara sıra şeydersin.. ayrılmaz bir parçası yani din.

⁴⁹D2: (Gülmeler) Oraya gidince yani bu dünyada neler gelmiş neler gitmiş biz de aynısı, herkes sıraynan gidecek... ya orda şimdi cennet cehennem ayrılacak, herkes dünyada yaptıklarıynan kalıyor.. yani ben ne yaptysam .. orda ayrılacak, orda ayrılacak ne yaptysan, kötü mü yaptın iyi mi yaptın orda görürsün ölünce (gülmeler) bence öyle, orda görecek herkes görecek yani.. orda herkes cezasını çekecek, iyi yapan kötü yapan...

About his relation to the ultimate environment and the construction of its relation with his social world, his expressions are structurally parallel to other aspects: as someone at Stage 3 of faith, he applies the method of refusal or underestimation in order to legitimate his own claims. Perhaps his implicit conventionalism is best illustrated in his statements regarding destiny in Sunni Islamic belief:

D2:...everything is from God, no matter, whatever has occurred or not, you know it's called destiny, what is your destiny? You do not know, but... you experience what was written in your fate. But you don't know it. And then you ... let's say you want to ascend to heaven, to get higher, it doesn't happen if it's not written in your fate. It doesn't happen, it's impossible; you can't do it, even if you study at the university and receive your diploma with the highest honours, you see?⁵⁰ (298)

For Demir 2, the problem of evil consists in the uncertainties of nature. There is a specific law by which nature works and these take place when appropriate. Human beings can do nothing about it (336). When asked about evil in the world, he replies:

D2:... in these evils, there is... a hidden cause of nature, I mean something that is given by nature, that was there in the past, it's here now and will be in the future as well. .. I mean, this is natural, umm I mean everything, let's say this is something from God, some call it, well, a warning and others call it something else, some people understand and others don't, that's another matter, there are also lots of people who don't understand, I mean, there are those who understand and those who don't as well, this is something coming from God, something natural. For example, there was a flood recently and about thirty people died, on an island, sometimes you say, I wish I lived on a remote island.....thus, this is something from God, you can't oppose it, it's impossible, you can't.⁵¹(336)

These expressions are garbled, incoherent, and do not represent systematized thought. For example, he says that the evil taking place in the universe is an act of nature itself. Each geographical region has its own features. Evil and disasters will continue in cycles, like rain, winter and summer. This can, in fact, be considered

⁵⁰D2:Herşey Allah'tan, gerçekleşti gerçekleşmedi herşey Allah'tan. Hani alın yazısı derlerya , senin alnına yazılmış onu sen bilmiyorsun ama, ve ondan sonra o yazıdan ileri geliyor, ne yazıldıysa o.. 'sen istersen emm göğe çıkmak iste, yükselmek iste, olmadı mı olmuyor. Olmaz, imkansız... sen yapamazsın, gerçekten, Okumak veya ney, üniversite ..'en kralını oku, istediğinden şey ee bir ile bitir istersen , en iyi not ile bitir, anlıyor musun?

⁵¹D2: Bu kötülükler de ben doğanın bi şeysi ... hikmeti, yani doğanın verdiği bi şey, bu önceden de varmış, şimdi de var ilerde de olur. .. yani bu doğal emm herşey yani bu diyelim Allah tarafından bi şey, bazısı buna şey diyor, gözdağı veriyor bazısı başka diyor, ama anlayan anlar anlamayan anlamaz o başka. Anlamayan adam da çok var yani, anlayan da var anlamayan da var, bu da Allahtan gelen, doğanın bi şeysi bu. Geçen sel bastı mesala, 30 bilmem kaç kişi öldü, bir anda, diyorsun ki bazen her yerden uzak bir adada otursam diyorsun.

..... onun için emm zaten bu Allah'tan gelen bi şeye karşı çıkmak imkansız, çıkamazsın, imkansız.

the rudiments of a certain system of thought. Yet he again appeals to tacit meanings instead of revealing its details. Utterances like “*a hidden cause*” (*doğanın hikmeti*), “*something from God*”, “*and something natural*” are examples. He thinks some understand this as a warning from God to people. Normally, he could undertake a critical analysis and formulate his own alternative concept. As can be seen, he articulates two separate things: one is *evil as incidents occurring in nature*, and the other is *evil as a command from God*. He could develop his own concept by synthesizing these two, but does not do so. He makes an attempt at criticism, but returns to his conventional belief without following it up.

4.1.1.2.7. Summary

There are more than three definite periods in Mr. Demir 2's life story. The first one is losing parental discipline in early childhood when his father left for work in Germany. Subsequently, his mother followed. His first recollection of socialization is when he was living with his grandfather and grandmother in their village. He did not experience any pressure or interference from his family during childhood. He was freely raised, like his father. Again like his father, his first acquaintance with religious culture took place at home: the adoptive family Prayed at home. He was also sent to Koran courses. Despite his emphasis on the pressure in religious education at the village mosque, traditional religious life has had an impact on his religious development. Mr. Demir 2 has never been affected by someone or influenced in his personality development. Perhaps for this reason, he says he had to educate himself.

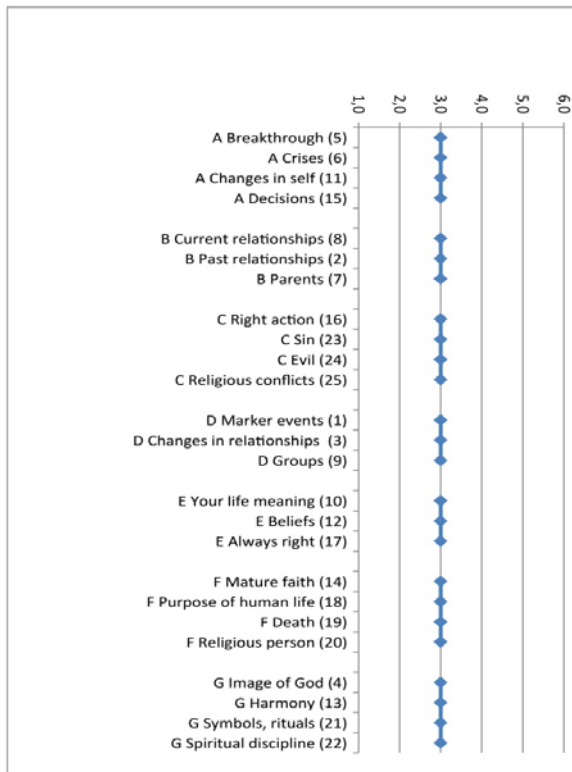
Nevertheless, Mr. Demir 2 claims he has lately become more oriented to religion compared to his youth. This can be better explained as maturation with advancing age rather than as a religious change. He experiences a very typical mid-life transformation as an adult. The religiosity of Mr. Demir 2 is restricted to experiences in his village as a child. The religion of the society in which he lived during childhood has shaped his later life. There have been no additions to it in Germany. Even though he says he is becoming more religious with age, his views on religious matters have not undergone revision. Thus, his views reflect

encounters with religion as a child and a return to rustic folk religiosity: "... And then, well... about the Koran, about death, I knew those from there. More likely, more than the hodja (*laughs*). I mean... people who are religious, their deeds, I was learning from..., there isn't any improvement or regression after that. You see?"

Right after moving to Germany, he quickly diverged from conventional religion and values, due to his youth and new-found freedom. Only in the last fifteen years has he become more mature with age, so his life and relationships have again become circumscribed by his immediate relatives, namely his family circle. Why does he evaluate what he experiences now as "getting more religious"? The answer is that family loyalty is among the criteria of Turkish religiosity and Islamic morality, so he associates his current situation with getting more religious because he is now again in the family.

In terms of faith development, points that stand out with him are the lack of systematic thought, and orientation to the tacit meaning making styles in the various aspects of faith. He has the potential to cross over to Stage 4, which is the explicit sign of individualism in faith. But this has not been realized because of his lack of education, language, and proper circumstances. Furthermore, he appears to be firmly established in Stage 3. His stage assignments are illustrated in the graphic below.

Figure 3: Stage Assignment of Mr. Demir 2.



4.1.1.3. Mr. Demir 3

Demir 3 was 27 years old at the time of the interview. He was born in Germany in 1983 as the first of his parents' three children. He graduated from the university with a Bachelor's degree in economics and continues to work toward his Master's degree. He is married, has two children, and lives in his parents' home. His wife is also a third-generation daughter of an immigrant family. She was born in the same city as Demir 3. She has vocational training as office saleslady (*Bürokauffrau*), but does not work at the moment. She stays at home for the children.

4.1.1.3.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Demir 3 divides his life into four chapters. The first, his childhood, passed happily, during which he played many games. The second chapter starts with his marriage when he was in his twenties. He describes this chapter as *a period full of responsibilities*. He separated from his parents for the first time during this chapter. The third chapter started when he became a father, and continues up to this day. In this third chapter, he moved back to his parents' house and started studying at the university. He expects a fourth chapter when he enters working life after completing his education. The conversation about his life chapters follows.

I: When you look at your 27 years of life, how many chapters could you divide it into?

D3: The first chapter would be childhood, of course. I was in the same place until I was 20. It was very good there; it was not an urban center, it was in the suburbs, a place of gardens. There weren't many cars, there was no danger from a highway. There were playgrounds, there was everything, and there were many Turks as well as Germans. We were not only among Turks... the first chapter would be that; it would be the time I spent there.

I: I see. The second chapter?

D3: The second chapter, after marriage... I married when I was twenty... after that we separated from the family for the first time. I moved to another place close by, but there was still a distance of about 5-6 km. Of course, it's a different responsibility, henceforth you support your own household.after a short time, our first child was born... So I can say the third chapter is this: a baby, this brought a further responsibility.

I: What kind of a change happened to you with the child?

D3: I mean, the responsibility increased, the responsibility on my shoulders increased, I started university at that time. For the third chapter, I can also add this: I started university at the same time that we moved back to my parents' home. We moved in September, I started university in October.

I: Hmm.

D3: I mean, ... after that chapter, after the birth of the child, it was a year later, about a year after the child was born in 2005, I was more eager to finish, I was striving more, let me finish and earn money, I do not want to live on help from the state. There was a scholarship being given, but I did not want to live on that, either. I can say this is the third chapter; the second child was also born by then.

I: Hmm.

D3: Now the fourth chapter, Godwilling, after the university ends. Soon. I have to deliver my thesis at the end of June, after that we'll see.

I: You mean the fourth chapter has not begun yet?

D3: The fourth chapter has not yet begun, it will start after that. Godwilling, I'll start working.⁵² (20-32)

The chapters of life in his division are explicit and distinguished from each other by clear lines. Yet the connections between these chapters are loosely articulated. Either the content or the structure reflects a conventional style, and he divides his life into chapters on a merely temporal basis. There is partial reflection on life events, such as "in my childhood," "in my youth" or "after marriage." However, this is not the kind of reflection that exhibits meta-level coherence of thought in terms of changes in self-system thinking.

In these narrative chapters, the primary relation group, the family and family issues are at the forefront. Marriage, becoming a father, the consequent responsibilities, leaving his parents' home and moving back again after a while, are presented as marker events. Yet analytical reasoning is explicit neither in the content nor in the structure of thought. Stage 3 is predominant in his biographical reconstruction. He fits into the emotional and idealistic styles of description, and there is little sign in his statements that he creates a life story whose sections are coherent with each other, especially as regards changes in his system of knowing and thinking. In relating transformations and changes in his life, he does not emphasize conflicts or turning points. On the contrary, the prevailing idea here is emotional and refers to family members. The statements are used to praise the family institution, and he

⁵²I: Peki 27 senelik hayatı gözden geçirip belli bölümlere ayırsan kaç bölümden oluşur senin hayatın?

D3: İlk bölüm tabii ki çocukluk olur, 20 yaşına kadar ben orda hep aynı yerdeyim.. yani orda çok güzeldi, yani böyle ee merkez içi değildi daha çok dış bi yerdedi, bahçelerin bi köşesiydi, hani araba fazla olmazdı, yani otoban gibi bi tehlike yoktu.. yani oyun parkı vardı, herşey vardı, çok Türk de vardı orda, ama Almanlar da vardı yani, sadece türklar arasında da değildik, yani ilk bölüm o olur, ordaki geçirdiğim zaman olur.

I: Anladım, ikinci bölüm?

D3: İkinci bölüm evlilikten sonra, yirmi yaşında evlendim ben, ondan sonra aileden ilk defa ayrıldık, başka yakın bi yere taşındım ama , yine vardı mesafe, aşağı yukarı beş altı km vardı yani.. tabii ki başka bi sorumluluk oluyor, evi geçindiriyorsun artık,

..... Kısa bir zaman sonra zaten ee çocuğumuz oldu, ilk çocuk geldi.. üçüncü bölüm de bu diyebilirim yani o daha başka bi sorumluluik getirdi.

I: Nasıl bi değişiklik oldu sende çocukla birlikte?

D3: Yani emm sorumluluk daha çok arttı, üstümdeki sorumluluk daha çok arttı, o zaman da üniversiteye başlamıştım ben, üçüncü bölüme ona da diyebilirim yani, taşınmamla beraber üniversiteye aynı zamanda başladım orda. .9. ayda taşınmıştık 10. ayda başlamıştım üniversiteye

I: Hmm

D3: Yani insan emm o bölümden sonra çocuk geldikten sonra, bi sene sonraydı, yaklaşık bi sene sonraydı, emm 2005 yılındaydı çocuk geldiğinde, insan daha çok bitirmeye hevesleniyordu, yani daha da çok atılıyordu, yani bitiriyim para kazanıyım, yardımla da yaşamak istemiyorum, burs var , veriliyor ama, onunla da yaşamak istemiyordum, üçüncü bölüm o diyebilirim, ikinci çocuk da geldi zaten.

I: Hmm

D3: Şimdi de dördüncü bölüm inşallah üniversite bittikten sonra, az kaldı işte, altıncı ayın sonunda diplomamı vermek zorundayım, ondan sonra bakacağız.

I: Dördüncü bölüm başlamadı diyorsun.

D3: Dördüncü bölüm başlamadı, ondan sonra başlayacak inşallah, yani ondan sonra artık işe atılmak

implies that his existence is completed with the existence of his family. There are many other pointers in his statements to the conventional form of logic as regards faith development. Both the structural method and expressions in the content favouring love; being good, being praiseworthy and interpersonal harmony, imply this.

D3: As I said, the marriage was good; it was a very good feeling. You build your own home, you take over your own responsibility... um, and to progress at school brings a great feeling of success. But on the other hand, if you can't finish it, for example you experience great joy after finishing high school (*Abitur*), you think a lot of things are over, but then you see that there is university after that. I mean, you're proud of yourself because you started studying at the university, but now, if one can't finish university, one can't be proud

I: Yes.

D3: The same, maybe when I finish university, the same will continue in my professional life, I hope. I mean this will continue all my life... to be successful in professional life too, to be able to always do the right things, and also of course the child, the child also gives a great feeling of happiness... it's inexplicable; it's the divine wisdom of God. The child is there in front of you and you can't believe it, this is reality, you think it will vanish tomorrow. But now already with the passage of time, for example the older (child) is four years old, as if there were nothing in my life before... it seems as if it has always been in your life, I mean these are all from my own life. ⁵³ (91-93)

Asked if he experienced any crises in his life, he responds as follows:

D3: Umm... so when one died, for example, my grandfather died, a short time, six months after I married, my mother-in-law died, it was a very big grief for us.

I: Hmm.

D3: These are frustrations one can't recover from. So, one bears these in oneself all lifelong. One tries to forget, but carries them throughout life. But some little things happen too, of course, you can't be successful in an exam, then you don't do the right things, these also make you sad...

I: Well, you just mentioned the deaths of two people, very close people to you?

⁵³D3: *Yani dediğim gibi, evlilik güzeldi, çok güzel bi duyguydu.. kendi yuvanı kuruyorsun, kendi sorumluluğunu alıyorsun.. emm.. okulu bu kadar ileri getirmek çok büyük bi ee başarı duygusu yapıyor, ama bi taraftan da bitirmeyince de, mesala abitürü bitirdikten sonra çok büyük sevinç yaşıyorsun, çok herşey bitmiş sanıyorsun, ama görüyorsun ki emm ondan sonra Üniversite var, yani bi yönden gurur duyuyorsun üniversiteye de başladım, ama şimdi mesala bu üniversiteyi bitirmeyince kendinde insan gurur duyuyor da...*

I: *Evet*

D3: *Aynısı heralde üniversiteyi de bitirsem inşallah iş hayatında da aynısı devam edecek, yani ömür boyu devam edecek bu.. iş hayatında da daima başarılı olabilmek, daima doğru şeyleri yapabilmek, bi de tabii ki çocuk, çocuk da tabii ki çok büyük emm sevinç duygusu yaşıyor yani, o da çok büyük bi duygu yani, anlatılmayacak bi şekilde yani, yani Allah'ın hikmeti yani çocuk önünde oluyor inanamıyorsun yani bi gerçek bu, zannediyorsun ki yarın yine yok yanımda, ama şimdi zaman ilerledikçe, mesala en büyüğü dört yaşında, sanki hayatımda daha önce bişey yokmuş gibi, ' daima hayatındaymış gibi gözüküyor yani.. yani bunlar hep kendi hayatımdan.*

D3: Yes.

I: What happened to you when these occurred?

D3: So on the one hand one really thinks about life, why do you live and what should you do? and after that, when my mother-in-law died I was twenty, and I was wiser.... When my grandfather died I was still a child, I was nine years old at the time. I couldn't really understand then, of course. I understood then, sure, but it's not like when you're twenty... After the death of my mother-in-law I thought, the only thing you leave in this life will be your kindness, I thought, nothing else, if you're remembered by others, it will only be due to your kindness, and otherwise ... you'll be forgotten. So these things are simple. Only the ones you love will recall you... because they're your family, they necessarily remember you whether they love you or not. But on the outside (other than family members), nobody remembers you at all. I mean, this is the most you can hope for: those others will be able to say, when you pass on, "s/he was a really good person." The only (real) thing you leave behind you is this, property and belongings all come to naught in the end.⁵⁴ (94-103)

He refers to the death of two persons in his life which he describes as crises. He also refers to changes he observed in himself when these occurred. He considers the consequences of these experiences as *change* and *new* for himself. However, this indicates the consolidation of conventionalism both in terms of structure and content, rather than a transition from one stage to another in faith development. These two events stand forth as the causes of change. When thinking in the abstract, he emphasizes that he was a child when his grandfather died. He was older and wiser when the mother-in-law died. He does not go deeply into the crises or describe an inner conflict situation, but he relates their effects on him. This implies a consolidation of his previous thought structure, rather than a turning-point in questioning life's meaning.

⁵⁴D3:.....yani emm bir, birisi öldüğü zaman geliyor, mesala büyük dedem öldü.. o zaman evlendikten kısa bi zaman, altı ay sonra kaynanam vefat etti, o çok büyük bi hayal kırıklığı oldu bize.

I: Hmm

D3: Bunlar hiç yerine gelmeyen hayal kırıklıkları, o yüzden bunları insan ömür boyu taşıyor kendisinde, unutmaya çalışıyor ama ömür boyu taşıyor, ama böyle küçük şeyler de oluyor tabii ki, imtihanı kazanamıyorsun, ondan sonra doğru şeyler yapmıyorsun.. yani bunlar da üzüntü yaşıyor, ama daha çok ölüm yani.

I: Hmm peki o iki ölümden bahsettin, iki yakın kişinin vefatından

D3: Evet

I: O zamanlarda ne oldu sana,

D3: Yani.. emm bi yandan insan düşünüyor gerçekten de, hayat emm niçin yaşıyorsun, ne yapman gerekiyor, zaten o anlardan sonra daha çok kaynanamda mesala yirmi yaşındaydım, o zaman daha da aklım eriyordu ...emm dedemde daha küçüktüm yani dokuz yaşındaydım, o zaman daha iyice algılayamadım, tabii ki algılama vardı ama, yirmi yaşındaki gibi değil tabii ki, ama insan her zaman düşünüyor, ondan sonra yani o yirmi yaşındaki yaşadığım olaydan sonra kaynanamın vefatından, yani bende oluşturan etki daha çok şöyle oldu yani, dedim ki kendime bu hayatta emm bıraktığın tek şey iyiliğin olur dedim, başka bişey olmaz, anlırısan bi iyiliğinle anlırırsın başka anılmazsın dedim, sonra unutulur gidersin, bu kadar kolay bu işler, sadece sevdiğin kişiler anar seni, biraz o da ayrı olur, sevse sevmese de mecbur aileler çünkü.. ama dışardan bi kimse seni hayatta anmaz, yani bence de en büyük verebileceğin verim de o. Bu hayattan göçtüğün zaman başkalarının da diyebilmesi, gerçekten iyi birisidi.. bıraktığın tek şey o olur, mal mülk hepsi gider.

When he thinks about those times, he mostly employs a narrative style of meaning making. In the logical process which functioned to resolve the crisis situation, there is no sign that he was oriented by any external authority. This implies a change governed by the inner self. Yet this remains implicit only. On the other hand, there are references to emotionality and interpersonality in his statements. In the logical process of release from these times of crisis, he tends to conventionality, because there is emphasis on people and virtue. Actually, he says implicitly that these two incidents led him to ascribe much more importance to being accepted by others.

In sum: he delivers explicit statements with regard to his boundaries of social awareness, but he still has not reached the individual and self-centered thought of Stage 4. Although he implies constructing a life story from the events that happened in his life, he does not seem to separate the processes from each other as regards inner development. He expresses himself in a dramatic style and relates in simple language how it affected his system of thinking which he describes as change. In his narrative, we cannot clearly see the distinction between his earlier and later systems of thought and what resulted from the life events reported (here, the deaths of two significant others). Confirming the structure presented above, he gives the following answer when asked what he would like to change if he were given the chance:

I: OK, if you were in a position to change yourself or your life, what would you like to change most?

D3: I'd like to go to work at once.

I: You would like to start working?

D3: Yes, that's a fact, I mean.

I: Why?

D3: Umm, I think I've studied enough. Life depends on money, of course that's a fact, and I mean to be well-off.⁵⁵ (146-152)

In the aspect form of logic—the domain of self-reflection—in decision making and self-description, he is observed to attach importance to others and his

⁵⁵ I: *Peki kendinde veya yaşantınla ilgili bir değişiklik yapabilecek durumda olsaydın en çok neyi değiştirmek isterdin?*

D3: *Daha çok işe atılırdım.*

I: *Bir işe atılırdın?*

D3: *Evet o bi gerçek yani*

I: *Neden?*

D3: *Ya yeterince okuduğumu düşünüyorum yani, emm biraz da yani hayat maddiyata bakıyor, tabi o da bir gerçek, daha çok maddiyeten rahatlıyabilmek yani, o bi gerçek.*

surroundings without critical assessment. The statement: “in this world, others should call you good” means that he accepts conventional norms without question and attaches more importance to interpersonal harmony. Hence, Mr. Demir 3’s faith development can best be described as the conventional style in the aspect of form of logic.

4.1.1.3.2. Reconstruction of Relations with Others

He characterizes his relationships with his parents at present as “good”. He says they have always supported him. He defines his mother as “warm-hearted” and his father as “a bit cold” (109). In his view, his parents don’t have enough knowledge about religion. Thus, they couldn’t directly influence him and his siblings when they were growing up. His mother encouraged them to attend religious courses. They were living near the family of his father in Germany. The family on the mother’s side is in Turkey. He thinks his father’s family was generally more distant to religion. His mother’s family was more religious in comparison. He attributes this to the fact that they live in Turkey. He says:

D3: They’re more religious, yeah, for example they were in Turkey anyway. It’s clear who lives in Turkey: they attach more importance to their religion.”⁵⁶ (57-58)

He was asked about his important relations:

I: Well, what are the other relations that are significant for you?

D3: ... at the moment, mostly with my grandfather... of course, the children and my wife, as well. ... I’m responsible for my grandfather because, I mean, he doesn’t know (German). I mean, the more he gets sick, the more he needs to go to doctors, but he doesn’t know the language, and I’m the only one who feels responsible...” (121)

D3: I and my grandfather talk on the phone every day, when we don’t, we meet up every day. .. You just saw, he called me just now. It’s like that; we’re never out of touch. We see each other every day... When we don’t hear each other’s voices, we don’t feel comfortable. (129)

I: Any other relations, for example, relations that can be said to be significant for you?

⁵⁶ D3: Onlar daha güçlü, evet, onlar mesala Türkiyede yaten, Türkiyedekiler de belli oluyor, onlar dinine daha çok önem veren kişiler.

D3: Of course my wife, and the children too... They occupy the greatest part of my life, I mean you do everything to make them happy and for their well-being... That is, I mean, to strengthen my relation with my wife I mean... it's been seven years since we met, it's like there was no life before that, I have difficulty explaining it... it's like she was always in my life, that's how I feel... The same goes for my children too...hence they are the biggest factor." (131)

I: I see. Well, are there relations so far that have been affecting your development or maturation?

D3: So, um, the relation as I have said, the child, the birth of a child, this increases responsibility. And of course, marriage. The marriage must also be shared, when you're stubborn (it won't work), so there must be understanding and respect on both sides. These of course had great effects on me... I'm not naughty like I was before marriage.

I: What do you mean by naughty?

D3: Aimless walks (*gezmek tozmak*), things like that, for example I didn't know how to study at home until I started university.

I: How did that work?

D3: Without serious learning really, I just used to get by.

I: Did you finish high school (*Abitur*) without learning anything?

D3: Yeah, I don't remember sitting long hours studying.

I: Hmm, I see, let's return to the present. How would you describe your relations with your parents?

D3: I've always tried to respect my parents, I never lost that, also, and I've always wanted to make them happy.

I: Yes.

D3: For example, my father is a bit cooler than my mother. My mother is more warm-hearted. But I never lost my respect for them. I'm grateful to them, they never left me alone.

I: Have you ever experienced changes in your relations with your parents?

D3: This is after my marriage... because we're married now, it got stronger, but after marriage, we lived away from my parents for two years. Then of course when we didn't go to them every day, it was a bit different of course. You're not always close. We have the same home now, and our relation is back to what it was.⁵⁷ (121-140)

⁵⁷ I: Peki son zamanlarda senin için önemli sayılabilecek diğer ilişkiler nelerdir?

D3: İlişkiler emm mesela en çok şu anda dedemle yani, en çok dedemle bi de tabii ki çocuklar bir de hanımla , daha çok ilişki onlarla, dedemle şöyle bi sorumluluğum var, yani dili yok, dili olmayınca mecbur onun hastalığı da yükseldikçe doktora götürmeler yani, onu da bi tek ben sorumlu hissediyorum kendimi nedense,

D3: Daha çok vakit bulabiliyorum, ama mesela dedemle her gün telefonlaşırız yani, telefonlaşmadığımız yerde, emm telefonlaşmasak bile görüşürüz yani her gün..gördün şimdi yani hemen telefon açtı, öyle hiç bir gün kontaklız kalmayız yani, her gün görüşürüz, bu da bi gerçek, yani sesimizi duymayınca birbirimizin rahatsız oluruz.

I: Başka ilişkiler mesela, önemli sayılabilecek diğer ilişkiler?

D3: Tabii ki hanım yani, hanım bi de çocuklar..onlar yani emm hayatımın en büyük kısmını oluşturuyor yani, yani herşeyde zaten onların iyiliği için, yani sevinmesi için yapıyorsun, bu bi gerçek yani.. O yani hanımla olsun ilişkiyi her zaman daha da güçlendirmek, yani emm o da bi gerçek yani, sanki - yedi sene oldu tanışalı, yedi sene önce sanki bi hayat yokmuş gibi, o da bi gerçek, çok zorlanıyorum yani demeye , sanki de hayatımda her zaman varmış gibi, öyle geliyor bana.. aynı zamanda çocuklar da öyle, o yüzden en büyük etken onlar yani,

I: Anladım, peki emm şimdiye kadar gelişip olgunlaşmana etkide bulunan önemli ilişkiler var mı?

D3: Yani emm ilişki dediğim gibi, çocuk..çocuğun gelmesi, o sorumluluğu artırıyor, evlilik tabii ki de.. evlilik de tabii ki çok emm dik kafalılık yaparsan evlilikte evlilik de iki taraflı olması lazım, yani iki tarafta da anlayış olması lazım, yani saygı olması lazım, bunlar yani, bunlar tabii ki çok büyük etkiler yaptı bende.. yani evlenmeden önceki haylazlıkları şimdi hayatta yapmam yani.

I: Haylazlık dediğin?

D3: Haylazlık dediğim gezmek tozmak yani öyle şeyler, yani emm mesela ben üniversiteye başlayıncaya kadar gerçekten evde doğru dürüst ders çalıştığımı bilmem yani, bu bi gerçek yani.

The above quote includes explicit references to how he utilizes concepts of self, others, and the relations between these two, and how he constructs these relationships. The way he describes the inner worlds of those related to him can also be seen. In conventional perspective taking, belonging to a group is an important matter, and the family can also be accepted as a social group. In his responses related to this aspect, his favourites are family members and people very close to him. He refers to his feelings of responsibility for this group of people and produces various arguments. He feels more responsibility for his grandfather and, as an argument, he presents the fact that they have been living together for a long time. Rather than speaking about the inner perspective or worldview of his grandfather and its affinity with his own ideas, he emphasizes togetherness and interpersonal harmony. At the same time, he can construct the interiority of the other in interpersonal and mutual relations, and seems to attach importance to that. What he says about this theme is filled with emotion and fantasies. As is also stressed in *The Manual for Faith Development* (p. 37), he obviously has “orientation towards feelings, moods and emotional states of the other,” which is one of the top criteria of Stage 3. He is clearly embedded in his family as the center of his primary relationships. His whole life revolves around this center. He does not attempt to improve an “I” without them (family members). Furthermore, although he has a certain social concept of the criteria of interpersonality and mutuality, this does not reflect a systematic perspective-taking.

In his relations with his parents, he again favours togetherness and harmony. The things he mentions as changes in his relations with his parents are physical: changes in terms of place and distance. Knowing and evaluating differences or similarities between him and his parents are not mentioned. The lack of a critical

I: Nasıl oluyordu?

D3: Ders çalışmadan gerçekten öyle götürüyordum yani.

I: Abitürü de ders çalışmadan mı bitirdin?

D3: Gerçekten öyle yani, saatlerce oturduğumu hatırlamam yani.

I: Hmm , anladım, peki şimdiki vakte dönelim, anne babayla ilişkilerini nasıl tanımlıyorsun?

D3: Hani ben hiç bir zaman anneme babama karşı saygımı kaybetmeye çalışmamıştım, hiç bir zaman da kaybetmem yani.. yani her zaman onları sevindirmek de istemişimdir.

I: Evet

D3: Mesala babam biraz daha soğuktur annemden, annem çok candandır, ama yine de hiç bir zaman saygıyı bozmam yani, sağolsunlar hiç bir zaman da açıkta bırakmazlar yani...

I: Değişmeler oldu mu hiç böyle onlarla olan ilişkilerinde?

D3: Ya ee evlilikten sonra.. şimdi biz evliyiz ya o zaman yine biraz daha güçlendi, ama evlilikteyken iki sene ayrı yaşadık, o zaman tabii ki her gün gitme olmayınca biraz daha değişik oluyor tabii ki, içli dışlı olmuyorsun tam ama evde olduğun zaman, aynı evdeyiz şu anda yani şu anda değişiklik yok, gene eski haline dönmüş gibi.

perspective about “me and the other” and “my relations with the others” make him conventionally oriented. For him, his life is meaningful because he has his wife and children and studies at the university.

Football is very important in his life as well. He can't imagine a life without it. The desire to work is an important value for him, alongside religion and family values. Here, family means not only his wife and children, but also his extended family. He feels responsible, with definite obligations, towards all of them.

Concerning his responsibility towards his extended family, he says:

D3:...These include my mother, my father, my brothers and sister, my grandfather, my grandmother, and even my uncles, but I admit they aren't as close as the rest. Because in one respect, first of all not living close to them, secondly their busy life and work, and third, they aren't connected with the family as much as I am, that's part of it too. But more than that, of course, umm, the core family is more important, of course.”⁵⁸ (158-159)

Mr. Demir 3's bounds of social awareness are not likely to extend beyond the groups in which he is immediately involved (Manual p. 46). His social world at present is described as being limited to his family and the university. His main aim is to make family members happy. In this regard, he seems to be at Stages 2 and 4.

4.1.1.3.3. Appropriation of Religion

In his childhood, when his “school was in holiday recess and on weekends”, Mr. Demir 3 was going to mosques associated with (DITIB), Milli Görüş, and Suleymanists to learn the Koran and religious knowledge. He doesn't make any apparent discrimination between these religious associations at present. He feels himself closer to the DITIB mosque, because he doesn't feel like a stranger there. His family members, friends, and most of his acquaintances go to the mosque of this organization to perform Daily Prayers and to spend their free time. The form of his group identification, the way he constructs his group of membership, and how

⁵⁸D3:bunun icine annem babam da kardeşlerim de dahil, dedem de dahil babaannem de dahil, amcalarım da dahil, ama onlarla o kadar dediğim gibi o kadar güçlü olmuyor maalesef o da bi gerçek yani, bi yönden yakın oturmamak, bir o , iki onların iş gücü, üçüncüsü de onların benim kadar aile bağımlılığı olmaması biraz da, biraz da o. Ama daha çok tabii emm o çekirdek aile daha da güçlü tabii.

he establishes a connection between this group and himself, are displayed in the following quote. In other words, it demonstrates how Mr. Demir 3 is inspired by the belonged group in meaning-making. He says:

D3: I don't have an ideal, but of course in terms of religion, I look to the Diyanet institution (DITIB). I try to do my Daily Prayers there, I go to the mosque, um, we see relatives there, and we see acquaintances.

I: OK, anything else? Not necessarily a religious institution.

D3: I mean, I don't have an idol, no one... I mean I try to be myself all the time... of course you should do something good for others, but still, there's no one I want to be like, I mean, an idol... I want to express my own personality. I mean, I never try to be someone else, I try to be who I am...

I: I see.

D3: But I try to use my humanity in the right way, with tolerance to others. But I say things I don't find right in people clearly to their faces. For example, I tell someone's wrong conduct straight to their face. I do that, I mean. Sometimes I think I shouldn't do that, I shouldn't do it even if they won't be offended. But on the other hand, I say, that means I change myself, it'll change my personality. So I mean, I'm very outspoken. ⁵⁹(132-137)

“Who has a claim on me, and to whom do I owe responsibility?” The answer is clear from the interview passage above. Even though phrases like “I have no idols, I try to be myself, and I'm frank” are indications of Stage 4 individualism, they can be considered as conventional since they are implicit and unsupported by a system of thought. They can also be regarded as signs that this person may rise to Stage 4 in the future. The mention of DITIB as favoured group refers to an occasional participation rather than intellectual identification. At the basis of this participation, there is the motivation of being close to relatives and acquaintances, and the desire to be observed within this group.

⁵⁹I: Anladım, peki kendini hangi gruplara , kurumlara veya ideallere yakın buluyorsun?

D3: Yani emm öyle tam bi idealim yok böyle, ama din olarak tabii ki diyanet kurumuna bakarım, orda namazımı kılmaya çalışırım, camiye gidiyorum, emm akrabaları görüyoruz , tanıdıkları görüyoruz.

I: Evet, onun dışında yani illa dini bir kurum olması şart değil.

D3: Yani öyle bi idolüm yok yani, hiç bi idolüm yok ..yani ben her zaman kendim olmaya çalışıyorum.. yani böyle halkta doğru olacak hareket tabii ki yapacaksın ama hiç böyle bunu olmak istediğim diye birisi yok yani, idolüm yok.. yani hep kendi emm kişiliğimi öne atmak istiyorum yani, kimse olmaya çalışmam yani, ben nasılsam öyle olmaya çalışırım.

I: Anladım

D3: Ama bu insanlığı da her zaman yani, öbürkölere anlayışlı ve doğru yolda kullanmaya çalışırım, doğru ama doğru emm mesala doğru bulmadığım şeyleri de çok açık söylerim, yani emm mesala bi kişinin yanlış hareketini yüzüne vururum yani, onu da yaparım..bazen diyorum emm yapmamsam! kırılmasa bile yapmasam diyorum ama emm bi yönden de diyorum, o zaman kendimi değiştirmiş olurum, kişiliğimi değiştirmiş olurum diyorum. O yüzden yani o yönde çok açık söylüyüm.

In matters of faith, he thinks the Prophet Muhammad is the one to be taken as role model, for he is the only perfect human being. Everybody else lacks something. (168) Thus, he does not have a living role model now. Instead of imitating someone or aspiring to someone, he chooses to “be himself.”

According to Mr. Demir 3, religious disputes occur between people because they don't know how to enter into dialogue and lack self-criticism. Hence he is a pessimist, and does not believe that real harmony can be established between people in this regard. As for religious matters, everything has already been explained in the Koran. But human egotism is the obstacle in the way of a healthy agreement. In his view, humans will never find a common ground until they stop acting like this.

4.1.1.3.4. Image of God

His initially anthropomorphic perception and corporealization of God became abstract later on. He says in the interview that a change in his God-image took place with age. For him, God in the past was a white-bearded, wise old man, holding the Koran and looking down from the sky. This image remained in his mind from a picture on a clock at home when he was ten years old. (60)The image didn't change until adolescence (64) and, afterwards, it became abstract. (68) His current God-image is rather complex and Islamic. God is a creator who commands and interferes with everything, and God also punishes when necessary. (78) He feels closest to God and in harmony with God and cosmos first in mosques, and second, when he asks for help during exams.

I: Now, who is God for you, or what is God in your view?

D3: ... For me, (God is the one) who sees everything, watches everything, err... who makes and participates in life when needed, that's the way I see him. I mean, for example, floods, earthquakes are his way of saying “I am here”. Flowers, autumn, everything, in every way, one who displays himself in everything, that's what I think... But life, err... God still wants to teach some lessons to people; he doesn't just watch from the outside, he participates in life, that's what I believe. (78)

I: does he want to teach us a lesson?

D3: Yes. You know the saying? “The revenge of the river is great.”

I: The river?

D3: The river, for example when you build your house on a riverbank.

I: The trial of the river (you mean)?

D3: Yes. When we look at the flood in Istanbul, people really built houses on the course of a river, right? (84)

I: Hmm.

D3: So: If there weren't stupid acts like this, such thoughtless action, maybe those people wouldn't have died, right?... The same for earthquakes. I mean, for example we see it in Japan, they build such sturdy houses that they withstand 7 or 8 (Richter) level earthquakes, right?

I: Hmmm.

D3: ... But as we saw in Haiti or in Turkey, a small quake ruins houses and everything. God sends warnings, signs to people, but people, err... let me tell you, humans are very cruel and ungrateful, that's what I mean... I mean, they see it happening today, but forget it tomorrow... But God still steps in and tries to teach us lessons, that's what I think. ⁶⁰(88)

In the related passages of his interview, God is sometimes presented in the form of a personal partner or as an anthropomorphic image. These are crystallized as emotive elements: the power of the symbols reaches the level of motivating feelings. There is a differentiation between symbols: each symbol has its own place independently of the others. We can observe the first steps of attempting to demythologize or to translate the symbol into conceptual meaning (Manual 57). But this has not reached the form of "I have to take my own position" (Streib 2001, 152) as in Stage 4, or the individuative religious style.

For prayer, Mr. Demir 3 recites some short chapters from the Koran—the Chapter of Sincerity (Chapter 112) and the Opening Chapter (Chapter 1). In addition, he asks God for things that are important to him in life. These constitute the medium

⁶⁰ Peki emm şu an için Allah nedir sence? kimdir?

D3: Yani ..bana göre herşeyi gören herşeye bakan emm yeri geldiğinde de hayata da damgasını vuran birisi olarak görüyorum. Yani şöyle mesela, seller olsun, depremler olsun yani ben burdayım diyor, yani çiçekler olsun, güz olsun, herşey olsun yani her yönden kendini öyle gösteren birisi olarak görüyorum, daha çok böyle şu anda. Ama emm hayatlar, insanlara hala ders vermek isteyen birisi, sadece dışardan bakmıyor bence, hayata da katıldığına inanıyorum.

I: Bize ders mi vermek istiyor?

D3: Evet, mesela emm ne derler derenin intikamı büyük olur derler yani

I: Derenin?

D3: Derenin, mesala derenin yanına mesala ev yaparsan

I: Derenin imtihanı?

D3: Evet yani bu yönden mesala, geçen İstanbul seline bakarsak, insanlar gerçekten derenin yanına ev yapmışlar yani.. değil mi?

I: Hmm

D3: Yani mesela böyle aptal hareketler olmasa, düşüncesiz hareketler olmasa belki o insanlar ölmeyecekti öyle değil mi yani.. Aynı şekilde depremler de öyle, yani Japonya'da mesela görüyoruz, adamlar ne sağlam evler yapıyorlar, yedi nokta sekiz noktaya dayanan evler var öyle değil mi?

I: Hmm

D3: Ama mesela Haiti'de gördük ya da Türkiye'de gördük, küçük bi sallantıda yani evler gidiyor, Allah uyarı yapıyor, o uyarıları veriyor insanlara, ama insanlar emm, ben sana deyim çok acımasız bir de nankörler, yani o yönden... Yani bu gün görüyorlar onu, yarın unutuyorlar.. ama Allah her zaman böyle katılıp yine ders vermeye çalışıyor bence.

of contact between him and God. He keeps such things to himself and does not tell anyone, not even his wife. (222)

D3:... Well... I recite the Chapter of Sincerity (*Ikhlās*), I recite the Opening Chapter (*Fatiha*), and then I mention the things that are important for me in this life, I mean I don't even tell these to my wife, these are things I keep to myself.

I: What are the contents of your prayers?

D3: Hope, more hope I mean.

I: What do you feel, from whom do you have expectations, and to whom do you pray?

D3: I expect from God of course, I mean from the symbolic God of whom I can't form an image.

I: Can you establish a contact with him when you pray?

D3: I think about him, I mean I believe he hears me, otherwise one wouldn't pray, right?

I: Does he reply to your expectations, can you see the signs of that?

D3: There are times when I do, but it's not finished yet... As time goes on, newer things appear.⁶¹ (222- 230)

Harmony and closeness to God are identified with mosques and prayers (*dua*: supplication). Familialism appears again in the content of his prayers (*dua*). In his prayers he asks God for the well-being of his family. This reflects the instrumental-reciprocal style. During his exams at the university, he appeals to the help of God. This also belongs to the instrumental-reciprocal religious style of Stage 2. His statements about this are as follows:

I: At which times and in which places do you find yourself in harmony and communion with God and cosmos?

D3:... umm, this is in the mosque of course, there you say you are in the house of God... and during exams. At those times, you want very much to be in communion with God. You ask for more help... of course in your family too, when you think about it, you want to be always happy in your family too.⁶² (164-165)

⁶¹D3: *emm Kul hū okuyorum, Elham okuyorum, ondan sonra hayattan kendim için önemli olan şeyleri söylerim yani, onu mesala hanıma bile söylemem, kendime saklanan bişeydir.*

I: *Ne oluşturuyor mesela genelde dualarının içeriğini?*

D3: *Umut..daha çok umut yani.*

I: *Ne hissediyorsun, kimden bekliyorsun, kime ediyorsun duayı?*

D3: *Allah'tan bekliyorum tabii ki , yani gözümde oluşturamadığım sembol Allah'tan bekliyorum.*

I: *Bi bağlantı kurabiliyor musun o anda dua ederken?*

D3: *Düşünüyorum, onu düşünüyorum, onun duyduğuna inanıyorum yani, yoksa insan etmez dua öyle değil mi?*

I: *Cevap veriyor mu sana, bunun belirtilerini görüyor musun? Belirtilerini?*

D3: *Gördüğüm anlar da oluyor, oluyor gördüğüm anlar da oluyor, ama sonuna gelmiş değil daha, insan yani dediğim gibi hep hayat ilerledikçe bişeyler daha öne geldikçe daha da yeni şeyler oluşuyor yani.*

⁶²D3: *Pekala hangi zamanlarda veya nerelerde kendini Allah'la veya kainatla birlik ve ahenk içinde bulursun? D3:Yani .. emm camide bu tabii ki, orda tabii ki Allahın evindesin diyorsun, o bi gerçek, bi de emm imtihanları yazarken.. O zaman da çok ee Allahla birlik olmak istiyorsun , yardım istiyorsun daha çok.. bu iki yerde daha çok istiyorsun, tabii ki ailen de de emm şöyle bakarsan ailende de her zaman mutlu olmayı istiyorsun tabii ki.*

In his statements, there are signs of anthropomorphism in his God-image (the one who protects, wants to teach lessons to people, participates in life, watches over and sees everything, commands when necessary, shows himself). His form of God-image becomes clearer in expressions about praying, and an “image of God as personal partner” (Streib 2001, 152) emerges. Mr. Demir 3 uses prayer (supplication) as a very specific contact between himself and God.

4.1.1.3.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Demir 3 doesn't define himself as a religious person. However, he has always been interested in religion and the Koran since childhood. He doesn't perform the Five Daily Prayers, but has fasted since childhood, and goes to Friday Prayers every Friday. For him, being religious doesn't mean only performing Prayers. Concern with material things, jealousy, and injustice are qualities he condemns. When he sums up the restrictions of religion, he mentions these too. Goodwill, not hurting anyone, not being unfair to anyone is very important. He criticizes Muslims who pray regularly, but don't even care about having goodwill.

D3:... But err... from my standpoint, performing Prayers, these are written in the Koran of course, fasting, giving Alms... I try to perform these, even if not perfectly. But I see some Muslims who claim to be Muslim and, err... there's no goodwill in their hearts, which for me is the most important thing... I try to fulfil (requirements) as best I can, to make it better. But goodwill and not hurting people, these are my greatest goals in life. Not to hurt someone, not to behave wrongly toward anyone, and not to expect wrong-doing from anybody.⁶³ (46)

This view also appears in his understanding of ideal faith. This is why he takes the qualities of Muhammad as exemplary.

I: What is mature faith, in your opinion? I mean, how would a pure and mature faith be? Is there anyone whose faith you take as exemplary in this regard? This can be someone living at present, or someone who has already died or maybe lived in the past, a long time ago.

⁶³ D3: *Ama emm benim bakış açımdan, namaz kılmak tabii ki bunlar Kuran'da yazılmış şeyler, oruç tutmak , zekat vermek .. bunları tam doğru olmasa da yerine getirmeye çalışıyorum ama bana göre yani çok müslümanları da görüyoruz kendilerini müslüman diye veriyorlar ama emm içleri, kalpleri temiz değil, benim için de önemlisi o.. yani dinimi yapabildiğim kadar yapabilmek, daha da ileri getirmek, ama kalbimizin temiz olması, kimseyi yaralamamak, en büyük amacım bu benim. Hiç bi zaman kimseyi yaralamamak , kötülük yapmamak kimseye.. kimseden de kötülük beklememek*

D3: Well... err... of course our Prophet, I mean; we should see him that way. He wasn't unfair to anyone, he didn't try to hurt anybody... He tried to teach what's right to people. That, I can take as an example... Nobody has such qualities now, I mean; everybody has something (wrong) somewhere, somehow. This is outside the family, for example my parents, wife or grandfather. Of course some negative things have happened, but I have boundless trust (in them).⁶⁴ (168)

I: Well, do you see yourself as a religious person? (205)

D3: As I said, I can't see myself that way in terms of doing Prayer five times a day, fasting, or in other respects. But particularly after getting married, I believe I didn't violate anyone's rights, that is, I have a pure heart. (206)

I: Hmm, is that true religiosity? (207)

D3: For me it is. For me, true religiosity is not being a Muslim, doing the Five Daily Prayers, and then building ten-star hotels. Rather, for me it is not violating anyone's rights, cleanliness, pure-heartedness, getting along well with people, being useful to other people. To me, this is the greatest value of being a Muslim.⁶⁵ (208)

These answers are related to his form of world coherence. He does not represent a certain system of thought in an explicit and proselytizing way. Instead of analysis and internalization, he emphasizes the dimensions of religiosity. For the ideal person in faith, he takes the Prophet as role model, whose prophecy is confirmed to him especially in terms of interpersonal relations, sincerity and harmony. In his interview passages, therefore, we do not find signs of a developed perspective based on examining the things he believes. Statements like "purity of heart" and "not violating anyone's rights after his marriage" are very generally formulated.

The issue of the rights of the other, stressed many times throughout the interview, reflects an uncritical emphasis on interpersonal harmony and loyalty. Again, he refers to Islamic sources, yet does not reflect a reasoned internalization of these principles. He is impressed by mosques and minarets as religious symbols. Minarets are more prominent religious symbols for him, since a minaret reminds

⁶⁴I: Peki sana göre olgun inanç , yani böyle tertemiz olgun bir inanç nasıl olur?, veya bu anlamda inancını örnek aldığın bir şahıs var mı? Bu yaşayan bir şahıs da olabilir, ölmüş, çok eskiden yaşamış gitmiş bir şahıs da olabilir? D3: Ya emm tabii ki peygamberimiz yani , onu öyle anlamak zorundayız.. yani kimsenin hakkını yememiş, kimseyi incitmeye çalışmamış.. insanlara doğruyu öğretebilmeye çalışmış, bunu alabilirim.. şimdiki verdiğim değer de öyle birisi olduğuna inanmıyorum yani, her insanın bi yerde bi şeyleri var yani, bu aile dışında, yani mesala anneme babama karıma olsun yahut dedemle olsun, kötü bişeyler olmuştur ama güvencim sonsuzdur yani.

⁶⁵I: Peki kendini dindar bir insan olarak görüyor musun?

D3: Dediğim gibi, yani emm namaz bakımından, oruç ya da diğer yönlerden tam dindar görme imkanım yok, ama emm yani bilhassa evlilikten sonra yani kimsenin hakkını yemediğime, yani emm kalbimin temiz olduğuna inanan birisiyim.

I: Hmm, asıl dindarlık bu mu?

D3: Bence o, asıl dindarlık bence dediğim gibi emm müslüman olup namaz kılıp ondan sonra on Yıldızlı hotel yapmak değil, daha çok bence emm kimsenin hakkını yememek, temiz olmak, temiz kalpli olmak, insanlarla iyi geçinebilmek, insalara, başka insanlara verimli olabilmek, daha çok bence müslümanlığın en büyük değeri bana göre bu.

him of the Prayer-call (*Ezan*). This becomes more important in Germany because it is not overtly heard. In Turkey, the Prayer-call has a motivating function for Daily Prayers. When one hears the call for Prayer, one naturally thinks that it is time for Prayer (*namaz*). "Thus, the minaret and the Prayer-call are great symbols that highlight the meaning of being a Muslim...." (210-214)

Public worship is very important for him. For instance, he is careful not to miss Friday Prayers. Religious symbols and rituals representing common Islamic belief are appropriated by him in their traditional forms. These are deeply believed in, but tacitly articulated. There is also an explicit emphasis on his understanding of religion and the interpersonality of the meaning given to religious symbols. The statements associating fasting with the social dimensions of life, and the interpretation of religious festivals as strengthening family ties, are proof of this. He implicitly believes that the real function of religion lies in its social dimension. But he cannot present this in the form of a thought system, or as a personal theory based on analysis and argumentation.

Fasting has very great symbolic meaning for him. Fasting enables us to understand what hunger means, the condition of the poor, and the importance of sharing with them. For this reason, he is angry with people who do not understand the value of bread. Beginning with childhood, he found it strange that people waste bread instead of being concerned about global hunger. Fasting is something like training for believers. Relaxation Prayers (*Tarawih* Prayers during Ramadan) and religious festivals are occasions for reunion with relatives and for social commingling. Hence, he sees these as important religious practices. (210)

His understanding of sin parallels his thoughts on religion. Although abandoning religious rituals is a sin, for him the real sin is acting against social morality. Stealing, violations of human rights, egoism, and gossip—these, in his reckoning, are the main sins and bad deeds. He had to end relations with his friends because of gossip. He tried to reconfigure his relationships after that turning point. He distinguishes between his understanding of sin and that of society at large. But he also dramatizes his own experiences, and presents himself as a victim of events. He proffers these events as a reason for limiting his relations strictly to his family.

He criticizes those who restrict sin only to the non-observance of religious rituals. He says that according to most people, sin is not performing Daily Prayers, or not fasting. But in reality, sin consists of actions that damage togetherness, such as violating the rights of others.

D3:... as it says in the Koran, it's sinful to neglect performing the Daily Prayers or fasting... but I care more about, err... doing evil, stealing, violations of human rights, egoism, these are the worst evils I think, these are the evils I can recount, and gossip too, it's very bad, saying something and spreading it unless you saw it with your own eyes, it's very bad... I mean, just like I said, I saw a lot of that in my friends, because of that I mean I never, it's the same even now, err... maybe it's the reason I'm not close to anyone but my family, anyone at all, any of my friends... I even distanced myself from my friends right after I got married. These are the reasons; I don't trust anyone because of that, no one at all. ⁶⁶(252)

His emphasis on purity of the heart in religiosity—and distancing of self from those who describe religiosity as Prayer, fasting, and performing other religious rituals—can be understood as an attempt to construct a dichotomy. However, this is still not Stage 4, which requires a critical perspective on own-worldview and own-thoughts. His statements reflect conventional Islamic religiosity, pointing to stage 3 in faith development. He describes true religiosity as interpersonal harmony and observing others' rights.

As with the other two interviewees in the Demir family, Mr. Demir 3's relations with authority will be probed. When asked about the meaning of life and the values and beliefs he is devoted to, he gave answers similar to the others. He replies to both questions with statements that refer to the significance of his family and the degree of responsibility he feels towards them. The importance of studying at the university is supported with the Prophet's emphasis on learning. However, he did not mention this detail in the interview.

⁶⁶ D3: Yani Kuran'da da geçtiği gibi günah, namaz kılmamaktır, oruç tutmamaktır ..ama benim daha çok önem verdiğim emm kötülük yapmak, hırsızlık , insan hakkı yemek , egoist olmak, en çok kötülükler bence bunlar, benim sayabileceğim kötülükler bunlar, biraz da ağız dedi kodusu, o çok kötü bişey, bi de gözünle görmeden bişey demek hele yaymak çok kötü bişey.. yani dediğim gibi benim arkadaşlarımda çok gördüm onları, o yüzden yani hiç bi zaman, şimdi de öyle emm belki o etkendir, aileden başka kimseyle samimi olmam, kimseyle, hiç bi arkadaşla samimi olmam.. samimi olduğum arkadaşlarla bile evlendikten sonra uzaklaştım yani, nedenleri bu yani, ben kimseye güvenmem o yüzden, kimseye.

We do not observe the effect of any group, specific person, or ideology on him. The meaning he gives to the family concept and the responsibility he claims can be evaluated as chosen by his inner authority. In some topics he makes free justifications, yet his statements do not reflect Stage 4's clear reflective stand, since his thoughts are mostly traditionally appropriated, not critically examined or rationally filtered. Interpersonal harmony, integration, rights and freedoms, the maintenance of harmony, dominate his form of meaning making in this aspect as well. His expressions on this theme are more reminiscent of moral judgment. These are also stated in a style that does not depend on analysis.

According to Mr. Demir 3, human actions can be divided into the categories of "right" and "wrong." The criterion for appraising what is right or wrong is related to personal experience. A person's emotions and mind play a major role in this matter. The true meaning of life lies in being useful to human beings. In the future, he desires to finish his Master's degree and become an employer as soon as possible. In this way, he believes he will be able to help people. In his view, wealth that is not useful to human beings is without value.

D3:... For instance, a man goes to Dubai and builds a ten-star, twenty-star, thirty-star hotel. Whom does this help?... Hungry people are all around wherever you look, and you call yourself a Muslim? Never mind being a Muslim, what kind of human being are you? I mean, why don't you say, "I have a factory that has lots of workers," I mean if you can't think, somebody else can do it for you, we can do it, and thanks to that, 200,000 people can find work, but you go and build a hotel instead. Right? I mean, all for nothing of any use. Let's say there's a bunch of rich people who come and live it up there, what happens if people are penniless and don't come, you even reach the point where you have to close the hotel. It can happen... I mean because of that, swankiness won't help you, you should err... give people job opportunities.⁶⁷ (194-196)

His statements in the interview relating to moral judgment can be evaluated as a mix of different styles or stages. On average, they bear the features of Stage 3. For example, in separating *right* action from *wrong* action, he mentions some

⁶⁷ D3: Adam mesala gitmiş Dubai'de on Yıldız, yirmi Yıldız, otuz Yıldız, atıyorum işte bi otel yapmış,ya kime verimi var onun?.. etrafta her taraf baksan orda aç insanlarla dolu, ya sen nasıl bi müslümanısın? müslümanı bırak nasıl bi insanısın? yani, desene ben şurda bi firmadaki o kadar insanlarım var etrafımda, sana akılın yoksa bile sana orda akıl veren insanlar olur, bunu yapabiliriz, bunun sayesinde 200 000 kişi çalışabilir, ona para yatıracağına sen git orda otel yap, öyle değil mi yani, boşu boşuna kimseye bi faydası olmayan, orda bi kaç zengin gelip yatıp orda keyif yapmanın, ne oldu para da bitti insanlarda, oraya gelen de olmadı, oteli bile kapatma durumuna geldin, yani bu böyle, o yüzden yani insanlara gösteriş değil, daha çok emm iş göstereceksin.

implicit rules. Interpersonal harmony and observing the rights of others are favoured. In his view, when people do wrong, especially when they disturb the rights of others, they will suffer due to this wrong action. This brings to mind a reciprocal exchange and the stereotypical expression: “what you put into life is what you get out of it.”

4.1.1.3.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

He regards evils and disasters in the world as warnings from God. But humans also have a contribution to and responsibility for these evils, because they do not use their intellect. If a disaster happens, it happens because God wants to teach us a lesson. For instance, houses should be constructed with strong materials which won't be damaged by earthquakes. Precautions should be taken against floods in advance. These are human responsibilities. He says:

D3:... as we saw in Haiti or in Turkey, a small quake ruins houses and everything, God sends warnings, signs to people, but people, err... let me tell you, humans are very cruel and ungrateful, that's what I mean... I mean they see it happens today, and forget it tomorrow... but God still tries to teach us lessons, that's what I think.⁶⁸(88)

He sees religion as a basic factor that renders human life meaningful. He says that the most irreligious country in the world is China. And the most suicides happen in China, too. People fall into meaninglessness and commit suicide because of atheism.

I: Is there a plan for your life? Or, are we affected by any power or powers beyond our control?

D3: Of course, the power of God is great. Namely Japan and China, not Japan but China, when we take China as example, the number of people killing themselves (suicide) is very high there.

I: In China?

D3: In China. Why? Most of them are atheists. What does that mean? If a person does not have faith in something, life has no meaning. That's why I always say, I have to keep my faith strong, I have to believe, so that there is value in the things of this life, only then can I be productive, not see

⁶⁸ D3: *Ama mesala Haiti'de gördük ya da Türkiye'de gördük, küçük bi sallantıda yani evler gidiyor, Allah uyarı yapıyor, o uyarıları veriyor insanlara, ama insanlar emm, ben sana deyim çok acımasız bir de nankörler, yani o yönden.. Yani bu gün görüyorlar onu, yarın unutuyorlar..ama Allah her zaman böyle katılıp yine ders vermeye çalışıyor bence.*

myself as a “nothing.” I’ll be afraid to kill myself That’s why I say, it’s not enough to say “I am Muslim,” do the Five Daily Prayers, and fast. That is, you have to cleanse your heart.⁶⁹(200)

When he thinks about death, he concludes that he should be more productive in this world. Because death is a reality that nobody can escape (202). This life won’t end with death. The true life is going to start after this one ends. His reference in this is the Koran: the real and unending life will begin after death. What will happen is unknown to humans, but he definitely believes that life will go on. He compares death and life after death to a dream. In dreams we are asleep, but life still goes on. We will see the “other side” only when we get there. Life after death is a period when the good will be separated from the bad (204).

4.1.1.3.7. Summary

Mr. Demir 3 was born in Germany and was socialized there. Nevertheless, he speaks less about Germany and his environment there during the interview. He speaks neither about a conflict with majority society, nor of any identification with them. His conscious life world and central relations are constituted by the ethnic own-group, chiefly the family and relatives. Particularly at present, his relations are strictly limited to significant others. The university represents the official institution which he is attached to for self-identification. Demir 3 even divides his life conventionally, into different temporal chapters. At the center of his life are his family and his responsibilities towards them.

The death of his mother-in-law provoked a questioning of life in him. Compared to the other two generations of the family, his religious socialization is more conscious and more advanced. He received his religious education from Milli Görüş, DİTİB and the Süleymancı sect. As with the previous two generations, he does not criticize parents or other religious caregivers in terms of religion. He is aware of the fact that his parents are unable to educate their children religiously at

⁶⁹! : Yaşamın için bir plan var mı? ya da bizler kontrolümüzün ötesinde bulunan bir güç veya güçler tarafından mı etkilenmekteyiz? D3: Tabii ki Allah’ın gücü çok, yani bi Japonya Çin, Japonya değil daha çok Çin, Çin’i misal alırsak, orda kendini öldürenlerin sayısı aşırı. I: Çin’de mi? D3: Çin’de, neden? dinsizler bir çoğu, ne demek oluyor, insanın bir inancı bir direnci olmazsa bir şeye karşı, hayatın anlamı yoktur, o yüzden her zaman derim yani, ben inancımı güçlü tutmam lazım ki, inanmam lazım ki bu hayatta bi şeyin değeri var , anca o zaman verimli olurum, kendimi yani hiçe saymam. Canımı almaya korkarım, daha çok bu yani..inancı olan insan, gerçek o yüzden diyorum yani, sadece müslümanım demekle, namaz kılmakla, oruç tutmakla olmuyor, yani kalbini temizleyeceksin.

home. His father is remote but his mother is more involved, and for this reason his mother has shown greater interest in his education. For their religious education as well, the mother supported him and his siblings and sent them to different Koran courses. He views the mother's side as more religious. For him as for the previous two generations, the desire to work and earn money is crucial.

His model in religion is the Prophet. Everyone has shortcomings, only the Prophet Muhammad is perfect. He does not pray regularly during the day, but he has been fasting since childhood. He always attends the Friday Prayers. He does not see himself as religious, but then, being religious does not mean performing the Five Daily Prayers. Good intentions and being pure of heart are his primary criteria for religiosity.

He switched from an anthropomorphic God-image to an abstract image of God. He is aware of that. For him God is the creator, intervenes in everything, and is punitive when necessary. He finds harmony in the mosque and asks for God's help when he has exams. What determines right and wrong is the personal experience of a human being. The meaning of life is primarily to be useful to humanity. In this regard, his religiosity is more global and comprehensive compared to the earlier generations.

The meaning of human life can only be found in religion. Religion infuses human life with meaning. He does not mean here only his religion, but the "concept of religion" itself. It is apparent from his statements that any religion rescues people from meaninglessness and becoming suicidal. There is an unquestioning acceptance and belief in the existence of life after death. Fasting is very important as a symbolic ritual. Festival Prayers and communal Prayers in the month of Ramadan are means for mingling with the poor, and they help relatives get together. The most important religious symbols are minaret, mosque and the Prayer-call. These are rare in Germany and for this reason; he ascribes more importance to these. Here he makes a distinction between Turkey and Germany: even though he was born and socialized in Germany, his spatial reference in religion is Turkey.

His understanding of sin also has a broader meaning compared to former generations, even if it overlaps with them in traditionalism. Non-observance of religious rituals and things contrary to social ethics are sins. Because of the negative experiences he faced in the latter case, he ended relations with many people and limited his relations to family members. Praying and supplication are very specific forms of contact with God. The evil in the world is God's way of warning people and teaching them lessons. If a person does not use his head and does not fulfil his responsibilities, then there is a divine penalty.

He does not believe in the possibility of interreligious dialogue and is pessimistic. However, he believes that conflicts between religions can be resolved in the light of the Koran. In conclusion, he has been assigned to stage 3 in all aspects and domains of faith development.

Figure 4: Stage Assignments of Mr. Demir 3.



4.1.2. Comparison in Faith Development

Form of Logic: This aspect is determined by turning points and breakthroughs in life, crises, changes, what people would like to do with themselves if they were given the chance, and their ways of decision making.

Demir 1's biographical overview is disconnected. He cannot reconstruct his biography in a systematic unity and produce a coherent life story. Romance, narrative and legend dominate his meaning making process in this aspect.

Demir 2 and Demir 3 can divide their lives into various chapters and produce a partially coherent life narrative. However, this style of division is rather temporal and conventional. In the second generation, there is no analytical evaluation of cognitive states in these temporal life chapters.

On the whole, the statements of Demir 3 are relatively richer. For example, he is partly conscious of the contents of these chapters in comparison with the other two members. There is a strict orientation to the family and significant others in decision making in all three generations. Furthermore, emotionalism, idealism, and connectedness are more apparent in Demir 3. There is more emphasis on interpersonal harmony. To be approved by the other people is important. There is enrichment in his form of conventionalism.

Perspective Taking: This aspect deals with current relationships, past relationships and relations with parents or primary caregivers.

A narrative and emotional style of meaning making is obvious in Demir 1. He indicates family members and primary caregivers as central relationships. There are no significant relations or people outside the family. These relations are put into words in a narrative style of meaning making, and with a simple perspective taking.

Demir 2 is also oriented towards family members. His happiness is dependent on external conditions (for example, the situation of his children), there are attempts to criticize significant others (father) but this critique is not directed at the system of thought (inner world) of the father.

With Demir 3 as well, there is an orientation to family members (grandfather, children and wife as central relations); he is more conscious about his relations and at the same time more embedded in family relations.

Form of Moral Judgment: One's distinctions between right or wrong, sin or evil, and the solution for religious conflicts and differences determine this aspect.

There is orientation to religious authority in the moral judgment of all three generations. For example, according to first and third generations, evil is an indication of warnings from God. Grandfather and grandson have very similar attitudes to explaining evil. Evil is the punishment of God because of bad people (Demir 1) and evil occurs because people are cruel (Demir 3). The second generation (Demir 2) attempts a different explanation. He adds the phenomena of nature to the warnings and punishments of God. He tries to explain evil by a scientific approach, but does not synthesize these two separate explanations.

Regarding interreligious conflict, there are liberal and dialogical statements about other faith traditions, which can be evaluated as a simple relativism in all three generations. Obligation and particularism in religious differences are rejected by all three generations. Conflicts between different religions can be resolved. Demir 3 criticizes people for not accepting the mediation of the Koran. He stresses flexibility and not exaggerating religious conflicts. The other two generations do not refer this topic to the Koran or other religious sources. All three generations highlight harmony between the people. The first generation resorts to stories in transmitting his ideas on religious differences. Religion is an issue between God and a person.

Demir 1 highlights the Koran and religious authorities as the measure of right. How we understand right things is tacit in his statements. There is also an implicit reference to the human mind and experience. In Demir 2 and Demir 3's statements about the source of right in human action, there are overlaps with different stages of faith development. For example, Demir 2 explicitly emphasizes relativism, individual differences, experiences, and human reason in distinguishing right from wrong. Like his father, Demir 3 also refers to human experience and reason. However, interpersonal harmony and favouring the rights of others predominate in his statements.

Bounds of Social Awareness: People are asked about chapters of their life, whether they can divide their life into different sections, and changes in their

relations and thought. The aspects of form of logic, perspective taking and form of world coherence have been considered together in the analysis.

Demir 1 is not aware of his life chapters. Demir 2 and 3 are aware of different life chapters and, as stressed in the form of logic above, they are able to construct a life narrative. DITIB is highlighted as the religious organization to which they feel close. For the first generation, DITIB represents the source of religion, for the second they educate children without persecution, while the third generation has other reasons. Although he received Koran lessons from different organizations, Demir 3 goes mostly to the DITIB mosque because his relatives and friends come there to Pray, and this mosque is near his home.

Locus of Authority: Life's meaning, beliefs and universal principles determine the locus of authority.

In terms of the meaning of life, Demir 1 and 3 are closer to each other. They both find the meaning of life and harmony in their families. None of the three generations accept the authority of a religious group. Demir 1 highlights righteousness and caring about the rights of others as universal values. Similarly, the grandson also emphasizes harmony, rights and freedom for people. For Demir 2, religion is determined as a value in this aspect. He sees final salvation in religion. Extremes in religion are rejected. For all three, the sources of authority seem to be felt deeply but held tacitly.

Form of World Coherence: In this regard, the three generations were asked about their ideal person in faith, the purpose of human life in the world, their images of death, the definition/criteria of religiosity, and whether they describe themselves as religious.

Demir 1 says he takes God as example. Imams are important in the religion and they should be followed. Contrary to this, Demir 2 does not take anyone's faith as an example. He states that he grades imams in his head, but does not evaluate

the thoughts of imams. For Demir 3, the Prophet Muhammad is the example of mature faith. Demir 3 stresses the features of Muhammad connected to interpersonal harmony.

All three give similar answers to the purpose of life. For Demir 1, the purpose of life is known only by God. In the opinion of Demir 2, the purpose of human life is not known, yet God regulates all human life. According to Demir 3, the purpose of human life is religion.

Again, all three give similar explanations about the reality of death. For Demir 1, death or the afterlife is a place of punishment and forgiveness; for Demir 2, the place of reckoning. For Demir 3, death is inevitable, after which life will go on.

The three generations do not consider themselves religious. There are also obvious differences in their definitions of religiosity. Demir 1 implicitly denotes observance of religious rituals as the criterion of religiosity. Demir 2 highlights reading the Koran and having religious knowledge. Demir 3 articulates a quite different explanation. He identifies being religious with observing the rights of others; it also means having a pure heart. However, he says that he is not religious. In this aspect, Demir 1's statements point to a mixture of Stages 2 and 3. **Symbolic Function:** The symbol function of Demir 1 is generally one-sided, literal and dominated by anthropomorphism. God is punitive. He relates his symbolic conceptions in a narrative style. The same goes for death. He does not have a continuous spiritual discipline.

Similarly with Demir 2, the symbols are not differentiated from each other. There is no attempt to convert symbols into concepts. There are more features in his image of God. God is creator, powerful, unshakable. For him, symbols function mostly to evoke emotions. Harmony is to be found in the mosque and in times of quietude. Among the religious symbols he counts are also those that directly evoke emotions (funeral ceremonies and *Mawlid*).

In the symbolic function of grandson Demir 3, there are dimensions fundamentally different from his father and grandfather. There is no significant spiritual discipline. He interprets symbols (especially religious rituals). He seeks social dimensions in rituals. He also ascribes more importance to rituals performed in congregations, such as the Friday Prayer. His understanding of Prayer is more personal: it is understood as a personal contact with God. In symbol understanding as well, the content provided by Demir 3 seems to be richer than the others, but the structure remains similar.

Conclusion: In the biographies of the first and second generations, there are separations from the family in the migration process. Generally, the emphasis has been on the role of religion. Education in the family seems weaker, but it is not absolutely ruled out. The religion lives as a part of life culture and family tradition. Similar images of God are to be observed for all three generations. For the second and third generations, the image of God as “personal partner” is more apparent, whereas there is little evidence in the first generation for that. The first and second generations make hardly any differentiation between religious symbols and their functions, whereas the third generation attaches more meanings to his symbols of religion.

The first and second generations kept what they learned in Turkey about religion, and their religiosity was primarily formed in the home country. Little was added in Germany in this regard. For example, the mention of the religious atmosphere in the village in Turkey and little mention about religious life in Germany is evidence of this.

With the second generation, there is a reorientation to the family. Abstention from alcohol, gambling and extramarital sex is understood as orientation toward religion. The second generation rarely goes to mosque: he does not perform Daily Prayers (*namaz*), associating this with being in a foreign country. Illness was mentioned by the first generation as a reason for not practicing religious rituals. For the second generation, to be religious means to have knowledge of the Koran. Consequently, he does not see himself as a religious person. He also does not

have a role model in faith. What determines his understanding of religiosity is that he is opposed to extremes in religion. By extremes, he means giving more importance to religion than necessary.

The three interviewed persons are not frequent members of any religious organization. They do not steadfastly perform religious practices. The active centrality of religion in their life execution is obviously weak. But religion here functions as an element of life culture, and its existence is indispensable. They do not consciously embrace any religious ideology. However, they have a sympathy towards the DITIB organization. Each of them has valid reasons for ascribing greater importance to this organization. The first and second generations go to the DITIB mosque because it is near to their home, and the third goes there for Friday and other common Prayers because he sees his friends there. For the third generation, DITIB plays the role of environment provider. Nevertheless, the third generation expressed that he was sent to the courses of other religious organizations, such as the Milli Görüş and Süleymancı movements. This can also be explained by his secular lifestyle and the religious style of DITIB. All other Sunni Turkish organizations in Germany have basically the same religious beliefs, yet they expect an exclusive religious style and worldview from their members. In this regard, DITIB represents the laic-secular state perception and is open to various religious styles and worldviews.

Although they value individualism more in their lives, their understanding of religion tends toward the traditional. They all report that they do not describe themselves as religious persons. The first two define religiosity as performing rituals correctly and being informed about religion. The third adds the ethical dimension of religiosity. In this three-generation case, a systematic and conscious religious transmission within the family is not observed. The most obvious thing is that each of the interviewed people has witnessed former generations performing certain rituals at home. As for the account of Mr. Demir 3, it is clear that his mother's preferences were instrumental in his obtaining religious culture in the family. But it is not a direct influence. The disinterest of the father in religious education in his youth could have played a role in this. That is, the mother directed

them (him and his siblings) to mosque organizations. Perhaps for this reason, Mr. Demir 3 is of the opinion that the family of his mother which lives in Turkey is more religious than his father's family living in Germany.

The continuity of the religious style of the older generation can be regarded as consolidation of the life culture in the intergenerational process. In the generational line from grandfather to grandson, no significant deviation in religious life can be observed. On the contrary, there is a similarity of attitudes and a harmonious consolidation of traditional style in the generational process. Furthermore, no actual generational conflict is observed, especially in the religious dimension of life.

There are slight criticisms of each other between generations. The second generation did not interfere in the marriage decision of the third generation at a younger age, like his father did to him. He claims that he supported his children especially in the area of education, whereas he was not encouraged by the first generation. But the statement by the third generation that he and his siblings were supported mostly by their mother in educational issues contradicts this.

Work and having money is a central theme in the life of all three generations in this case. In their interviews, they emphasize this issue many times. Not the religion itself, but some forms of religiosity, are called into question by all three generations. The third generation in particular dwells more upon the social and ethical dimensions of religion than on the performance of certain religious rituals.

4.1.3. Case Study of Three Generations of the Akay Family

The Akay family lives in a small town in North Rhein-Westphalia. They originally immigrated from a village in western Anatolia. The oldest person in the family is Mrs. Akay 1's husband and the youngest is her 12-year-old grandchild. The husband of Mrs. Akay 1 was the first to come to Germany in 1964 as a worker. He was retired at the time of the interviews after working as an unskilled factory worker. In 1969, Mrs. Akay 1 and her two children joined him and the family was reunited.

Mrs. Akay 1 and her husband have three children: two daughters and a son. Two were born in Turkey and the third was born after they migrated to Germany. All of their children are married and have their own families. The first child, the daughter who was interviewed, is married and the mother of three children. The second (the son) is an engineer and married to a German woman, and has three children. The youngest daughter is a chemist and married to a Turkish man from Turkey. They have two handicapped children.

The interviews were conducted with Mrs. Akay 1 (first generation), her second child, the 49-year-old daughter, and her 26-year-old granddaughter. The first and second generations live in the same town. The third generation lives with her husband in a nearby town and works there. Grandmother Akay has been retired due to disease for 20 years. The second generation, Mother Akay, works for an insurance company as a salesperson. Granddaughter Akay has a university degree and teaches at an elementary school. Access to them for an interview was very easy. Contact was established with them via an imam. The interviews were conducted in January 2010 on the same day with all three generations. They provided a comfortable milieu for conducting individual interviews on the same day. The second generation, Mrs. Akay 2, and her husband have a luxury house with a garden. In their home, there was no symbol or picture to remind one of religion. A Turkish musical instrument (*saz*) belonging to Mrs. Akay 2's husband was hanging on the wall of the living room. There was also a dog in their home. During breakfast a general introduction to the interviews was given to members of

the family. Akay 1 wears a headscarf. All the other women in the family are without headscarves. The time spent with them was approximately 6 hours. Breakfast and breaks between single interviews provided an opportunity to talk with them informally about their 46 years of labor migration experiences in Germany. Religion was the top subject of these discussions.

Akay 1 and her husband were the ones who talked most during the breakfast and the breaks between interviews. They discussed why there are so many Turkish religious organizations in Germany. Mrs. Akay 1 argues that all of the Turkish religious organizations should be united. The political and Sufi organizations must be closed, and they have to join DITIB. Her husband did not agree with her. Most of the discussion occurred between the first generations. The other generations had no interest in discussing religion as passionately as the grandparents. They tried to reconcile the grandmother and grandfather. Grandmother Akay is a passionate supporter of DITIB. The other two interviewed women do not have any connection to religious organizations. The three interviewees have different images as regards religion, religious development and religious life. In the biographies of the first and second generations, we observe how the dynamics of family context and primary relationships play roles in the religious formation of an individual.

4.1.3.1. Mrs. Akay 1

Grandmother Akay was seventy-one years old at the time of the interviews. She was born in 1939 in a village of western Turkey as the fourth child of her parents. The first two siblings died early. Her father was the ironsmith of the village, and also the village headman/chief (*muhtar*). Mrs. Akay 1 started her education in primary school but had to leave at third grade, because the school in the neighbouring village was too far from home. There were no true teachers and no school in their own village. The instructors taught the kids in a building such as a mosque, mainly about religion.

4.1.3.1.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Mrs. Akay 1 does not divide her life into various chapters. She replies to the related question with a strong emphasis on her childhood, the interest of her parents in the education of children, and her keenness for study. About the chapters of her 70 years in life, she says:

A1: My childhood passed like that. My parents both had a lot of curiosity. She (the mother) used to tell me... They had no regard for the new Turkish language at all. My mother held Ottoman very dear. She used to tell me... shall I tell you about those old times?

I: Yes...

A: By the fireplace... it was not like this in those days. Well... While we were sitting, I would pick up my book and go on, until they were fed up. I was very keen on reading, but we were freezing in the other rooms, so inevitably we had to go back to that room. There was no stove. There was only one fire burning in the house. My deceased mother would take those books and tell me, "I'm fed up with your voice!" She would throw my books to the rear. I swear I would pick them up in tears.⁷⁰(35)

She says that her parents had no interest in the modern Turkish alphabet,⁷¹ her mother found it more important to educate her children in the old Ottoman language. She had a crowded family, but there were only a few rooms in the house where they lived. It was difficult to find an appropriate silent and warm space for study. She tried to arrange a place and took every opportunity to learn. She thinks she could have been in a better position today if she had had the possibility to continue her schooling.

A1: By the time school became available, I had grown up. As a girl, I wasn't able to go again. I was young, but my elder sister managed to go. But all of my younger siblings went to school just for one

⁷⁰A1: *Çocukluğum öyle işte öyle, öyle geçti. Babamlar meraklılardı, babam da annem de meraklıydılar. Bana derdi ki. Hiç saymazdı onlar yeni Türkçeyi hiç saymıyordu annem. O eski Türkçeyi tepesinde tutardı. Bana derdi ki. eee anlatayım mı sana eskileri?*

I: *Evet*

A1: *Ocağın başı, o zaman böyle değildi. Oturuyoruz işte böyle. Ben de şimdi kitabımı alıyorum, dır dır dır dır, bıktırıyorum onları ben. Çok meraklıyım okumaya. Ama üşüyoruz, başka odalarda, illa oraya gidiyorduk, soba yok, bi tane ocak yanıyor evin içinde, rahmetlik annem alırdı o kitapları, biktım senin sesinden derdi, atardı benim kitaplarımı arkaya (sesini yükselterek) yemin ediyorum ağlayarak onları alırdım.*

⁷¹ *It is worth to clarify her words "They had no regard for the new Turkish language at all. My mother held Ottoman very dear". The Turks adopted Arabic alphabets after they embraced Islam in tenthCentury. Arabic alphabet was an essential element of Islamic culture. They adapted it into Turkish language. The Turks used this alphabet approximately 9 centuries. In 1 November 1928 with a new legislation the young Turkish parliament decided Latine Alphabet with an adaptation of it into modern Turkish. Mrs Akay 1 refers here to the fact that her parents were belonging to a religious rank in Turkey.*

year. They were able to attend even less, because there was no school. It was built later. We were educated by slaps from our father. Only my younger sister benefited from that.⁷²(29)

As she highlights in this excerpt, there was no school in their village when she was a small child. For a few years, she went to the school of a neighbouring village. As she grew up, she was no longer permitted to go to school there. By the time a new school opened in their village, she was a young girl and her opportunity had passed. Her statements refer to the fact that her family was traditionally conservative about sending girls to school. They did not allow young girls out of the home, even for education.

Mrs. Akay 1 seems to really accept and internalize this situation. She does not criticize anyone as responsible. With restricted possibilities, she and her siblings stayed at home and were educated under the “slaps from father.” In the biographical retrospection, the family and her childhood in the family occupy a significant place. When she reflects on her biography, childhood is assigned the most value in the narratives. About her times as a young girl, she drops only a sentence and does not talk further about those times. She says that her school life ended when she was a young girl. She is willing to talk more about the periods beginning with her marriage.

She got married in 1960 when she was 21 years old. In 1964, in the fourth year of marriage, her husband moved to Germany. She had two children and lived alone with them for five years in Turkey. She mentions little of her experiences during this period in the life narratives. She is also reticent about the time she passed with her children in Turkey. She and her two children joined her husband in Germany in 1969 in a family reunion. The third child was born later in Turkey during a summer vacation. When she first came to Germany, she expected to return to Turkey within a short time. But this expectation has never been realized up to this day. Concerning further experiences after settling in Germany, she speaks as follows:

⁷² A1: Veya okul olasıya kadar ben büyüdüm. Ya kız çocuğusun bi daha da gidemiyorsun. Yaşım gençti, ama kız kardeşim, kapının önündeydi gitti. Ama benim küçüklerim birer senecik gidebildirler, daha az gittiler okula. Çünkü okul yoktu. Sonradan oldu. Babamın tokadının dibinde oldu, ama ancak küçük kız kardeşim ordan yararlandı.

A1: But I thought that we would return very soon and I thought that we might go back in a year, we would go back very soon... I didn't like it here at all... didn't like it at all. I was homesick so I wanted to go back all the time. Whenever my memories flashed before my eyes, I would cry and cry. So we stayed here. Afterwards, I wanted to work, that was my own decision. But my husband didn't want me to work. I worked at a tailor's firm. I had three children, they were very young. I had a tiny daughter. She works at a chemist's now. I had brought her here when she was a year-and-a-half old. And I began to work a year-and-a-half later. It was really hard for me to go to work leaving a three-year-old baby alone at home. I suffered a lot in that respect. I suffered so much, it's indescribable. Sometimes we had to leave her with a babysitter. We used to leave her in the morning and bring her back in the evening. So that's when I became a worker. I went into textiles, sewing, and ironing. And I was rather skilled. I had been trying to do something for my children back in Turkey. I had been a worker there, too, a certified worker. And then I heard there was another company and it had higher pay. It was metalwork. Lots of machines, you did Piecework (*Akkord arbeiten*). When I heard about that job, I didn't want to stay in my old job. I was being paid 400 Liras in my old job, but you were paid 800 Liras in that new job. And I said to myself, now that I've left my children, why should I work in that shop? I convinced my husband, that's the truth, he didn't make me work. And then I went there, and I was lucky. Germany was not like this in the past. I went there early in the morning and asked if they were hiring or not. I said I wanted to work. But they said, "You're already employed, we have letters, there are lots of unemployed people with letters. If one of those with a letter doesn't come, we'll hire you instead of them." How lucky I was! One of those letter holders didn't come. I mean the letters that have been sent by the employment agency (*Arbeitsamt*). One of those letter holders didn't show up, so I was employed and worked there after that.⁷³(49)

In this quote, she emphasizes that she always has a Plan B, and she does this in an emotionally arousing style and with self-importance. After becoming convinced that it was not possible to go back to Turkey earlier, she started work on her "own decision".

⁷³ A1: Ama ben baktım emmm ben zannettim ki çok çabuk döneceğiz. Ben dedim ki bi senede falan döneriz zannettim. Bu kadar çabuk döneriz. O kadar istemiyor idim ki burayı. Sevmiyordum yani hiç sevmiyordum. Hep geri gitmek istiyordu canım. Ağlardım, anılarım önlerimden, gözlerimin önlerinden geçiyordu. Hep ağlıyordum. Ondan sonra da kaldık artık buralarda. Sonra da ben çalışmak istedim. Kendim istedim çalışmayı. Öyle o (kocam) ee çalıştırmak istemedi. Hep kadın idi. Bi tane terzi firmasına girdim, üç tane çocuğum var, küçükler, o küçücük bi kızım var benim şimdi eczanede çalışıyor. Onu ben bir buçuk yaşında getirdim. Zaten bir buçuk sene sonra da işçi olduğum sıralarda ee üç yaşındaki çocuğumu eve kapatıp da işe gitmek çok büyük bir problemdi. Çok çile çektim o yönden. O kadar çektim ki anlatamam. Onu bazan bakıcıya verdik, sabah götürdük akşam aldık, vesayire diyeceğim, ben de o arada işçi oldum işte. O girdiğim eem textile girdim işte, dikiş, ütü. Azıcık da ayağım yatıktı benim. Türkiye'de kendi çocuklarıma yapıyor idim bişeyler. Orda da işçi oldum. Kağıtlı işçi oldum. Ondan sonra duydum ki ah bi yer var şimdi böyle orası şey yani çok para veriyor. Ama metal. Harıl harıl makina çalıştırıyorlar, akorda çalışıyorsun. Ben onu duyduğumda ben orda durmak istemedim. Ordan alıyordum 400 lira bu yerden veriyorlar 800 lira, iki kat, dedim ya ben madem bıraktımsa çoluk çocuğumu, ben dedim dükkanda neden çalışacağım? amcayı ikna ettim yani, doğru söylüyorum. Beni çalışmağa getirmedim. Ondan sonra ben gittim oraya, şansım da varmış. Eskiden böyle değildi Almanya. Gittim sabahleyin, gittik işte oraya, dedik işçi alıyormusunuz? Benim daha işim var ama ötede, siz işçi alıyormusunuz dedim ben de dedim çalışmak istiyorum. Ben size gelmek istiyorum, ama dediler senin işin var, bize mektup geldi, mektuplular var işsizler var. Eğer bu mektuplulardan biri gelmezse, pazartesi günü burda ol, kapıda, saat 6 da sabahleyin, eğer onların bi tanesi gelmezse seni yerine alacağız dediler bana. Bak ne kadar şansım güzelmış o yönden. Hakkatten de o kadınların birisi gelmemiş, o mektuplulardan birisi, hani Arbeitsamt (iş bulma kurumu) yolluyorsa, mektup yazıyor filan yere filan yere diye. Onlardan birisi gelmemiş, sonra beni aldılar. Sonra ben orada çalıştım.

After migration and a new life in another country, fulfilling a more womanly role at home was probably not for Mrs. Akay 1. It was a restriction for her to sit at home and serve her husband. Moreover, she still thinks of going back someday to Turkey. She made first-hand decisions about her own life. She invested for her plan of return by “trying to do something for” her “children back in Turkey”. This could be a good way to keep her relations with the homeland alive—by buying goods, a house, a field, etc. in Turkey. Furthermore, there can be a few striking points in the emancipation process of Mrs. Akay 1, starting with the experience of migration. Her stay alone with her children in Turkey after her husband’s move to Germany gave her freedom, and she has become a family authority. She had already undertaken many male roles after the departure of her husband. By applying for work in Germany, she mobilizes her psychodynamic character by “feeling free” and “important,” as will be seen below. Her emphasis on the fact that it was her own decision to work, despite the will of her husband, shows that she rejected the traditional authoritative role of the male in the family. Soon after in the interview, she brings her motherhood and womanhood feelings to the fore. It was emotionally difficult for her to leave a baby at home and to find a caregiver. However, she did not give up her decision to work. She legitimizes her work and the resulting neglect of her children by emphasizing the benefits for the children and the purchase of assets for their sake.

From her job at the tailor’s *atelier*, she preferred to switch to a factory job. Working at the tailor, however, might have been more appropriate for her nature as a traditional woman. Yet she prefers to work in the metal factory and once more makes her decision in the face of her husband’s opposition. She legitimizes this change from one job to another with better pay at the factory.

She underlines the difficulty of doing a man’s job as a woman, and how she mastered this job and emerged as a strong and victorious woman. However, her illness did not allow her to continue working. Under normal conditions, she would not have given up her job willingly, or because she could not do it as a woman. She talks of the events after she was diagnosed “ill” as the answer to the question on her crisis situations and her strategies of coping:

I: What was the illness?

A1: It was of the liver. They said; that woman can't enter this factory any more. She won't work! They pensioned me off. At first they told me that was a temporary situation, but then I was retired completely. Do you know what they told me about my remaining lifetime? "That woman might live one or two years at most. She'll die"...

I: How many years has it been?

A1: Well... let me think. It should be twenty years.

I: All right, you were told that you might live for another year, I mean, you would die. So what did you feel at that time?

A1: ... I went to County X from here... to one of my relatives. There is a doctor over there who can speak Turkish... and I'm driving the car by myself. I've done everything; I got my driving license in 1975. I achieved everything, but German, I don't know it. After that I went to the hospital by myself and was there for one-and-a-half months...The doctor had also been informed about me, and then I got there and asked the doctor what the problem was with me... And I told the doctor: "Let me know, I'm not scared of dying. There is nothing but death. Let me know, doctor." I went on my own and drove the car myself. And the doctor said: "Look, you've worked for many years and been here for a long time. You have children; you might have money and property. Draw up your will." And he added: "In all the American books it says four years for you. Your illness is the same as Ataturk's (cirrhosis)."

I: Well...

A1: And then I asked if my illness is fatal or contagious. And I said: "I have grandchildren at home, they're small. They live with us. Because their mothers work, so we look after them. We were neighbours at that time. Look, tell me, I have a husband and children. If it's contagious, I'll arrange for myself." He said: "No, it isn't contagious but you'll die. Because we were informed that you would die. They say you have one year." I had kept a poker face there. After I left and got close to home, I pulled over and cried with all my might. After all, this is death.

I: What did you feel then?

A1: What did I feel at that time?! God knows, I had been wailing, thinking about my children and my mother in the car. If any cop saw me, they would have made me stop. You can't drive a car when you're in that condition. Anyway, until I got home, I burst out with those thoughts when I was in the car. I screamed and cried out, just that once. It was only the tires and me who knew about that. Then I came home... I didn't cry at home at all. It was over, I had just cried in the car...

One year later, I went to the hospital again. They carried out a biopsy on my liver. They examined it with a microscope. They were searching for microbes. The department head came to me and said, rubbing his eyes: "Akay! I can't believe this, are you Mrs. Akay?" And I said yes. And he said he couldn't believe his eyes. "How did you manage this? We want to know about it. When you were here last year, you were very sick." He said: "This illness might stop progressing, but yours seems in remission. How did you manage it?" And I said: "Nothing! I never thought about my death. I really didn't." The doctor said: "You're recuperating"...

A1: Sometimes I have tests performed, they say everything is fine but the liver is a little fatty. I manage somehow. If you want to hear more about me, I have something to tell you about my

childhood a little bit. I recite The Koran. I learned it a little bit when I was a child. I'm good at reciting The Koran, but not with the proper rhythm. Everybody loves listening to me. I ask people, they say it's OK. And now, wherever we are invited, I go there and I fulfil my religious responsibilities in this way. ⁷⁴(50-67)

In these quotations, we again observe the emphasis on self-confidence, strength and a feeling of self-importance in Mrs. Akay 1. Her words "I have done everything" and many expressions, such as that she can drive a car, hiding her sorrow and not crying in front of her husband, are indications of these. She believes that she is a strong woman. Moreover, she feels herself so strong that she can sacrifice herself for her family, because she did not think about herself when she was informed about this terminal illness. She thinks about how her children and mother will be worried about her. Yet she is strong, does not concentrate on her illness, and does not think of herself. She says to the doctor: "Look, tell me, I have a husband and children. If it's contagious, I'll arrange for myself". With these words, she means that she was ready for death and did not mind. She

⁷⁴1: Rahatsızlık neydi?

A1: Rahatsızlık karaciğer . Dediler bu kadın dediler asla bu fabrikadan içeri basamaz ayağını, çalışmıyacak dediler, beni emekli yaptılar. Geçici olarak bi sene derken öyle sonunda dediler tamam hiç çalışamaz. Bana ne verdiler biliyor musun yaşama ömrümü? bu kadın bi sene yaşar, en çok iki sene yaşar. Bu ölecek.

I: Kaç sene oldu?

A1: Eeee mesele nasıl oldu bakayım, seksen ee yirmi sene filan oldu.

I: ee peki sana bi sene yaşar dediler, ölür dediler yani. Peki ne hissettin sen o zaman?

A1: Burdan gidiyorum taa X 'e, akrabama gidiyorum, orda bi doktor var, Türkçe konuşuyor, bilmiyorum tanıyorsan. Ben de arabayı kendim kullanıyorum. Ben herşeyi yaptım, ehliyetim de var, 75 den beri. Herşeyi yaptım ama almancamda biraz geriyim. Onu bilmiyorum. Herşeyi yaptım onların dışında. Ondan sonra gittim kendim, hastanede yattımya bir buçuk ay. doktora da bilgi geliyor, sonra ben gittim oraya, dedim doktor bey neyim var? Sen dedim bana söyle ben ölmekten korkmuyorum. Ölmekten başka bişey var mı dedim, sen bana söyle dedim doktora. Yalnız gittim, kendim kullandım arabayı. ee dedi bak dedi: sen bunca yıl çalışmışsin dedi, bunca yıl dedi buralardasın dedi. Çoluğun çocuğun var dedi, paran mülkün vardır dedi. Vasiyetnamenı yaz dedi, sonra doktorlar dedi, amerikadan gelen bütün kitaplarda dört sene yazıyor, sana dedi doktorlar ölüm teşhisi, gelirken dedi, ee anlıyamadım. Ayol işte Atatürkün hastalığından dedi bana.

I: Hmm

A: Sonra iyi, ölümcül mü dedim, bulaşıcı mı dedim yani, benim bak evde torunlarım var, o kız çocukları küçük küçükler. Bizim evde kalıyorlar. Annesi çalışıyor biz bakıyoruz. Altı üstlü oturuyorduk o zaman. Dedim ben dedim, sen dedim bana söyle bak dedim benim dedim beyim var dedim, çocuklarım var dedim. Bulaşıcıysa dedim ona göre kendimi ayarlayayım dedim. Hayır dedi bulaşıcı değil ama dedi öleceğin dedi. Ölecek diye bildirdiler bize dedi, bi sene yaşayacağını söylüyorlar dedi. İyi ee orda hiç bozuntuya vermedim. Ama ordan çıktım bi kaç km eve doğru şimdik, çekildim. Allah ne verdiyse başıra başıra ağladım. Ölüm bu tabi.

I: Ne hissettin o zaman?

A: O zaman ne mi hissettim? Allah yukarda, çocuklarımm, anneeem diye bağıryordum. Arabanın içinde. Eğerki beni polis görse zaten durdurttur. Oraya kenara durdurttur yani. O şekilde araba kullanamazsın. Ben şimdi eve kadar, neyse onu arabada attım bi kere. Bi kere yaptım o şeyi, neyse bağırdım çağırdım ağladım, arabanın tekerleri biliyor bir de ben biliyorum. Neyse eve geldim. evde hiç ağlamadım, o bitti, arabada ağladım. Bi sene sonra bi daha gittim, ciğerimden parça alıyorlar yani böyle iğneyle çakıyorlar. Mikroskopla bakıyorlar, ne var ne yok mikropları arıyorlar. Bölüm şefi geldi Akay dedi, böyle yaptı, ovdu böyle gözlerini, inanamıyorum dedi, sen dedi bayan Akay mısın? evet dedim. Ben dedi gözüme inanamıyorum dedi. Sen ne yaptın dedi, biz senden bilgi almak istiyoruz dedi , sen ne yaptın dedi sen dedi geçen sene yaptığımızda sen bayağı çok hastaydın dedi. Bu hastalık durur ama dedi seninki bi adım geride gözüküyor, ne yaptın da bunu yaptın dedi bana. Ben de dedim hiç bişey yapmadım dedim, öleceğimi dahi düşünmedim dedim, hakikaten düşünmedim. Ondan sonra biz dedi bir adım geride görüyoruz seni dedi.... Şimdi gidiyorum testlere arasıra da, iyi diyorlar, biraz yağlı diyorlar, öyle böyle gidiyor. Ondan sonra da ordan kırınca, madem çok konu istiyorsan, ben şimdi çocukluğumdan var birazcık, bi bilgim var işte. Biraz okuyorum yani. Kuranı okuyorum yani. Söktük okuyoruz, tecvitle değil ama bayağı güzel gene, bayağı da güzel yani, herkes de beğeniyor, soruyorum orda burda bu şekilde okuyabilir miyim? Okuyabilirsin diyorlar, yani şimdi nereye çağırılırsak gidiyoruz, günlerimizi topluluklan, arkadaşlarnan, mevlid, Kuran, böyle şeylerle geçiriyoruz yani.

attempts to prove her strength with this terminal liver illness, underlining that it is a serious disease through which Atatürk is claimed to have died. Other emphases in the quotations concern the information she acquired from the doctor that no chance of survival is given in American medical texts. This is also used as proof that her disease is serious and recognized by reliable sources. The meaning underlying all these narratives is that the disease is serious and fatal, yet she herself is so strong that she could overcome it and recovered in the end. In sum, Mrs. Akay 1 attempts to reproduce her life in Germany as a period of “struggle, achievement and overcoming of troubles.”

The structure and faith development in these episodes can be evaluated in relation to the aspects of form of logic, boundaries of social awareness and perspective taking. The form of meaning transmission about these dynamic life events are marked by a very narrative language. The marker events and the life chapters are not articulated in a constitutive way. Sometimes she uses language presenting herself as both the victim and hero of events, sometimes she resorts to nostalgia, exaggerates her importance in the family, and considers herself a key person of the family.

In the content, two important events were articulated as crises. From her explanations about the strategies of coping with crises, we understand that she utilized her governing ego, which can be an indication of stage 4 in faith development. This is deeply felt, but tacitly transmitted in a narrative style without critical reflection. Incidents are loosely connected with each other in her statements. There are utterances presenting self as the main hero in these life narratives. The authorities functioning in problem-solving in these processes are quite tacit. She frequently chooses emotion-provoking expressions. The fantasies of Stage 1 are present here, though rather internalized. Her frequent casting of herself as protagonist in the family is an indicator of Stage 3. Furthermore, she sees herself “like a doctor” in the dialogue with her doctors. In her breakthroughs, she does not speak for example about the consequences of her migration to Germany, and the effects this movement had on her interiority. This makes her narrative episodes incoherent and loosely cognitive.

She speaks of diverse determinative incidents in her life. However, these are not articulated at the level of consciousness. She does not call them determinative instances—for example, the lack of a school in their village, working for a factory in Germany, and the diagnosis of cirrhosis. Her statements are strictly focused on the narrative dimension of events, and she makes no attempt to describe how and to what degree these incidents determined the direction of change and construction of her inner world. In conclusion, she has predominating traces of mythic-literal and synthetic-conventional styles in the form of logic, boundaries of social awareness and perspective taking in the domain of self-reflection.

4.1.3.1.2. Reconstruction of Relations with Significant Others

In her narratives on past relations with significant others, she again uses a nostalgic style, and current relationships are dominated by a high feeling of responsibility, control, and complaints about the conduct of new generations. Asked about her relations with the parents, she makes a direct comparison between her own relations with her parents and those of new generations with theirs. She highlights her obedience to her parents, and expects the same from her children, too. She evaluates this situation as a deviation from the old tradition: the new generation has been changed in this respect. They do not ascribe importance to their parents and the elderly as much as in the past.

She had a stable relation with her parents. She adds that she never argued with them like children do today. She describes their behaviour as “a bit defiant”. The new generations go against their parents; they talk back at parents directly when the parents talk to them. (139) She says she doesn’t remember intentionally breaking a parent’s heart. She never argued back, whether she was right and wrong.

I: I see. Well... what about now, how was your relationship with your parents?

A1: My deceased mother. I don’t remember knowingly breaking her heart all my life. I never argued back. Whether I was right or wrong. If I hurt her feelings without knowing it, may God forgive me...

I: What about your relationship with your father?

A: It was the same with my father, as well.

I: Have you ever quarrelled with them?

A: Never, ever! I told you, whether I was right or wrong, I never argued with them in my life. But children these days are a bit different. They're different, they're a bit defiant. They talk back at you directly. That's the truth.⁷⁵(134-139)

In this quotation, it is unclear whether she refers with "children these days" to her own children, or the new generation in general. She is deeply convinced that disobedience to parents is a sinful act. For this reason, she begs the forgiveness of God. This is an indication that she observes religious norms in her relations. Her family, especially the grandchildren in Germany, is at the center of her current relationships and responsibilities. There is special emphasis on her grandchildren. In her understanding, leaving home carries the risk of alienation to the family tradition. She is worried about her grandchildren: they might deviate if they go out. She sometimes feels like she is "going to faint when they are outside." But she says she is grateful to God because she has "not heard anything bad about them." Among her grandchildren, she worries especially about the older grandson. His mother is German. She says about this grandson:

A1: That boy! He worries me a lot. His mother is German. He went out a little early. My son's wife, she is German.

I: Well...

A1: He is outside a bit too much, and I'm scared to death that he'll get involved in something bad.

I: How old is he?

A1: He is 18. ..18, he's the same age as that girl Demet. I'm so scared. When I think about those bad boys and girls. I swear to God, I feel faint. He's my grandson, I can't just write him off. ⁷⁶(143-147)

....

A1: ...Well... I'm close to death now. I keep them all in my sight. My daughters are safe now, but there's the rest. The rest (the grandchildren) are our children too, you know. These are my worries.

I: Oh, the rest.

⁷⁵I: Şimdiye dönersek, anne babayla ilişkilerin nasıldı senin? A: Annemi rahmetli, hayatımda ömrümdede kırdığımı bilerek hiç bilmiyorum. Hayatımda bir kelime karşılık verdiğimi bilmiyorum. ama haklı ama haksız. Eğer ki bilmeyerek kırdıysam Allah beni affetsin inşallah. I: Babayla? A: Babam da öyleydi, hiç hayatımda, ama haksız ama haklı diyorum bak. hiç hayatta takışmamışım. Ama şimdi çocuklar biraz farklı, ters oluyorlar, sana hemen cevaplayıveriyorlar beni, doğru söylüyorum.

⁷⁶A1: Şu çocuktan çok korktum, annesi alman, biraz erken çıktı sokağa. Oğlanın (hanımı), gelinim alman.

I: Hmm

A1: Çocuk biraz fazla geziyor. Ödüm patlıyor yanlış yola gidecek diye

I: Kaç yaşında o?

A1: 18 yaşında oldu, bu Demetle, bu kızla beraber onların yaşı, çok korkuyorum. Böyle düşünüyorum da o kötü çocukları, yemin ediyorum bayılasım geliyor. Torunum o benim ama silkeleyemiyorum.

A1: I want them all to be educated and to be decent persons. I was going to take him to the mosque, too, but because her mother is Christian, that caused disagreement between us. He never goes to church, they never go to church.⁷⁷(151-153)

Asked about her relationship especially with the grandson, she says that they visit each other; he kisses her hands and asks about her health. When they talk on the phone, he speaks half German and Grandmother Akay speaks Turkish. Grandmother Akay says that her son loved his wife very much. Her son is very dignified (*ağırbaşlı*). When she praises her daughter-in-law, not going out too much is also a central criterion. Her daughter-in-law “is the lady of her house;” she stays at home and doesn’t go anywhere. These are things Grandmother Akay likes and praises. She raises her children very well. However, Mrs. Akay is worried because the children of the German daughter-in-law couldn’t learn good Turkish. The children go to mosque from time to time, but they cannot speak Turkish very well. This older grandson, for example: Grandmother Akay took him to Turkey a few times without his parents. She wanted to introduce him to relatives there. She says he learned a lot from children of the same age there. He got up and fasted with her for three days. She criticizes his parents because they let him go out too much, and says that she is very scared that he will be misguided. (166-169)

According to Grandmother Akay, who lives with her husband, being old and at the end of life makes one sad, because she can no longer do household chores as easily as before. Her home has to be presentable; if she can’t do that, she gets very nervous. She is not able to do it and thinks she is really old. Platinum was placed in both of her knees with an operation. Because of that, she sometimes neglects Koran readings. This makes her very nervous. She also criticizes herself about watching too much TV: it takes up too much of her time. (127) She figures she has had a meaningful life, yet to be old makes her feel sad. This gives her an increasing sense of impending death. She feels that she has arrived at the border. She is fatigued and feels she is going to die soon. (129)

⁷⁷A1: *Ne bileyim böyle çok ee, artık biz sınırdayız biz kendimiz bilelim daha fazla bunlar hep gözümün önünde. Bu kızlar maşallah bunlar aldı gitti. Ama daha gerisi de var onun. daha gerekiler de bizim çocuklar, onların hepsi benim dertlerim yani. I: Gelecek olanlar.*

A1: *Ben istiyorum onların hepsi okusun insan olsun. Ben onu camiye de götürecektim ama annesi hristiyan olunca araya ikilik girdi. Hiç kiliseye girmiyor, hic kiliseye gitmiyorlar.*

In the aspect of perspective taking, the construction of self, other and the relations between them, it is important to understand the structure of faith. As documented above, her current relationships consist of family, home and grandchildren. She feels herself responsible for them. She wants to play the role of protector. Her German daughter-in-law and the future of her grandchildren are central themes in her perspective taking. It does not occur to her that her daughter-in-law could have different life experiences and her own perspective. She mostly emphasizes her own expectations implicitly, yet the expectations of the other from her are not taken into consideration. She is embedded in self-expectations and seeks to realize only her personal desires. From her statements, it is clear that she is unaware of the interiority of others, but she wants to objectify, manipulate and control the other (Manual p. 37), which are indications of mythic-literal faith. There are stresses on protecting and transmitting her ethnic identity, which can be evaluated as the indicator of stage 3. The following quotation can be accepted as an indication of this:

A1: Their names are Moslem names, like Cem, Selda... but they can't speak Turkish. The younger girl says: "Speak German, Grandma." And I said, "My dear, how can I speak German? You should speak Turkish." I love them and their mother very much, but I wish their mother had learned Turkish. (320)

She feels excessive responsibility toward family members (grandchildren), especially the older grandchild. As stated in the Manual for Faith Development: *Powerful stereotyping can occur at Stage 2 because the images of others that the person holds are concrete, literal and immediate.* (Manual 45) She bears the general characteristics of mythic-literal faith in perspective taking.

About the feeling of responsibility towards family members, we can speak of a self-chosen and internal authority at work. There are also indications in her statements that she refers to the power of religious symbols as authority in this aspect. For example, she says:

A1: I pray for them very much, you can't imagine how much I pray for them. I've been praying my entire life, saying, "Please, God, make my son's wife a Moslem and don't lead my darlings (grandchildren) away from Islam." I praise God. I would like your advice, too.

What else can I do? You can also advise me. I need it, I don't know that much. What should I do? I pray, what else can I do?⁷⁸(191-192)

She often solves the problems she faces herself and when she has to decide something, she does that alone. However, depending on the kind of problem, there are still some people she consults. She turns mostly to family members when she must inevitably consult someone. As an example, she mentions asking her husband about the marriage of her son. Narratives about the marriage of her son to a German woman are an important theme, which is also dwelt on at length throughout the interview. When her son said that he would marry his German girlfriend, it was difficult to accept for Akay 1. Yet she knew that she could not resist her son. She did not mind her husband when he opposed her employment in the past, but she needed her husband's help in the marriage of their son. She says:

A1: I had to tell my husband about that marriage, and I did. He got very angry. But there was nothing to be done. Inevitably, it was going to happen. Because they were together. So we married them off in a flash. I took them to mosque to perform a religious marriage ceremony. I brought my son's wife home; I had prepared everything that she would need to live like Moslems. And she accepted everything. She said OK, so I thought it was good.⁷⁹(210)

Her feeling of discomfort about this marriage seems to be due to ethnic and traditional reasons. The wife of her son had converted to Islam before the wedding. She accepted Islam by saying the Word of Witnessing, stopped going and paying tax to church, left Christianity. She went to the Turkish consulate and acquired information about Islam from religious authorities. She says that the religious authorities explained Islam to her and she accepted everything, as well performing the most difficult rituals in the religion. Her son brought proof indicating her departure from church to convince Mrs. Akay 1. Although she could not accept her son marrying a foreign woman, she states that she likes some features of this

⁷⁸A1: *Dua ediyorum, çok hem de çok hemde, ne kadar dua ediyorum bi bilsen. Ömür boyu dua ediyorum, hristiyan hanımını müslüman eyle, minik yavrularımızı müslümanlıktan ayırma, müslüman eyle merhametinle Allahım. Ne yalvarıyorum bi bilsen. başka ne yapabilirim ki sen de bana akıl ver, benim de sana ihtiyacım var. Akıl ver bana benim o kadar bilgim yok. Naapmam lazım, dua ediyorum başka yapacağım ne var ki?*

⁷⁹A1: *İlle babalarına söylemem gerekiyordu ve öyle yaptım. Babalarına söyledim, babalarına bildirdim. Kızdı köpürdü ama yine de umut yok, bu olacak, olacak da olacak. Çünkü beraber geçmişler, etmişler, hemen onu apar topar topladık işte düşününü bayramını nikahını, hoca nikahını götürdüm onu camiye, nikahını kıydırdım, getirdim bizim eve müslüman olarak şöyle her şeyini hazırladım onun başörtüsüne kadar, hepsini yaptım, hepsini, hiç bi tanesine nein demedi. Anla yani beni. Hepsine evet dedi, ben de dedim o zaman bu iyi bi şey.*

“foreign” daughter-in-law a lot. She says her son loved his wife very much. She praises her because she always stays at home and does not go out much like many other women do. She is a good housewife. She raises her children very well (155). Yet, she feels great discomfort because the daughter-in-law does not speak Turkish. They sent her to Turkish courses, but she was unable to learn. She read the German translation of the Koran, did not like certain things, and showed these to her husband. Grandmother Akay is worried because she can understand neither Arabic nor German so that she can explain these matters to her daughter-in-law. (161)

In the family of Grandmother Akay, employment and one’s profession are the most important things. Working, people, society and honesty are at the forefront. Although she is very fond of her children and grandchildren, she criticizes them because they have a pet dog. But she also thinks that keeping a dog at home is better for the grandchildren than going out and acquiring bad habits. When she criticizes having a pet dog, her children and grandchildren counter with “it is better to deal with a dog at home than hanging out in the streets”. She makes no gender difference between her grandchildren. She does not want even the boys stay out. In this way, she believes she educates her children and grandchildren with good discipline. (87)

Mrs. Akay 1 seems to relativize the style of solution to the kind of problem. Her first reaction to the question implies that she has an idea that each kind of problem requires its own solution. Then she turns to family members. About deciding on their son’s marriage process, she does not refer to her process of problem-solving. She tells the process in a narrative and storytelling style of meaning making. She transmits her thoughts in units and she seems to put her experiences in order. She often tends to distinguish reality from fantasy. The style of fantasy is internalized and takes its place among the personality traits. Her frequent use of phrases like “I speak the truth, I’m open, I say only what I know” indicate this.

4.1.3.1.3. Appropriation of Religion

She reported that they were educated “under the slaps of their father at home.” However, we do not find references to details of inner family religious education.

Rather, she tries to prove how religious her family was by telling stories. Thus, “the slaps of the father” here denotes the discipline of the family. Her narratives about religion in the family are associated mostly with motivation to be trained in Koranic recitation and how to read the Ottoman language. The mother encouraged her for the Ottoman, and the father for Koranic recitation. Her good voice was supplementary motivation for religious chants and Koranic recitation. For example, she tells how her father encouraged her for recitation of the Koran with her pretty voice.

A1: I used to get empty tins, gas cans. They would echo inside, you know!

I: Yes.

A1: “Look daughter! Read aloud like a professional reciter (*hafiz*).” His own voice wasn’t very good, but he encouraged me a lot. He made us laugh a lot. We laughed at him, too, because he had a bad voice. Being a child, it was like a motivation for me. And so it went.⁸⁰(73-75)

She admits that they were not taught religion at home. She went to the mosque in childhood. There was neither a school nor a mosque where they lived. She, her siblings, and the other children had to go to a neighbouring village for that.

A1: There was a room in the mosque, we were taught there. I went there and joined in. I would go there in the morning; it was a long walk, who knows how many kilometres. We would go to another village, there were no vans (minibuses) then; we had to go on foot. I wanted to show my children those country roads, but I couldn’t. The villages are now separated by a highway. I was going to ask them to try that walk themselves, but that didn’t happen. When I was in that village, I used to go there in the morning, as soon as I got my schoolbag, I would go straight there. I was so eager. I would go to the teacher.⁸¹(23)

The phrase “as soon as I got my schoolbag” shows that she was going for Koran lessons at the same place where she went to school for three years. Thus, when she left school after entering the “young girl” phase, she also had to stop taking

⁸⁰ A1 :Boş tenekeleri, boş gaz tenekeleri, yankı yapıyorduya içine.

I: evet

A1: Bak kızım böyle hafız gibi oku işte böyle bağıra bağıra. Rahmetlinin sesi de güzel değildi, ama bana böyle bi açılım yapardı yani, bak kızım böyle oku böyle yap. Bizi güldürürdü. Biz de ona gülerdik, sesin güzel değil diye gülerdik yani. Öyle böyle biraz da çocuğum, heveslendireceğim gibi bişeyler oluyorsa, bilmiyorum valla öyle böyle gidiyor işte.

⁸¹ A1: Caminin üstünde bi oda vardı böyle. Orda bize ders veriyorlardı. Ben de oraya gittim katıldım. Sabahleyin gidiyordum, uzaak yürüme, kaç kilometre kim bilir, ayrı bi köye yürüyorduk. eskiden böyle minibusler mi gelip alıyordu bizi!! Biz kuvvetimizle giderdik. Hep bunlara (kendi çocuklarıma) gösterecek oldum, onu yapamadım. Şimdi otoban böldü köyleri ayırdı. gösterecektim nerden gittiğimi onlara, bakayım gelin bir gün siz de deneyin diyecektim fakat olmadı o iş. O köyde eem oraya giderdim sabahleyin. Böyle sabah çantamı aldım mı doğru..ne meraklıydım!, ulaşırdım oraya, hocaya giderdim yeni türkçeye.

Koran lessons at the mosque. It is remarkable that she wants to show her children today what a long distance she used to walk in order to convince them about her eagerness to learn, and how she managed to go there under the difficult conditions of those days. Hence, she tries to affect her children and grandchildren with stories from her life. She emphasized the extent of the value given to the Arabic alphabet many times, and implicitly referred to the loyalty of her family to tradition and religion.

In the following quotation, we find insights about the character of religious life within her family. She remembers that her family arranged a completion of Koran recitation (Turkish *hatim*) celebration. She also refers implicitly to the prohibition of Koran lessons in those days in Turkey. Despite the restrictions on religion, her family arranged a completion (Arabic *Khatm*⁸²) celebration with many guests, because in her account, they were rather religious.

A1:...Afterwards, we had a completion *mawlid* (recital of the Prophet's birth) on completing the Koran recitation, and said our completion prayers. In those villages in those days, there weren't many public studies of the Koran... We were the first to perform the completion thereabouts. The completion *mawlid*. Can you believe it? There were just forty households in our village. Yet the village couldn't hold the people, I mean, it was that crowded, if you can conceive it. We walked around the streets of the village chanting religious songs. We were children. I was very young then... I was around eleven. ⁸³(39)

She was proud to have a good voice and sang religious hymns a lot. The Koran recitation made her the focus of interest in the family. She says they did not have many opportunities in those days like today. For example, they did not have enough Koran copies, tape recordings, or the books of *mawlid*. They sometimes arranged for the *mawlid* on Friday congregations. She was treated as special in the family and in the village too, thanks to her sweet voice.

⁸²*Khatm*(Complete Reading of the Koran) is a concept that refers to reading the Koran from beginning to end. *Khatm* means to cover, to seal or to complete something and reach the end. To read the Koran by looking at the pages of the Koran, or reciting it by heart without looking at the book, is called *khatm*. Also, complete reading of the hadith books is again called *khatm*. Traditionally among Turkish Muslims, this practice is very common, and after completing reading from the original Arabic text, a prayer with the guidance of a competent person in religion is arranged. It is also not uncommon to serve food and drink on such occasions.

⁸³A1: Sonra *hatim* mevlidimiz oldu, *hatim* dualarımız oldu. O köylerde, o zamanki zamanlarda yoktu fazla böyle açık açık okumalar yoktu doğru söylerim, ben bildiğimi söylüyorum. Ondan sonra biz o civarda ilk biz yaptık *hatim*. *Hatim* mevlidi. İnanıyor musun, kırk hanelik bir köyümüz vardı. Köyün içi insanları almadı, o kadar çok kalabalıktı anlayabiliyorsan. Yine o ilahiler okuya okuya köyün sokaklarını böyle gezdirdiler bize. Çocukluk. Çok küçüktüm o zaman. 11 yaşındaydım bilmiyorum yani. On onbir yaşlarındaydım.

A1: They would let me sit up front; when I was reciting they would hang onto every word. They were very fond of my voice. To tell the truth, I was raised with love and my youth was also very good. Then I grew up, got married and had children.⁸⁴ 43-45

It is obvious from this quotation in which Mrs. Akay 1 tells about her childhood that she seeks to prove herself. She overcame all adversity and achieved success. She praises discipline, religiosity, and the adaptation of her family to these styles. She is in tune with her family tradition. The parents' house represents a period of which she always speaks with nostalgia.

Now in Germany, she identifies herself with the DITIB organization among immigrant institutions. As to other religious groups, she is rather exclusivist. On religious group identification:

I: Why do you feel close to it?

A1: It seems to me that religion is under the protection of government. But the others (religious congregations) seem a bit selfish. So I respect DITIB the most. I don't know if I got used to them or they got used to me. Whenever I go there, because I can't sit comfortably, they provide a chair for me. They care about me a lot. Since there is no mosque around here, I have to drive 6 kms. I have pension, too. I worked. I have everything.⁸⁵(170-173)

She does not have an interest in any other religious or spiritual organizations. At first sight, Grandmother Akay seems to uphold unification and inclusivity for religious or sectarian differences. Yet on the other hand, she has an exclusivist attitude against members of non-DITIB organizations. This is clear in the following sections of her interview. Her opposition especially to the Group of Süleymanci is much more severe. She says:

A1: They? They're selfish and they belittle people. Because of that, I never visit them. The followers of Suleiman (Süleymanci) are quite arrogant. I used to visit them in the past, but not any

⁸⁴A1: *En öne beni oturtuyorlardı. Ağzımın içine bakıyorlardı okurken. Çok seviyorlardı. Çok sevgili büyüdüm doğruyu söylersem, gençliğim de çok güzel geçti. emm ne bileyim tabi sonra evlendik, büyüdük tabi evlendik çoluk çocuk sahibi olduk.*

⁸⁵I: *Neden kendini oraya yakın hissediyorsun?*

A1: *Yani, orası bi devlet malı gibi geliyor bana, ötekiler hep kayırttırıp kendilerine doğru kayırttırıyorlar gibi geliyor. Onun için. hep bi bencilik var onlarda onun için ben diyanete gidiyorum. Bilmiyorum artık onlar bana mı alıştı ben mi onlara alıştım. gittiğim zaman oturamadığım için sandalye verirler bana ayağımın altına bi tane bana sandalye, şimdi geliyorlar ilgileniyorlar benle. Altı km uzağa gidiyorum şimdi bizim burda yok cami. Kendim arabayı sürüyorum, az çok da ayılığım da var, çalıştım. Herşeyim var yani.*

longer. They belittle you and look down on people. They don't deny it, either. I always complain about this and let them know I'm annoyed. And they admit it. They act like that.⁸⁶(299)

The dimension reflecting characteristics of Stage 3 is seen above; she uses statements highlighting interpersonal relationships and harmony in an uncritical style. It also reminds one of "law and order statements" (Manual 42). Likewise, in the advice she gives for intergroup (religious) conflicts, she maintains her stereotypical attitudes. She underlines the maintenance of DITIB and harshly criticizes others. She uses a direct exclusionary language. She uses words with contemptuous meanings like "selfish," "arrogant," instead of evaluating the worldview and thought structure of that group.

4.1.3.1.4. Image of God

Her image of God reflects the mythic-literal faith of Stage 2. She uses few words to describe God. The first is literally a definition of God (*Allah*). She says God is God (in Turkish: *Allah Allahlir*). "He is our God". "He is our creator. He is nothing else". At the same time, God is the greatest. Nothing in the world is greater than him. She admits that she does not know more than this. We cannot see God with our human eyes. That means we cannot describe something we do not see. She always describes God in similar literal terms and emphasizes her faith in the existence of God as the creator of humans:

I: Supposing that someone asked us how we believe in something unseen?

A1: We have to believe in God, we have no choice. How can we deny God? He exists. God exists.

I: There are some people who don't believe in God, for example?

A1: Yes, of course there are. There certainly are people who don't believe in God. But I believe in God, I have deep faith in God. I'm angry with those who deny God. I don't know the reason why, but anyway I'm angry with them. God exists. There is a God who created us.⁸⁷(93-109)

⁸⁶A1: *Onlar mı, onlar bencil. Onlar insanı küçük görüyorlar, gitmem. Süleymanlılar bi kere çok gururlu. Ben gidiyordum eskiden, şimdi gitmiyorum. Seni küçük görüyorlar, kendilerine bu kadar olsun tependen bakıyorlar, bunu kendi içlerinden de söylüyor, ben söylüyorum onlara böyle böyle oluyor, hiç gelmiyorum diye. Evet diyorlar Süleymanlılar da bu var diyorlar. Yapıyorlar yani bunu.*

⁸⁷I: *Nasıl inanıyoruz dese mesala görmediğimiz bir şeye*

A1: *Mecbur inanacağız hiç caremiz yok inanmamakla, nasıl inanmıyacağız ki Allah var. Allah var.*

I: *İnanmayan var mesala Allah'a*

A1: *Var tabii, var tabii inanmayan da var. Ama ben inanıyorum, çok inanıyorum. İnanmayanlara da kızıyorum da. Bilmiyorum ama gene kızıyorum. Allah var. Bizi bi yaradan var.*

According to Mrs. Akay 1, belief in God is inevitable. She does not produce arguments and she does not need to clarify her image of God by questioning. At the end of the quotation, there are some traces that she starts from the attribute of God as creator (*khaliq*) to constitute an image of God, yet she does not reflect further on this attribute. Thus she prefers a literal definition of God. That is, “Allah is Allah,” the creator, he exists, he is nothing else. He is most great. He is invisible, so we cannot define God within our human understanding and capacity. She has always had this solid and secure image of God, based on the acceptance or “affirmation (*tasdiq*) of the existence of God.” She claims that her image and relation with God never changed in her seventy years of life:

I: During these seventy years, have your beliefs about God changed?

A1: To tell the truth, I’m always connected to God.

I: Well...

A1: I have never forgotten God.

I: Then, who is God?

A1: God! Our God! How should I know? God is God. (*Laughing out loud*) He is our Creator. Who else can he be?⁸⁸(88-93)

Her relation to God is described by the term “connectedness.” This connectedness is one-dimensional and of an unquestioned character. “I have never forgotten God” denotes that she keeps this solid acceptance of God’s existence and attributes (*Allah’ın sıfatları*) in mind. God is a powerful authority to which she connects herself. In this understanding, there is no place for a dialogue with God. For Mrs Akay 1, “I am always connected to God” means: “God orders and I perform. I question neither his existence, nor his demands from me as a servant”.

4.1.3.1.5. Understanding of Religiosity and the Practice of Religion

Mrs Akay 1 describes herself as a “semi-religious person”. She says that she does not know much about being religious. She reports some things about the criteria of

⁸⁸ I: Bu 71 yıllık hayatın esnasında Allah ile ilgili düşüncelerin hiç değişti mi?

A1: Allahla ilişki zaten hep var ben de, doğru söylersem.

I: Hmm

A1: Hiç Allahı unutmuş değilim

I: Peki Allah kimdir?

A: Allah Allahımız, ne bileyim ki ben yani, Allah Allah’tır (yüksek sesle ve gülerek) bizi yaratandır, kim olsun ki daha başka?

being religious. To be counted religious, one has to avoid harshness and loud speech, but in her view most of us do that. We have to always tell the truth. We have to follow the Prophet Mohammed's teachings in the way we should. As a woman, she remembers the example of the wives and daughters of the Prophet. She compares contemporary women with them. Going out too much is one of the central themes in her description of religiosity. The wives of the Prophet did not go out like women do in our day. The women and the daughters of the Prophet did not work, laugh, or have fun like today's women.

She admits that she and other Muslim women make some mistakes today. She reports that she is very faithful, but cannot be as religious as the women in the Prophet's time. She hopes that God will doubly reward her and other Muslim women living in Germany for their good deeds. The women living in Diasporas have a much greater chance than women living in Turkey in this regard. Muslim women in Germany live in conditions under which religious perfection is difficult. They do not hear the sounds of Prayer-calls (*Ezan*) in Germany. As a workaround, she uses a clock which recites the Prayer-call in her home. This clock recites the call for Prayer right on time. That makes her very happy, it alerts her about the times of Prayer-calls (250). She associates women's religiosity with staying within the borders of womanhood, where those borders are defined by tradition. However, she worked in Germany and goes out of home a lot. She relativizes this with the double rewards for good deeds and legitimizes "un-ladylike behaviour" in a non-Muslim country. Her ritualistic understanding of religiosity can be observed as well.

As an answer to changes in her religiosity over the years, taking a retrospective look on her religious biography, she reports that her marriage had a negative impact on her religious practices. She associates this with the stress of being a daughter-in-law (bride, *gelin*) in another home. After getting married, she could not practice her religion as much as she did in her parents' home. Her husband had an extended family. She had to serve a lot in this family, and her life space was not as free as it was earlier. Coping with this situation was especially difficult; it was an obstacle to practicing her religion.

Her religiosity was adversely affected for the second time when she started work at the factory in Germany. She always read the Koran and fasted in Ramadan, but she was unable to continue performing the Five Daily Prayers during work at the factory (254). After leaving her job, she has again been very careful to perform the Five Daily Prayers. She feels most peaceful and closest to God during these Prayers. She believes one must always think about God during Prayer. We might think about other things when we read books or watch TV. But during *namaz*, it must not be done. Praying five times a day represents a complete peace of mind for her. In her opinion, one cannot find real peace without that. This matches the criteria of Stage 2 in faith development. She says that she could not sleep before performing her Prayers. At the same time, Praying is like a “debt” for her. This debt has to be paid to God at the right time. She feels very bad and unhappy when she does not perform the Prayer:

A1:...I feel very upset. My anger rises like a tempest. Even when my husband doesn't perform his Prayers, I get mad. I mean, because he is late in performing them. I mean, I always have to remind him about it. I tell him, perform your Prayers too. Actually, I don't mean he's negligent. When he goes out and deals with some task, he gets delayed. And I yell at him, but I'm afraid of committing a sin. I tell myself; this man should know that he has to perform his Prayers. But I can't help myself. I check the time and I get very upset. I'm very particular about Prayer.⁸⁹(200)

There are a few points here that refer to the mythic-literal or “do ut des” religious style of Akay 1. In particular, she compares the Five Daily Prayers to a debt to be paid to God. She says that nobody will find serenity without performing the Daily Prayers. In her opinion, the only salvation lies in strictly practicing the religious rituals. Her phrases such as “I feel very upset. My anger rises like a tempest. I even get mad when my husband doesn't perform his Prayers,” reflect the criteria of Stage 3. In these phrases, she tends toward the power of symbols to evoke feelings and emotions, rather than to represent ideas or concepts. (Manual p.57).

⁸⁹A1:Çok rahatsız oluyorum, fırtına gibi öfkem çıkıyor, adam (kocam) kılmasa bile çok kızıyorum. Yani geç kaldığı için kızıyorum. Hep ben ona söyliyecem kalk kıl kıl namazını, sen de kıl ya sen zaten bunu kılacaksın.Yani ihmal değil de çıkıyor dışarılarda böyle bişeylerle uğraşırken geçirtiyor, ben bağıriyorum günaha gidiyorum korkuyorum kendimden. Ya diyorum bu biliyor namaz olduğunu bu adam, gelsin de kılsın. Ama ben gene duramıyorum, bakıyorum saate, saat gittikçe beni rahatsız ediyor. Çok huzursuz oluyorum namaz üzerine çok çok çok huzursuz oluyorum, ille kılmam lazım.

She attaches great importance to the headscarf as a religious symbol. She is the only one wearing a headscarf in her family in Germany. None of her daughters or granddaughters wears headscarves. She criticizes them for not doing so, but does not exclude them. She adds that they are careful about general dress, even though their heads are not covered. She says:

A1: (*laughs*) Am I right? I don't know how else to tell you. But the new generation doesn't wear the headscarf; my children don't wear headscarves either. They're careful about their dress when they go out. You know, there are those who dress indecently. There is nothing more to be said about them. You can't tell whether she is Turkish or German. I mean it. Anyway, I can distinguish a Moslem woman from her headscarf. Let me tell you that I have never removed my headscarf. I've worked among women for 20 years, but I never took it off. I have never even said "Ugh!" because of wearing the headscarf. This is what I am, and that's the way everybody knows me. Even when I drive, I never take it off. Everybody knows me by my scarf. I've never felt embarrassed because of my headscarf. I feel proud about that.⁹⁰(266)

The headscarf in this quote is used as a symbol for determining two kinds of identities. One is the Turkish, the other is the Muslim identity of women. The headscarf is a medium that makes her feel proud. She is tolerant toward women who do not wear the headscarf in her family. She implies that "on the condition that a woman does not display her body too much, she can go without a headscarf."

She has already made a Pilgrimage to Mecca. Until she got sick, she fasted during the three holy months⁹¹ every year. Her husband also joined her in this. She says when she fasts her husband keeps up with her. Generally, she is in competition with her husband, which also surfaces in performing religious rituals. She does not have any interest in a Sufi organization or practice. In the passages of the interview, she cites symbols such as reciting the Koran, Five Daily Prayers, fasting, making up for missing ritual Prayers, Pilgrimage, Koran, headscarf, the

⁹⁰A1: (*gülme*) *de mi şimdi doğru mu? başka türlü nedir nasıl diyeyim sana, bilmiyorum, yani şimdiki gençler açık, benim çocuklarım da açık yani. Başları açık öyle ama fazla değil ama, seviyesinde gidiyorlar ama başları falan açık yani, daha ne açıklar var biliyorsun işte, daha söylememe gerek yok, hiç alman mı türk mü belli olmuyor. Öyle yani, gene de baş örtüsünden tanırım, ha bu müslüman kadın derim, örtüsünden tanırım. Ben hiç açmadım, bunu da sana söyleyim. Ben ee çalıştım 20 sene ama bi sürü kadınların içinde benim baş örtüm hiç açılmadı. Bi gün öf deyip de söyle bile (geriye) bağlamadım. Hep buyum, hep böyleyim beni herkes böyle tanır yani. Araba da kullanırdım ama gene başörtülüydüm, gene beni o başörtümler tanırdılar yani. hiç de utanmadım başörtümde, hala da utanmıyorum, gurur duyuyorum.*

⁹¹ Including the fasting month of Ramadan, the preceding two months in the Arabic calendar, Rajab and Shaban, are holy months, during which religious Muslims prefer to fast—sometimes a few days or sometimes the whole of the month.

Prophet, fasting in the three holy months (251-272), all in the literal and traditional meaning, thus reflecting Stages 2 and 3 in faith development.

For Mrs Akay 1, the perfect human we should take as a model in faith is the Prophet Mohammed. We should read books about his life to learn about his character. This is the only way we can learn about him, because he lived 1500 years ago. We can also learn about him from theologians and sincere people in religion. She regrets that there is no one really well-informed about religion in her family. She says she always wished that she could have taught one of her children or grandchildren about Islam, but that didn't happen. She says she doesn't know much about Islam. However, she believes that she is better than the rest of her family in this regard, because the children and grandchildren know even less. (204)

She explains that if given the chance to change something in her life, she would choose Islam again. Honesty is the most important thing for her. First of all, she would choose honesty. She hates lying, she likes straight talk. Her phrase "I don't knuckle under easily at home" (183) shows her insistence on defending herself within the family. Especially in marriage, "Fair is fair." Such phrases are mythic-literal phrases and reflect the second stage locus of authority. She says that it is not important for her if her children have property or not; the most important thing for her is honesty and righteousness. God gives money to one who works, but honesty is more important. (183-185)

Her conventional and mythic-literal styles are also apparent in her definition of sin. Sin is defined literally and in its predefined religious meaning. Lying, violation of the other's rights, not wearing a headscarf is sinful. Bearing bad intentions for someone else is also a sin.

In the moral understanding of Akay 1, human actions can be separated into two categories as right and wrong. She explains this by way of his son's marriage with a German woman. In her view, the measure of right and wrong can be determined according to the experience of people. For example, when we consider the raising of children, the parents have a big responsibility and they can choose what to do

as right. She thinks that if she had stayed in Turkey and not come to Germany; her son would have married a Turkish woman. She brought her son here and, consequently, her son has chosen to marry a German woman. She thinks that she made a mistake, and she feels herself a bit guilty.

I: How do we know what is right?

A1: Look...The measure is up to us. Bringing up children, for example: we raise them, they don't raise us. I fault myself about that. If I lived in Turkey, my son's wife would have been Turkish. But I came here. And I brought my son here when he was seven and he grew up among them (Germans) and chose her. What can I do now? When I shared this thought with my son, he said the same thing: "Mother, if you hadn't brought me here, I wouldn't have met her. I would have met a Turkish woman." What can I do now? That means I'm wrong. I feel a bit guilty myself about this.

I: Do you feel responsible about that?

A1: Yes, I feel responsible about some things.⁹²(219-222)

In the passage above, what she wants to underline is in fact the idea: what we make in this world, we will meet later. Only, we harvest later what we plant at the beginning. Or, the situations we face are the results of our former decisions. There is clear reciprocity, or "tit for tat." Instead of discussing an open idea, she relates a story from own biography in regret and self-accusation. At first sight, her review on own regret denotes a formal cognitive operation. Here again, the narrative dimension of storytelling predominates. That is, in moral judgment she uses storytelling, and in the reconstruction of own story, she prefers a prose style instead of criticism and objective understanding of the issue. She does not exactly advance stereotypical definitions. However, what she tells referring to her form of moral judgment corresponds to the criteria of Stages 2 and 3. These can be distinct in some statements and intricately intertwined in others. For example, when she offers judgment on sin, she tends to traditional religious and stereotypical expressions and maintenance of interpersonal harmony. On religions or religious groups, she tends to fanaticism and the "exclusion" stance of Stage 2.

⁹²I: Ölçüsü nedir doğrunun?

A1: Ölçüsü eee gene kendimize düşüyor. Çocuk büyütmekten gene kendimize pay biçiyorum. Biz büyütüyoruz, onlar bizi büyütmedi. Orda kendimizi suçluyorum. Ben şimdi Türkiye'de duraydım. Benim gelinim türk olurdu, ama buraya geldim, çocuğumu getirdim yedi yaşında, bunların içinde büyüdü onu tercih etti, ne yapabilirim ben şimdi. Söylediğim zaman da bana öyle dedi. Anneee sen beni getirmeseydin, ben onunla tanışmazdım, Türk kızıyla tanışırdım dedi. Naparım ben şimdi, napabilirim. Demek ki hatalı biz oluyoruz o zaman. Böyle şeylerde biraz kendime suç çıkarıyorum yani.

4.1.3.1.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

For Akay 1, a human being is just a visitor in this world. The secret of life lies in its temporary character. The purpose of the creation of human beings is for them to undergo a trial in this world. This world is a rehearsal; we will go back to our eternal place one day (232). The thing directing human life is the power of God as a creator. God is capable of doing everything he wills. God created everything and he records everything, even the number of our breaths. The own will of a human being also plays an important role. Humans must work to realize plans in life and reach desired goals. Only then will God give the rewards of their efforts. God gives nothing without an effort from man. In this regard, she is not purely fatalistic. She shows the signs of individual reflection. She says in the way of clarification:

A1:.... For example, you, you have come here and are working to be promoted. If you struggle, God gives you what you want. Asking for God's help without doing anything, it's no use. You can't get anything. That's what I know. ⁹³(244)

However, she approaches the problem of evil in a fatalistic style. The existence of evil in the world is a destiny from God. In her view, this is an indicator of God's power. Nobody can resist evil in the world. For example, disasters take place. There are many scientists exploring a lot of things about the world. Yet nobody has the power to prevent disasters from happening, because God wills it so. Her form of mythic-literalism is more apparent in her justifications on the problem of evil. She uses an anthropomorphic, threatening language, bringing God and man face to face.

To the question of death, Grandmother Akay responds in two main ways. She says that she does not have enough knowledge about the reality of death. This is an indication of uncritical acceptance of the hereafter image presented in official religion. We will learn about death in the hereafter. She does not give any reference, nor does she enter into a sceptical criticism of the hereafter. She is convinced that human beings will be gathered somewhere after death: their souls

⁹³A1: *Herşey böyle, sen şimdi buralara geldin uğraşıyorsun ki yükselsin diye uğraşıyorsun, herşey öyle, çabalamadan olmaz. uğraşacaksın bişeye, o zaman verir Allah, ama sen yapma, ver Allah bana! vermez o zaman, uğraşacaksın, ben bunu biliyorum.*

will be gathered together “somewhere.” Remarkably, she rejects the idea of reincarnation. She is sure that reincarnation does not fit her personal understanding of death. She claims that a soul belongs only to a specific body. The owner of all souls is God. God created souls for everyone. Nobody’s soul can be incarnated in the body of someone else. (245-246) Her statements about death also bear the characteristic specifications of Stage 3. The meanings are directly borrowed from conventional religion, and are not critically examined.

4.1.3.1.7. Summary

In her biographical reconstruction, Mrs. Akay 1 prefers a language mixed with expectations, nostalgia, and a perception of self as protagonist in the family. After migrating to Germany, she always had the expectation of returning to Turkey, but this has never been realized. She also emphasizes, with a strong emotional language style, that she did not like Germany at all. The will to work against the opposition of the husband is significant in the process of her individuation in migration. She proves this by stating that working was her own decision. Preferring a job both at a tailor’s *atelier* and the metal factory, and at the same time highlighting her motherhood emotions, denotes that Mrs Akay 1 not only left the traditional role of women, but also went beyond that. She implicitly stresses her self-confidence with all these complex stories. The stories are loosely connected, or the connection between events disappears entirely. She applies logic of self-justification throughout her life story, yet her presentation of self as “a victim of external conditions” is always present. For example, she justifies working as a woman at a factory with the aim of providing better material conditions for her children. Her mention of herself as a certified worker in those jobs denotes self-appreciation as a privileged woman who struggled and succeeded. She prefers factory work despite the fact that she has to leave her children to a babysitter, or else leaves them home alone.

Her first association with religion begins with her perception of a religious family. The learning of Koranic recitation and writing the Ottoman alphabet is favoured in the family. She learns these at the mosque and is supported by the family. Koran

recitation with a sweet voice gives her a feeling of self-confidence, which can be observed throughout the interview. This motivates her in acquiring religion.

With the beginning of adolescence, she has to obey the traditional female rule that as a young girl, she has to stay at home. As a concept, staying at home as a girl or woman retains its place in her perception. This is also evidenced in her concerns about her children and grandchildren. Traditional folk religiosity is at the forefront. The emphasis on the completion of Koranic recitation and the *mawlid* ceremonies are proof of this. Religiosity in the family is stressed, together with family discipline. She remembers her parents' house with nostalgia.

The religious formation she received in Turkey continues today under the conditions of migration. The Five Daily Prayers were abandoned for a time while she had to work; the Koran and fasting have always preserved their place in her life. She returns to her earlier religiosity after retirement. She has remained faithful to the theoretical precepts of the religious education she received in Turkey, but certain disturbances have occurred in their practical application. She most likely has not questioned the necessity of the Five Daily Prayers during the time she couldn't perform them, but tries to justify this non-observance by the unsuitability of working conditions to their performance. Although she finds the lot of those living in Germany difficult, she also believes that they will be doubly rewarded by God for their troubles.

Family and DITIB constitute the whole of her social life at present. DITIB represents a form more suitable to her personality traits, for which reason she finds it more attractive. She is oriented to DITIB by the fact that she receives more attention there than at other institutions.

Religiosity is conceived in relation to the role of a woman. Although Mrs. Akay 1 herself went against her husband's will on the subject of employment, she still believes that a woman's place is her home. For this reason, the wives and daughters of the Prophet are ideal figures for her.

There is no reflection on the development of her God-image. The emphasis on constancy is especially noteworthy. A mythic-literal faith in God is dominant in her case. She has a tendency to describe God in terms of his attributes, but this fails to go beyond mere words. She places a limit on the human understanding of God. Emphasizing religiosity and constancy in her God-image are strategies she uses to prove her religious fortitude.

The dialogue with God is one-sided. She has a deep-seated belief that peace and happiness is to be found in performing the rituals enjoined by God, such as the Five Daily Prayers. In her view, Prayer brings “complete peace of mind.” Prayer is associated in her mind with debt. She regards observance of her religion’s injunctions as mandatory for final salvation.

The headscarf has become a symbol. She believes in the absolute necessity of wearing a headscarf, but is very tolerant in this respect towards her children and grandchildren. For her, the headscarf symbolizes three identities in one: being Turkish, a Muslim, and a woman.

She is deeply invested in religious rituals. She is passionate in her descriptions of observances such as the Pilgrimage, Prayer, fasting, and reciting the Koran. No interest in their conceptual meanings can be observed. For instance, sin is what is literally prohibited by religion. Although violating another’s rights is viewed as morally wrong, it is because religion defines it as a sin that it is so. A similar clarity and conceptualization can be observed in her discrimination between right and wrong. Human experience determines what is right or wrong. In this, she implies a contextual relativism, but is unable to express this clearly. In the final analysis, she subscribes to the dictum “what you do come back to you,” which is a criterion of Stage 2.

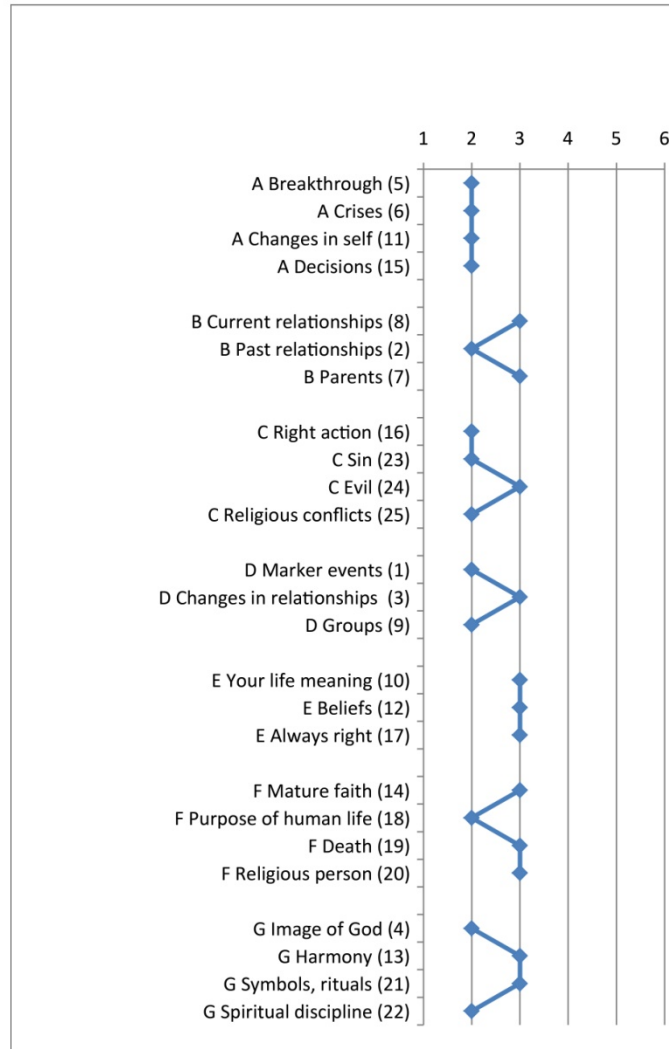
Again, she resorts to certain metaphorical meanings in explaining religious symbols: man is a visitor in this world, life is a test, and the world is a waiting lounge. God is regarded as the supervisor of this waiting lounge, down to the tiniest detail. Despite such metaphors, however, she is not a total fatalist. For instance, human will has a very important role to play. God does not provide

unless one works. Her fatalism is much more apparent regarding theodicy, which may be viewed as a contradiction. She assigns an anthropomorphic attribute to God when she says that God displays his power in ways that leaves science helpless.

In sum, Mrs. Akay 1's faith development profile comprises a mixture of Stages 2 and 3. In the aspect of form of logic, all fields reflect the typical mythic characteristics of Stage 2. In this aspect, which covers biographical narratives, the logic is linear and events are disconnected. Emotional statements that view self sometimes as a hero and sometimes as a victim of circumstances are prevalent.

In perspective taking, a high degree of responsibility, plus playing the role of a guide and savoir, are indicators of Stage 3. A conventional style is more pronounced in the case of existential subjects, such as death, conception of religiosity, religious ideal personalities, the meaning of life, current beliefs, and the measure of right. In each aspect of the narrative, content and structural triangulation is observed.

Figure 5: Stage Assignments of Mrs. Akay 1.



4.1.3.2. Mrs. Akay 2

Mrs. Akay 2 was 49 years old at the time of the interviews. She was born as the first of three children of her parents in a village in the west of Turkey in 1961. She was three years old when her father travelled to Germany, and her brother was 1 year old. Her younger sister was not yet born. She and her brother stayed with their mother in the village for five years. She was brought to Germany by her father in 1969 when the family was reunited. She was then 8 years old. She had two years of elementary school in Turkey, and the rest was completed in Germany. She attended a vocational training course for salespeople. She works as a salesperson for an insurance company now. She is married and has three daughters. Two of them are married and are working; the youngest one is single and lives with her. Her husband is employed as a lathe operator at a factory. He migrated to Germany after marriage with Mrs. Akay 2.

4.1.3.2.1. Biographical Reconstruction

When asked about the chapters of her life, she starts with a description of life. She describes life as a “great struggle.” She highlights two main chapters in her life: the first is “childhood in Turkey,” and the second is “the time after coming to Germany.” She says that her childhood in Turkey was quite free and no one interfered in her life. She lived her “childhood like all Turkish children in Turkey.” Her life in Germany, on the contrary, is described “as difficult and stressful.” She was always constrained by the family, especially by her mother. Her mother restricted her from social life and she was always introverted. Her mother was concerned about the alienation of her children to Turkish culture. Likewise, the strict rules and modes of communication in the family disturbed her. Among many of these strict rules, she cites finishing the meal on your plate as an example. She says about her life:

A2: Life, er... is a great struggle. Maybe, when we were children, I know, we used to play like Turkish children in the streets in Turkey. I mean... I lived my childhood. My mother was telling me, I had been very weak and my skin was tanned because of the sun. I think we used to play outside all

day long. We were in a house with a garden. But after we came here—"Don't go there! – Don't hang out with him! It's like that, it's like this, they're Germans," err...we became a bit introverted.

I: Was the family doing that?

A2: For instance, in my mother's view. I mean... "Don't go, don't hang out, don't do, don't make..." we were prevented in some respects, too. Well... school... the school here...err... school friends and so on... anyone can feel like... and me...they say, the boys are like... they don't care about any shame and they're bold... they used to say, any food served on the table, you had to finish what's on your plate. It was being cooked with lots of garlic and they (the schoolmates) used to make fun of me because I smelled of garlic. I used to tell my mother, "Mother! Don't cook with garlic!" "Oh, daughter, it'll be gone by morning." Well... my father used to say, "Anything served at the table has to be eaten!" If a meal with garlic is served, you can't say, "I don't want to eat this"... Then, you were forced to eat. But after that, for a while, there were times I didn't eat, too. They still made fun of me. And I said, "Why do you make fun of me? I haven't eaten for a long time." They used to say..."We're kidding, it's just a joke." They were kidding me. Later, I ate garlic on purpose, I got the garlic, and I ate and ate... and went to school, I said, they can make fun of me. But I had qualification at school. I used to do the homework of some friends. They couldn't do their homework, I could. During breaks, I used to do my own homework and theirs as well. So we studied and finished school.⁹⁴(9-11)

She accepts that childhood like other Turkish children was left in Turkey, and she entered a completely different mode of life after migration. Living one's childhood is associated with freedom, playing as she wants in the open and in the countryside. Staying all day long under the sun means having a healthy life and the absence of stress. From a home with a garden, a sunny village, and an environment where she walked and played as she liked, she entered an urban environment in which daily life was arranged according to "strict" rules. In migration, her freedom of movement was restricted, and her choice of friends was also determined by the family. This is obviously described as introversion with the

⁹⁴A2: *Hayat ee çok büyük bi mücadele, belki çocukken Türkiye'de eemm Türkiye çocuğu gibi biliyorum oynuyorduk sokakta filan. Yani çocukluk bi yaşamım vardı. Annem diyordu hatta çok zayıfımışım. Güneşten iyice karamışım, heralde bütün gün dışarda oynuyorduk, bahçeli evdeydik ama buraya geldikten sonra oraya gitme onu gezme o öyledir bu böyledir, onlar almandır, ee biraz çekildik yani kendi içimize. I: Aile mi böyle öğütüyor idi? A2: Annem tarafından mesala. Yani gitmeyin, gezmeyin, yapmayın, etmeyin, iyice ee engellendik kimi konularda da. eemm okul... burdaki okul eemm..... tabi okul arkadaşları osu busu insanı yani hep ee şey oluyor eemm, bi de ben ee biliyorsunuz çocuklar biraz şey oluyor diyorlar emm yani dur ayıp o bu filan tanımazlar öyle, korkmak bilmezler. Bir zamanlar çok ee biz de yeni gelmişik, mesala biz ee bu çok ee ne geliyorsa sofraya yenecek filan diyorlardı, sarımsaklı yapılıyordu çok, sarımsak kokuyorsun diye kızdıyorlardı. Anneme diyordum; anne yapma sarımsaklı yemek, aa kızım sabaha kadar geçer o bişey kalmaz. e babam diyordu masaya ne gelirse yenecek. Sarımsaklı yemek geliyorsa yenecek sen diyemiyorsun ben bunu yemek istemiyorum. Diyemiyordun yani o zaman, mecbur yiyordun, ama ondan sonra bi ara yemediğim zamanlarda oldu, gene kızdıyorlardı. Dedim neden kızdırıyorsunuz yemedim ne zamandan beri? Ayşe diyorlardı biz şaka yapıyoruz şaka. Çocuklar bana şaka yapıyorlarmış. Bi ara da kendim yedim. Aldım sarımsağı yedim yedim gittim okula. Mahsus beni kızdırdılar dedim ne olursa olsun. Ama gene de okulda kalifikasyonum vardı, yani derslerini de yapıyordum kimi arkadaşların, derslerini yapamıyorlardı ben yapıyordum. Tenefüslerde filan, kendimizin kendi derslerini yapıyordum bi de onların derslerini de yapıyordum. ee öyle okuduk yani bitirdik okulu.*

words “we became a bit introverted.” In the quote above, her mother is held responsible for this introversion. She is afraid her children will become “Germanized.” In her family education, going out and hanging out was always a potential cause of alienation and Germanization.

After that, Mrs. Akay 2 tells about her school environment, and she implicitly claims that her mother is not familiar with this environment. Her mother acts according to a “rumour.” The phrases “they say” refers to that. “They” here means the neighbours or society, the Turks. She is uneasy that her mother does not consider her real world at school. Thus for her, cooking with too much garlic at home means that her mother does not take the school and the social life of children into consideration. In this way, the family damages her prestige at school by forcing her to eat too much garlic. At the end, she develops a strategy in order to rescue her prestige and take her rightful position among her schoolmates. This motivates her to work hard and be successful in class. She thus establishes a balance between herself and her friends whom she helps with homework.

Reconstructing what she tells, she makes an unconscious “Turkey *versus* Germany” distinction in her life. Her narrative about her childhood is nostalgic. She seems to deeply feel the effect of migration, starting school in Germany, and the restrictions of her controlling and authoritarian family. She is less than analytical about these processes. She tells the events in a rather defensive narrative form. She often seems to be still under the influence of the events she reports. Her rambling from one subject to another in her long narratives, and not establishing any explicit link between the subjects reported, reminds one of the meaning-making style of the second stage in the aspects of social awareness and form of logic. Among determining incidents and relations, there are her parents, her extended family, and the family life in childhood, for example the food culture at home. Her life world in Germany seems partially expanded with the medium of the school. There are references to her relations with her social world at that time. The emphasis on her own success in the classroom and helping her schoolmates with homework can be understood as attempts to place self in a social position, which is an indicator of Stage 3.

After finishing school and professional education, the restrictions at home and social life turned into an intensive life struggle for her. Work, marriage, and having children overwhelmed her. She had to fight against more duties and heavy burdens. She tells about these in response to a question about crises and disappointments:

I: Have you ever faced any crisis or experienced depression or stress, had times that you told yourself: “this life has no meaning” (*dieses leben hat keinen Sinn*), or had any times of disappointment?

A2: Like I said, that was a very great problem for me, and it took me a very long time to get over it. When I went to bed, I used to say to myself: “I may die tonight.” But the next morning when I wake up, I’m still alive (*dann lebe ich noch*). When I feel the same thing now, I look around myself at old people and say that they’re in pain, but it’s not easy to die. No one can die when they choose.⁹⁵(81-82)

A2: Ceyda (my youngest daughter) wasn’t born yet, now she’s 18 years old that means it started 20 years ago. It should be something like that. Those days were very stressful. I was working all day long, when I got home... my husband was helping me a lot, cleaning up the house, sometimes washing the dishes. We had lunch breaks (*mittagspause*) at the company, but by the time I got home, it would be pretty late. I had to put my children to bed, on the other hand my parents were living downstairs. Sometimes I would hear their arguments, and that was another reason for me to get depressed. I had two children and I would take them to Kindergarten and when I left them there, they would cry. Especially Ceyda, she cried a lot. Eda and my elder daughter had been very happy that they would go to Kindergarten at first, but when they went there, they were like: “Mom! We don’t understand these things.” Because we had all been speaking Turkish at home. As for a foreign language, they were like: “Mom, I don’t understand these things and I don’t wanna stay there.” And the Kindergarten people were picking them up from our place. Sometimes I would dress them and take them there while they were still asleep. There was a sofa over there and I would lay them on it, saying “Darling, lie down and sleep here.” Many times I felt like... it’s called *rahmmutter* in German, as if I was a bad mother, I mean, like a mother who can’t look after her children, I was going to work and leaving them, I wasn’t able to take care of my children (*sobs*). I feel like that sometimes and these memories affect me a lot.⁹⁶(90)

⁹⁵I: Peki geçmiş hayatında kriz yaşadığın, bunalıma girdiğin ciddi böyle depresyonlar stresler yaşadığın zamanlar veya artık hayatın bir anlamı yok -*dieses Leben hat keinen Sinn*- dediğin zamanlar oldu mu? Böyle hayal kırıklığı yaşadığın zamanlar? A2:Dediğim gibi işte bi kere o çok büyük bayağı kaç senemi aldı yani. Hatta o zaman ee yatağa yattığım zaman diyordum yani eee bu akşam belki ölebilirim, yarın sabah gözlerimi açarsam sağım, dann lebe ich noch (öyleyse halen yaşıyorum). Şimdi de öyle bişey olduğu zaman bakıyorum öteye beriye, yaşlı insanlara bakıyorum, diyorum onların da hep orası burası ağrıyor ama ölüm o kadar kolay değil, hani istediği zaman insan ölemiyor.

⁹⁶A2: Ceyda (en küçük kızım)yoktu dünyada, Ceyda şimdi 18 yani 20 sene filan böyle bişey. Yani çok stersli geçti o zamanlarda, ee bütün gün çalışıyordum eve geliyorsun, tamam adam yardım ediyordu, bulaşık da yıkadığı zamanlarda oluyordu eee yardım ediyordu yani, evi süpürüyordu, ama iki çocuk var. Şimdi sen eve geliyorsun geç geliyorsun, firmada hmm mittagspause (öğle tatili) var ama akşam eve gelene kadar bayağı geç oluyor saat. Çocuklar yatacak, annemler babamlar aşağıda oturuyor. Ara sıra onların tartışmalarını duyuyordum o da bana stres getiriyordu, iki çocuk var

It is hard for Mrs. Akay 2 to determine an exact reason for the stresses resulting from this extreme intensity of life. This gave rise to anxieties of dying. She does not clearly reveal the nature of these anxieties anywhere in the interview. At present, she has developed a strategy to overcome these death anxieties: thinking about sick and older people whom she considers closer to death. Sick people and older people do not die, even though they wish for it. Thus, when she faces her anxieties now, she tries to suppress and shift them by asserting that she is neither sick nor old.

She compares the duration of this case of anxiety with the age of her daughter. The helpfulness of her husband at home can be understood as an indication that they have a partnership style of marital life. At least, her husband is not a traditional Turkish man with patriarchal tendencies. The burden of being a mother makes extra demands on her. Although her husband does not play a patriarchal role, the parents living downstairs are always watching over her. Her mother continued to control her even after her marriage. The troubled relation with her parents is another cause of stress and depression. Furthermore, the extreme feeling of responsibility that motherhood entails, and life dilemmas about her children, leave her stressed and embittered. The language trouble of children at Kindergarten is a contribution of migration. Her difficulties in choosing between staying close to her children and leaving them because of work, have forced upon her the perception that she is not a good mother. When she tells all these stories, she abandons herself to the flow of the story and sometimes cries.

As a key marker of Stage 2, she uses the narrative forms of meaning making and constructs a series of stories in these quotations (*comp.* Manual p. 31). There is a narrative form of meaning making; also, reference to feelings and emotions in the transmission of meaning. She sometimes reverts to emotional expressions

Kindergartene götürüyordum bırakırken o ağlıyordu. Hani ikinci kızım çok ağladı. Elif de büyük kız da çok sevindiler Kindergartene (kreş) gideceğiz diye ama oraya gidince anne bunları ben anlamıyorum dediler. Çünkü biz hep Türkçe konuşuyorduk evde. Yabancı dil geldi mi anne ben bunları anlamıyorum burda kalmak istemiyorum. Kindergartnerler de onları alıyorlardı benden yani. Kimi gün elbiseyi çok ee evde uyurken giydiriyordum, uyuyarken götürüp bırakıyordum, orda sofa vardı onun üstüne yatırıp bırakıyordum kızım burda yat uyu diye. ee kimi çok ee rahmmmuter diyorlar almancası, yani kendini kötü bir anne hissediyordum, çocuklarına bakmayan gibi yani, bırakıp işe gidiyorsun, ilgilenmiyon çocuklarla böyle (ağlama) tabi geliyor bazen böyle şeyler, çok etkiliyor insanı böyle geçmiş şeyler.

provoked by motherhood instincts. She feels herself extremely responsible for her children. This indicates the mutuality of Stage 3. However, we comprehend from her statements that she and her children have been victims of circumstance. This can be evaluated as an indication of Stage 2. Here it is understood that content plays an important role in her meaning making, e.g. a mix of emotional and narrative styles.

Her expectations from significant others are also germane in the operation of her logical processes. The changes she made in her thoughts because of these stressful times are not formulated clearly. Thus, instead of abstract reflection on events, she presents them in the form of a series of diachronic stories. The implication of life events on her is not evaluated at the meta level. For example, regarding what kind of logic is at work in times of crisis and how it is reflected to the future, she says:

I: How did you get rid of them?

A2: Rid of them? Well, that's a tough question. Because I still haven't got over it yet. I would tell my husband—he was working, too—"Go and take the kids to Kindergarten just once, and see how it is, how leaving them there while they're crying makes you feel?" I mean, it was really hard for me. I tried to quit my job many times. But my mother told me if I left the job, she wouldn't help us financially, blah blah blah. They were pushing me to work. Also, my husband was working for another company, but he wasn't earning much. It seemed I had to work. Still, if I didn't work, these things wouldn't have happened. I could leave my job, but we couldn't have had all these assets, this house and so on. And then I started to think that I worked and so, got my kids everything they wanted, bought them bicycles and so on. If I didn't work, I couldn't afford any of it. I consoled myself by thinking that way. Instead of asking for help here and there, or social aid, I worked, and we accomplished everything with our own work.⁹⁷ (91-92)

⁹⁷I: Nasıl kurtuldun onlardan?

A2: Kurtuldum, valla çok zor bi soru, çünkü hala kurtulamadım gibi bişey böyle. Diyordum adama, adam ee o da gidiyordu işe. git bi kere sen götür bırak şu çocukları nasıl oluyor yani, bi hisset sen de onları hisset orda, bırakmak nasıl oluyor yani, ağlıyorlar ediyorlar, yani çok zor yani, benim için çok zor. Kaç kere işten çıkmaya kalktım, annem bana bak dedi işten çıkarsan size para vermem yardım etmem öyledir böyledir, yani biraz da yani ee çalış çalış diye de şey vardı, baskı gibi bişey de vardı yani, eem beyim de başka bir firmada çalışıyordu o kadar kazancı da yoktu. Mecbur ben çalışmam lazım gibiydi yani, ben çalışmasam zaten olmazdı. Bunlar da olmazdı yani, bırakabilirdim yani işi, ama bunlar da olmazdı (ev ve diğer varlıklar). Şimdi ee sonra da düşündüm dedim çocuklarıma, ee çalışıyorum ama ben çocuklarımdan istediği herşeyi alabiliyorum, bisikletini alabiliyorum, onu alabiliyorum bunu yapabiliyorum, çalışmasam bunların hepsini yapamazdım yani. Birazcık da öyle teselli ettim kendimi yani, sosyal yardım, gidip ordan burdan bişey istemektense yani çalıştım yani kendi çalıştığımızla yaptık yani.

She is conscious that she has not resolved the situation she describes as “stress.” In the quote above, she says to her husband: “how leaving them there while crying makes you feel,” indicating that she expects her husband to consider her feelings. She implicitly expects her husband to empathize. From her sentences, we understand that her mother is still controlling her and governing her life. Her mother’s threats of cutting off financial support are expressed as “blah blah blah”. This indicates the extreme embarrassment caused by this oppression.

“They were pushing me”: it is not explicit who “they” refers to. She does not recall any oppression by her father. Her mention of the job and the lower income of her husband indicate that with “they”, she refers to her parents and the low income of her husband. She emphasizes the necessity of working in those times. This leads to a new strategy: one of evaluating the negative experiences of the past, and coping with them in a positive light today. The assets they have today could not exist if she had not worked. In this new strategy, she legitimizes and exonerates her shortcomings regarding her children, and the intensive stress she experienced, by highlighting the possession of a house today and the ability to buy her children what they need. She smooths over negative life experiences in this way.

As can be seen from the quote above, she can produce a partially coherent and constitutive life story. Self is presented sometimes as an actor controlling and directing events, but also as an object affected by them. In the aspect of form of logic, she strives to take a position contrary to traditional values, but cannot produce an exclusive self-image depending on rational internalization. She is mostly in conflict with the conventional values of her primary society, the family, but cannot put a decisive barrier between herself and the rejected tradition. On the other hand, the method applied in solving problems in times of crisis is rather conventional and is put into words with stereotypical phrases.

She reports that she was very shy when she was a young girl. After getting married and having children, she necessarily had to be more active in life. Her husband, who was living in Turkey, joined her in Germany after marriage. His deficiencies in the German language and growing up in a foreign country also

generated many duties for her. Having kids further increased her activities, especially after she started to visit Kindergarten and school for her children. This forced more duties on her, and created the necessity for indispensable self-improvement.

Another factor which contributed for her self-improvement was “her profession.” As a sales representative, she is in much more contact with people. Because of her Turkish language, she was more involved with the Turkish customers of her company. She describes the Turkish customers as being “more talkative,” and is forced to deal with them in all matters. This helped her “to open her eyes,” in her reflection. She is aware of being subjected to more duties after marriage. From her explanations, it can be gleaned that she has a high level of responsibility. She was asked whether she experienced a change in her personality and how she understands this.

I: Well, who or what has had the most effect on your improvement and progress so far? What affected and improved you the most? This can be a person, a book, or a group you keep going to.

A2: I, of course, children, for instance...when I ...err...was a young girl, I was a bit timid. But... err... now, when you have children, you just have to struggle somehow. Both in Kindergarten and at school, there are problems with children. Inevitably, I mean. My husband came from Turkey, he doesn't know German... err... you should go, you have to do everything. We went to buy ice cream once, he didn't speak to the ice-cream vendor, we went back home. “Go! Majeed (the husband's name) and order it! We'll buy ice cream. You'll say I want this.” He said, “No, I can't do it!” And I said, “If you can't, we'll go back.” I mean, we couldn't go and eat ice cream and we came back that day, since he couldn't say it, I mean.

I: That's interesting.

A2: This kind of thing happens, I mean. Well... now, err... from Turkey... err

I: You say you were timid, you got married and some things happened.

A2: Yes, working at the (X: company name) changes a person a lot, too. You have to talk to many people.

I: Yes.

A2: err...Something, for example, you have to draw up a contract (*Vertrag*) and have to explain. They come and tell you their problems, especially our Turkish customers, when they have money problems, you know all about them, I mean. They feel like they have to tell you everything about themselves, the money they send to Turkey, this and that, “I've got this much money here and there,” they tell things like that, they tell everything about themselves.

I: Then, you have to talk.

A2: You talk. The more you talk, the more you feel free to talk. With children, like I said, you have to join in talk with children somewhere, too. And besides people, I don't want to judge people. Everyone, even if they have negative sides, they also have positive sides. I try to find the positive side of each person, either from their deeds or character errs...I look, that person, well..that's good, he does that work good, so, this should be like that. I get it for myself, I mean. Even if a person is negative, I try to find something positive. "That person is very bad," I don't do that, I mean, I don't do that very much. Something positive inevitably exists. That might be work, thought, or...err... one has something... One thinks to oneself, I mean. Or you check out their deeds.⁹⁸(14-22)

As mentioned earlier, she was under the strict control of her mother and she reports being shy. After that, with work, marriage and children, she undertook additional responsibilities. The control and orientation of the mother was continuing on the side, and she also had to manage her own life issues. After starting work, her mother's strict rules at home were partially loosened. The work could be an opportunity to expand her relations outside the family. Thanks to her work, she entered into greater contact with Turkish society. She describes this as a "compulsory dialogue". She evaluates it as a change and medium of contact with people without "getting bored." Even as a child, she was the actor of her relations with people outside the mother's control.

The dimension pertaining to faith development here is that this change is described as "not from her inner world"—on the contrary, it is a change in the outside world. Her coping strategy is again apparent here. This is to observe the

⁹⁸! Peki şimdiye kadar gelişip olgunlaşmada en çok kim veya ne söz sahibi oldu, en çok ne etkiledi en çok ne seni geliştirdi? Bu bir şahıs olabilir, kitap olabilir devam ettiğin bir cemaat olabilir.

A2: Ya ben tabi tabi ee çoluk çocuk mesala. Ben ee genç kız iken biraz çekingendim, öyle eee şimdi çocuklar olduğu zaman mecbur mücadele ediyorsun bi şekilde, Kindergarten olsun okul olsun emm problemler oluyor yani çocuklarla. Mecbur yani ee adam Türkiye'den geldi beyim, almancası yok ee sen gidiyorsun, herşeyi sen yapmak mecburiyetindesin yani. Bi dondurma almaya gittik , dondurmacıya söylemedi geri döndük. Git Macit söyle dondurma alalım. Bunu bunu istiyorum diye söyleyeceksin. Yok söylemem dedi, söylemezsen geri döneceğiz dedim. Yani gidip dondurma yiyemedik o gün geri döndük. Yani söylemediği için.

I: Enteresan.

A2: Yani böyle şeyler oluyor yani. ee şimdi ee Türkiye'den ee

I:Yani çekingendim diyorsun, evlendim bi takım şeyler oldu?

A2: Evet sigortada çalışmam da çok insanı değiştiriyor, çok insanla konuşma mecburiyetindesin.

I: Evet

A2: ee bişey mesala Vertrag (sözleşme) falan yapmak mecburiyetinde anlatmak mecburiyetindesin, onlar da sana geliyorlar problemlerini, hele ee türk müşterilerimiz para problemi olduğu zaman, herşeyini biliyorsun yani onların, herşeylerini anlatma mecburiyetinde kalıyorlar böyle yani insana, Türkiye'ye para göndermeleri osu busu, o kadar param orda var burda var, yani öyle bişeyler bişeyler anlatıyorlar yani, herşeylerini anlatıyorlar yani böyle

I: O zaman mecbur konuşmak zorundasın?

A2: Konuşuyorsun insan açılıyor yani ee. konuştuğca da öyle ee çocuklarla da dediğim gibi, çocuklarla da mecbur bir yere katılıyorsun. Hem de insan ee ben insan seçmeyi de seçmem böyle. Her insanda negatif insan bile olsa her insanda pozitif bir tarafı vardır. O insanın o pozitif şeyini ya yaptığı işten dolayı olsun ee karakter olsun, ee o insan bakarım ha bu güzel, bu işi bu güzel yapıyor bu böyle olması lazım. Onu ben kendime alırım yani. Yani her negatif bi insan bile olsa ille bi pozitif bişey alırım kendime o insandan. Yani o insan iyice kötüymüş filan öyle şey yok yani öyle yapmam o kadar öyle. Yani ille bi pozitif bişey olur yani, is olsun fikir olsun emm irgendwas hat man yani insan kendine şey yapıyor yani. Ya da bakıyorsunuz yaptığına.

negative and positive sides in every people and to always deal with their positive sides. This strategy in coping with struggles and negative life incidents works as an aid for recovery.

4.1.3.2.2. Relations with Significant Others

With respect to the family conditions in which she grew up, Mrs. Akay 2 says that she and her siblings were “bored of arguments” between their parents in childhood. To carry out a reasonable discussion with her parents has proved exceedingly difficult. Whenever her parents come together, they burst into argument, either between themselves, or with Mrs. Akay 2 and her siblings. She says that the extreme importance of work and hard discipline in the family took its toll as continuous stress. This also caused psychological problems for her and two other siblings. She realized the negative consequences of their family life and parental conflicts after long-term therapy and psychological counselling. She blames the situation in the family and says:

A2: We're all continuously accustomed to ... we're pressed for time (*Zeitdruck*). Our mother had been working since our childhood. When we came home, we were alone and sometimes we forgot the house keys. We were children, you don't understand it at the time, but when I come to think about it now... My aunt was a housewife and didn't work, my cousins were very well taken care of, their breakfasts were always ready and they were just picking up their schoolbags and going to school. We weren't like that. We would forget our house keys, sometimes we had breakfast and sometimes not. My mom would wake us up very early. She would prepare our school uniforms so that we wouldn't be late for school. I would get up quite early and had time to spare. I was crocheting and knitting before I started school. After that, I mean... (*Laughs*).⁹⁹(62)

She thinks her responsibilities started at a very early age because her mother was working. She compares herself and her siblings with the children of her aunt. She articulates that her cousins were raised like “children,” but she and her siblings were obliged to be like adults, were raised like adults and expected to fulfil adult

⁹⁹A2: Biz şimdi hep alışmışız, dünyayı, herşeyimizi emm *Zeitdruck* (zaman baskısı) diyorlar ee çocukluğumuzdan beri annemiz çalışıyordu, biz eve geliyorduk yalnızdık, emm kimi zaman anahtarımızı unutuyorduk. Çocukluk anı, o zaman pek anlamıyorsun onu ama şimdi düşününce eee teyzemin ee teyzem evde oturuyordu, teyzemin çocuklarının yumurtaları geliyordu masaya, çayı konuluyordu masaya. Onlar oturup yiyordu. Ondan sonra da çantasını sırtına koyup gönderiyorlardı. Biz öyle değildik. Biz anahtarımızı unutuyorduk evde, ya kahvaltımızı ediyorduk etmiyorduk, annem bizi sabah erken kaldırıyordu. Giyeceklerimizi koyuyordu mesala geç kalmayın okula diye. Ben erken kalkıyordum bayağı, vaktim de var idi. El işi falan yapıyordum, mesala ben örgü örüyordum okula gitmeden önce daha, yani ondan sonra ee yani eee (gülme).

responsibilities. When this is connected with the words above: “like every Turkish child,” she sees the migration situation, especially her mother’s work, as an obstacle to living a proper childhood and an overload for the children. When the disputes between her parents are added on top of these, it becomes clear that her childhood in Germany was very difficult for her. For this reason, given an opportunity or power to change something in life, she would change “the shape of her parents’ relationships.” She says:

A2: Yes, it was supervision. We were kept under close watch. I have some memories of my mom that I’ve never forgotten: when I was going to school each morning, she would say: “Have a good day at school! Bye bye!” She would do a (thumbs-up sign) saying: “Don’t let me down!” Because we were going to a German school and we were all with German students, right? That is why she was saying: “Don’t let me down!” And doing that thumb sign, every morning when I was going to school. We weren’t doing anything wrong. We went on a school trip just once, for 3 or 4 days. Like I said, our teacher came to us and insisted that I join that trip. As soon as I got home, I heard my parents brawling. They were like: “It’s your fault! You let her go!” They let us go, but they had a huge argument that same night. I don’t know why my parents were like that, maybe they had a very hard and busy life. My mom was working all day long. She got sick later and retired early. She would go to Turkey to visit sick family members. She was eager to help her relatives in Turkey. For reasons like this, my parents would argue too much. I grew up in the midst of their arguments. Once I told my aunt: “Your children are very comfortable in Turkey and have a lot of spare time, and they can sleep until noon.”¹⁰⁰(106)

She describes the family control as “close watch.” She accuses her mother of having a close watch on them. As stressed above, Mrs. Akay 2 believes the phrase “don’t let me down” refers to her mother’s own prestige in society. In this quotation, there is also an implicit reference to the fears of her mother about the “Germanization” of her children: her mother is so controlling because they go to a German school.

¹⁰⁰ A2: Evet gözetim altında, şey emm annemin, (gülme) hiç unutmadığım şeyler ee her sabah okula giderken herkes der önce çocuğunun arkasından kızım ee hayırlı okullar olsun yani emm güle güle, annem böyle yapardı (işaret parmağı) sakın yüzüme kara getirme, böyle işaretle. Ve Alman okuluna gidiyoruz, Almanlarla beraberiz, de mi, onun için, sakın yüzüme kara getirme, yani böyle el işareti her sabah, her sabah okula giderken. Sanki ee yani bişey yaptığımız da yoktu yani. Bir kere geziye gittim ee bi kere emm dört gün mü ne geziye gittik, geldim, ee o da öğretmen geldi yalvardı gene dediğim gibi, komşu öğretmenler var idi tanıdıklarımız. Geldim eemm daha içeri girmeden daha kavga sesleri duydum yani, sen gönderdin sen gönderdin senin yüzünden senin yüzünden, yani bizi gönderdiler o zaman(gülme) gelir gelmez de kavgası vardı yani. eemmm annemle babamla birazcık bilmiyorum, çok hızlı yaşam mı oluyor çalışmakla emm, okull ee dediğim gibi annem de bütün gün çalışan bi kadındı. emm sonra hasta oldu emekli filan erken emeklilik filan osu busu, Türkiye’ye gidip gelmeler yok hasta var, yok Türkiyedekilerine yardım edeceğiz burda yaşayanların, onların kavgalarını çok duyduk. Benim kardeşime yardım edeceğiz benim kardeşime yardım edeceğiz, onların kavgaları ile büyüdüm. Gidip teyzemlere söyledim halbuki bi kere, dedim sizin çocuklarınız burda bak rahat rahat büyüyor, öğlene kadar yatıyorlar.

Towards the end of the quote, she applies her strategy of legitimating to her parents' situation. Mrs. Akay 2 tries to understand the situation in a positive way: she ascribes her parents' oppressive and quarrelsome environment to the conditions they were living in. She tries to correct the negative image of her parents by searching for answers in their living conditions when she was a child.

From her statements, we understand that she did not want to transfer to her children the style of parenthood that she inherited from her parents. She says:

A2:... When we lived in the village, there were some rumours like, "A demon visited someone, something bad happened to him" and blah blah blah. When we were young and in Turkey, my mother made us sleep, but I didn't know why she was doing that. I don't know how old I was. If we refused to go somewhere with my mom, she would scare us saying; "Knock knock knock. Look, kids! Someone is coming to get you." But I've never raised my children by frightening them, saying "We're going to the doctor and he'll give you a shot." For example, we're going shopping and we don't want children to come with us. In such cases, we never lied to them, saying, "We're going to see the doctor and he'll give us shots." We've never had the habit of scaring children. I didn't like it. Rather, I used to explain to my children, saying: "Look, dear, I don't have money today, but when I have the money, I'll get you what you want." We'd say things like that.¹⁰¹ (173)

In these sentences, she highlights that her mother resorted to lying while educating them. She expresses her difference from the mother as regards pedagogical consciousness. She reflects this process in a narrative style, and condemns the educational style of parents for frightening and manipulating their children. At least in her decisions, she has become emancipated from the authority of her mother.

In the interview, she does not clarify when she moved to the house that she now lives in. She was previously living upstairs from her parents. Moving away from her former home can also be regarded as a means of liberation and emancipation from the authority of her mother. She does not let them interfere in her own

¹⁰¹A2: Köyde oturduğumuz zaman hep söylüyorlardı yani, ona cin gelmiş buna o öyle olmuş buna böyle olmuş, tabi Türkiyede de küçükken de ee misal kızkardeşim de küçüktü misal, yatıp uyutuyor idi annem bizleri, neden uyutuyordu bilmiyorum, kaç yaşındaydım bilmiyorum. Mesela gelmezsen (tak tak tak) bak geliyor bak geliyor birisi. Ya da ben çocuklarımı korkutarak büyütmedim, yani o gelecek bu gelecek ya da biz şimdi doktora gidiyoruz iğne vuracak bize, alışverişe gidiyoruz, istemiyorum gelmesini çocukların. Biz iğne vuracağız öyle geleceğiz mesala. Öyle işeyler yapmadık mesala. Öyle korkutma huylarımız yoktu mesala. Sevmiyordum da, ama anlatırdım, bak kızım bu gün param yok, yarın param olduğu zaman alacağım yapacağım edeceğim, öyle işeyler anlatabilirdik yani.

decisions any longer. Generally, she makes her decisions together with her husband. For example, when they want to buy a household object, she negotiates this with her husband. She says that when her daughter decided to get married, she did not see it necessary to consult her parents. This is an indication of liberation from her mother. Yet she sustains the family tradition about the importance of work in the marriage of her daughter. To work and make money have always been important in her family. For example, she took note of the work habits of her prospective sons-in-law in the process of marrying her daughters. In this connection, she was asked to recall her decision-making process:

I: ... When you decide on something important, how do you do it, generally?

A2: I and my husband consult each other when we go shopping. We go to many different places for shopping before buying anything. First we check out the prices, if the price is good, then we buy it. I can't think of anything else. But when I gave my daughters in marriage to someone, I didn't ask for the permission of my parents.

I: How did you manage that?

A2: How I managed it... Esra and Cemil had already met with each other at school; they had known each other for a long time. Hence I concluded that they had to know each other very well. I thought he seemed like a good person. Naturally everybody wants to be sure if their son-in-law is hardworking or lazy. This year I was in the village in Turkey, I woke up and looked out the window and saw that a young boy who had a bicycle with a basket was poking about in the garbage and collecting plastic stuff—the desire to earn something.¹⁰² (210-216)

This quotation shows us that Mrs Akay 2 did not keep her own daughters under the control that her mother did with her. Although she emphasizes the diligence of her daughter's husband, we understand that she approves the friendship of her daughter with a man before marriage. She says, "they had known each other for a long time." In this way, she implies that she was informed of that, but did not interfere. Her son-in-law came to Germany from Turkey to study, and pays his own fees by working. He lives without any outside help. Her words imply that she

¹⁰²!... peki önemli bir karar verecek olduğun zaman genelde nasıl yapıyorsun bunu?

A2: Kocamla konuşuruz. Hemen de almıyoruz gidiyoruz araştırıyoruz, bi yere bakıyoruz iki yere bakıyoruz, üç yere bakıyoruz. yani hemen aldığımız bişey de yok. Fiyatlarına mesala bakıyorsun o nasıl bu nasıl diye, ondan sonra alınıyor bişey yani. emm başka bilmem valla, kızları verirken heralde anneme babama sormadım.

I: Onları nasıl yaptın mesala?

A2: Onları nasıl yaptım? zaten Esra ile Cemil tanışmışlar okulda, tanıyorlar birbirlerini ...ne zamandan beri tanıyomuşlar birbirlerini, yani dedim o öyle ise tanıyorlar birbirlerini biliyorlar. Ben ee onlar tanışma şey diye dedik olsun dedik yani. İyi bi insana dedik iyi bi insana benziyor dedik, insan bakıyor tabi nasıl bi insan çalışkan mı tembel mi?. Mesala, bu sene beni çok, bu sene izinde. Sabah kalktım köyden, camdan baktım, genç birisi, tekerlekli arabalar olurya, bisikletli önde sepeti oluyor, ona binmiş çöpleri karıştırıyor. Çöplerden plastik ötesi berisi toparlıyor.

respects the feelings of her daughter in the decision of choosing a partner, and confirms that her daughter made the right choice by taking her son-in-law's diligence into consideration.

From the perspective of faith development, the examples given for the process of decision-making are traditional and refer to daily family life. The orientation to family members can be accepted as a clear indication of conventionalism. The phrase "Naturally everybody wants to be sure if their son-in-law is hardworking or lazy" crystallizes the conditions of Stage 3. It is similar to a mostly stereotypical conventional Turkish expression. Another significant point: being "good" here is synonymous with being hardworking and having material qualifications. There is no apparent emphasis on inner quality for being a "good" person. She states that she did not consult her parents when her daughters were marrying. This indicates that she wants to put a distance between herself and the parents (Generation 1). It may be thought that she refers to a difference in the logical process between her and the first-generation parents. However, the meaning presented here is rather vague. The difference between herself and her parents is not handled in a direct or defensive analytical way. Why she does not like her parents' interference in her decision-making processes is not obviously understood from the statements in this aspect, yet it is understood from other phrases in the complete interview, because she gives voice to implicit and explicit conflict with parents many times elsewhere. This conflict makes her put a distance between her parents and herself.

4.1.3.2.3. Current Image of Parents

She describes her current relations with parents as follows:

A2: *With my parents? They still have different thoughts than mine. Especially my dad, his thinking is even more different.¹⁰³ (98)

A2: for my part, we're getting older and so are my parents. In the meantime, I'm scared of living with my parents, because they had those arguments so many times.

It's impossible to have a reasonable discussion... even with my husband, all we do is watch TV. We can't have a decent conversation.

¹⁰³A2: *Anne babayla.... ee onların düşünceleri değişik benimkinden hala da, babamın daha da değişik.*

I: You would like that?

A2: Yes, I would. I would like to be able to discuss any issue with my parents without a brawl. Whenever we get together, either they have to argue with each other, or we do, too.

I: So you think there's a deficiency of dialogue?

A2: for my part, it's either that or it's called a generation....

I: it's a conflict between generations.

A2: My parents grew up in Turkey. I also grew up among Turkish people, for the most part. But like I said, I'm able to learn anything from anyone. I can find good even in the worst things. Even watching a movie on TV, there's a message in it for you.¹⁰⁴ (144-151)

She explains in this quote that her parents stayed the same for years without any change. Thus, the difference in opinion between herself and her parents has also remained without change. She reports that she is ready for a "normal" dialogue with her parents. In her view, the source of the problem in this lack of dialogue is her parents. They do not know how to communicate, and they dive into dispute when they come together. She says this is rooted in dialogue deficiency and generational conflict. However, she cannot present a decisive analysis of this. Here, she applies the strategy of self-justification and legitimization: "I can find good things even in the worst things." She tries to frame some rational arguments about the differences in thought with her parents and the generation conflict. She implies that the fault lies with her parents, stressing that she is an optimist and ready for dialogue.

I: Have you experienced any change in your perception about your parents over the years? For example, what caused changes in your relationship with your parents?

A2: perceiving them... my mom, she was all the time...like I said... we had some conflicts at home between my parents. If they hadn't let us get an education, we wouldn't have studied that much. We all studied the three of us. I have sisters and a brother, they studied, too.¹⁰⁵(101-102)

¹⁰⁴A2: *Bence ee mesala benim için düşünüyorum şimdi biz yaşıyoruz, annem babam da yaşlı. emm ... ama bi taraftan korkuyorum beraber annemlerle yaşamaya, çünkü hep tartışma oldu. Yani bii ee oturup da böyle ee, mesala herhangi bi eee mesala insan kocasıyla bile, televizyon var, kalkıyoz televizyon açıyoruz yatıyoruz televizyon kapatıyoruz, oturup da böyle bir konuyu böyle muhabbet etmek, tartışmak bi şeyi.*

I: *İsterdin?*

A2: *Evet, konuşmak, annemle babamla da oturup bişeyi konuşmak yani. Hemen kavga çıkmadan, bağırışmadan böyle yani. Ya biz kavga edeceğiz, ya ikisi kendi aralarında kavga edecekler.*

I: *Bi diyalog eksikliği mi var sence o zaman ?*

A2: *Bana kalsa ee ya diyalog eksikliği ya da ee ne diyorlar buna, ee generasyon?*

I: *Generasyon konflikt (nesil çatışması)*

A2: *Annem babam Türkiye'de büyümüşler, onlar ee Türkiye ee tabi ben de ee Türk ee dediğim gibi daha çok Türklerin arasında büyüdüm, ama dediğim gibi ben herkesten bişey kapabiliyorum yani, en kötü şeyden bile bi iyi bişey çıkartıp kendimi üstelleyebiliyorum, ya da dinliyorum televizyondan. Yani her bi filme baksam bile o filmde ille sana mesaj veren bişey var.*

¹⁰⁵*Onları algılayış biçiminde yıllar içerisinde değişmeler oldu mu hiç? Onlarla ilişkilerinde değişmeler, bunlara sebep ne oldu mesala?*

She tries to handle the conflict issue in a positive manner one more. There are indications that she tries to consider the interiority of her mother. She directs criticisms. She emphasizes the discipline of her mother and strives to express this in symbolic language. Sometimes, the meaning she wants to transmit disappears in the pure narrative style of telling. She seems to deeply understand and approve of the discipline of her mother, but is not explicit about this. In her ambivalent image of parents, the positive side prevails.

I: You're the eldest one (among the siblings)?

A2: Yes, I am. I have a brother and he lives next door. He's a computer scientist. I have a sister and she works at a drugstore. I mean, if my parents didn't let... my parents weren't like other families, who took their children from school and pushed them to work, so that they could contribute to their families financially. Many families did that in those days. But ours wasn't like that. They made us study regardless. I'm grateful to them. They were all very keen on education, so we could work our way up. As for our relationships with our parents, my mom didn't leave us in Turkey. Most people were leaving their children in Turkey so that they could work comfortably here. They were just sending money to Turkey. But my mom said: "I won't leave my children! They will stay with me no matter what." My mom was a bit of a dictator (*laughs*). I was telling this to my mom all the time. Because we had come to Germany. Everybody was a foreigner and we weren't able to communicate with them, and they had fears of their own. Whereas the young generation in Turkey, they grew up more free-and-easy. They were able to go wherever they wanted, they could visit their friends, act independently. They didn't ask permission to go out. We didn't grow up that freely... We were like... well... how should I describe it? We were like, restricted... err...Germans call it "induced" (*beursacht*).¹⁰⁶(103-104)

In the quote above, she strives to balance her image of parents, trying to see the positive side of their relations. She makes formal cognitive operations on the relations. The words used, like "we," "our family," and "the families of other

A2: Onları algılama, ee yani annem hep eee dediğim gibi, bizim evde biraz huzursuzluk vardı annem babam. emmm... tabi onlar hep bizi istemeseydi yani onlar götürmeseydi yapmasaydı biz bu kadar okuyamazdık. Hep biz okuduk yani, üçümüz de okuduk yani. Kardeşim var onlar da okudular.

¹⁰⁶]: En büyük sen misin?

A2: En büyük benim emmm bi oğlan kardeşim var yan tarafta oturuyor, diplom informatiker kendisi, bi kız kardeşim var o da eczanede çalışıyor, yani onlar istemeseydi ee öteki emm tür eee vaktinde yapıldığı gibi, herkes öyle yapıldı, okuldan alınıp iş yerine para kazansın bizim emm katkısı olsun diye öyle yapıyorlardı, ama bizimkiler öyle yapmadılar, okuttular bizi gene de. Çok sağolsunlar hepsi de yani. Okumayı seviyorlardı, okusunlar büyük bi yerlere gelsinler diye. Anne baba ilişkisinde, ee annem bizi Türkiye'de bırakmadı, herkes Türkiye'de bırakıyordu. Çocuklarını, çalışalım rahat rahat diye. O zaman Türkiye'de bırakıyorlardı çocukları. Para gönderiyorlardı, ama annem dedi ben çocuklarımdan ayırlamam, ille dedi benim yanımda duracaklar. Ne olursa olsun yani, ille bizim yanımda duracaklar. emmm annem biraz eemmm birazcık diktatör mü desem ee (gülme) yani ee anneme diyordum hep yani, çünkü Almanya'ya gelmişik tamam biraz yabancı millet, anlamıyoruz bilmiyoruz onların da kendi korkuları var kendilerine, halbuki Türkiye'deki bizim genç nesiller bizden daha rahat büyüdüler. İsteddiği yere gidebiliyorlardı, arkadaşlarına gidebiliyorlardı, daha rahat hareket edebiliyorlardı yani. Sorup da eemmm ben gidiyorum diyordular, sormuyorlardı o kadar fazla. Biz ee o kadar rahat büyümedik, yani biz ee hem çalıştıkları halde birazcık daha eemmm ne deyim sana emm engellen yani ee beursacht diyorlar Almanlar.

children” denote her conventionalism in perspective taking. This reflects the familialism of Stage 3.

4.1.3.2.4. Social Relations and Friendships

Mrs Akay 2 says:

A2: In Turkey, we were children, when we came from Turkey, that much...err...You don't have thoughts about everything, you don't have any views at that age. Err...But there were fears, I experienced fears.¹⁰⁷(24)

She stresses that she was a child before coming to Germany, and as a child, she could not understand many things. She refers to the fears she experienced. In the quote below, she draws attention to the points of conflict and discrepancies in her relationship with others.

A2: I experienced great fear, why?

I: Why?

A2: Well... people...err... I don't know. My head isn't covered, I work at (company X). When I started work, some people, all of my aunts and so on, told me, "Cover your head," err...after that, "When you go to work uncover your head, when you come home, cover it again." Or... After giving birth, "Look! All of your sins were absolved, cleansed, so from now on you have to go out covered (wear a headscarf)."

I: Well... how were you taking this? When a person bears a child, are her sins indeed cancelled?

A2: No, I didn't think err... like that.

I: What did you think? You have three children, did you think that your sins were cleansed three times because they said so?

A2: No.

I: Well... what sort of thing is this?

A2: Well... I don't know... how does it work? I didn't think that way. Err...if I say, whether there's a fear of God, this and that and so on, of course, a fear or something arises in a person.

I: Yes.

A2: When I lived that greatest fear, it really affected me very much. Err...now, some things are formed earlier, you hear some things. I go to Turkey, err...some called me an atheist and Godless, since I don't think about some matters the way they do. I mean, we have to believe first, and then

¹⁰⁷A2: Türkiye'de çocuktuk, Türkiye'den geldiğimizde o kadar pek ee düşünce insanın daha oluşmuyor her şeye, düşüncesi oluşmuyor, ee yalnız, bi korkular falan vardır orda, korkular filan yaşadım.

I'm going to read the Book. But I say, why should I believe first? How do I believe in something I haven't read and don't know? I'll read it first and then believe it.¹⁰⁸(26-36)

At first sight, this awareness and emphasis that she thinks in a different way from immediate "others" suggests the individualistic style of Stage 4. However, a close examination could also suggest that she expects to be approved by them "as is." In this case, an individuative-reflective form of social awareness would be indicated: *"that is their position and this is mine, I determine my boundaries and others should also stay within their boundaries in their relationships with me."* There would not be an expectation of being approved by others. Thus, this would point to Stage 3.

Akay 2 has not left the tradition here. She has been stigmatized, called an atheist and other pejorative words. Yet she herself does not accept that. She only wishes to be understood. Another significant point is her accusatory criticism for not being accepted as "she is." This is better illustrated in the following quote:

A2: ...For example, they found a spring in Manisa (Turkey) where water came out. When that water came up, it had healing properties, they sent it to Ankara, it was very curative. But by the time they brought it home, it had lost its power. It had to be drunk at the spring. And I said, "so many people who drank that water had to be hospitalized. Thousands of people were in hospitals and were taken to... besides," I said, "its healing effect doesn't vanish by the time it gets to Ankara, so how does it vanish by the time I get home?" Again they called me atheist and Godless. For instance, I feel like... about some things again ... Because I don't say "yeah, yeah" (it's OK).

I: Family and friends.

A2: Yes, if you always say Yes to them, then you're good, otherwise you're an atheist and Godless. Anyway, in a place... When we go to Turkey, you get tired of driving, of the trip... you come from

¹⁰⁸A2: Çok büyük bi korku yaşadım, neden?

I: Neden?

A2: Yani toplum ee bilmiyorum biraz. Başım kapalı değil, sigortada çalışıyorum. Çalıştığım zaman işe başladığım zaman kimi insanlar, teyzemler falan hepsi (dediler ki), kafanı kapat ee ondan sonra işe gidince aç eve gelince tekrar kapa kafanı. Ya da doğum yaptıktan sonra bak şimdi senin günahların bitti hepsi silindi, artık kapalı gezmen lazım.

I: Peki sen nasıl algılıyordun bunu, hakikaten insanın doğum yapınca günahları bitiyormuydu?

A2: Yok ben öyle emm düşünmedim.

I: Nasıl düşündün bunu? Üç çocuğun var, üç kez günahların silindi olarak algıladın mi bunu onlar öyle diyor diye?

A2: Yok

I: Peki nasıl bişey bu?

A2: eee bilmem ... nasıl oluyor? Yani ben onu öyle düşünmedim yani. Emm dersem bak şimdi Allah korkusu filan var mı? o bu, tabi her insanda bi korku, bişey oluşuyor.

I: Evet

A2: En büyük korkuyu yaşadığım zaman, en büyük korkuyu, hakkat beni ee çok etkiledi emm şimdi eemmm tabi bi kaç şeyler önden oluşuyor yani, bişeyler duyuyorsun. Türkiye'ye gidiyom emm... birileri dediler dinsiz imansız dediler bana. Ben kimi konularda onlar gibi düşünmediğim için. Yani ilkten inanacağız, ondan sonra okuyacağım kitabı. Ya diyorum neden ilkten inanacam? Ben okumadığım bilmediğim şeye nasıl inanayım, ilk kez okuyacağım ondan sonra inanacağım.

work and instantly, prepare the car without a rest, we almost were waiting all day long in order to go to Turkey, we were stressed. I don't know why, a fear came upon me. A fear of God.¹⁰⁹(38-40)

The family and relatives are at the core of her social world. Awareness of her social relations is reflected in her replies concerning the groups she feels close to. She is not a member of any religious organization; instead, she mentions her membership in a fitness club. There is no particular mosque organization she prefers in Germany. She states that sometimes she goes to different mosque associations in Germany, mostly where the majority of people go, but only rarely. For example, she has visited the mosque most recently in Ramadan, 4-5 months prior to her interview. She pursues fitness training and certain sports activities. She thinks women of her age have a lot of health problems, and thus their movements are quite restricted. She feels herself more active than the others. In her life world, there are two important elements at present: first her home, and second, a friend who lives near them. There were some Germans in their neighbourhood, but currently they have no contact with them. She justifies the necessity of sports by making a comparison between sports and worship (Daily Prayers) in Islam. In this domain, her statements recall the form of conceptualization of religious symbols and their interpretation by self. This is a dimension mostly related to "symbol functioning." This will be reviewed more comprehensively under the proper aspect.

About her friendships and social networks she says:

A2: Afterwards, I struck up a very good friendship that affected me a lot. We became friends. She was younger than me, I mean she was quite young. She was very skilful at pastry. She had grown up in Turkey with her grandmother, so she learned a lot about pastry. She came here after she got married. Both of us were interested in handicraft. I like knitting and sewing, and I myself make everything that belongs to me. I can sew dresses, too. I did it for my children, too, when they were

¹⁰⁹A2: *Mesala Manisa'da kaynak bulmuşlar su çıkmış. O su çıkınca onu o çok şifalıymış, Ankara'ya göndermişler çok şifalıymış ama eve getirene kadar şifası bozuluyormuş. İlle orda içilecekmiş. Ya dedim kaç kişi su içti hastanelik oldu. Binlerce insan hastanelerde yatıyor, kaldırılıyor. Hem de Ankara'ya gidene kadar şifası bozulmuyor benim evime gelene kadar nasıl bozuluyor dedim. eee dinsiz imansız dediler gene bana. Mesala kimi konularda yine böyle şey yapıyorum, herşeye he he (olur) demediğim için.*

I: Aileyle etrafı

A2: Evet, yani onlara her zaman he diyeceksin o zaman iyi oluyorsun, yoksa dinsiz imansız oluyorsun. Herneyse, bi e yerde ee Türkiye'ye giderken hatta araba yorgunluğu, yolculuk, işten geliyorsun dinlenmeden arabayı hazırlıyorsun hemen bütün gün bekliyorduk, Türkiye'ye gidelim falan diye, böyle stres halindesin. Artık nedense bilmiyorum, bana bir korku geldi. Allah korkusu.

going to Kindergarten. I like house painting and so on. My friend, she was also a very creative person. We've had a very good friendship. But I've never asked her about... as you know, there are a lot of people from different origins. For example, my grandfather was an immigrant and my grandmother was a Tartar. I don't care who she is, the important thing is to get along with someone. Although she's Alawi and Kurdish, I've never asked her about her beliefs. What's the difference between us? I've never asked a question about that at all, and to tell the truth, I still don't have any idea about her background. Frankly, I'm not interested in it all that much.¹¹⁰(116)

This quotation reveals what she understands from an ideal relation. She values respect, mutual interests, respect for privacy, and tolerance. Human identity, mutual acceptance and friendship are more important than religious or other personal identities. Privacy is everyone's own business. She emphasizes the importance of having common interests in relations. Furthermore, her statements show that her paramount concerns are to feel good and have trust. A strong relationship becomes possible when we accept our friends as "they are." A good relation does not come into existence by itself.

After these general rules for a good relationship, she gives domestic issues as an example of mutual interests between herself and her friend. This statement shows her internalization of the demands of her mother (Mrs. Akay 1). Actually, she implies that she has been a housewife and a working woman making money who does not let her mother down. On the other hand, Mrs. Akay 2 attributes her continuing relationship with this friend to her tolerance of the friend's background. The telling is mostly predominated by narrativity, but she is explicit about her understanding of differences. She also emphasizes similarities with that friend. This is an indication of Stage 3, which seeks common interests in relations.

These interests are mostly not at the level of intellectual reasoning, like an ideology or anything else. However, she submits that her friend has another

¹¹⁰ A2: Öyle ondan sonra, bi güzel arkadaşlık hakkat beni o da eee çok etkiledi, bi arkadaşım oldu, ee benden genç idi, bayağı genç yani bi bayan, ama çok becerikli idi, hamur işlerini ee o Türkiye'de büyümüş anne annesinin yanında, çok öğrenmiş böyle. Hani evlenip de buraya gelmiş, o da ee ben de el işini seviyorum yani, dikişi severim ee örgü örmeyi severim ee hep kendim yaparım yani, herşeylerimi kendim yaparım, giyisi de dikerim yani, yapıyorum yani çocuklarıma da hep diktim, kindergartene giderken örgü çok yaptım yani. Ev boyama severim, onu bunu. O bayan da öyle çok böyle ee şey insandı kreatif(yaratıcı). onunla çok güzel bi arkadaşlık yaptık, hem kendisi emm hiç sormadım ama, biliyorsun burda tür tür insanlar var. Yani biz geldik ee benim dedem muhacir, ordan gelmiş babaannem tatar, beni ilgilendirmiyor kim olduğu. Ben geçineyim bir insanla, beni artık ilgilendirmiyor kim olduğu. Kendi Kürt, ee Alevilerden ama hiç bi kez sormadım yani, sizde o var mı bu var mı, biz değişik miyiz sizden? Siz değişik misiniz bizden? Öyle hiç bi sorum olmadı, hani o konuda hala da bi bilgim yok desem yalan değil yani. Beni çünkü o o kadar ilgilendirmiyor yani o.

religious tradition and belief, and she is open to that. This openness seems to be only at the level of accepting her existence. We do not encounter signs of discussing her own beliefs and convictions with her friend. We can accept this as an indication of simple relativism.

Above, she implied that a relationship does not come out of the blue. One has to invest in a relationship and find common points of interest. In this connection, she speaks about friendship with Germans:

A2: There are Germans, back-door neighbours; we used to have relations with them in the past. But they grew distant in time. We also went to Turkey with them and introduced them to our family. They used to visit Turkey. The man got sick, he has cancer, we haven't seen each other for a few years. Friendship with Germans is possible, but it doesn't last long.¹¹¹ (120)

In her relations, the justifications reflecting her stand helps us better understand her perspective taking. From her statements, it can be deduced that she seeks mutuality and harmony. Significantly, she also stresses the importance of her own initiatives, thoughts, and feelings. Thus, she displays more individuality here. In the interview citations below, she opens up some issues for discussion in her relations. She says of her social activities:

A2: ... I was enrolled at a fitness center for my health, to exercise a little bit. Actually, I had enrolled once before. After that I started jogging. As you know, at my age, women are retired and do housework like cooking and putting food on the table, that's all. I'm a bit more active because I've been jogging. Now I'm enrolled at a fitness center again. Actually, it's a necessity for health and against heart disease. Anyway, sports are relaxing, like performing the Prayer. Maybe that's it. But I don't go that much.

I: Is there any specific mosque you go to?

A2: Going to the mosque is not a problem. Where the majority goes, I go, too. There's no special mosque that I prefer. I haven't gone to a mosque in a long time. Recently in Ramadan, the time to break the fast has become quite late. Cooking, eating, visiting relatives—it takes up too much time. Since we all overeat, we're not disposed to move.¹¹² (122-124)

¹¹¹A2: ... Almanlar arkada komşular var eskiden çok şey idik, ondan sonra onlar da bozuluyor onlar da bilmiyorum, pek öyle bi almanlarla da fazla ee bi arkadaşlığımız var idi, Türkiye'ye gittik hatta çocuklarla da tanışmıştık Almanlarla. Türkiye'ye de gittiler geldiler ee adam hasta oldu şimdi kanser bi kaç seneden beri onlar da gelmiyorlar biz de gitmiyoruz, yani oluyor almanlarla bi arkadaşlık ama o kadar fazla öyle çok fazla sürmüyor yani.

¹¹² A2: Şimdi fitness stüdyoya yazıldım, kendi sağlığım için birazcık hareket edeyim diye, bi zaman daha yazılmıştım, ondan sonra başladım koşmağa, yani diyorum ben ee benim yaşındaki kadınlar artık ee emekliliğe çıkıyorlar, köşede oturup yemek yapıp yemek yedireceğiz, bi tek öyle. Ben birazcık daha aktif geliyorum, yani ben koşuyordum. Şimdi fitness

In this domain also, her conventional style is apparent. She says she prefers the majority's choice among mosque organizations in Germany. She is not selective among these organizations, or even if she is, the majority plays the determining role in her choice.

The segment below provides more insights about her life world and perspective taking:

A2: We view the world as a cause of stress. But actually, we should be thankful for everything. And now, whenever I come home, I tell myself: "Thank God, I have a home and I have a blazing fire in the hearth, I can sit in front of it nice and warm, it's great. What if I were out in the cold? I have a car that I can drive to my office, I don't go on foot or on a bicycle under rain or snow." I mean, we have to be thankful for everything. If we don't know how to be thankful, we can't find any peace. The more you expect out of life, the less peace you find; asking more, to change your home just because your living room is cramped. Asking for more, blah, blah, blah. If you insist on such things, you can't find any peace and you can't get your act together.

I: You mean it's stress without end?

A2: What more do I want? We should be thankful. As they say: "What more can we ask of God?"

I: So is it being thankful that makes life meaningful for you?

A2: Yes, it does in one respect.

I: Well, what else makes your life better? Is everything OK with your life?

A2: In fact, in comparison with others, my life is great. For an outside observer, it's good.

I: Yes.

A2: From an objective viewpoint, we have everything, my children and I have vocations.¹¹³(134-142)

stüdyoya gidiyorum yeniden, yani bi lazım yani, hastalık için sağlık için kalp için, her neyse ee kendi spor ee bizim gibi namaz gibi o da spor da insanı rahatlatıcı bişeyleri oluyor yani. Belki de odur ama pek fazla da gitmiyorum. I: Camiye mesala, gittiğin zaman hangisine gidiyorsun? A2: Camiye, eee benim için problem yok da hani millet nere giderse ben de oraya gidiyorum. Benim için ee öyle benim seçtiğim bir yer yok yani. ee ama çoktan beridir de gitmedim desem yalan değil. Yani öyle ee bilmiyorum, ramazanda da hem geç oluyor saatler şimdi. Yemek yapıyorsun yiyorsun, ya bi yere oturmaya gidiyorsun, camiye, gidecen. Biliyorsun bizde de çok yeniyor birazcık hareket edemiyor insan.

¹¹³A2: *Yani dünyaya hep stres olarak bakıyoruz ama halbuki herşeye hakkat şükretmemiz lazım yani. Ben şimdi her gün eve geldiğim zaman Allah'a çok şükür diyom evim var, sobam da yanıyor, oturuyorum önüne sıcak, oh diyom ne güzel, bi de dışarda olmuş olsam ee bu soğukta. ee arabam var işime biniyorum arabamla gidiyorum. Yürüyerek gitmiyorum bisikletle gitmiyorum, yağmurda karda yani herşeye bi ee şükretmek lazım yani. Şükür etmeyi bilemez isek kendimiz de rahatlayamayız. Hani ben hep bunu istiyom yok, bu ev benim hoşuma gitmiyor, oturma odası çok küçük, yok o öyle bu böyle ben başka bi şey istiyorum, hep başka şey başka şey dersiniz, hiç rahatlayamıyosunuz yani böyle eem bi hayatınızda oturmuyor yani bişey.*

I: *Sürekli gerginlik mi?*

A2: *Hep başka yerlerde yani. Bi şükür edip tamam ben ee hakkat istediğim şey bu yani daha ne isteyeceğim yani. Allah'tan daha ne isteyebilirsiniz ki diyorlar ya?*

I: *Peki şükretmek mi hayatı anlamlı yapıyor sana.*

A2: *Bi taraftan öyle*

I: *Diğer taraftan, seni hayatını güzelleştiren şey nedir? Veya güzel mi senin hayatın?*

A2: *Aslında başkasına bakarsak çok güzel yani, yani başkalarına uzaktan bakan insan için çok güzel.*

I: *Evet*

We observe contradictory expressions in the same aspect. Indeed, her worldview is reproachful in this domain because of the attitudes of people toward her. She unconsciously restricts her social world to her family. A search for autonomy is a structure determining and predominating her social awareness. The phrases “for an outside observer” and “from an objective viewpoint” are important and deserve attention for the appreciation of her locus of authority. She refers to having a house, a car, a profession and other things as necessary material elements in life. Hence, she frequently emphasizes these points. Significantly, she speaks of herself and her children as having vocations. The other members of the family, her husband, brothers and parents, are thereby excluded from this emphasis. In this sequence of the interview, the content of dialogue suddenly shifts again and slides to problematic issues in family relations. Her orientation to other family members is significant.

4.1.3.2.5. Appropriation of Religion

Mrs. Akay 2 attended religious courses neither in Turkey in childhood, nor after moving to Germany. Her encounter with religion begins in the family with a very negative image of religion. She describes this process as “conflict and fears.” For example, the children in her family were frightened of God, evil spirits, and unseen creatures. This image of religion left long-lasting influences on her. Although she did not experience an integrated religious socialization, the family always expected her to practice religion. She still experiences exclusion in the family due to her religious style. She discusses the superstitious beliefs in her family as follows:

A2: I had a bearded uncle in Turkey. Before going to Germany—my dad had gone to Germany, he wasn't in Turkey—my grandma had gone downtown and bought me a baby doll. I can still remember that the doll had no hair; it was bald. As you know, those dolls made of plastic were quite common in Turkey in those days. That night that uncle came to visit, actually he was my father's uncle. He had come to visit us, and that doll was sitting somewhere over there. When my uncle saw it, he disposed of it, he threw it in the trash. And he said that lifeless thing would have gotten my soul and something bad might have happened to me, blah blah blah. When I woke up the next morning, I couldn't find my doll. And I asked, “What happened to my doll?” And they

A2: *Yani dışardan bakan kişi için herşey var. Mesleğim var, çocuklarımla meslekleri var.*

replied, “A dark man came and took it away.” And I was hiding all day long here and there for fear that the dark man might have seen me. I had only one doll, and even that was taken from me. That doll got lost that night, no thanks to him, but he died many years ago, God rest his soul. Having a baby doll was supposed to be a sin. So it was gone.

I: Were you affected because of that event?

A2: It was part of my childhood. We lived alone with my mom for six years in Turkey. And she was scared of being alone.

I: Was she scared?

A2: Well... Her fear was, we were living together with all the kids, we had a small house, we were living there. My mom was scared, so she would hide a knife under her pillow before we went to bed. Maybe these fears were due to ... I don't know. Such things can induce fears in people.¹¹⁴(175-179)

In this quotation, superstitious beliefs are expressed in a rejective form. But she cannot display a critical approach and look at the story from the outside. She rejects speaking about religion in a frightening way. For example, she speaks about the positive style of Mustafa Karatas in preaching in the following. She is opposed to a negative image of religion. For her, religion can be interpreted in a positive way. She says:

A2: I mean, even the worst movies can give you a message, a warning or a message, and we have to accept those messages. There are some TV programs about religious matters, but I don't like people who give loud and fearful speeches on TV.

I: You mean fiery hodjas?

A2: Yes. I don't like them.

I: For example, is there any specific hodja you like?

A2: I'm not sure, but he should be Mustafa Karatas, he has a relaxed speech and he's amusing.

I: Does he make jokes?

¹¹⁴A2: *Benim bi sakallı dayım vardı, Türkiye'de, daha Almanya'ya gelmeden önce, babam önce gelmiş bizim, babam yoktu Türkiye'de, emm anneannem çarşıya gitmiş bi bebek almışlar bana, bebek, hatta saçsız bi bebektı iyi hatırlıyorum, kupkuru kafası oluyorya Türkiye'de plastik bebekler o zaman, kel bi bebektı. Emm o gece de nedense sakallı dayım gelmiş bize, babamın dayısı, bize oturmaya gelmiş, o bebek de oturuyormuş orda, görmüş onu, onu orda halletmiş bebegi, atmış çöpe. Demiş bu cansız şey, benim canım ona geçecekmiş, bana bişey olacaktı filanmış fişmanmış. Ben kalktım sabah baktım bebek yok, dedim ne oldu bebek? Eee kara bi adam geldi bişey geldi aldı götürdü. Ben bütün gün saklandım orda burda bebek aradım acaba o görecek mi o adam beni? filan yani, benim bebeğim o gün gitti, bi tane bebeğim vardı onu da Allah rahmet eylesin- sağolsun diyeceğim de coktan öldü adam- o bebek de gitti o akşam yani, günahmış bebegi olması insanın, yani oyuncak bebek olması günahmış. Yani o bebekte gitti öyle.*

I: O mu çok etkiledi belki seni?

A2: O oda vardı çocukluğumda yaşadığım seyler ee zaten annem 6 sene yalnız kaldık Türkiye'de ee korkuyordu, Türkiye'de I: Korkuyor muydu?

A2: Eee onun korkusu, beraber kalıyorduk çocuklar bi evde yani. Ayrı bi evde kalıyorduk, küçük ufak bir evimiz var idi alçak, o evde kalıyorduk. Annem korkuyordu bıçak saklardı yastık altına, öyle böyle yani. Belki bu korkular doğal olarak, belki bi korkular gelmiştir insana yani bilmiyorum. Yani öyle bi yerlerden bi korkular kalıyor insanda.

A2: For instance: some guy did evil all his life. After he turned 70-80 years old, he began to think about how he was going to get himself redeemed. Then he muttered to himself: “You never thought about it before. Did you just come to your senses?” His manner of speech is something like that.

I: You mean he makes you feel relaxed?

A2: He talks about ideas I share, and his manner of speaking makes me feel relieved. (Laughs)¹¹⁵(153-161)

The sentence “He talks about ideas I share” refers to mutuality in faith, and “his manner of speaking makes me feel relieved” refers to the dimension of expression of emotionalism. Her assignment in the bounds of social awareness and perspective taking can be evaluated as stage 3. There is a stand against the position of the family, but she cannot convert this into an independent character.

4.1.3.2.6. Image of God

Throughout the interview, inconsistent statements about her image of God are observed. In order to clarify the inferences about her image of God, we will first cover the stories told about her life and life world, especially as these relate to her religious development. After that, we will try to connect her current image of God with these stories.

Taking the interview as a whole, we can speak about three factors influencing the genesis of her image of God. She is at least partially conscious and states that her image of God developed in connection with certain factors. These main factors can be summed up in three categories in the light of life events told by Mrs. Akay 2: the religious understanding of family, the educational style of the family, and the conditions they were living in.

¹¹⁵A2: Yani en kötü filmde bile yani sana bişey veren bişey var. Bi mesaj veren bi haber veren ee yani bilgi veren bişeyler oluyor yani, onları almak lazım. Ben televizyonda dini programları herkesi sevmiyorum anlatmasını, çok bağıarak, böyle korku şey yaparak anlatan insanları sevmiyorum, böyle.

I: Hararetli hocaları?

A2: He öyle sevmiyorum, onları sevmiyorum.

I: Mesala sevdiğin bi hoca var mı?

A2: Mustafa Karataş mı oluyor şimdi, mesala o (gülerek) rahat rahat anlatıyor böyle, hem birazcık komiğe de şey yapıyor yani böyle.

I: Epsriler mi yapıyor?

A2: Adamın birisi çok kötülük yapmış, yetmiş seksen yaşına gelmiş, ben nasıl şimdi ee kendimi affetireceğim diye, söylenmiş, ee sen bu yaşa kadar gelmişin aklına gelmemiş de şimdi mi geliyor yani. Mesala kimi şeyleri böyle şey anlatıyor adam.

I: Rahatlatıcı mı oluyor?

A2: Emm kimi ee benim düşüncelerime uygun gibi geliyor, kimi şeyler, anlattığı şeyler, o beni rahatlatıyor tabi (gülme).

The superstitious style of religion in her family disturbed her in childhood. But as she says, she was only a child and “she could not do anything against it.” This religious style in the family seems to also determine their childhood education within the family. She says the conduct of people made her afraid of religion and God. In the family, when the children did something, people used to tell them:

A2: This is a sin, that’s a sin, you’ll be punished, your tongue will stick out the back of your neck, your hand will be contorted, Moslems don’t sit like that,” for example...¹¹⁶(52)

She reports some events that provoked fears in her childhood, such as what her uncle told about the baby doll and her mother’s hiding a knife under the pillow. This story denotes a continuous fear at home and the need for security. About her lifestyle and conditions in Germany, she states that everything was hard. She had to work, she had children. She was always in a rush when she brought her children to Kindergarten. She had to brush their hair and dress them up quickly. Her husband was working, so he could not help much about these. Kindergarten was boring for the children. Placing them in Kindergarten and going to work made Mother Akay feel that “she is a bad mother.” These all created extra stress for her. She says about the fears she experienced:

A2: Punishment, it was fear of punishment and fear of God. If I stepped inside a mosque, I felt as if I had been struck by lightning and died, or if I touched or recited any chapter of the Koran, I felt like something was going to happen to me. So what happened? Nothing! After all, it (The Koran) is a book, too. It can be read like other books. There’s another thing; when we were children, we had been told some stories about demons and fairies. Maybe because of that, these stories remained our minds.¹¹⁷(170)

Due to all this, she usually experienced fears of dying and being punished. But these all came to a head one day when they were on the road to Turkey for a holiday travel. She says that after that experience, she had to seek treatment. She needed a long time to recover again. She tells of these events:

¹¹⁶A2: *O günah bu günah, cezalanırsın, dilin eem ensenden çıkacak, elin yamulacak, yok müslümanlar böyle yapıp oturmazmış mesala.*

¹¹⁷A2: *Ceza, ceza Allah’tan korkmaya başladım. Yani camiye adım atarsam bana şimşek çakacak öleceğim mesala ben orda. ya da Kuranı açarsam Kuran yazısına bakarsam sanki bana bişey olacak. Ne olacak olacağı bişey yok yani, o da bi kitap yani, o da bi kitap, ötekini okuduğun gibi onu da okuyorsun. Yani şimdi çok ee çocukken cinlerden perilerden ötelere berilerden çok böyle eee konuşuluyorsa, yani belki de öyle şeyler de insanın aklında kalıyor yani.*

A2...Well, it happened to me when I was on the road. It flashed through my mind. I was like, as if I did something bad and I was going to be punished by God. It happened at night.¹¹⁸ (86)when we were going to Turkey with the car, it was like a lightning stroke.¹¹⁹ (88)

Asked about the nature of this experience, she says:

A2: What was it like? For example, if I go to a mosque, I feel as if lightning will strike and I'll die there. If I open the Koran, I feel as if something is going to happen to me. I mean... fears like that.¹²⁰ (46)

...God will punish me for everything.¹²¹(49)

She had to receive psychological therapy for a while. Therapy seems to have resulted in a reshaping of her God-image. In place of an intimidating and frightening God, she formed an image of God who “creates all beauties and exists along with these beauties”. God was no longer “a bogeyman” after she received psychological therapy. She connects this relief in her image of God with exchanging negative thoughts for positive ones. In this process of therapy, she was affected especially by a book she read on “life without stress” and the ways to happiness. In the book, a story was told about a colony of people who were living in poverty, but were happy. They always thought positively. Certain points in this book caught her attention and are reflected in her narrative about the book: happiness in poverty, love of one another, respect for each other, and thinking positively. When asked about her current image of God, and she says:

A2: Who is God, now? God err... err... He's present everywhere, God is nature, He's the most... err what should I say err... of the world... err... he makes the grass grow and it grows. That's nature, God makes and creates it. Well... fruit grows on trees, how nicely the trees blossom. These are all nature, animals, birds fly, they come and eat their birdseed, and so on. Everything is like this, I don't know. Every beauty is err... nature, what should happen, happens. For example, my sister has a kid and he has Down's syndrome, he's sick. Do you know what Down's syndrome is?¹²²(56)

¹¹⁸ A2: Valla diyorum ya yolda geldi işte bu. Böyle birden bire aklıma geldi emm sanki bişey yapmışım Allah beni cezalandıracak gibi bir şey, gece olmuştu.

¹¹⁹ Arabadayken, giderken Türkiye'ye yolda, birden bire şimşek gibi böyle.

¹²⁰ Nasıl bişey? mesala camiye gidersem sanki şimşek çakacak orda öleceğim. Kuranı açarsam bana bişey olacak. Yani öyle korkular.

¹²¹ Allah cezalandıracak beni her bişey için.

¹²² A2: Allah şimdi kim? Allah ee ee . Allah her yerde var, Allah natur (Doğa). Yani Allah dünyanın ee ennn ee ne deyim ee çimeni büyütüyor ee çimen büyüyor. O bi natur, onu Allah yapıyor, yaratıyor şey yapıyor. Ee ağaçta meyve oluyor, ağaçlar ne güzel çiçek açıyorlar. Hep natur bunlar, hayvanlar uçuyor, kuşlar buraya gelip yemlerini yiyor filan. Yani böyle herşey,

I: Yes, I do.

A2: God created him, as well. Nothing has to go like clockwork all the time. I mean, he's also creature of God. We love him, too, he's also a family member. Err... what should I say? God err...is a creator, He creates beautiful things, I mean. I don't see God as a punisher. My sister had that baby, everybody said, "This is a punishment for you." "Why?" "Because that baby was born with Down's Syndrome. That is punishment for you." Err... What did she do to deserve such punishment? I don't think of everything as a punishment. I don't see it as punishment for us. That boy is a creature of God, too. For example, some kinds of apple are greener and others are more... he's also a kind of human being... A failure, a failure in the genes, err..it's an imbalance. That was because of a faulty gene and a great imbalance, it's something... I mean he's a creature of God, too. He's also... I say, he doesn't have any pain or suffering now. Some people are sick and in pain. There are those who go through other kinds of illness. Here, there are some other friends who have handicapped children, too. Those are human beings too, I mean.¹²³(56-58)

As is demonstrated in this quote about her current image of God, she replies with a reversal of the question "Now who is God?" as "Who is God, now?" And the next phrase, "God err", shows that she is hard put to define her current God-image spontaneously, and tries to gain time to form an answer. After that, she emphasizes the greatness of God by reporting that "God is everywhere." This suggests an implicit and vague traditional-literal description of God.

As to the phrase soon after that, it can be understood as an attempt to give the word "God" a personal, individual meaning beyond the traditional conception. The definition of God as "nature" is an idea which is clearly refuted by official-traditional Islam. She cannot maintain this initiative further, and starts emphasizing "God as creator." God is presented as a power creating beauties, and then the creator of all, both negative and positive, and a unique power that nobody can stand against. All these are expressed in an implicit way and mostly as literal meanings.

bilmiyorum, her her bi güzel bişey emm natur yani, olacağından yani oluyor. Mesala kız kardeşimin çocuğu var daumsyndrom, hasta biliyor musun daum syndromun ne olduğunu?

¹²³ I: Evet biliyorum.

A2: Allah yarattı o da. İlle düzgün herşey düpedüzgün olacak diye bişey yok. O da Allah yarattığı yani, onu da seviyoruz yani o da ailenin bi üyesi. Yani ee ne deyim Allah hmm yaratıcı bişey yani hep güzel bişeyler yani. Ben cezalandırıcı bulmuyorum ben Allahı. Şimdi kardeşimin çocuğu oldu, hep herkes dediler ki bu size ceza. Neden o daumsyndromlu olmuş o çocuk?, o ceza sana, eee naapmış ki ceza o kadar şey oluyor yani. Herşeyi ceza olarak ben görmüyorum. Ben onu bir ceza olarak görmüyorum. O da bir Allahın yarattığı ee nasıl elmanın kimisi daha yeşil olur kimisi daha emm, o da bi cins insan, yani o da bi cins insan. Bi hata genlerde bi hata bi eem tam dengesizlik... bişey, yani o da bi Allahın yarattığı yani, o da...emm şimdi ağrısı sızısı yok diyom. Kimi insan ağırlı sızılı da oluyor. Başka ee hastalık geçirenler de var. Burda başka arkadaşlar da var yani, özürülü çocuklarla, o gene başka bi yaratık yani, çocuk yani, o da bi insan.

The story she tells soon after indicates that she attempts to dissociate God and other symbols from given problems. She strives to prove and internalize that the negative incidents taking place in life are not necessarily punishments from God. She confirms this with natural science and rational proofs. This approach enables her to accept the issue objectively and "as is."

The statements toward the end of the quote are about the kinds of disease, and the painful ones are worse. Thus, she unconsciously consoles herself by thinking that her nephews are "sick without pain." This account is completed with an emphasis on equality. In fact, when she objects to the perception that presents disease as "a punishment from God," she is in tacit communication with the owners of this perception.

Mrs Akay 2's God-image includes a mix of transcendence and immanence, fear and love. She goes on to talk about her relation with God, and the changes in her image of God, reflecting on the past and sharing a dynamic from her life history:

I: How did you arrive at this point? For example, you said before that you always felt fear when you went to a mosque or thought about God or went to those kinds of places.

A2: hmm now...I felt some fears, I had a fear of planes. I went to an err... behavioral therapist (*verhaltenstereapeut*), the doctor sent me there. ...I went and had stress-relieving exercises (*entspannungsübung*) there. He asks you... And says, we're all continuously accustomed to... we're all pressed for time (*zeitdruck*).¹²⁴(59-60)

A2: Well... I read books, because I recognized that my daughters had fears too. You see this. I went to a therapist (*terapeut*) and the doctor made me perform relaxing exercises (*entspannungsübung*). He wanted me to write down ten nice things about that day. People have negative thoughts like, my baby cried a lot today, he had a fever, and I took him to hospital, I had an argument with my husband, why is that? Why did my son drop the vase? And so on, in their minds all the time.

I: Yes.

¹²⁴: *Bunu nasıl keşfettin ? mesala önceden dedin hep böyle korku yaşıyordum camiye veya Allahla ilgili düşünürken veya o tür yerlere gittiğim zaman.*

A2: *hmm, şimdi ee kendim korkular yaşadım, uçak korkusu var idi. Ben gittim eee Verhaltenstereapeuta (behavioral therapist) gönderdi beni doktor, gittim orda Entspannungsübungen (stress relieving excersises) filan yaptım. O sana soruyor, diyor hep diyor biz şimdi hep alışmışız, dünyayı, herşeyimizi emm Zeitdruck (zaman baskısı).*

A2: There are negative things around us all the time. I was told to do ten positive things. People succumb to negative things all the time. Everything is really negative. For example, my parents would argue a lot when I was a child, we experienced that very much.

I: Maybe it was due to stress or working too hard or something else.

A2: Yes, There were lots of things like that. There was a lot of conflict in our family. If someone experiences negative things in their life all the time, they start feeling negative as a result.

I: well... I see.

A2: Now, when you do something wrong, God becomes negative, he punishes you. Since everything around us is associated with punishment, you feel like you have to be afraid of God. And then you start to think that religion might make you feel stronger or weaker, or it might make your life miserable. If you act confidently in good faith, you can make more reasonable decisions and think more clearly. I mean, nothing would stop you. You can use your mind creatively. I mean, you can conduct yourself successfully and it may lead you to nice things, I mean religion can do that. Because religion has a relaxing aspect. For instance, about performing Prayers... when you see a psychologist, he has you do exercises (*entspannungsübung*) and makes you lie down and wants you to talk and makes you feel relaxed. Prayers are a way of relieving the stress of the day. Five times a day, escaping from daily stress... For example, they say when we put our children to bed, we should do Prayers so that the child will relax and go to sleep quickly.¹²⁵ (66-72)

As can be seen, the themes of stress and the pressure of time are central issues for Mrs. Akay 2. Even though she says she has a fear of God, she already has another, positive image of God. For example, she feels herself in harmony with the cosmos and God when something good happens.

After the gardener mowed the grass in the garden behind her house, there was a muddy area filled with rainwater, and birds were bathing in that pool. She says that

¹²⁵A2. Ya ee kitap okudum yani, kendi kızlarımın da korkularını gördüm. Yani insan ee görüyor. Terapist, terapeuta gittim entspannungsübungen (relaxing exercises) yaptırttı bana. Soruyo sana, diyor ki bu gün güzel olan on şeyi bu kağıda yaz. Hep aklında insanın, hep negatif şeyler var. Bu gün çocuk ağladı, ateşi vardı, doktora götürdüm emm adamlarla kavga ettik, o (şey) neden burda ? çocuk neden bunu buraya düşürmüs ? biseyler bişeyler de mi?

I: Evet

A2: Hep negatif şeyler var, denildi ki on tane pozitif şey yap yani, pozitif. İnsan hep negatif düşüncelere iyice şey yapıyor yani. İyice negatif herşey negatif. Annem babamla kavga vardı, ediyorlardı da yani, tartışma vardı çok. Çocukken yaşadık çok.

I: Belki stress, çalışmamalar, başka şeyler?

A2: Çok şeyler eee o hep varmıştı. Çok kavgalar da yaşadık aile arasında öyle, hep negatif negatif şeyle böyle insanın üstüne gelince ee insan hep negatif düşünmeye başlıyor her tarafı heralde.

I: Hmm hmm

A2: Şimdi bi de bişey yaparsan Allah da negatif oluyor. Seni ee cezalandırıyor, yani herşey ceza üzerine olduğu için Allah korkusu da oluyor yani, bi bişey geliyor ondan sonra diyorsun, din insana.. din insanı çok güçlendirir, çok da zayıflatır yani. İyice seni sürükler yerde yani. Ama o kadar sen bilerek, kendine güvenerek, korkmadan dinine inanarak bişey yaparsan senin aklın da güzel çalışır. Seni engelliyen bişey olmaz yani. Sen kendi aklını da güzel ee kreatif kullanabilirsin. Yani başarılı kullanabilirsin kendini. ee seni çok güzel yerlere götürebilir, yani din dediğin götürür. Çünkü rahatalatıcı bi şeyi de var. Şimdi bu namaz kılma şeyi mesala eem, gidiyorsun psikoloğa nerde... sana entspannungsübungen yapıyor, ee psikolog mesala yatırıyor anlatıyor sana, emm rahatlatıyor yani seni rahatlatıyor. Bu namaz şeyi de aslında bu günün stresinden kaçma olayı yani. günün stresinden beş kere mesala çocuğu yatırır iken rituel yapın diyorlar, çocuk uyusun, hemen rahatlasın uyusun diye.

she liked that, and she felt better when she observed it, because it was nature itself, with no stress.

The word “stress” is a top identifier throughout the faith development interview of Mrs. Akay 2. Even though her observation of a bird washing in the muddy water was a small thing, it was enough to make her feel happy. In other passages of the interview, she laid emphasis on material security and the importance of working and making money. One remarkable thing here is that she speaks of her disabled nephew. The interview text reveals that they discuss this theme in the family in connection with religion and the will of God. She does not search for reasons other than the “will of God” in her nephew’s disability. However, when the child was born disabled, the people around them told her sister: “That is a punishment for you.” But she does not believe that this is divine punishment. Moreover, she attempts to explain it in a rational and scientific way. In doing so, she does not deny the role of God in creating. She tries to explain it with examples from nature. In her view, it is as normal as the difference between apples: while one is green, the other yellow. She also strives to understand this with genetic factors and biological causes. In any case, the will of God is always there.

The recovery in this image of God is told in an unconscious way. That is, she informs us of the result, but the phases she passed through and the doubts she experienced remain vague. These are the criteria of Stage 3. She tells the story, but focuses on results; the processes themselves are overlooked.

4.1.3.2.7. The Meaning of Religiosity

Mrs. Akay 2 reports that she does not consider herself “a religious person,” because she does not practice her religion. Her understanding of religiosity emerges in the following conversation:

I: OK, do you see yourself as a religious person?

A2: Religious, err... I mean.... I'm not a very religious person, but I don't have an immoderate life, either.

I: So what does being religious mean to you?

A2: Being religious, er...I mean... righteousness, err... Righteousness, not being jealous of anyone, not coveting another's property, not asking why do they have and I don't, I should have it... it's that kind of thing, for instance. I say everybody should live their own life. I mean let everybody live with their deeds. Well... if nobody infringes the rights of others, that's religion for me.

I: I see.

A2: As I said, the Koran has established some rules, rules for getting along with each other, I mean, established the rules of living together.

I: Yes.

A2: That is, don't kill, don't do this and that. If I do no evil to anyone... I mean... If I don't do evil, err...

I: Then you say, that is religiosity?

A2: For me, the rights of others come first, mine come later... I mean, even if I perform the Prayer or not, this is something between me and God. For example, if I say something bad to my parents and they get angry or cry, I feel very sorry, for instance. Then, for instance, that is... er... infringing the rights of parents and others.¹²⁶(265-274)

She says "I'm not very religious." This can be understood as "I am not religiously observant." When she says "I don't have an immoderate life", she means she does not have a lifestyle which damages or opposes religion. According to these statements, religion represents "moderation and simplicity:" righteousness, not being jealous, non-interference with the rights of other people, granting freedom of belief and lifestyle to the "other." Especially, the observation of the "rights of others" is seen as the core of religiosity. This last is explained in accordance with the source of religion: the Koran. There are parallel expressions denoting her altruism, "the rights of others come first, mine come later." In the example of ritual Prayer, the Prayers are seen as an issue between man and God.

Her statements denote that for her, religion has the power to regulate interpersonal relationships. Secularism is implicit in her statements about

¹²⁶I: Peki kendini dindar olarak görüyor musun?

A2: Dindar ee yani... pek öyle dindar değil ama aşırı bi hayatım da yok yani öyle.

I: Dindar olmak ne demek peki?

A2: Dinden ee dinden çıkacak? yani ee doğruluk, doğruluk, ee kimseye kıskançlık yapmamak herkese öyle yani, kimsenin malına emm göz dikmemek yani, onun neden var benim neden yok, ben onu alayım, mesala böyle şeyler yani ee herkes kendi hayatını yaşasın diyorum yani. Kim ne yaptı ise onla yaşasın yani. Emm bilmiyorum kimsenin, kimseye eem kul hakkını yemedikten sonra yani benim için din orda yani.

I: Anladım

A2: Yani kurallar dedimya, Kuran bi kurallar koymuş. Geçim kuralları, yani birbiriyle yaşama kuralları koymuş.

I: Evet

A2: Bir öldürme onu yapma bunu etme yani. Ben kimseye bi kötülük yapmazsam yani benim ee kötülük yapmazsam eee

I: Dindarlık o mu diyorsun?

A2: Benim için ee yani kul hakkı en önce yapıyor, sonra kendini yani ee namaz kılsan kılmasan Allahla benim aramda bişey, ama ee mesala dediğim gibi aneme babama bişey söylersem kızarsalar bana, ağlarsalar mesala üzülüyorum. O zaman mesala birazcık emm şey oluyor, anne baba hakkı oluyor. Kul hakkı oluyor.

religiosity. Religious rituals are regarded as an issue between a person and God. Interpersonal relations are more important. She says: “God says, ‘don’t come into my presence having infringed another’s right.’”¹²⁷(264) Nevertheless, she refers to religious rituals when she says she is “not a very religious person.”

Basically, she opts for a harmonious ethic in religion. She seeks true religion in social and ethical norms. When she explains her notions about “ideal faith,” she dwells on “how religion should be preached,” with examples from her own experiences and from certain personalities known as “Hodja” (Preacher) in Turkish society. In her view, none are perfect, but everybody has a positive side that she can benefit from. Hence, she does not consider anyone as “a model in faith.” She says that she is not sure whether there is a perfect religion. She prefers being moderate in religion. She criticizes the style of religious sermons. She thinks religious sermons and speeches should be “quiet.” Loud and frightening religious sermons leave her cold. She criticizes “Hodjas” who threaten people with religion. She expects theologians to make programs on the media that soothe people about religion. She approves of the style of Mustafa Karatas as mentioned earlier:¹²⁸ She does not practice religion, but she has a positive image about religious rituals. She compares them to therapeutic practices. In her view, ablution (*abdest*) and Prayer make one feel good and protect one from negative thoughts. She believes that Muslims must take due care about their worships, especially the Five Daily Prayers. In her account, Prayer is not only a movement of the body, but also an exercise of the soul. Thus, someone praying must be entirely engaged in worship. One has to concentrate on it and must be conscious of Praying.

She gives further explanations about the advantages of worship, Prayer and other religious observances. Throughout the interview, she often cites the benefits of worship in distancing one from the daily troubles of the world, which are a constant theme of her narratives. She says:

A2: I don’t perform any Prayers at home. I do if I go to mosque in the holy month (Ramadan), with the congregation. However, performing the Five Daily Prayers is a way of escaping the stress of

¹²⁷ A2: *Kul hakkıyla gelme bana demiş Allah de mi? Kul hakkı daha şey yani.*

¹²⁸ A *Turkish theologian that makes tv programs on religion mostly on Friday mornings and he preaches and gives conferences in Europe too. He is the associate professor for the hadith sciences in the Faculty of Islamic - Istanbul university.*

the world, this hectic life and its troubles. Prayers enable you to isolate yourself, you listen to yourself. You do by yourself, at home, what psychologists do. That's what I think about Prayers. If you ask me if I perform them, I don't. Why not? First, I'm not used to it; I'm not accustomed to performing Prayers. I can't remember specific *suras* (chapters of The Koran) when we perform Prayers. I've become very absent-minded recently, because of an allergy to nickel. I was reading books at my office, but by the time I got to the second line, I had already forgotten the first. I'm still forgetful, even if it's not that bad now. If I wanted to learn how to recite The Koran, I would've done that. When I neglect reciting the Koran for a short while, I forget, it slips my mind. For example, if I see you in the street a few days later, I may not recognize you. And this is not because of... because of ill will. I forget, and I can't keep it in my mind at all. When I saw a doctor, he told me that this was happening to me because of stress and that I wasn't absent-minded. Maybe it's due to stress, I forget everything. I work at a very stressful job. Everybody says something about my problem and what I have to do. They set a target (*ziele, ziel*) and you have to meet it. But when I get home, I have to deal with housework like cooking, laundry, with children. A woman's work is never done. Actually, this is good; I don't feel alone, loneliness is worse. Perhaps because of all this, I don't perform Prayers. ¹²⁹(76)

Earlier, she expressed that she is not very religious and articulated the conditions of being religious. For these she introduced some moral rules. She also highlighted the necessity of Praying. Here, we find an individual explanation of Prayer: she presents Prayer as a kind of psycho-spiritual discipline. She has various excuses for not practicing constantly. In fact, even though she implicitly refers to the necessity of performing Prayer, she believes that she has a pure intent, and she legitimizes herself in the non-observance of Prayer by the excuse of a busy daily life.

She elaborates on the importance of rituals for human psychological well-being:

¹²⁹A2: *Evde kılmam. Camiye gidersem ramazanlarda falan o zaman cemaatle oluyor yani. eem halbuki yani bu beş kere günde bu dünyanın stresinden , dünyanın dardından dünyanın çabuk yaşamından kaçma şeyi halbuki. Kendi içine gireceksin, bi kendini dinleme şeyi veriyor sana, aynı pskologların yaptığı şeyi sen kendine evde yapıyorsun. Benim görüşüm öyle yani, namaz için. Kılıyor muyum ama kılmıyorum. Neden kılmıyorum? neden kılmıyorum yani birincisi ee ya alışkanlık da yok, namaz kılma alışkanlığı da yok, ya sureleri filan ee kafamda durmuyor herşey unutkanlık geldi bi ara. Çok unutkan oldum, bu da nikel alerjisi filan var bende. İş yerinde okuyordum, birinci sırayı okudum mu ikinci sırayı unutuyordum yani. Şimdi hala da kimi şeylerde unutkanlık var, o kadar olmasa da yani, unutkanlık filan da var yani, bir zor ee şey yapıyorum böyle. Dediğim gibi istesem Kuranı okuyabilirdim çok, kaç kere başladım biraz bıraktım mı unutuyorum, kafamdan gidiyor. Mesala sizi görsem yarın öbür gün sokakata ben tanımayabilirim. Yani şeyim değil yani. Yani öyle kötü niyetten filan değil de unutuyorum kafamda durmuyor bi daha,. doktora gittim stres dedi yani. Stresten oluyor dedi unutkanlık falan bişey yok yani sende dedi. Hani belkide o şeylerden de aklıma o kadar emm o kadar unutuyorum yani bi zaman sonra, stres var dünyanın stresi var, yok iş yerinde diyorlar bunu bunu bunu yapman lazım. Ziele, Ziel (hedef) veriyorlar sana bunu yakalaman lazım, eve geliyorsun yemek falan, kadınların işi bitmiyor zaman. Yemek çamaşır osu busu, çocuk geliyor bişey anlatıyor, öteki geliyor yemek istiyor. İyi de oluyor kötü olmuyor yani yalnız kalmıyorsun, yani yalnız kaldı mı daha zor olur da, neden kılmıyorum o sebeplerden heralde.*

A2: For example, you should feed and bathe and tell stories to your children at the same hour. As a result, the child knows what's going to happen at a given hour. Before starting to perform Prayer, you have to take an ablution first, and this act reminds you that you're about to perform Prayer, so you say to yourself: it's time for Prayer! And you start to prepare yourself to perform Prayer, you intend to worship and you perform an ablution first. And you're aware that it's time for worship. On the other hand, when our people (Moslems) perform their Prayers, their minds are occupied with other thoughts. (But) since I don't perform Prayers, I shouldn't say too much about this.¹³⁰ (74)

From these explanations, it is clear that she does not support a style of religiosity restricted to religious rituals. She finds many practical benefits in religious rituals. However, we do not discover whether she believes Prayer is a *sine qua non* for ultimate salvation.

Fasting is another religious observance which she mentions in the interview. She has been fasting since childhood. She does not mention the benefits of fasting like she did about Prayer. She pays her debt to God by saying "Thanks be to God" (*al-hamdulillah*). God graced her with healthy children. They have studied and have their own professions now. She "proudly" married off her daughters. The children have no bad habits like alcohol, gambling or smoking. They are not addicted to certain brand names in their dress or in general household appliances. This makes her happy. She believes that all these happened via the grace of God. She compares her children with others. There are drug addicts, or those "who run away from home" and don't come back.

Meaning series and transitions between contents are loosely constructed by her. Attempts at a differentiated "meaning giving" to religion and the concept of religiosity are obvious, but the formulation of these attempts is not yet raised to a level of consistency in argument. One can speak of a diversity of stages in her statements about her understanding of religiosity. The lack of Stage 4 criteria results in assigning her to Stage 3 in this domain.

4.1.3.2.8. Moral Justifications and Authorities

¹³⁰A2: Mesala akşamları yemeğini aynı saatte yedireceen, ee aynı saatte ee banyosunu yaptıracağıın, aynı saatte hikaye okuyacaksın, çocuk biliyor ha bu saatte bu bu olacak. Şimdi namazda da ilkin abdest alıyorsun, ha diyorsun bak namaz kılacağıım biraz sonra, vakti geldi namaz kılacağıım, şimdi başlıyorsun hazırlanıyorsun, niyetleniyorsun abdestini alıyorsun. Yani biliyorsun şimdi namazımı kılacağıım. Yani şimdi ee namaz kılarken de bizim insanımız çoğu herşeyi düşünüyor yani. Ben kendim kılmadığım için şimdi kendim bişey demeyeceğim ama yani.

In the aspect of form of moral judgment for Mrs. Akay 2, there are statements that indicate various stages of faith development. Yet again, a mix of second and third stages predominates. She displays relativism in deciding “what is right and what is wrong.” She believes the measure of right can vary from one person to another. This is an indication of openness to various perspectives and individualism. She mostly uses emotional expressions in discussing moral justification. For example, she says:

A2: (*laughs*) Sin, err... because of that I say, religion can make you sick, like I just said, and make you fall, I mean. I mean, you get sick, err... But religion may elevate you as well.

I: Yes.

A2: But, there are also people associated with religion. The people associated with religion are worse than religion itself. They drive people crazy and make them sick. Err.. I’m the bad guy always, always and always! OK. Just once, let me tell you this, too. I had recently married; we still were at...and we had two children. I didn’t go to the mosque, Majid did. When he came back home... “The hodja said this.” Er... “What did he say?” “The hodja spoke about evil, err... and ‘women are bad,’ he said.” He comes to me every single day and tells me; “Women act like that and behave this way, women are bad, women are bad...” and I (finally) said “Oh! These women...” but that wasn’t just for a day, or two, or three, during the whole month of Ramadan without end, er.. I don’t know what the hodja said, but what I was told... And I said, “I’m fed up with being a woman. Even if I’m buried alive, err.. I feel like evil would still burst out and spread all over the world.” (*Laughs*)

I: Yes.

A2: If women are so evil, let them kill all the women, I mean. What are women for, then? But women and men are both necessary in this world so that the world can go on. So they can’t be that bad, in my view. For example, our mothers, we all have mothers, they’re women, too, we have elder and younger sisters. Err.. I already told you, that hodja probably argued with his wife, quarrelled with her all the time. Women can’t be all bad. Always women, I have some issues about male-female conflict. So, a little, well... but... again recently, there’s a female hodja, I don’t remember her name right now, since I’ve been absent-minded lately, I can’t keep things in mind very long. She’s a good speaker, I listen to her too.¹³¹(304-308)

¹³¹A2:(*gölme*) *Günah ee onun için ben diyom, din insanı ee demin dediğim gibi ee düşürür hasta da eder yani, hakat hasta olursunuz eemmm ama hakat çok yukarı da kaldırır yani.*

I: *Evet*

A2: *Ama o etrafındaki insanlar da var, din etrafındaki insanlar dinden daha fena. Daha kötü insanı hallediyorlar yani, hasta ediyorlar. emm hep ben kötü hep kötü hep kötü hep kötü, tamam bi kere, bak onu da söyleyeyim, daha yeni evliydik daha şeydeydik iki çocuğumuz vardı. Ben gitmiyordum camiye, Macit gidiyordu camiye. camiden eve geliyor, hoca bunu anlattı. Eee ne anlattı hoca? hoca kötülüklerden, eemm kadınlar kötüymüş onları anlattı. Her Allahın günü geliyor kadınlar öyle yapıyormuş böyle yapıyormuş şöyle ediyormuş, kadınlar kötüymüş, kadınlar kötüymüş. Ya dedim bu kadınlar, ama bi gün değil iki gün değil üç gün değil bütün ramazan boyu hep ee artık bilmiyorum ne anlattıysa hep bana iletilen şeyler, ya dedim*

Although she opposes the gender inequality of conventional morality, she cannot present her personal notions in the form of a personal theory. Hence, this is a simple opposition and reactivity, as she does not reinforce them with rational argument. This reaction is mostly characterized by self-defence. In the example given about religion as relaxing, she proffers some ideas about how religious authorities act when they preach, since she has been feeling under pressure about religion. She favours another theologian who makes TV programs: a female theology professor, Öznur Özdoğan. Even though she does not remember her name, her view is that this professor speaks of religion in a calming manner. She focuses on the emotional and harmonious dimension of this style of preaching, rather than on its intellectual dimension (311-314). Her simple relativism is also apparent in her statements about interreligious negotiations and conflicts.

I: OK, I see, if people come into conflict about religious matters...

A2: Yes.

I: If their views differ, who can solve this debate? How should this be resolved?

A2: Well, there's no need to fight. If you say so, it's OK with me, you, er... you stand firm on your view anyway, but don't try to change me, my idea. You understand? ¹³²(328-332)

She strives to expand her thoughts with some stories about interpersonal differences in thoughts, beliefs, and worldviews. The story she tells reflects a typical household life and her restricted life world. There is also a simple relativism here about interreligious conflicts. On the other hand, her reactivity to the treatments she endures is reflected in a defensive style of narration.

4.1.3.2.9. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

ben kadın olmaktan artık bıktım, yani ben kadın olarak böyle yerin dibine ee sokulsam ve sanki gene bi kötülük fıskırarak sanki dünyaya böyle yani(gülmeler)

I: Evet

A2: Kadın o kadar kötüyse o zaman kadının hepsini öldürsünler yani. Yani neye lazım o zaman kadınlar? ama kadın erkek herşey lazım dünyaya, dünya devam etmesi için. O kadar da kötü olamazlar heralde. Hani annelerimiz de hepimizin var kadın, ablamız var kardeşimiz var, ee yani dedim ya o hoca kavga etti karısıyla, tartıştı hep. Hep kadınlar kötü olamaz. Yani hep kadınlar, kadın erkek problemi de var bende birazcık böyle yani, onun için biraz emm ama ee geçen gene o bi bayan hoca var bi tane ismini bilmiyorum şimdi, unutkanlığım olduğu için tutamıyorum aklımda pek fazla. O da ee güzel konuşuyor onu da dinliyorum yani.

¹³²: Peki anladım, insanlar dini konularda konflikte (çatışmalar) yaşarlarsa

A2: Evet

I: Tartışmaya düşerlerse böyle farklı farklı şeyler. Bu tartışmayı kim çözmeli, nasıl bu ee giderilmeli.

A2: Ya o kadar bağışmaya şey ee lüzum yok yani, sen öyle dersin öyle tamam, sen gene ee gene kendi fikrinde kal ama benim fikrimi ille beni değiştirmeye uğraşma. Anlıyon mu?

On the question of “what she herself thinks” about human existence in the world, she responds:

A2: We're living creatures like fruit and grass. They also live and die. Some people say that their lifetimes are just one year and some others say simply a fly's (*einfachfliege*). And some say that flies live one day. On the other hand, some turtles live up to 300-500 years. Now we came into this world as visitors, we too will leave.¹³³ (234)

She tries to expand her worldview with science-based knowledge. But then, she uses a conventional, stereotypical expression of humans as “visitors.” Belief in God and trust in the power of God are not abandoned. She attributes an unquestionable power to God. In further explanations about the purpose of our existence in the world, she says that our strengths come from our genes. This is evidence of stirrings of the individuative-reflective religious style in Mrs Akay 2. The only power directing human life is God. Yet God does not do this directly, he does this by creating causes and using other things as intermediaries. She gives the example of her handicapped nephew.

A2: Look, our strength comes from our genes. But genes are created by God, too. For example, some diseases are caused by genes. And those diseases might be seen in future generations, too. God has given this.¹³⁴ (242)

In this quote, she attempts a theory to explain the human life-cycle, but the thought defended here is mostly tacit and not presented in the form of a personal theory. This can be a sign of individuative-reflective faith. She attempts to establish a personal theological worldview in order to explain determinism and the power of God. To support her thoughts, she has recourse to “her observations”, which can also be evaluated as the individuative style. Yet this potential also does not seem to be supported by strong arguments. She tries to cope with the situation of her handicapped nephew by seeking logical explanations. She rejects the superstitious beliefs in her family and environment that diseases are “punishments from God.” She prefers to adjust this to a rational-scientific plane. At the same

¹³³ A2: *Bi varlığımız biz de, eem bi meyva gibi ee bi ot gibi, onlar da geliyor gidiyor, onların ömrü mesala bi senelik, kimi diyolar Einfachfliege diyorlar kimi ee sineklerin bir günlük ömrü var. Kimi kaplumbağaların üçyüz beşyüz yıllık ee ömrü var, biz de buraya gelmişik biz de gelip gideceğiz yani bi ee misafir gibi.*

¹³⁴ A2: *Bak şimdi, bizim gücümüz ee gene ee bizim genlerimizden geliyor. Gen ee ama gene Allah yapımı yani. Allah vermiş bize onu yani şimdi mesala, bi hastalık bi aileden hep ilerler yani kimi hastalıklar.*

time, she uses the implications of this situation to comprehend the meaning of human life.

A2: Another example is that behaviour and even the way people walk are... a little boy might walk just like his father. And some might have a conspicuous (*auffällig*) or dynamic gait. And I've noticed that children walk the same way their fathers do when they come to the same age.¹³⁵ (244)

In her form of world coherence or personal cosmology, the theme of death is also handled together with the purpose of human life in the world. In her statements about death, the content and the form of articulation (the structure) are again strikingly diverse. There are very few references to Islamic theological formulations. Nevertheless, she attempts to formulate an individuating style. It seems she is not sure about the consistency of her thoughts. She says:

A2: Sometimes when I think about death—don't write these—sometimes I say death should be a kind of cleansing. When you die, everything's finished, erased.¹³⁶(250)

This explanation could be accepted as very rigid and very individuating for a traditional Muslim. She tries to rationalize her own theological ideas on the hereafter. Once again, she stresses the theme of genes. She thinks that, perhaps, our deceased ancestors continue to live on in our genes.

I: What's going to happen to us when we die?

A2: We will turn into soil.

I: Uh-huh...

A2: Grass will grow on us, we will become grass (*laughs*).

I: And then?

A2: Then...? I don't know, one can't really believe... Reality seems different. They talk about the soul, no one wants to disappear and that's due to the fear of nonexistence. Even after death, the fear of being forgotten and nonexistent is very bad. But when I think about it, my grandmother died when she was 95-96 years old a few years back, not too long ago. My grandmother never saw her mother. And my grandmother's mother had a mother, too. When I think that way, I keep going back in time. Such thoughts occur to you once in a while. Those people are forgotten; maybe they're in our genes.

I: Where are they now?

¹³⁵ A2: Ya da kimi mesala çok ee ne deyim sana, kimi insanın davranışı, kimi insanların yürüyüşü bile. Çocuk babası nasıl yürüyor ise çocuğu öyle yürüyor. Yani kimi insanlar çok auffällig (dağınık) yürüyorlar, çok ee hareket edici bi yürüyüşleri oluyor, bakıyorum çocuğu da aynı yürüyüşü aynı yürüyor aynı yaşa geldiği zaman.

¹³⁶ A2: Kimi düşünürsem sıkıntılar gelirse, ölüm diyorum- bak bunların hepsini yazma da- ölüm diyorum kimi temizlik heralde diyorum, ölüyorsun bitiyor herşey siliniyor.

A2: Maybe they live on in our genes. The genes that I've mentioned before, they may survive in our genes, but we're unaware of them and don't know how they live.¹³⁷(253-260)

She does not use traditional religious phrases in these quotes. We do not obtain an answer as to how exactly souls survive in genes. It can be observed that she goes beyond the traditional death-and-hereafter image, yet cannot build a new, consistent image of the hereafter. As for the problem of evil, she reflects a rather fatalist perspective: the existence of evil in the world, for example the death of an innocent child after an earthquake, occurs by the will of God. God has determined a certain lifespan and type of death for each person, and this will take place as God planned.

4.1.3.2.10. Summary

Official religion has little role in the life of Mrs. Akay 2. Nevertheless, neither is it abandoned entirely: it retains its respectable status. The only ritual she has observed since childhood is fasting. She rejects the superstitious mind cast of her family, but has not developed an alternative religious style to counter this. This prevents her from building her own religious-spiritual thought structure.

The tension of Mrs. Akay 2's family relations, and especially her expectation of tolerance from preceding generations, is decisive in her faith development throughout the interview. Both the relationship between her father and mother, and the authoritarian personality of the mother, are reflected directly onto her faith development. On one hand, her struggle for independence prepares her passage to individualization. On the other hand, she overreacts and complains that significant others do not understand her. Her complaints place her in Stage 2. This also has a bearing on how she handles existential-religious issues. She tries to

¹³⁷ I : Ne olacak ölünce bize?

A2: Toprak olacağız

I: Hmm hmm

A2: Yeniden ee ot büyüyecek üstümüzde, ot olacağız (gülme).

I : Sonra?

A2:...Yani ee.. sonra bilmiyorum insan inanamıyor pek de ama eee sanki realiteler daha başka gibime geliyor yani, diyolar ruh ... tabi insan hiç bi insan yok olmak istemez. Yani yok olma korkusu olur. Öldükten sonra bile yok olma korkusu unutulma korkusu, ama düşünüyorum anneannem 95-96 yaşında öldü bi kaç sene oldu gerçi çok olmadı. Onun annesi, o annesini hiç tanımamış. Diyorum onun annesi de vardı, onun annesi de vardı yani hep böyle düşündükçe yani geri gidiyorum hep, böyle düşünceler insane geliyor ara sıra yani. Hani ee unutulmuş insanlar, unutulmuş, belki bizim genlerimizde.

I: Nerdeler şimdi onlar?

A2: Belki bizim genlerimizde yaşıyorlar yani, bak genler dedimya bizdeki genler, belki bizim genlerimizde yaşıyorlar ama, biz onları hatırlamıyoruz nasıl yaşadıklarını bilmiyoruz.

construct alternatives to the images of God, the hereafter, sin and merit (theodicy) envisaged by traditional official religion, attempting to bolster this with science-based data and rationalization. Her linguistic, religious, and scientific deficiencies prevent her from realizing a full-blown theory.

Mrs. Akay 2's final expectation from religion and religious people is that everyone should be free in their lives and decisions. She shows this by stating that she doesn't wear the headscarf today, but might in the future. She also believes in the necessity of religious observances, but is not disturbed when external causes prevent their fulfilment. At bottom, she does not feel guilty before God for not observing religious rituals. The modifications she has made in her image of God have led her to feel psychologically more comfortable when abandoning religious practices. In contrast, her mother had stated that she viewed Prayer as a debt owed to God and was uneasy at abandoning it.

Her division of life chapters makes itself felt in many parts of the interview. Life in Germany means a struggle for her. The tensions between her desires and those of her mother define her childhood. She criticizes the strict rules at home, but cannot liberate herself from their influence. For her, Turkey represents the easy life. The fears of her mother that the children will become Germanized caused her to be more restrictive and authoritarian. With no support from the family, Mrs. Akay 2 develops strategies to hold onto social life, such as being successful at school and helping her friends with their homework.

A defensive narrative style is the general tone of her form of logic. She tries to harmonize jumping from one subject to another, but doesn't quite succeed. She is aware that as she grows older, she takes on more responsibilities and bears a greater burden. She seems only partially aware of the psychological crises she has lived through. She tries to fit them within an argument that life has its difficulties and stresses. Marriage, instead of being deliverance, imposes even greater burdens on her. She cannot place a definitive barrier between herself and the family tradition she has rejected.

In terms of religious development, she has not received any religious instruction. She offers various hypotheses regarding the development of her God-image. She

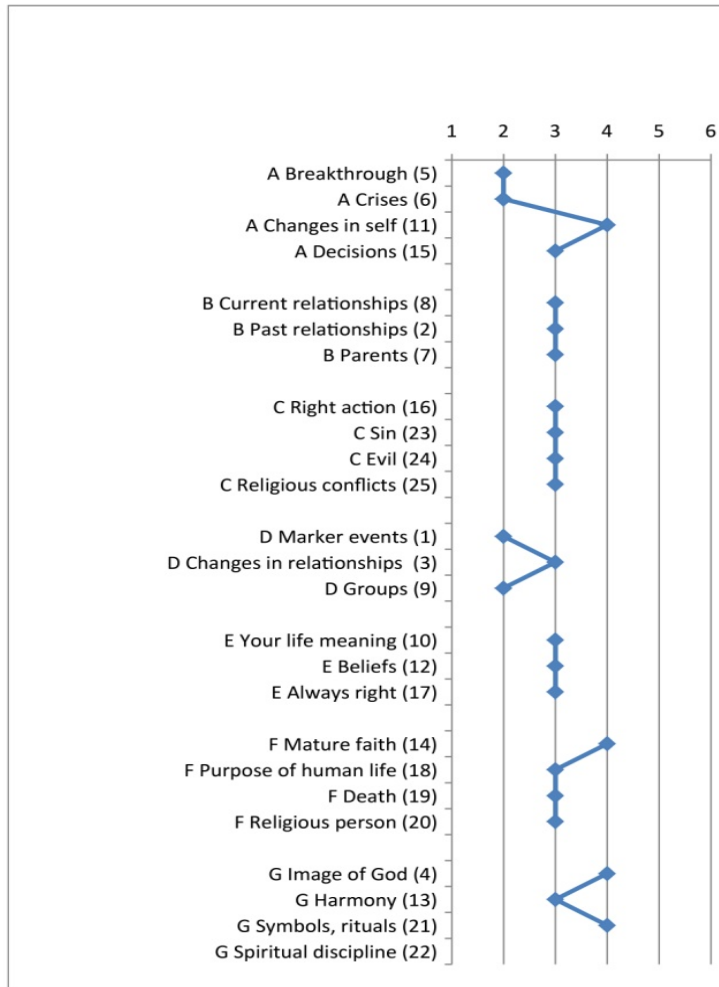
reflects on this process of development, even if only partially, whereas Mrs. Akay 1 was unable to do even that. She is also aware that her life experiences have influenced the formation of her God-image. She has literal definitions of God ("God is everywhere"), and is also open to questioning the meanings of God and other religious symbols, thus transforming them into metaphorical meanings. Hence, it is obvious that she has put considerable effort into forming her image of God. She at least concedes the change overtly, whereas the first generation was in denial about this. Her reactivity to other people regarding the image of God and other subjects is explained by her realization that she is different from others. But she cannot turn this defensive posture into an independent one.

Her mother sees her as semi-religious, she sees herself as nonreligious. She is modest in this. She regards religiosity as simplicity: ethical values rather than rituals are important in religiosity. In particular, the emphasis on non-violation of others' rights reflects a rather secular and humanist style. Rituals are regarded as a matter between a believer and God.

Still, she praises religion and points to its many social, psychological, and other benefits to human beings. She makes excuses for her non-observance, and seeks spiritual welfare in religious rituals, especially in terms of personality development. Remaining within religion also allows her to remain within the social body, within society.

On the whole, the faith development of Akay 2 was assigned as Stage 3 for all aspects of the faith development interview. There are mythic-literal styles especially in the domain of self-reflection, yet Stage 3 is more dominant. In the domain of religious symbols and supernatural themes, the content deviates from traditional conceptions, but the structure still remains within Stage 3, for the transmission of meaning in her statements has not reached the level of an explicit system.

Figure 6: Stage Assignments of Mrs. Akay 2.



4.1.3.3. Mrs. Akay 3

Mrs. Akay 3 was 27 years old at the time of the interview. She was born as the second of her parents' three daughters in a small German town in North Rhein-Westphalia. She graduated from a university's Department of Education and works as a teacher at an elementary school. She has been married for 3 years. Her husband is a university graduate with a Master's degree. At the time of the interview, he was searching for a job. They did not yet have a child.

4.1.3.3.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Mrs Akay 3 divides her life into three main chapters: childhood, adolescence-youth, and adulthood. She says:

A3: Childhood umm, childhood... Yes, I would say this is now theoretically limited to the...Yes: childhood, youth and adulthood, these, um, are the basics. I can still remember my childhood so well, I know it was beautiful, so childhood is for me, um, a special cross-section of life, also (could be) a title for a book, then I would say adolescence, from age 12 to about 16, because my circle of friends was different, then it's of, um, yes, 16 to 18-19, an age when I gave slightly more value to family togetherness, and then my husband, at the university, acquaintance with the husband, to, um, up to the present time, I would say. Until early May (this year) when I finished my apprenticeship, because that part was basically studying, building a new life together with my husband, and it lasted until about the end of my apprenticeship, until I had finished it and could start work. Working was a new chapter for me.¹³⁸ (2)

In the domain of biographical self-reconstruction, the narratives throughout the interview focus mostly on the second and third chapters. In the chapter she describes “as my youth,” her relations expanded out of the immediate family and relatives, and friendships constituted the core of her social world. The family was living in a district with few immigrants. She was in a group of German friends for about 3 or 4 years. She was well-integrated with this group, and her family did not interfere or hinder her from joining them. She says she noticed a difference between her lifestyle and the lifestyle of this “circle of friends.” They were drinking alcohol; they were always at parties and smoking. She does not describe them as religious friends. The behaviour of the friends caused her to distance herself from them. For example, she says that they were making fun of her because she was abstaining from alcohol. These attitudes led to disputes and arguments. This friendship is evaluated as a factor that caused changes in her understanding of the meaning of life.

¹³⁸A3: Kindheit em Kindheit... ja ich würde das jetzt rein theoretisch grenzt man das ja ein Kindheit-, Jugend- und em Erwachsenenalter, das ist so das Grundlegende. Ich kann mich an meine Kindheit so grob noch erinnern, ich weiß, dass sie wunderschön war deswegen ist Kindheit für mich ein em besonderer Abschnitt im Leben auch ein Titel für ein Buch, dann würde ich sagen jugendlichen Alter 12 bis etwa 16 weil da der Freundeskreis unterschiedlich anders war, dann geht es von em ja 16 bis 18/19 ein Alter wo ich dann auch etwas mehr Wert auf Familienzusammenhalt gelegt habe, und dann kam mein Mann dazu, Uni, Bekanntschaft durch den Ehemann bis em bis zu dem heutigen Abschnitt würde ich sagen. Bis Anfang Mai wo ich mein Referendariat beendet hab, weil der Abschnitt war im Prinzip studieren ein neues Leben aufbauen mit dem Ehemann zusammen und es zog sich bis über das Referendariat hinweg bis ich es beendet hatte und im Prinzip anfangen konnte zu arbeiten. Arbeit wäre ein neues Kapitel für mich.

A3: So my relationship to them was more important than theirs with me, because I think they had not accepted, um, that I had other thoughts than theirs. So there was no discrimination in that sense. I was actually fully integrated with the group. Only through my development of thoughts and, umm, development of values, I also, yes, with harder words, I also tried to draw them somewhat differently, that didn't work and I then realized, it doesn't work somehow. They and I were on different tracks. Umm, and I couldn't affect them, and was sorry for that. Yes, and then when I married my husband, we also had many discussions and conversations about religion and tradition.¹³⁹(32)

.....

And it was also to stay more in this group, to have fun in the parties, and then in hindsight, with the flow of time, I've noticed that, umm, that it's not so, this was not what I had expected of them. Then they began to drink more and they made fun of me, "Heyy, you haven't been drinking," and I didn't like that. In retrospect, it didn't fit into my world, so I was guided before by my mother, by the parents' home, and in hindsight, I realized that it's not my thing, and then we had something, we had a discussion, and then we have, um, we just drifted apart.¹⁴⁰(32)

When she evaluates this relation with her friends, she has arguments for self-justification. The difference is described as acute, because she defines this with the example of "two tracks" diverging from each other. In her statements, she seems conscious of the fact that she could not change the attitudes of her friends toward her, and she could not affect them. She also seems to regard herself as a kind of victim in this relation, and what the friends did to her as an iniquity. Yet today, she can view this friendship and its process from beginning to end at the meta level. Thus her relationship with these German friends ended.

After that, her attachment to the family gained a different meaning. She gave more importance to family relations between the ages 16-19. After youth and reorientation to the family, she focuses on her marriage. However, chronologically

¹³⁹A3: Also mir war die Beziehung zu ihnen wichtiger als deren Beziehung zu mir, weil ich glaube, diiie haben es nicht akzeptiert em das ich andere Gedanken hatte als sie. Also es ist jetzt keine Diskriminierung gewesen indem Sinne. Ich war voll integriert in die Gruppe- eigentlich. Nur durch meine Gedankenentwicklung und ee Werteentwicklung habe ich auch mit ja mit härteren Worten habe ich auch versucht die etwas anders zu lenken was nicht funktioniert hat und wo ich dann merkte, das geht irgendwie nicht, Die gehen auf einer anderen Schiene und ich gehe auf eine andren Schiene. Und em ich kann die auch nicht beeinflussen sie taten mir dann auch leid. Ja und dann eben als ich dann mein Ehemann geheiratet habe da hatten wir auch viele Diskussion und Gespräche über Religion auch und Tradition.

¹⁴⁰A3: Und es ging auch mehr in dieser Gesellschaft zu bleiben, diese Partys zu feiern und im Nachhinein im Laufe der Zeit habe ich gemerkt, dass em, dass ist nicht so das war was em was ich so von denen erwartet hätte- also dass sie dann angefangen haben mehr zu trinken oder das sie sich darüber lustig gemacht haben, hee du hast nichts getrunken und das hat mir nicht gefallen das hat nicht in meine Welt reingepasst im Nachhinein, also vorher war es Mutttern also vom Elternhaus gesteuert und im Nachhinein wurde mir bewusst, dass es nicht so mein Ding ist und dann hatten wir etwas wir hatten eine Diskussion und dann em haben wir sind wir eben auseinander gegangen.

she graduated from high school (*Abitur*) in this phase and started studying at the university. It can be assumed that in this period, she restricted her relations only to her family. She met with her husband towards the end of her college education. From her explanations, we assume that her life world again enlarged out of the family once she had met her husband. She got closer to Turkish culture via her husband, who came from Turkey to study for a Master's degree. He already had graduated from a Turkish university. When they met, Mrs. Akay 3 was still a student, and her husband was taking German courses. She describes him as a very hardworking person, which her mother also reported. They worked at various jobs during semester vacations in order to get married. Her father supported them in the wedding, and they managed to stay on their own feet. Because they both share the same goals, they believe they can succeed.

The process of marriage is told as an example of how she makes her decisions. Principally in the faith development interview, she says that her way of deciding something depends on the subject at hand. She mentions her marriage process to show how difficult it was to make such a decision. She reports that she initially accepted that marriage is "not easy at all." Especially economically, the marriage would be difficult for two students. Her boyfriend, who had come to Germany to study, did not have much money to pay for the wedding. Thus, she implies in her statements that she would shoulder the burden of her boyfriend. He then completed German courses and started studying mathematics. He had problems with mathematics, and he changed to another department at another university in City X. This process was difficult for both of them. She emphasizes that she worked three different jobs during vacation, and her family helped them economically. Her father had already prepared some money for his three daughters to pay for their marriages. She frequently repeats in the interview that her husband did not bring money to this marriage. In this way, she wants to demonstrate how she coped with these problems, and what they achieved together with her husband. Her family advised them that they should first finish their studies, and then step into marriage. This advice of the family made her think about delaying her wedding until a later time. But she says that she herself thought and decided in favour of marrying early.

A3: But... my husband lived with his sister in a very small space and just wanted to get out and could not do it without me, and we both were studying umm and we both had the same goal essentially, to study and work and to build a life, um, we said we can do that, we will do that.

I: So when you solve problems yourself, since those are already active problems, you don't just talk about it, but also act?

A3: Yes, definitely. So as I said, the decision is umm once with oneself, it depends on what decision is made. Umm, then you talk to the husband about it, or only with your family, see what they have to say about that, and then if you, umm, see what decision would be better for me now, also if it does not fit me, also if I would do something different, umm, it's discussed at length, until I either agree with the decision of others and I say, "OK, you've convinced me, that would really be better for me," or I say, "Then I'll just go ahead, then I'll do it."¹⁴¹(95-97)

In the examples she gave on her decision-making style, she observes interpersonal harmony and the expectations of the other. But she does not sacrifice herself to the expectations of others. She seems to establish a compromise between her own desires and advices/expectations from the outside. This determines her style of form of logic and locus of authority. Considering the example of decision-making for the marriage, we can assume that Mrs Akay 3 bears the criteria of the third, fourth and fifth stages, with the fourth predominant. She can reflect on the process of decision making with an example. And at the end, there is emphasis on the individuation of the self.

In the interview, she draws a comparison between her childhood and the childhood of her husband. She describes a positive self-image for the past. When she looks at her childhood, she says that she has always been in safe hands. She feels that she has always been protected by these hands (the family). She was not confronted with difficult situations and concerns about her life. She believes that her family was a good model for her. Her husband had a different flow of life from childhood onwards. He had many concerns and had to solve problems all by himself. He had a poor family. So he was confronted with many life situations that

¹⁴¹A3:...aber mein Mann hat bei seiner Schwester gewohnt auf sehr engem Raum und der wollte auch einfach raus und der hätte es ohne mich nicht geschafft und da wir ja beide am studieren waren und em wir beide im Prinzip das gleiche Ziel hatten- zu studieren und zu arbeiten und uns ein Leben aufzubauen em haben wir gesagt wir schaffen das wir machen das. I:Also wenn man Probleme löst bei Euch, dann seit schon diejenigen, die Aktiv werden, also nicht nur darüber sprechen sondern auch in Aktion gehen?

A3: Ja, das auf jeden Fall, also wie gesagt die Entscheidung em liegt erst einmal bei einem selbst, kommt drauf an welche Entscheidung getroffen wird mmm dann spricht man mit dem Ehemann darüber oder erst mit der Familie was die dazu sagen und dann wenn man sieht ee welche Entscheidung wäre jetzt für mich besser auch wenn sie mir nicht liegt auch wenn ich etwas anderes machen würde eem wird darüber solange diskutiert, bis ich entweder der Entscheidung der anderen zustimme wo ich sage ok ihr habt mich überzeugt, das wäre wirklich besser für mich- oder wo ich dann sage ich werde es einfach probieren, dann mache ich es.

Mrs Akay 3 was spared. His father used to drink alcohol, whereas she did not witness anything of the sort in her family.

4.1.3.3.2. Relations with Significant Others

She says that she enjoyed her life with her family. Her relations with her parents were always good. During her childhood, her father invested more time for religious education. Her and her siblings' emotional ties with the father were strong. She was a bit distant to the father in the life chapter she describes as "youth," when she was with the group of German friends. In this phase, she was more in contact with her mother. Her mother tried to influence her with some arguments and advice, but she says she felt free in this phase. She does not remember any conflict with her mother, and whether her mother served as a role model. She is confident that her parents have completed their duties towards her. The father fulfilled his role of protection and guidance. The mother mostly dealt with her private life.

When she reflects on these stories, Mrs. Akay 3 sometimes prefers pure narrative, and sometimes an analytical style at the meta level. Generally, she concentrates on emotions. This gives the impression that her perspective taking bears the signs of different stages, like 3, 4, and 5, with Stage 3 predominating.

The family remains at the core of her relations in the past and at present. She has an extended family—siblings, cousins, and aunts—and is on good terms with everyone. While they also have family members in Turkey and are always pleased to visit them, her relations with family members in Germany are stronger. She describes her family as a cohesive family (*Famileinzusammenhalt*). The secret of this cohesion is explained by the conduct of the family's elders (50)—that is, the parents and grandparents. During birthdays and on any special occasion, it was always ensured that they all were together. Family unity was always emphasized, and the attention of the children drawn to that. For example, the elders favoured birthday celebrations in order to bring family members and the younger generations together. She favours family unity and harmony in her current relations. She believes that there is a strong network of relations within the family.

The elders of the family are favoured as actors keeping the family together. The grandfather and grandmother did not discriminate between their grandchildren. (52)

She works as a teacher, having completed her apprenticeship and received approval. In her future perspectives, there are plans relating to professional life. She lays stress on the transmission of values at school. She claims that “the transmission not only of knowledge, but also of values, is important.” She wants to be a good example for children in this regard. She wants to help the children she teaches to consciously stand on their own feet. Concerning the aspect of locus of authority, she again puts her profession at the center, making statements that bring more abstract and higher faith stages to mind. However, she cannot clearly express the kinds of values she wants to transmit.

I: Are there beliefs, values or commitments that are important in your life? Or, what do you adhere to right now?

A3: Belief, values, and commitment. Yes, commitment definitely, because of the profession I have, my commitment is to transmit values. Not only to transmit knowledge, in the elementary school that I work. These values are going somewhat under in families now, and it's noticed in the children too, and I think um teachers in elementary school um are sometimes even representatives of parents, and also, just an example, and umm these children experienced what is bad, because I've also been in two schools where children were treated badly. I witnessed a lot of, umm one should help them to stand on their feet again, and prepare them for life, make them confident, um and um since I always have an inner commitment to bring this closer to them, not to teach absolutely, one can't be close to every child, but I can bring them closer and also to some extent show how to do (things). And umm yes, belief, clearly as I said, umm I don't think I live the faith hundred percent, I know that I can live it even more strongly, I'm aware of that. I was taught that, but at the moment I'm just very busy um with myself and with school. So it's there, the faith is there, but it could be still better. It could be fulfilled even more, I guess. But as I said, currently the main task is the school and how things go with the children.¹⁴²(80-81)

¹⁴²: Gibt es Glauben oder Werte oder auch Verpflichtungen, die dir jetzt gerade in deinem Leben wichtig sind? Oder woran du dich gerade festhältst?

A3: Glauben, Werte, Verpflichtung. Ja, Verpflichtung auf jeden Fall, denn aufgrund des Berufes den ich habe den ich ausübe ist meine Verpflichtung em auch Werte zu vermitteln also nicht nur Wissen zu vermitteln in der Grundschule aber auch zu vermitteln, diese Werte gehen in den Familien mittlerweile etwas unter und das merkt man auch an den Kindern und ich glaube ee Lehrkräfte in der Grundschule sind em manchmal sogar Elternersatz aber auch em einfach ne Vorbildfunktion und em das diese Kinder was schlimmes erlebt haben, da ich jetzt an zwei Schulen war, wo die Kinder eben schlecht behandelt wurden viel miterlebt haben em das man denen wieder auf die Beine hilft und sie auf ihr leben vorbereitet sie selbstständig macht, em sie selbstbewusster macht, em und em da hab ich schonmal ne Verpflichtung drin denen das näher bringe nicht beibringe unbedingt man kann nicht an jedes Kind rankommen, aber das ich es Ihnen näher bringe und ihnen insoweit auch vormache. Und em ja glauben klar wie gesagt em ich glaube nicht die den Glauben 100 auslebe ich weiß das man den noch stärker ausleben kann das ist mir bewusst, das wurde mir beigebracht, aber ich bin

She has a self-chosen ideal. The content of her faith development here is driven by a logic seeking service to humanity and abstract values. Thus, we can assign her to Stage 5 here, because of statements implying high idealism. Instead of favouring the idea or thought of a certain ideology or congregation, she underscores global and inclusive values and maintains these as a faith. Therefore, she is here guided by her own inner authority. She pursues an abstract system of values, although she is not obliged to do so by anyone.

The same thing is also observed in her approach to the measure of right and wrong: she does not support a strict right/wrong division.

A3: Always right and always wrong, I wouldn't necessarily say. It always depends; umm to me an act is always right if it happens at the right time. Now when I say today, I decide on this or that action and then maybe I can say later, "That was not right for me. I would have done it in a different way." So that always depends on the situation, so I would not say there is right or wrong. It depends on how you feel in the situation, which circumstances there are, it all depends on, um in what situation one is, how one imagines the future, so I wouldn't say right or wrong.¹⁴³(99)

She speaks of relativism in the determination of right and wrong. She says that right and wrong are formed under certain conditions and we should consider them under their own conditions. She does not defend her theory of right/wrong separation, and clearly, the contextual situation makes a thing or action wrong or right. Her approach to moral situations about the measure of right and wrong is relative and contextualist, and does not show a religious or traditional tendency.

zurzeit eben sehr stark ee mit mir selbst und mit der Schule auch beschäftigt. Also es ist da, der Glauben ist da aber es könnte noch besser werden. Es könnte noch mehr rauskommen aus mir das denke ich schon. Aber wie gesagt die Hauptaufgabe zurzeit ist die Schule wie ich mit den Kindern umgehe.

¹⁴³A3: *Immer richtig immer falsch würde ich nicht unbedingt sagen, es kommt immer drauf an. eem für mich ist immer eine Handlung so richtig wie sie sich aus dem Zeitpunkt ergibt. Wenn ich jetzt heute sage ich entscheide mich für die und die Aktion dann kann ich vielleicht später sagen, das war für mich doch nicht richtig- hätte ich es mal anders gemacht. Also das ist immer Situationsabhängig also ich würde nicht sagen, es gibt richtig oder falsch- es kommt drauf an wie man sich fühlt in der Situation, welche Umstände es gibt, es kommt drauf an em in welcher Ausgangssituation man ist, wie man sich die Zukunft vorstellt, also würde ich nicht sagen richtig oder falsch.*

4.1.3.3.3. Appropriation of Religion

About her first encounter with religion, there are explanations relating to family and the religious courses she attended at mosque organizations. She and her siblings attended Koran courses at the mosques on weekends “as much as possible.” The phrase she uses “as much as possible” shows that they did not go all the time, but intermittently. They memorized short chapters from the Koran. They had discussions about religious themes. But it was difficult to follow the language and style of these discussions for Mrs. Akay 3. She was sometimes “bored of mosque.” Her father learned knowledge of Islamic basics in courses in Turkey. He recites the Koran and sometimes helps the imam in mosques. They had some practices of Koran reading together, and her father told them religious stories. They sang religious hymns together at home with her father.

4.1.3.3.4. Image of God

The predominant and determinative style in her image of God is “God as helper.” God is the lord of humans; thus, he is their protector, observer and mentor. She feels close to God in difficult times. When she needs help or when she has an exam, she feels closer to God. Because exams are very important for her. She believes that God will help her. Resignation (*tevekkül*) and trust in God are at the highest level when she needs help. God is the owner in whom she takes shelter in hard times, and to whom she opens up and unburdens her troubles. Thus, she says that she has boundless trust in God. She is very sure of being protected and observed by God in every situation. With the thought of “resignation,” she does what she can and leaves the outcome to God. Yet the consideration that God is the lord of everything does not mean that God grants everything without effort. One’s responsibility is to do one’s duty, and then the help of God will arrive in abundance. She implies that she fulfils her duties in the best way. She states her love of God, her trust in God, and togetherness with God. Eventually, she has rightful justifications for her expectations from God.

A3: He (God) is there, and you then have a bond to him and say um, I did my best as a human. The rest is in God's hands now and I know he's there for me and I'm trying, I believe in him. He loves me and I love him and (everything) will be all right. ¹⁴⁴ (83)

The God-image of Mrs Akay 3 signals diversity in faith development. There are statements that can be assigned to Stages 2, 3 and 4. Her appeal to the help of God in difficult times points to Stage 2. Her relation with God as a “personal partner” denotes Stage 3, and her statements on emphasizing human effort and responsibility in life are a mark of Stage 4. Among these, Stage 3 carries the most weight.

4.1.3.3.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Mrs. Akay 3 considers herself a religious person. For her, religiosity is not confined to certain rituals like Praying, fasting and Pilgrimage. She affirms the necessity of performing all these rituals. However, “living on good terms with other people” and “using nature carefully” are more important in religion. (121-122) For example, praying five times a day and violating the rights of others do not mix. Without ethical maturity, the ritual Prayer has no value. She believes that all religions demand the well-being of humanity. In her view, religion is a guide (*Leitfaden*). Religion tells us how to live better. Even the measure of health can be found in the Koran. For example, pork and alcohol are harmful to human health, and thus their consumption is prohibited in the Koran.

In her reflections on the development of her religiosity, she says that she was more engaged with religion in her childhood.

A3: In childhood, it was intense. Umm the relationship to God and to religion in general. Bayram (religious festival) was very important for us. Umm though then that hadn't necessarily anything to do with God, it was more of a celebration. And then somehow in adolescence it became less. As I said, I was then faced with umm other things with other friend circles, it is automatically so, so that you turn away from the family at a young age, that you leave umm looking for something else, and

¹⁴⁴A3:Er ist dann da und man hat dann eine Bindung zu ihm und sagt em ich habe als Mensch mein bestes getan, der Rest liegt jetzt in Gotteshand und ich weiß er ist für mich da und ich gebe mir Mühe, ich glaube an ihn. Er liebt mich und ich liebe ihn und em das wird gutgehen.

there I turned away from (family). So I'm not saying that I lost faith at the time, but I had little to do with it.¹⁴⁵(25-28)

In the phase she describes as youth or adolescence, her religiosity diminished. This was followed by the experience of an earthquake in Turkey. There she re-established her relation with God. After this earthquake, she was shocked and possessed with fear. All these clinched the existence of a higher power, and made her think about the nature of God and religion. Thereupon she started to concentrate strongly on religion. She tried to perform the Five Daily Prayers until she started university studies. Her connection with God still remains strong.

A3: Exactly, so, this umm, it is said, the epicentre was in City X, umm but it also happened a lot in City Y. And, umm all the pictures on TV channels and somehow not being able to reach the family there, that was a shock to me. And then I umm, I went more into myself. 1999, how old was I then, my birth date, huh? Yes, I was 16 and told and um there the degree changed for me again where I said, "Oh God, there is a huge um force, acting on us." I taught myself a lot about earthquakes and other natural disasters, and then I realized that a great power lies behind them which you can't influence. People are so small in this world. And that has um has taken me back again a bit, or brought me down to earth.¹⁴⁶(18)

This earthquake coincides with her second life chapter, which was described as youth or adolescence. She evaluates this earthquake as a second turning-point experience, the first being the separation from friends and reorientation to family. This earthquake forced her to investigate and think about natural events, and to concentrate on the greatness of the power of God. In her statements, God is associated with greatness and power, man with smallness and weakness.

¹⁴⁵A3: *Im Kindesalter war es schon intensiv. Em die Beziehung zu Gott und zu Religion überhaupt. Bayram (Festtage) war für uns ganz wichtig. Em obwohl das dann nicht unbedingt was mit Gott zu tun hatte, es war eher ein Fest. Ne und dann irgendwie im Jugendalter wurde es dann weniger. Wie gesagt da ich dann auch mit em anderen Sachen konfrontiert wurde, mit anderen Freundeskreisen man ist ja automatisch so, dass man sich von der Familie abwendet im Jugendalter das man rausgeht em nach etwas anderem sucht und da hab ich mich davon abgewendet. Also ich sage nicht, dass ich ungläubig war in der Zeit, aber ich hatte wenig damit zu tun.*

¹⁴⁶A3: *Genau- also das em man sagt ja das Epizentrum war in stad X em aber es ist ja auch viel in Stadt Y geschehen. Und em die ganzen Bilder die da im Fernsehen liefen und irgendwie die Familie nicht erreichen zu können, das war für mich ein Schock. Und em da habe ich, bin ich auch mehr in mich rein gegangen. 1999 wie alt war ich da dann Jahrgang ne? Ja ich war 16 und em wie gesagt da hat sich da grad nochmal was so für mich geändert, wo ich gesagt hab oh Gott es gibt em eine riesengroße Kraft die auf uns einwirkt. Ich habe mich viel informiert eben über Erdbeben über andere Naturkatastrophen und hab dann gemerkt, da steckt so eine große Kraft dahinter, die man nicht beeinflussen kann. Menschen sind so klein auf dieser Welt. Und das hat mich em das hat mich nochmal bisschen zurückgeworfen bzw. auf den Boden gebracht.*

She does not perform the Five Daily Prayers and other rituals regularly now. She distinguishes between basic religious rituals and other good actions. The rituals and worship are compulsory, things one must perform. But they are not enough to make one religious. The aim of religion is to make people happy.

A3: Religion is the same for me for umm, all, so we have several books that have come umm, but they were sent to the world at different times. The bottom line: the ground rules of religion are the same.

I: And what is that?

A3: Umm, it's that people be good, that they get along well with each other, that they respect nature, that they be um happy in this world.¹⁴⁷(117-119)

A close look at this quote reveals that she generalizes her understanding of Islam to other religions. Islam aims for the goodness of humanity, as do all other religions in the world. Here she seems to be making a new definition of religion. In this definition, the happiness of human beings, the social environment and the ecological balance come to the fore. She frequently refers to the social and natural sciences in explaining religion and its aim.

According to Mrs. Akay 3, sin is doing what religion prohibits. Religion prohibits what is harmful to humans. For example, Islam does not permit eating pork. She claims pork is not allowed in Christianity either, just as in Islam. She says that religion prohibits things that drive people to evil. (127) In her statements, sin is a concept referring mostly to eschatology or the hereafter. Her implicit meaning is that an action or thing requiring punishment in the hereafter is called a sin. In addition, she attempts to explain the concept of sin with the aid of the natural sciences. She seeks to understand sin beyond its traditional and religious meaning. For other symbols as well, she attempts to interpret these beyond the religious domain. However, her attempts do not result in a coherent theory of understanding religious symbols, at least as regards sin.

¹⁴⁷A3: Religion ist für mich em für alle gleich, also wir haben verschiedene Bücher em das ist dadurch entstanden, dass sie eben auf den verschiedenen Zeiten auf die Welt gesandt wurden aber im Endeffekt, das Grundlegende der Religion ist gleich

I: Und was ist das?

A3: Em, das es den Menschen gut geht, das sie miteinander gut auskommen, dass sie die Natur achten, dass sie em zufrieden sind auf dieser Welt.

She does not perform her Daily Prayers regularly. She sometimes performs morning Prayers. This is only during vacation or on weekends when she can wake up early. She fasts regularly in Ramadan. She admits she cannot claim that she practices her religion fully, because she does not perform the Daily Prayers. Interestingly, she compares Turkey and Germany in her understanding of symbols. She does not make a critical evaluation of minaret and Prayer-call (*Ezan*, Ar. *adhan*), and reports about her emotional connectedness. She interprets the Prayer-call as a motivation to religion. These two symbols, especially the Prayer-call, strengthen her attachment to religion.

4.1.3.3.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

In the aspect of the locus of authority, she centers on the family as the meaning of life. She reports that she questioned her existence in the world many times. Overlapping with the criterion of mutuality, she sees fulfilling her duties towards family members as the meaning and aim of life. In this domain, she obviously fits the criteria of Stage 3. Further evaluations regarding the locus of authority are mostly associated with ethics and an abstract sense of responsibility. Thus these statements seem to be higher than Stage 3. In this family domain, self-motivation for significant others is the central goal. In other domains, however, she is more open to the cosmos, and has a more enhanced understanding of global values. Again in the same domain, she pursues interpersonal harmony without critics, which meets the criteria of Stage 3. She says:

A3: Yes, the meaning of life for me is umm to exist for the family, I have often wondered, why are you in this world? I was not asked if I wanted to come into this world...

I: Yes, that's right. (*Laughs*)

A3: Yes, for me, I am a pessimistic person. I'm worried and think quickly about something negative, umm so I've had times and I still have it, I say "Man, why are you in the world?. Who asked you whether you wanted to come into the world?" And, bottom line, I am in the world. I have been placed here. Essentially I have to muddle here, and at the moment I see my meaning just as a daughter, a sister, a wife, umm to make people happy, to be there for them, in terms of my profession, to help children, umm umm to open their eyes, to prepare them, to raise their awareness about the important things in life. Things that are important to me are to teach them,

that..yes, one must get along well with others, with other people, and no matter in what situation, so we were trained for that, and finally it's also very important to me.¹⁴⁸

Her form of world coherence reflects her personal cosmology. As the word of God, the Koran is an indisputable authority in her life.

I: We've been talking all the time about faith. How does an ideal faith appear to you, or is there a person or a philosophy to which you refer for guidance? How do you know that? When you said you can live the faith better, how do you realize it, to what do you direct yourself?

A3: So, to be able to do better in faith, also as required by the guide of the Koran or as God wanted, the Koran is essentially God's word. I know that I could do more, I know umm as I said, I'm pessimistic. Faith also means having strong trust, so that you can simply let loose sometimes and with that trust can walk on without getting worried. I can't do that, for example. So I have trust, umm but I still worry and have anxiety, I even think that if I invested more time in my faith, I'd be more relaxed. In times when you simply retreat and think about umm, deeper things, when you take these times really to think about, I umm think you will automatically also become relaxed within. It's often the same when you take the time to pray. That's it precisely, when you express hopes in your prayer, you'll feel more at ease. Because you know, the wishes are not in themselves, you yourself can't fulfil what you wish, but you give these wishes to someone, umm to someone you trust...¹⁴⁹(68-69)

The feeling of having *îman*/faith gives her security, connectedness to life, and trust. She says that without faith, she could not find this trust. Nevertheless, her statements show that she still has a ritualistic understanding of faith. That is, if she

¹⁴⁸A3: Ja, der Sinn des Lebens ist für mich em für die Familie da zu sein em ich habe mich oft gefragt, warum man auf dieser Welt ist. Ich wurde nicht gefragt, ob ich auf diese Welt kommen möchte...

I: Ja so ist das (lacht)

A3: Ja, für mich bin ein pessimistischer Mensch ich mache mir viele Sorgen und denke schnell über etwas negativ em von daher habe ich Zeiten gehabt und habe sie noch das ich Sage Mensch warum bist du denn auf der Welt (28:26). Wer hat dich denn gefragt, dass du auf die Welt kommen möchtest, und em im Endeffekt bin ich auf der Welt. Ich bin hier reingesetzt worden. Ich muss hier im Prinzip durchwurschteln und e zurzeit sehe ich mein Sinn eben darin als Tochter, als Schwester, als Ehefrau em Menschen glücklich zu machen für sie da zu sein zu helfen und e beruflich eben em den Kindern em die Augen zu öffnen sie vorzubereiten sie für wichtige Dinge im Leben zu sensibilisieren. A3: Dinge die für mich auch wichtig sind ihn beizubringen, dass ja dass man gut miteinander auskommen muss, mit andern Menschen auch egal in welche Situation. also da wurden wir drauf geschult und das ist mir auch im Endeffekt auch sehr wichtig.

¹⁴⁹I: Wir sprechen die ganze Zeit über Glauben, wie sieht der Glaube für dich idealerweise aus oder gibt es eine Person oder eine Philosophie nach der du dich richtest? Woher weißt du das das, weil du sagtest man kann den Glauben besser ausleben, woran erkennst du das oder woran, wonach richtest du dich?

A3: Also das man den Glauben besser ausrichten kann also so wie es nach den Vorschriften dem Leitfaden Koran oder nach Gott gewünscht wurde, der Koran ist ja Gottesworte im Prinzip, em weiß ich das man da mehr machen könnte ich weiß das em wie gesagt auch pessimistisch bin, Glaube bedeutet auch starkes Vertrauen zu haben, also das man auch einfach mal locker lassen kann und vertrauen kann auf etwas zugehen kann ohne sich sorgen zu machen, das kann ich zum Beispiel nicht. Also ich habe Vertrauen aber ich immernoch Sorge und Ängste em ich glaube auch wenn man sich mehr Zeit nimmt für den Glauben, dass man dann gelassener wird. In Zeiten wo man sich einfach mal zurückzieht wo man über mm, tiefergehende Dinge nachdenkt wo man sich einfach mal wirklich die Zeit nimmt darüber nachzudenken em wird man automatisch auch gelassener in sich selbst. Oft ist es auch so wenn man betet das man sich die Zeit nimmt. Das man eben wenn man wünsche ausdrückt in dem Gebet das man dann sich wohler fühlt weil man weiß die Wünsche sind nicht an sich selbst man kann es selbst nicht erfüllen was man sich wünscht sondern man gibt diesen Wunsch weiter an jemand em an jemand dem man vertraut.

prays more and fulfils religious rituals, she will be more pleased and satisfied (*gelassener*). In structural meaning for the aspect of form of world coherence, she has a mix of Stages 3 and 4. She was assigned to Stage 3 because she lacks enough criteria for inclusion in Stage 4.

Ultimately, the term *îman* is identical with performing more rituals. She attempts to make a differentiated explanation of faith, but is unable to maintain that, and at the end, she orients to the common religious understanding of *îman*. Submission to this supreme power gives her a feeling of security. In this respect, *îman* functions as a medium of attachment, orienting her to the help of God in difficult times. Thanks to her faith, she can overcome the difficulties she faces. Her view is that man exists in this world for religious goals, but most people do not understand this.

She talks normatively about the meaning of life. She believes in a supreme power directing human life. Sometimes people are pushed in directions they do not desire. For example, the existence of handicapped people and children is related to this theme. She mentions her handicapped cousin as an example. She tries to interpret this situation, and thinks that God has created them as a lesson for other people. This happens absolutely with the will of God.

A3: So.... if you have someone in the family or in the circle of friends or that it happens to some people that they.... they will be handicapped in life , umm, that's the reason, to open the eyes of others. I think that many things in this world, actually everything in the world is intentional, because God wanted that way.¹⁵⁰ (111)

Her family-centeredness is also articulated in her image of death. For her, death means reunion with the family. When she expresses this, she adds the phrase "hopefully." This means that even if she describes herself as a religious person, she is not sure if she will go to paradise. If her sins are forgiven by God and the same happens to her family, they will be united again in the hereafter. She believes that there is hell and paradise in the hereafter. In this connection, she was asked about her image of hell.

¹⁵⁰A3:....wenn man eben so jemand auch in der Verwandtschaft hat oder im Freundeskreis hat oder dass es manchen Personen selbst passiert, dass sie Behindert werden in ihrer Lebensweise em das es den Grund hat em für andere auch die Augen zu öffnen. Ich denke schon, dass vieles auf dieser Welt eigentlich alles auf der Welt bewusst so ist wie es ist und das ist so (47:05), weil es jemand- Gott wollte es so.

I: How do you imagine hell? Or, do you have any ideas about how it should be?

A3: Some have always said, also and how, someone is impressed, that pain will be experienced there, and that when one does badly in this world, does evil, then one must pay for that, exactly. But I also believe, I imagine that is also good for me, I don't know, maybe I'm optimistic about myself. I imagine death more like, as I said before, seeing the family, that it will be beautiful, that you have no worries, no fears, that you are simply free. I also think you even have the possibility, if you did evil, you must pay for that, but still, you have the opportunity to enter paradise, and you'll again feel good...¹⁵¹(115)

Apparently, her image of hell is determined from the outside. She accepts what she is told about hell by others without any criticism. She compares hell to a prison. After being punished for a while, the believer will be sent to paradise, after being cleansed in the hell. This belief about eventual salvation also pervades her image of death. This is the style of image of death that has been presented in the official religion, and thus can be assigned to the conventional style in religion.

4.1.3.3.7. Summary

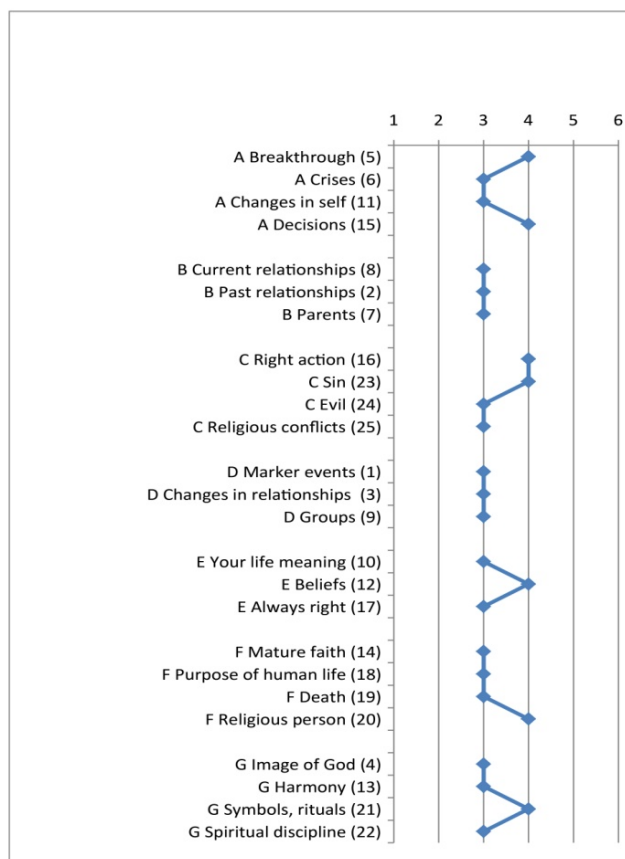
Her way of reflection on the life and the separation of it into various chapters are rather conventional, and temporal. She tells implicitly how she oriented to own culture and familial tradition. We meet the traces of individualism and self positioning leaving of the ethnic and familial culture aside. She frequently orients to the phrases which reminiscence of nostalgia, especially about the childhood, narrative form of meaning transferring, especially on the second and third chapters of her life and later on. She did not speak of any faith or thought crises with hard questionings concluded with new forms of beliefs. In the domain of religion, she has some initial forms of criticism to the religious symbols and openness for the interpretation of these symbols, yet the deficiency of enough philosophical background and normative form of religious education, beside the familial and conventional Turkish culture hinder her from developing higher stages in faith. Mrs

¹⁵¹I: *Wie stellst du dir das vor in der Hölle? Oder hast du Informationen darüber wie sie sein soll?*

A3: *Also wir haben es immer so gesagt bekommen, dass also wie man sich das auch einprägt, dass man dort leid erfährt, also das was man hier im Diesseits em schlecht tut böses tut, das man dafür büßen muss- genau, aber ich glaube auch, dass em ich stelle es mir auch schön vor, ich weiß nicht vielleicht ist das eher das Optimistische in mir was dann so herauskommt. Ich stelle mir den Tod eher so vor wie gesagt eher Familie sehen, das es dann schön wird, das man keine Sorge hat keine Ängste hat, em das man einfach befreit ist- denke ich und das man auch die Möglichkeit hat eben, wenn man etwas schlechtes getan hat und dafür eben büßen muss, aber auch em, dass man trotzdem die Möglichkeit hat em in den Himmel zu kommen und das es einem doch wieder gut geht. Ich denke schon, das man für das büßen muss was man hier tut schlechtes tut- aber hmm das ist so Stufenweise- also...*

Akay 3 does not criticize the older generations because of their style of religiosity within the family. This might be an issue that deserves attention. Compared her mother, the generational conflict is not a theme in her religious biography. Her faith development scores changes between 3 and 4 stages.

Figure 7: Stage Assignments of Mrs. Akay 3.



4.1.4. Summary and Comparison in Faith Development

An increase in educational level is observed in the Akay family over three generations. Mrs. Akay 3 is better able to separate her biography into life chapters. Her mother was restricted within the family, whereas she was able to open up to the outside world and build friendships there. Among her friends, she became more aware of her cultural and ethnic identity than her religious one. This identity

is formed within the life culture of the family. The religion of her friends is of little concern to her; what she expects is acceptance, respect, and support. Although it is not clearly articulated, her exclusion here leads her to return to her traditional values. She considers this an important turning point in her life. As a result of this separation from her friends, her familialism becomes more consciously affirmed. Her image of parents and her attachment to them are more pronounced and steady.

Form of Logic: In this aspect, Mrs. Akay 1 spoke of two high points when questioned about crises in her life. The first is the diagnosis of cirrhosis, and the second is the birth of a handicapped grandchild after her daughter's very difficult pregnancy. She uses a non-coherent narrative language in reflecting on these life events. The self is presented interchangeably as a victim of events, and as the hero of own life in an ambivalent way. Self-confidence and exaggeration of own importance in the family is general characteristics in her faith development profile. Affectivity and an orientation to fantasies in assessing past events are predominant features of her form of logic. She was assigned between Stages 2 and 3 in this aspect.

Akay 2 orients to significant others in decision-making. It is obvious that she puts a distance between herself and the parents when she married off her daughters. In terms of conflicts or crises, she speaks about fears of dying and being punished. The articulation of relevant factors is rather ambivalent. For her crisis situations, she uses an affective and defensive narrative style in meaning transmission. From time to time, there are traces of completeness in narratives which are signs of Stage 4, but she cannot decide between the factors she mentions as the sources of crises: for example, the stresses of life, hard work, a difficult childhood, the attitude of parents. She frequently uses the strategy of reconciliation, which is a trace of Stage 3.

Akay 3 emphasizes two events as turning points or crisis situations. The first is reorientation to the family after breaking up friendship with her friends, and the second is the earthquake that occurred in Turkey in 1999 and its effects on her religiosity. Instead of individualism, both events caused her to reorient to traditional

values. In both cases, tradition seems to play the role of authority. The mediums of exit points were the family in the first case and religion in the second. In comparison to other family members, she has a more coherent and complete life narrative, which can be assigned to Stage 4.

Perspective Taking: In the aspect of perspective taking, Mrs Akay 1 is embedded in family relations. She has a strong feeling of responsibility for the children and grandchildren. She has a strong ambition to supervise new generations in the family. In striving for this, she does not consider the perspective and life world of the new generations. She is closed to dialogue and strictly focused on her one-sided monologue. The features of Stage 2 are apparent in her perspective taking.

Mrs. Akay 2 is open to receiving the perspectives of others. She seeks the strategy of reconciliation. She accuses the parents and other family members many times about past relationships, but she also considers that they could be right because of circumstances. Unlike her mother, she is not strongly embedded in family relations. She seeks moral values such as respect and rectitude in relations. Yet at the argumentative and individual level, she does not exactly bear the criteria of Stage 4. Her predominating features are within the synthetic-conventional style.

Mrs. Akay 3 is also predominantly embedded in family relations. In reflecting on her past relations, she implies that she gives priority to her own expectations. She is not dependent in her relations and, unlike her mother, Mrs. Akay 2, not defensive in articulating her relations. In relations, she lays greater stress on abstract values. Her perspective taking meets the criteria of Stage 4.

Form of Moral Judgment: Relativism in the right/wrong distinction is common to all three generations. Mrs. Akay 1 approaches the concept of sin both from the religious and interpersonal harmony perspectives. This is an indication of Stage 3, but her manner regarding interethnic or interreligious differences is strictly rejective. She uses an exclusionary language for other religious communities—in the interview, at least about the Süleymanci organization in Germany. Due to moral relativism and a traditional perception of the sin concept, she was assigned

to Stage 3. But in terms of her strict exclusivism of other religious traditions, she was assigned to Stage 2.

Mrs. Akay 2 also displays relativism in the context of moral justifications. She is opposed to religious people for their negative and pejorative perception of women. Her style of opposition is rather defensive and less argumentative. She uses a fatalist language about the problem of evil in the world. She opposes religious particularism and is open to other religious traditions, but this is a simple relativism. Her synthetic-conventional style is apparent throughout this aspect.

Mrs. Akay 3 is more conscious of her relativism about moral justifications when compared to her grandmother and mother. Official religion determines her understanding of sin. Yet she intimates that she understands sin in a way that goes beyond a religious predefinition. However, this has not yet reached the level of argumentation. She has a more comprehensive understanding about the concept of religion. "Religion" is taken as a prime concept which includes Islam. She is open to other religious traditions, but not as much as is formulated for conjunctive faith. Thus, her faith development in this aspect was assigned a mix of Stage 3 and Stage 4.

Social Awareness: Mrs. Akay 1 does not reflect on her life events as separate chapters. Her group identification is restricted to "those like us" in familial, ethnic, racial and religious terms. She expects "interest" in her group identification. She is assigned to Stage 2.

Mrs. Akay 2 divides her life into two separate parts: before and after coming to Germany. The change in her inner capabilities is articulated in an implicit way. This change is attributed to external factors, like working, having children, and taking many responsibilities. She associates her life satisfaction with external factors. Money, work, the situation of her children, owning a house is some of these. She makes a distinction between life chapters and strives to reflect on the contents of these chapters, but with defensive and non-coherent narratives. She was assigned predominantly to Stage 3 in this aspect.

Mrs. Akay 3: Compared to her mother and grandmother, her life chapters and reflections on these chapters are more conspicuous. She can produce more coherent stories, which are indicators of Stage 4.

Locus of Authority: In the aspect of locus of authority, Mrs. Akay 1 finds her life meaningful. Praying, children and grandchildren, honesty, not being a liar, being fair and hardworking are the themes she remembers in this aspect. Familialism and the literal description of values are also dominant. Assignment is thus between Stages 2 and 3.

Mrs. Akay 2 also thinks she has a meaningful life. This is due to thankfulness. She compares herself with others and determines the criteria of satisfaction. Concepts such as tolerance and not being one-sided are marks of her simple relativism, pointing to Stage 3.

In the aspect of locus of authority, Mrs. Akay 3's identification is beyond the family. She mentions her profession, her desire to contribute to the education and development of children, knowledge transmission, and being a good model for them. These can be assessed as indications of Stage 4.

Form of world coherence: The Prophet Muhammad is the ideal in faith for Mrs. Akay 1. Life is a test, and humans are described as visitors in this world. The world is a rehearsal. God plans all details of human life, God creates and registers all our actions. We will meet the results of these actions when we die. God plans life, but the human will also play an important role. Human beings must work. For the death image, reincarnation is rejected but not discussed. She is semi-religious. She cannot fulfil the criteria she considers the principles of religiosity, but justifies this with living "abroad." Reading the Koran, fasting, and doing the Five Daily Prayers are important religious observances for her. She bears the criteria of Stage 3 in this aspect.

Mrs. Akay 2: In her understanding of religiosity, ethical principles are at the forefront. Not violating others' rights is the main criterion of religiosity. Religion is an issue between man and God. God is the creator and man is powerless. The

image of death is clearly unconventional, yet also not in the form of an independent theory. Generally, she bears the criteria of Stage 3 in this aspect.

Mrs. Akay 3: She considers herself a religious person. She combines the necessity of religious rituals and ethical rules in her definition of religiosity. Life is a test. She stresses getting along well with others in the world. The power directing human life is God. Evil is a lesson to people from God. Death is reuniting with family in the hereafter. Good-doers will go to paradise, and evil-doers to hell. In the end, evil-doers will also go to paradise. The definition of religiosity is evaluated as belonging to Stage 4, but the death image and the statements about human existence and human destiny in this world fall in Stage 3.

Symbolic Function: Mrs. Akay 1's symbolic functioning bears the characteristics of mythic-literal faith and synthetic-conventional faith. God is God, the greatest, the creator. We cannot see him with our eyes. His existence cannot be denied. Harmony is identified with Praying. The five pillars of Islam are the most important religious symbols. The headscarf stands for cultural, religious, and personal identity.

Mrs. Akay 2 reflects on the changes in her image of God. The first God was punishing. Throughout the narratives of her religious biography, she strives to establish her image of "God as punisher". The narratives on the image of God are defensive, affective, and non-coherent. There are attempts to constitute an integrated image of God that can be explained with the natural sciences and religious predefinitions. Her God-image is obviously nonconventional. Still, a coherent and individuating reflective image has not been constructed. Other religious symbols and rituals are understood in terms of their contributions to our bodily and spiritual well-being. Her symbolic function is assigned to Stage 3 for all items.

Mrs. Akay 3 remembers her relations with God via some religious symbols. She feels in harmony with God and cosmos when she needs help and faces tough situations. In fearful times, she needs security. She was assigned to Stage 3 in this aspect.

4.1.5. Case Study of Three Generations of the Özkan Family

The Özkan family lives in one of the big cities of North Rhein-Westphalia in Germany. They hail from a village in the central Anatolian region of Turkey. The first generation, Mr. Özkan 1, came to Germany in 1964. He has five children now; with one exception, they all live in Germany and have their own families.

Contact was established with the family in May 2009. They accepted a meeting on a weekend. The interview took place on 11 May 2009. There was an opportunity to have free talks with members of the family. The interviews were conducted at the home of the second generation (Mrs. Özkan 2) with all three generations on the same day. Other than the three interviewees, the husband, son and the stepmother of the second generation were home. A proper location was provided for the interviews. The third, second, and first generations were interviewed, in that order.

The first generation has elementary school education, is a retired worker and male. He lives with his wife half a year in Turkey and half in Germany. The second generation is a 40-year-old woman, a public sector employee and a graduate of junior technical college. She wears a headscarf and says that she works for a state Kindergarten, wearing her headscarf without any problems. Mrs. Özkan's husband migrated to Germany after studying theology in Turkey. He works for the city municipality where they live. The third generation, the granddaughter, is 19 years old and a high school student.

4.1.5.1. Mr. Özkan 1

Mr. Özkan 1 is 73 years old. He has a long white beard with a religious appearance. He was born in a village of central Anatolia as the second of three children to a farmer family. His 85-year-old sister lives in Turkey, and the younger sister has died.

Mr. Özkan 1's father died when he was eight years old. Throughout the interview, he repeats growing up without a father many times. He lived with his mother and two sisters until he finished the village elementary school. He says that he wanted to study further but could not, due to lack of opportunities. After finishing elementary school he moved to Ankara, the capital city of Turkey, near to his cousin. This is also repeated many times throughout the interview. He was 13 or 14 years old when he left his mother and sisters behind. Until his age of military service (18-19) he worked at a tailor's *atelier* in Ankara, and then became a soldier. After finishing his military duty, he came to Germany.

4.1.5.1.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Mr. Özkan 1 divides his life into two sections. The first chapter is his time in the village when he was a child. The second chapter begins with his departure from home when he was 13-14 years old and continues until today. He believes that everything in his life improved in a linear way. After coming to Germany in 1964, he worked at factories in three different cities for 41 years. He retired in 2005. Now he travels between Germany and Turkey. He is in Turkey in the summers, and comes to Germany in winter seasons to visit his children and grandchildren. He does not have a home in Germany, he and his wife spend their times in Germany at the homes of their children.

Like every first-generation guest worker, his intention was to work for a few years and return to Turkey. For that reason, he had not brought his family members over initially. He lived alone for 13 years in Germany. All of his children were born in Turkey. When asked about his relations and important life events, he reports his coming to Germany. He summarizes his aim in coming to Germany as:

Ö1: I mean, Turkey was so different then. We said, our destiny might be over there and let's go there, and so we came. Let's go this year, let's buy a house and leave after that, buy this and that... I worked here for exactly 41 years. I spent all my younger days here in Germany. I came here when I was 25 and left at age 66¹⁵². (64-65)

¹⁵² Ö1: Yani Türkiye'nin durumu o zaman bambaşka'dı. Belki kısmet burdaymış, dedik buraya gidek, buraya da geldik, aha bu sene gidelim, aha ev alalım da gidelim aha şunu alalım aha bunu alalım, tam 41 sene çalıştım burda, gençliğim bu Almanya'da geçti benim. 25 yaşında geldim, 64 -65 yaşında gittim bu Almanya'dan.

What he means by “Turkey was different” is that economic conditions were not favourable. Economic reasons led him to seek out a new destiny in Germany. Initially planned as short-term, this migration does not end until after retirement. He mostly prefers a narrative style of storytelling when he speaks of his migration experience. On the other hand, he reflects when he considers his early experiences about moving from the village to Ankara and becoming accustomed to city life. In his view, this experience of migrating to a big city in childhood helped him to better integrate with conditions in Germany compared to his friends.

Ö1: The life in Germany: Right after we arrived, we had to go through lots of distress, loneliness, and difficulties here. By then, the time we first entered Germany, like I told you before we came to city X with 15 Turkish workers. By then there was a *Heim* (hostel) for single people and everybody who came with me were single anyway, so they took us to a *Heim* and settled us there. The foreman of the factory came to me and asked, err... “Do you know German or any other language, no you don’t, and this is a big city, you don’t know where it ends.” We were going shopping with friends and they were all village boys, I was the only one from a city, as we lived in a city err... they regarded us in a different light. We were leaving marks on the roads and street corners so we wouldn’t get lost on our way back to the *Heim* (hostel)¹⁵³. (41)

He says there is a great difference between the time he first came to Germany and his current situation, because he and his compatriots were “ignorant.” They were all young. This ignorance caused some of them to deviate into wrong lifestyles. Especially, extramarital affairs destroyed their families’ unity and their marriages. However, he has always considered himself a Turk and a Muslim. Some of his friends neglected this, with the result that they even divorced their spouses living in Turkey and left their families. He always remained fond of his family, and gave priority to the “moral and religious education of his children.” He says:

Ö1: I lived singly for about 10 years, so loneliness had an influence, but I still didn’t forget who I was and being Turkish and Muslim, thank God. There were some situations; my friends’ families were broken, God forbid. There was a guy in particular who came with the first convoy with us. He got divorced. 90% of the people were of peasant origin. After coming from a small place like a

¹⁵³ Ö1: *Almanyadaki hayatımızda, geldik işte burda yalnızlık çok sıkıntı çektik burda. Daha o zaman bizim geldiğimizde, ben dedimya x şehrine geldim ilk gelişim. 15 kişiydik Türk olarak x şehrinde. Bir eskiden bekarlar Heimi (yurt) var idi, hep gelen bekarları zaten, bizi götürdüler bir heima yerleştirdiler. Fabrikanın şefi geldi, o da ee lisan bilmiyorsun, almanca bilmiyorsun, büyük şehir, şehrin nereye gittiğini bilmiyorsun. Çarşıya arkadaşlarla alışverişe giderdik hepsi köylü çocuğu bi şehirden gelen ben vardım içlerinde, biraz biz ee şehirde yaşıyoruz biz, biraz bizi şey görürler, sokaklara işaret yapardık ki yolu şaşırmasaydık, geri dönüşte heima gidelim, diye sokaklara köşelere işaret bırakır idik.*

village they got lost, err.... When they saw German women, they forgot all about their village, their families, and even their own children. See? Because we saw their deeds, we learned lessons from them and tried to mind ourselves so as not to make the same mistakes they did. Thank God we didn't, and after I brought my children over, I felt relieved. I tried to raise my children with good manners and in a devout way. ¹⁵⁴ (45)

As to most important crises, he speaks about the death of his first wife. This deeply affected him. He says that he was left alone with five children. He worried about their future. Today, the situation of his children makes him very pleased.

Ö1: I started thinking, of course. Sharing the responsibility of 4-5 children with your wife is very different from bearing this responsibility all by yourself. I wondered of course if I couldn't... They were all at an awkward age, my daughters were single. My two daughters were growing up, one of them was engaged, and my eldest son was still a bachelor. Because I bore their responsibilities, I had to think a lot. They weren't troublesome at all. And I tried to do my best. Some of them went to school, some of them got married. All of them have their own homes now. Thanks be to God, they're all happy now¹⁵⁵. (94)

He has never thought that life is meaningless, and has not experienced serious crises that caused extreme changes in his personality. He thinks he has a meaningful life: "Life is meaningful from time to time; it's nice to be alive." There are enough things giving meaning to his life, in his view. For example, he lives happily with the people close to him. He was asked what he would do if he were given a chance to change something in his life. He replies that he would not change anything. He is "pleased with everything." Religious beliefs also give meaning in life: "It seems to me the most important thing is religious beliefs." Among values, "my family, my children, my home" are again the main elements expressed. As mentioned earlier, his children do not have bad habits. This in particular makes him very happy.

¹⁵⁴Ö1: Yani insanın tabi cahillikle şindiki durumu farkediyor. Bi on sene burda bekar yaşadık işte bazan yalnızlığın verdiği şeyle farklı hallerimiz oldu, yine de yani ee türklüğümüzü müslüman olduğumuzu elhamdülillah unutmadık. Öylesi oldu ki arkadaşların bazılarının Allah etmesin çoğunun yuvası yıkıldı. Hele bizim ilk devre gelenlerden çoğunun yuvası yıkıldı. % 90 i köyden gelmeydi. Köyden gelip de burdaki afedersin, ee biraz almanların kadınlarını görünce şaşırıldılar, köydeki çoluk çocuğunu ailesini unuttu onlar. İşte onlara dikkat ederek biz kendimize sahip olmaya çalıştık. Elhamdülillah hiç şeyapmadık, işte çocukları getirdikten sonra da rahatladık, elimizden geldiği kadar da çocukları terbiyeli olarak büyötmeye dinimize bağlı olarak yetiştirmeye çalıştık.

¹⁵⁵Ö1: İnsan ister istemez düşündü tabiiki, o beş tane çocuğun mesuliyetini hanımınla paylaşmak başka bi de yalnız tek başına paylaşmak başka. Düşündük tabi, acaba biz bu çocukları ee yetişkin hepsi delikanlı çocuklar, kızlar bekarı o zaman iki tane kız var yetişmiş, kız nişanlı büyük oğlan bekarı. Bu çocukların mesuliyeti bende olduğu için çok düşündüğüm oldu. Allah'a şükür düşündüğümüzü de şeyapmadık, çocuklarım öyle bir aşırı şeylik yok, hepsini de işte gücümüzün yettiği kadar elimizden geldiği kadar kimini okuttuk kimini işe koyduk evlendirdik, herkes, hepsi ayrı ayrı şimdi ev sahibi, hepsi de mutlular.

Ö1: If you're happy with your family and if your children try to be good, respect you and love you, that's the greatest happiness for a human being, a father or a mother. I don't know, that's what it is for me and I'm not going to... anything else. God forbid, if your children become addicted to liquor or drugs or become drunkards, and you have to bear that burden and sorrow, living like that is very different from living with peace of mind¹⁵⁶ (117).

When he makes important decisions, he refers to the help of nearest and significant others (family members) around him. However, the final decision belongs to him. He thinks one's guide should be righteousness in solving a problem: "then your guide should be righteousness." The measure of righteousness is the faith a person has. But this faith should be right and correct, so that the person can distinguish the true from the false.

While Mr. Özkan 1 divides his life into two periods, he cannot reflectively present the decisive events in these periods and their influence on his biography. The only life event he mentions outside these two periods is his migration to Germany. From Mr. Özkan 1's biographical reconstruction and the events he relates, it is clear that he has a positive construction of self. As he points out later, this is due to his realization of two goals. In his search for a "new destiny," two projects have actually appeared before him. The first is to improve his economic conditions, the second, to properly raise his family and children and to preserve family unity. Hence, it will be Mr. Özkan 1 who prepares them for life. He does not experience a mental crisis, nor does he go in search of new spiritual meanings. In the end, his realization of his projects gives him solace and adds meaning to his life.

He occasionally makes reflective and rational analyses of his self-development. For example, he is used to city life before coming to Germany. He is aware that this helps him to better integrate into German society. Another self-analysis is his belief that Germany helped him to mature. Here he actually underlines that his family's unity and cohesion was strengthened.

¹⁵⁶ Ö1: *Çoluğunla çocuğunla mesut musun, mutlu musun? çocukların hayırlı mı, sana hürmet ediyor mu, seviyor mu, bir insanın bir babanın bir annenin en büyük mutluluğu yani bilmiyorum bence yani odur başka şey yapacak değilim. Allah etmesin, yetiştirdiğin çocuk içkici esrarkeş sarhoş olup da onun sıkıntısını çekip seni üzmeden, düşüncesine kapılmadan yaşamak başka bir de rahat yaşamak başka.*

Urban life in Germany poses a risk for him and the others. He resorts to national and religious identities to protect against these risks. In retrospect, he believes this is how he saved himself. In his interview, every narrative sequence ends with the emphasis that his children are in good shape. In the aspects of form of logic and locus of authority, he finds the meaning of life in family integrity and security. The narrative structure he employs in reflecting meaning includes emotions and responsibilities towards significant others of the first degree. Thus, he is more in line with the criteria of Stage 3 faith development.

On the other hand, the fact that the final decision lies with him even though he consults the opinions of other family members in important matters is an indication of his independence. However, his statements do not reflect a degree of detailed individuality that would qualify as Stage 4. Although he does not express it in structural terms, his account makes it clear that he regards himself as the author of his own biography. It will be noticed that the search for a new destiny leads him to alter his circumstances at a very early age. His decisions and struggle are instrumental in the success of his Germany project. The struggle he engages in without becoming victimized, despite his aloneness and his lack of knowledge of German, are reflections of his individuality. But these are not articulated in a manner consistent with the criteria of Stage 4 of the Faith Development Manual. Hence, Mr. Özkan 1's form of logic falls mainly within Stage 3. In the latter parts, there are statements that point to the egocentricity of Mr. Özkan 1 in terms of content. In both aspects, therefore, he stands closer to individuation in terms of the contents of stories, if not in terms of structure.

4.1.5.1.2. Reconstruction of Relations with Significant Others

Mr. Özkan 1 does not remember much about his father. He says he was small when his father died. As a single parent, his mother was both mother and father to him. He had very good relations with his mother. There were no changes in their relations over the years until she died. Sometimes he felt sad because he lost his father at an early age.

Ö1:... But sometimes I thought everybody has a father, I wished I had one too. I miss him, you know. We were poor when my dad died, so it was hard. Maybe I thought about it then, because I was just a kid, you know. If my dad had been better off and rich, we could have lived in comfort that may have passed through my mind¹⁵⁷. (101)

His chagrin at being fatherless is expressed in an emotional style. He goes back to the formative period of the event, but does not reflect on what it means to him today. The fact of being fatherless is processed in conjunction with its consequences on economic circumstances. Being fatherless means to be poorer and having a more difficult life. These can be accepted as signs of Stage 2 in perspective taking. Still, the expression: “Maybe I thought about it then, because I was just a kid, you know” can be regarded as the sign of a partial reflection.

Although he speaks of good relations with his mother, he reports that nobody had an influence on his growth and maturation. Nobody helped him to find his way, and nobody functioned as a guide, a model. He sees himself as self-educated. He adds further that he has not experienced serious breakthroughs and changes in his life and relations. He thinks there is no need to take anyone as a model. Even in ideal faith, he prefers to follow his own path. Each Muslim should take themselves as an example and practice the religion according to their own desires: “If you’re Muslim, you should first be proud of yourself, trust yourself, and live right.”

4.1.5.1.3. Appropriation of Religion

Mr. Özkan 1 did not attend religious courses at any institution. His acquisition of religion is rooted in the family and in reading books on religion.

In retrospection on his religious biography, he sees that some changes have occurred in his relations with God. He also cites some changes in his religiosity and understanding of religion. He associates these with his age. He refers to his youth as “ignorance” (*cahillik*). After becoming an adult, he became more

¹⁵⁷Ö1: *Ya ellerin babası var benim de keşke olsaydı babam. İnsan özlüyor özlemi düşünüyor. Fakirlik vardı babamın öldüğünde biraz sıkıntı çektik. Belki de o zaman hatırımdan geçmiştir, tabi o zaman çocukluk devresindeydim. Ya babamın durumu daha iyi olsaydı da zengin olsaydı da daha refah yaşasaydık diye belki hatırımdan geçmiştir. Başka böyle bişeyim olmadı.*

conscious and knowledgeable. He read books constantly and informed himself about his religion: "I read, I read religious books, so I understood the Islamic religion better."

During the interview, he does not mention what books he read or whence he obtained them. Neither do we encounter a style of religious interpretation that appealed to him in his reading, nor any mention of ideas he was influenced by during that reading. Hence, we can conclude that he read books on the conventional practice of religious observances. Such books cover solely religious practices unrelated to metaphysical, social, or political concerns. As such, they are at a level that can be easily comprehended by any primary-school graduate. In all likelihood, what he intends by "learning about religion from books" comprises rulebooks on basic applications and prayer books that can easily be obtained and understood.

4.1.5.1.4. Image of God

Mr. Özkan 1 does not reflect on the formation of his God-image. At present, he describes God as follows:

Ö1: God is the Lord who created us, God. We are servants of God. God can't be explained in words. God is great, everything is granted and created by God (these are facts), that's the way we define it. We don't get involved in any perverse thoughts.¹⁵⁸ (65)

He repeats similar statements when asked about further explanations regarding God. His view is that God is creator and encompasses everything. God is the greatest, he does not resemble anything. Thus, we cannot describe God completely in human language.

Ö1: I can't explain who or what God is. God is everywhere, on earth and in heaven. God... Does anyone know his existence? No, there's no one. So because of that, I believe. Well... We taught from our ancestors, mothers, fathers about God's existence and God's greatness and that he

¹⁵⁸Ö1: *Allah bizi yaratan bir mevladır Allah. Allahın biz kuluyuz, Allah lafla izah edilecek bişey değil, Allahın büyük olduğu, herşeyin Allah tarafından verildiği yaratıldığı (bir gerçek), bişey, bu tanımlamamız öyle. Öyle bi sapık fikirlerden filan bişeyimiz yok.*

created us. I fully believe in God. Thank God. There is nothing like err... there is no deviation, hesitancy or anything in my faith.¹⁵⁹(64)

He makes no reflection on the formation and development processes of his God-image. Describing God in literal terms and imitating ancestors are characteristics of Stage 2. He also mentions that his faith in God has undergone no change. As in other first-generation examples, this is a strategy of proclaiming authenticity. It could also be that he consciously rejects any change, since in Islamic theology and pedagogy; one is discouraged from contemplating the Essence of God. Rather, people are encouraged to think about God's attributes.

As a Muslim, he sees himself as always in harmony and unity with God and cosmos, but there are special occasions when he feels more so. Among these he mentions the month of Ramadan, times spent at mosque, and when he remembers the "Beautiful Names of God" (*Asma al-Husna*). As compensation for all human needs, he emphasizes the invocation (*dhikr*) of God. These fit the criteria of Stages 2 and 3.

4.1.5.1.5. Understanding of Religiosity

He does not see himself as "fully religious." He says everything he does is deficient and he is "unlearned." In addition to performing religious rituals, having knowledge about religious issues is also a measure of religiosity for him.

Ö1: As much as I can. Not entirely, because there are still things I can't do, and things I don't know, but I try to do them.¹⁶⁰ (189)

He adds other criteria of being religious. The two criteria above are not enough to be counted as a religious person; there are also more important things. For example, the basic measure of religiosity is "righteousness" and "honesty." To be called honest, one is obliged to act on what one knows as true. Being honest and righteous is to follow one's conscience.

¹⁵⁹Ö1: Allah'ın kim veya ne olduğunu ben şey yapamam. Allah yerde gökte her yerde Allah... Allahın varlığını bilen var mı? Yok heç kimse yok. Olmadığı için, inancımız öyle eee ecdadımızdan, anamızdan babamızdan atamızdan gördüğümüz Allahın varlığını, Allahın büyüklüğünü, bizi Allahın yarattığını, inancımız o, Allaha inancımız tam Allah'a şükür. Öyle bir ee inancımızda sapma tereddüt bişeyler yok.

¹⁶⁰Ö1: Elimden geldiği kadar, tam olarak göremiyorum, çünkü yapamadığım şeyler de var. Bilmediğim şeyler de var, gayret ediyorum yapmaya.

He has been performing his Five Daily Prayers since his youth. For him, informal prayer (supplication) also comes first. One should perform Prayers at their proper times. But he prays the most just before going to bed. In the contents of his prayers are things he asks of God. He wishes: "From God, righteousness, religion, faith. A good life in the afterworld."

He has already performed the duty of Pilgrimage. He fasts in the holy month of Ramadan, he gives his alms (*zekat*) when he can afford that. "So I try to fulfill whatever there is of the Five Pillars of Islam to the best of my ability."

About religious conflicts when facing a problem, one must read the books, but the books are written by human beings. Or one should ask the help of religious scholars. If it is an issue that one can solve on one's own, one should.

Ö1: About that, well... You have to read, but the books themselves are written by humans. You have to ask religious scholars, sir, and try to learn what is right. Then, think with your own mind, if it's something that you're able to comprehend, decide for yourself in the end. Otherwise, ask and try to discover what is right¹⁶¹. (225)

He does not have membership in any association or organization. Especially the mystic and Sufi orders, which are regarded as centers of Islamic traditional spirituality, have never been attractive to him. He says:

Ö1: I haven't gone to any associations, or I've gone only rarely. And some associations I've gone to, I don't know whether it's right or wrong, but the actions of those associations didn't make sense to me¹⁶². (209)

In sum, he regards himself neither as completely religious nor as being outside religion. He finds that rituals are a criterion of religiosity, a property of Stage 3. At first glance, his acceptance of knowledge as a prime constituent of religiosity is a sign of a higher stage. Still, it is not entirely clear what he understands or intends

¹⁶¹Ö1: *Onun eee okuyacaksın, gerçi o kitapları da insanlar yazmış. Alimlere soracaksın efendim doğrusunu bulmaya çalışacaksın. Biraz da kendi mantığınla düşüneceksin, aklının yettiği fikriyin kavradığı bir şey ise kendin karar vereceksin. Yoksa soracaksın doğrusunu bulmaya çalışacaksın.*

¹⁶²Ö1: *Ben hiç derneklere gitmedim, ben çok az gittim. Bazı gittiğim derneklere de bilmiyorum yanlış ya doğru, kafama yatmadı o derneklerin hareketleri.*

by religious knowledge. It seems to indirectly refer to knowledge of basic religious practices. On the other hand, his understanding of religion is not blindly ritualistic, either. He also includes ethical qualifications in it. "To know and to do what is right" reflects the importance attached to individualism, but again, this is not formulated explicitly as required by Stage 4. There is no attempt to invest religious rituals with deeper meaning, to provide proofs.

The implied reference to individualism also makes itself felt in his suggestion about how religious conflicts should be resolved. Clearly, he does not possess a community-based understanding of religiosity. He conceives of religion himself in general, and this is in line with the conventional lifestyle of Sunni society. He does not find the religiosity of organizations attractive, for he has been able to learn from books without the mediation of such organizations. And because he is no longer worried about his family's future, he does not seek the help of such organizations for securing family unity. The quotes above fall within the scope of individual faith, but are expressed in a conventional manner.

For him, sin is doing evil things. Evil things or bad things are all things prohibited by Islam. It is a sin not to do what is commanded by God, and not to shun what is prohibited by God. But sins are divided into two parts: great and small. Being pardoned for cardinal sins is difficult, but being pardoned for lesser ones is possible. Violation of the rights of people is one of the greatest sins. This will not be forgiven by God. About small sins, he remarks:

Ö1: Alcohol is both Forbidden and a sin. Fornication is both Forbidden and a sin. Lying, swindling, these are sins. Now, there are great sins, small sins, all kinds of sins. You have to stay away from them as much as you can.... There are small sins that God forgives, but there are major sins even he can't forgive, especially infringing the rights of other human beings. You have to be really careful about the rights of others, for example. Going to the afterworld with the rights of another, for instance. These are explained in the Traditions (the Prophet Mohammed's sayings) and the verses of the Koran. God says, "Don't enter my presence having infringed the rights of another. If you want something from me," he says, "I can do that, or I can forgive you. But if you come into my presence with the rights of another, I can't help you unless you settle it with them first, unless they grant you

their blessings.” So you have to try to avoid these as much as you can, try not to do them¹⁶³. (214-216)

He believes that the moral and ethical principles everyone should have are: “Goodness, honesty, piety, being a Muslim.” All Muslims should possess these qualities. He avoids any comment about the ethical qualities of non-Muslims.

Ö1: I can’t say anything about people who aren’t Muslim. I can’t say anything about their righteousness. But I would like every Muslim to live up to their religion and do the right thing. And I try to do my best as a Muslim¹⁶⁴ (165)

These moral judgments are more reflective of Stage 3. His distinction between major and minor sins is one made in official Islam. In this respect, the faith development of Mr. Özkan 1 is not the folk Islam of Stage 2, but the conventional Islam representing Stage 3. In fact, he tries to make sense of written Islam and attempts to incorporate this into his meaning making. As Mihciyazgan (1994) points out, his orientation to the Koran and the Prophet’s Traditions, and his attempt to explain the concept of sin by referring to these, is a sign of transition from folk Islam to high Islam. But this is not enough to place him at Stage 4 in Faith Development Theory.

His understanding of moral principles highlights reciprocity and interpersonal harmony. His statements in the last quotation, where he ascribes universal truths only to his own religion and distinguishes between “us and them,” are another indication of conventionality.

¹⁶³Ö1: İçki, hem haram hem günah demiş, zina hem haram hem günah, yalan söylemek, dolandırıcılık, bu günahların şimdi büyük günah var küçük günah var, çeşit çeşit günahlar var, işte bunlardan elinden geldiği kadar kaçınacaksın. İşte Cenab-ı Allah’ın affettiği küçük günahlar var, büyük günahlar var ki Cenab-ı Allah bile affedemiyor, bilhassa kul hakkı. Kul hakkına mesala dikkat edeceksin, bir kul hakkıyla öteki dünyaya mesela Mevla’nın emrettiği bu. Hadislerde, ayetlerde bunların hepsi söyleniyor, kul hakkıyla asla benim huzuruma gelme diyor. Kul hakkında ben sana sahip çıkamam şey yapamam diyor, ama benden diyor, istediğin bişey varsa diyor, yapacağım bişey diyor, bunları affederim diyor, ama kul hakkıyla huzuruma gelirsen diyor o kulnan helalleşmeden diyor, ben diyor bişey yapamam diyor. Onlardan da kaçınacaksın, işte elinden geldiği kadar. Yapmamaya çalışacaksın.

¹⁶⁴ Ö1: Bişey diyemem müslüman olmayan için, bişey diyemem ki ben onun doğruluğuna bişey diyemem. Ben isterim bir müslümanın her zaman dinine sahip doğru iş yapmasını isterim, ve de elimden geldiği kadar çalışırım bir müslüman olarak.

4.1.5.1.6. Form of Belief in Supernatural Themes

According to Mr. Özkan 1, the worldly dimension of human life is actually empty (vain). This world (life) is not a real world, the real one will begin after dying. Thus, one must live considering the hereafter. He says:

This life is empty. You're going to work all your life. When the time comes and your life is over, you will die. And you'll go to your true world, your afterlife. The best thing is to live in this world thinking about your afterlife. The purpose of life is to live in this world. But the real purpose is the afterlife. A Muslim's real purpose is the afterlife¹⁶⁵. (167)

In his view, death is a command of God. His understanding of death is a passage from this unreal world to the other—real—world. He says, “that's what we know, what we've read and learned.” He states that the things he imagines about the after-death state are in accordance with “Islamic conceptions.” In the hereafter, people will be held to account by God. Their good and bad deeds will be sorted. If a person wants to have comfort in the afterlife, he or she must avoid doing evil. However, everyone falls into evil, intentionally or unintentionally. Thus, one should always question oneself and engage in self-criticism.

Ö1: Of course, you call yourself to account in that way. I'm living, but how have I lived? We sin, willingly or unwillingly. Is there a person in this world free of sin? There isn't, is there? Nobody is impeccable but God Almighty. Everybody has their own sins, in their own way. So we should try not to fall into sin if we desire comfort in the afterworld.¹⁶⁶ (185)

In addition, he reports on how he imagines “life after death.” His clear and conventional religious understanding is also revealed in his thoughts on death and salvation. For salvation in the hereafter, the religious observances and conditions ordained by Islamic theology are necessary. Formerly, he had added

¹⁶⁵Ö1: *Bu dünya boş, yaşamın müddetinde çalışacaksın, zamanın geldiğinde ömrün bittiğinde de öleceksin, esas dünyana gideceksin. Ahiretine gideceksin, en temiz bu dünyada ahiretini düşünerek yaşayacaksın. Orayı düşünerek yaşayacaksın.*

¹⁶⁶ Ö1: *Tabii ki öyle bi kendin kendini muhasebe ediyorsun. Acaba ben yaşıyorum ama nasıl yaşadım. İsteyerek veya istemeyerek günah da işliyoruz. Bu dünyada günahsız kimse var mı, yok değil mi , hiç kimse yok günahsız, Cenab-ı Allah'tan başka. Herkesin günahı var kendine göre, elinden geldiği kadar o günahı işlememeye çalışmak, başka bişey değil öteki dünyada rahat etmen için.*

righteousness and honesty to the basics of religiosity. Yet for salvation in the hereafter, fulfilment of religious rituals comes first:

Ö1: After we die, err, what we've heard from our prophet Mohammed, what God ordains, is life in the afterworld, nothing else. If your deeds are good, if you are a good Muslim, if you did your Five Daily Prayers, paid your alms-tax, fasted, fulfilled the (Five) Pillars of Islam, then you will be at peace in your afterlife. But if you lived with drink and sh*t—pardon me—with this and that, your business in the afterworld is not okay¹⁶⁷. (187)

This calls to mind the second stage: strict practice of religious rules is the basis for eternal salvation. However, the phrase: “If your deeds are good, if you are a good Muslim” is reminiscent of Stage 3.

The evil in the world takes place as a command of God. For example, natural catastrophes take place by the order of God. Nature does not do these by itself. He directs very sharp criticism at those who explain this by nature working independently:

Ö1: That is the decision of God. God has (ordained) it; I can't say anything to that. Some people call it Nature. Yesterday or the day before, I saw a man on TV who was saying that “earthquakes have nothing to do with God, far from it.” God forbid, I repent of even saying that. He says “Nature does it,” but where does this Nature come from? Where does Nature come from? Nature belongs to God. If God didn't want it, could Nature exist? Of course not. So for an earthquake, it's the same. He says “Be” to an earthquake, and it is. We can't say anything else about that¹⁶⁸. (221)

Thus, he displays a one-sided attitude of rejection, identifying natural disasters directly with the will of God instead of questioning how they occur. He is not inclined to expand his meaning making on the subject of good and evil (theodicy). His question, “Who created nature?” shows that he is aware that nature has its

¹⁶⁷Ö1: Ölünce ee peygamberimizden duyduğumuz Cenab- ı Allah'ın emrettiği öteki dünyadaki yaşantı başka bir şey değil. Amelin iyi ise iyi bir müslüman isen beş vakit namazını kıldın zekatını verdin orucunu tuttun İslamın şartlarını yerine getirdi isen inancımıza göre öteki dünyada yerimiz rahat. Yok içkiyken sığıynan efendim afedersin şunlan bunlan hayat yaşadı isen öteki dünyada işin rahat değil.

¹⁶⁸Ö1: O Cenab-ı Allah'ın takdiri, Cenab-ı Allah onu şeyapmış ona bişey diyemem. Bazıları var ona tabiat işte—eee dün mü evelkisi gün mü televizyonda seyrettim ben, adam diyor ki deprem diyor Cenab- ı Allahınan alakası yok diyor haşa tövbe. Tabiatın diyor yaptığı bişey diyor, bu tabiat nerden ileri geliyor yani. Tabiat nerden ileri geliyor. Tabiat Cenab-ı Allah'ın. Cenab-ı Allah istemedikten sonra tabiat olabilir mi? olamaz. Ee deprem de öyle ya da şey diyor, layık görüyor olacak diyor oluyor. Başka bişey buna bişey diyemeyiz biz ona.

own processes as well. But he avoids the subject, perhaps due to his reluctance to commit himself regarding fate.

Beyond the power and plans of man, there is a divine power as the highest power influencing human life. The final decision rests with God, hence human beings are not entirely free in their choices. About the supreme power determining human life, he says: "That's the Divine dispensation. You have to struggle. If your plan is for good, you have to try to reach good all the time. But still, it's God who decides. That's not in your hands." Mr. Özkan 1 tries to balance the authority of God with human struggle, and in this sense he is not completely fatalistic. The interview passages regarding metaphysical topics indicate a mixture of Stages 2 and 3.

4.1.5.1.7. Summary

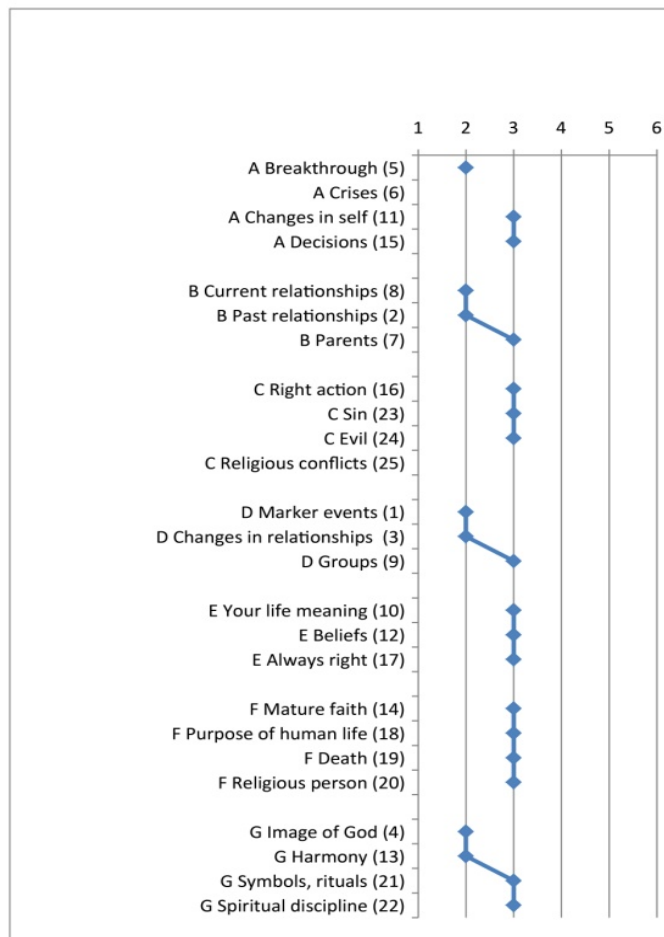
Mr. Özkan 1 separates his life into two chapters: village life, and his life after leaving the village. That he grew up without a father emerges as a determining factor in his life. Lack of a father is associated with economic want rather than with emotions. Poverty leads him to seek out a new destiny. The second determining event in his life is the death of his first wife in Germany. As a result, he experienced difficult times in raising and caring for his children. When viewed from today's perspective, the security and well-being of his children are a source of satisfaction for him.

He does not mention any crisis of faith or conceptual doubt in the interview. His conviction that he saved the family economy, and his belief that he has succeeded in raising his children, add meaning to his life. His "Germany project" has thus succeeded. In faith, he regards himself as an autodidact. He claims no change in his God-image and faith, and is therefore unwilling to review development processes.

In his view, salvation lies in the teachings of religion. By religion, he means the Koran, the Prophet, and what men of knowledge have related. Mr. Özkan 1 identifies religion with religious knowledge, putting that knowledge into practice, and honesty. He personally fulfils the Five Pillars of the religion. Respecting the

rights of the other occupies a major place in his understanding of religion, the hereafter, and the human-God relationship. In asserting his religious views, he attempts to support his claims from scripture. In the aspect of form of world coherence, the main thrust of Mr. Özkan 1 is belief in and affirmation of the hereafter, living in this world for the next, and doing everything for the afterlife. In this sense, he has a conventional and imitative afterlife image. Although he emphasizes the importance of moral values, he still thinks ultimate salvation lies in fulfilling religious practices.

Figure 8: Stage Assignments of Mr. Özkan 1.



4.1.5.2. Mrs. Özkan 2

Mrs. Özkan 2 was 40 years old at the time of the interviews. She was born in a village in central Turkey in 1969, and brought to Germany with her mother and siblings by his father when she was seven years old. She works for a government institution. She is married and has two children.

4.1.5.2.1. Biographical Reconstruction

She divides her life into “four or five” main chapters. She says these are not strictly separated from each other as independent parts in her life.

This way of dividing her life is not completely conventional. When reconstructed, her father’s arrival in Germany, and then her family’s migration, comprises a significant part of her biographical narrative. The first parts are the times in Turkey in childhood and the first days when she came to Germany. Her father was already in Germany before she was born. From the beginning of her life, she lived apart from her father until she came to Germany. She did not know her father well. He came only once a year during summer vacations to visit his family.

Ö2: ...He used to come at night, because, when we got up, we generally saw that he had come. He used to leave at night, and we were like... When we got up the next day, our father was gone again. Because of that, we used to call him “Father of slums,” I mean. That is, I remember it this way. At first, we couldn’t get used to the presence of our father when he came. It was really hard to adapt to, because he was like a stranger to us. Afterwards, after we got used to his presence, my father would have left already, of course¹⁶⁹. (14)

Before they came to Germany, her father lived alone for a decade. The shape of their first home in Germany, the preparations made by her father before they arrived, and the toys he bought for them, are among the themes on which she dwells at length. Their first home in Germany was surrounded by local German neighbours. She speaks of her first years in Germany in a positive manner.

¹⁶⁹Gece gelirdi, çünkü biz genelde sabah bi kalktık aa babam gelmiş, genelde gece giderdi bi bakarız sabah babamız geri gitmiş. Yani ondan dolayı böyle “gece kondu” baba, hani ondan da böyle hatırlıyorum. Pek böyle hani alışamazdık ilk başta babam geldiğinde, bayağı bi zor alışma, çünkü yabancı bi insan gibi (şey) olurdu. Sonra da, alıştıktan sonra da tabi babam geri gitmiş olurdu.

Ö2: The thing I never forget is, we had such a big room, we lived in (the name of county of a North Rhein-Westphalia city) for two years, it's real close by. Imagine four garages built and lined up side by side, my father had opened a door through each and installed an external central heating system, and a bathroom was built, as well. Our bathroom was very nice, because it was newly built, there was nothing else. That room in the middle, I mean, which is bigger than the garage, had no windows and we had no kitchen, we made a kitchen later but it had no utilities and so on. But there was a room, a big room, it was full of toys inside, I never forget it. My father had bought various... a lot of toys because the children were coming. But we didn't know how to play with those toys. There were lots of different and mechanical things and so on, but we broke them all in a very short time, and my father was like... (*Laughs*), because we weren't familiar with those kinds of things, I don't remember how we played with them, either. Besides, that bathroom impressed us a lot, the bathroom had a bathtub I mean and bathroom fixtures... of course, the toilet wasn't the kind we had in Turkey, and we had trouble with the toilet until we got used to it. I remember that very well...

The street where we lived was very calm and there were no foreigners there. There were local German people in single-family houses (*einfamilien Haus*). We had a great garden, because of that it was attracting attention... But the neighbours were all good, we didn't encounter any xenophobia there...

Well..the other thing was about our foreignness, well... I mean..there was a Turkish Class at that time, we were all in a village-like class, first, second, third classes, desks and so on, a Turkish teacher was teaching us, those classes were disbanded two years later. And later we were dispersed to German classes. We didn't know German, of course, but we had literacy and mathematics, they put us in first class, but it wasn't enough for us. We were pushed around and that's when we felt the difficulties of being a foreigner. Well...

There were certain events at that time, I remember, here it is: we are at German Class, Christmas arrived, the St Nikolaus (Santa Claus) event...because everybody talks in class: "Oooh!" Saying: "You'll never forget this night," and says, "you're going to put your boots in front of the door and Nikolaus ("Saint Nick") will come at night and he'll fill up the boots with candies and chocolates." ... It was the first time for me, I had never seen that kind of event. And I got home all excited, I explained to my brother and sister and I was saying: "Woowww! I learned that this night is very important and so we should never forget it. Today, we're supposed to put all shoes and boots in front of the door and they will all be filled with chocolate." Since we were all Turkish-minded (greedy), we lined all the shoes and boots up in front of the door. Whatever we found... I added that we should never look to check it out. We will be patient and wait until morning. Well... I also remember that morning was very difficult for us. I woke up with bated breath in the morning, I opened the door eagerly, it was really cold, too, it had snowed slightly, our boots were standing there, still empty, frozen, and I was so disappointed. I felt cheated. I mean, I had no idea about the event, only what we had heard from the Germans. Saying, "Ooh, I wonder if (Nikolaus) forgot us or forgot to visit our side." Well..he didn't stop by... we didn't know who distributed those chocolates. Then I went to class, to school. Everybody was full of excitement, saying, "I got it this morning,

there was a plate in front of the door,” the other one says, I mean Germans are talking about their... I felt bitter there. And I said to myself, “Since we were foreigners, he didn’t visit us.” That’s how I interpreted it at the time.¹⁷⁰ (14)

She is aware of novelties and daily life in Turkey and Germany. Her positive image of Germany started from childhood, thanks to the absence of xenophobia. But she is also aware of her foreignness. It was at this Santa Claus event (Christmas) that she first became aware that she was a foreigner and that it was a disadvantage. Still, she had a dynamic environment both at school and at home, and lived her childhood to the full. All these stories contribute to the image of a positive past.

After arriving in Germany, she and her siblings continued their schooling without vacation. They moved to another home after living in their first home for a few years. As she and her siblings transitioned slowly into adulthood, family concerns began to emerge regarding their education in a Diaspora situation. This is the phase when identity becomes fully established. The children are about to be faced with extra familial socializing factors. This is when the period of difficulties begins: their own desires, participation in German culture and daily life, the demands the

¹⁷⁰ Hiç unutmuyom, böyle büyük bir odamız var idi, x şehrinde yaşadık biz iki yıl. Buraya yakın bir yer. Dört tane garajı düşünün yan yana yapılmış sıralanmış, arasından birbirine babam kapı açmış, dıştan gazlı kalorifer taktırmış, ve bir de banyo yaptırmış. Banyomuz çok güzeldi, yeni yapıldığı için bunun dışında başka bişey yoktu yani. Ortadaki o oda hani o garajdan büyük olanın pencereleri yoktu, mutfagımız yoktu, sonra provisorisch bir mutfak yaptık ama böyle çeşme su bu falan yoktu. Ama bi oda vardı büyük oda, içi oyuncak doluydu hiç unutmam. Böyle babam şimdi çocuklar gelecek diye türlü çeşitli oyuncak almış, ama biz oyuncakla oynamasını bilmiyoruz ki hani, çok böyle mekanik böyle değişik şeyler falan var çok kısa zamanda hepsini kırdık yani, babam bayağı şey olmuştü (gülmeler), çünkü o tür şeylere alışkın olmadığımız için nasıl oynayacağımızı falan da hatırlamıyorum. Sonra bi de o banyo bizi çok etkilemişti, hani küveti vardı, fayans da o tabii tuvalet usulü bizim Türkiye’de tanıdığımız gibi değil, onun bayağı bi sıkıntısını çektik alışmaya kadar. Onu iyi hatırlıyorum şey olarak. Bahçede şey var idi, bazan yeri geldikçe almanlara anlatırım, wäschespeler! oluyorya çamaşırları asmak için, kaldığımız cadde çok sakin ve yabancı çoktu orda, böyle yerli alman halkları ee biraz böyle einfamilien hauslar (Müstakil evler) çok güzel bir şekilde, büyük bahçemiz vardı, ondan dolayı böyle tabi orda exwood gibi göze batıyor, ama komşular iyi idi, öyle yabancı düşmanlığı orda pek sezmedik. Biz o wäschespinnerei salıncak zannettik, dedik ki ohoo ne güzel salıncak varmış burda, çünkü aralarında delikler var. Aralarında hep ipe taktık böyle dört kardeş oyuncağı şeyaptık ona göre de ayarladık, hepimiz bi bindik şöyle bir tur attık, şöyle döndük tabi şeyler vırrrt eğildi gitti. Onun çamaşırlık olduğunu ne bilelim biz yani taa yıllar sonra öğrendik onun çamaşırlık olduğunu. Öyle anı olarak onu iyi hatırlıyorum. Eem bi de şey, tabi orda yabancılığımızı, şey hani o zaman türk sınıfı vardı, hepimiz köy usulü gibi bi sınıftaydık. 1. 2. 3. sınıf, sıralar falan, Türk öğretmeni ders veriyordu. İki yıl sonra dağıldı o, sonra biz alman sınıflarına dağıldık. Almanca yazma tabii biliyoruz, matematik filan iyi, birinci sınıfa attılar ama, o da bizim için yeterli değildi. Çok haşır neşir olduk yani ordan oraya, itilmeyi, az da olsa ta o zaman yabancı olmanın getirdiği şeyleri yavaş yavaş sezdik. Şey olayları vardı ilk zaman işte onu hatırlıyorum. Alman sınıfındayız, bayram zamanı yaklaştı, Nikolaus olayı. Çünkü sınıfta herkes anlatıyor; aa bu akşamı unutmuyacaksınız diyor. Kapının önüne diyor çizmeleri koyacaksınız diyor, geceleri Nikolaus gelecek diyor. Şimdi bu çizmelerin içine diyor şeker çikolata dolduracak diyor. Ondan sonra şey yapacaksınız diyor. İlk defa ben öyle bir olayla karşılaştım. Eve ben bi geldim öyle bi heyecanlı heyecanlı abime ablama anlatıyom, bhaaa diyorum, bu gün diyorum çok önemli bir geçeymiş sakın unutmayalım. Bu gün diyorum; işte kapının önüne bütün ayakkabıları çizmeleri koyacaksınız, işte çikolata dolacakmış. Evde, işte Türk akli, hemen gözü de doymazya, evde ayakkabı çizme ne varsa bütün kapiya sıraladık. Böyle doldurdük. Ama diyorum sakın bakmıyacaktınız diyorum, sabaha kadar dikkat edeceğiz yani bakmadan sabredeceğiz. O sabah çok zor, yani eem olduğunu da hatırlıyorum. Bi heyecanla sabah kalktım, merakla kapiyı bir açtım, bayağı da hava soğuktu, hatta hafif kar yağmıştı, bizim çizmeler duruyor, bomboş donmuş üşümüş şey olmuş, o zaman çok üzülüyüydüm böyle çok şeyime gittiymi (zoruma). Hani olayın ne olduğunu da bilmiyordum, sadece tek almanlardan duyduğumuz gibi. Aaa diyorum acaba bizi unuttu mu diyorum veyahutta bizim buraya gelmedi diyorum, eem çok şey uğramadı, o çikolatayı kim dağıttı artık onu da bilmiyoruzya, sonra sınıfa eem okula gittim, herkes böyle heyecanlı anlatıyor; aa bu gün bana geldi benim kapımda tabak vardı; öteki şunu diyor; hani almanlar şeyini anlatıyor, hani orda bi burukluk yaşadım, dedim ki hani biz yabancıyza onun için bize gelmedi dedim. Orda böyle kendime yorum yaptım öyle.

culture makes upon them and mediating family bonds in a balanced way within all this. She says her parents always had the fear that their children would “become Germanized.” Thus they were not allowed to do everything. She reflects on this phase below:

Ö2: I mean, we were constrained. In those days we were like... what is allowed and what can you do? I was always living that stress. Well...While you have mores and traditions at home, on the other hand you feel like a foreigner, I mean... you are a Moslem and besides, there's the distinction between sins and good deeds...I mean, it was very complicated for me, there's nothing to say, nothing specific or very clear, for someone who's an adolescent. Well... it's complicated a strict family... I mean a family with rigid rules. My father was a disciplinarian, so was my mother. Great care was taken. If something was said—“You'll become Germanized!” There was also that fear. Both in the family and around us¹⁷¹. (20)

Several factors are at play here. For one thing, Mrs. Özkan 2 touches on the subject of orthopraxy indirectly and without quite realizing it. The strict Prohibited/Permitted conception of the family and its lack of a basic strategy create stress and unease for the children. Mrs. Özkan 2 is aware of her parents' shortcomings in this respect. She rejects authoritarianism and strictness without guidance. The lack of clarity is a cause of stress for her. Even as a child, she has comprehended that the outside world and the inner world of the family and own-culture are different. What she expects as she looks back to the past is actually guidance. Both the floundering of the family and their lack of guidance is associated with adapting to the outside world.

The term “Germanization” became a cliché within the family. In every different action the family bore the fear of their children becoming “German.” The family pressure and concerns began to increase as they grew up. Mrs. Özkan 2 had already experienced certain dilemmas in this respect. Along with the thought of becoming German, she also had the fear of falling into sin. She adds that her

¹⁷¹ Ö2: Herşeyimiz müsadeli değildi kısıtlıydı. O dönemde çok böyle ee.. ne müsadeli olur? ne yapabilirsin? eem böyle sürekli hep o gerginliği yaşıyordum. Bir yandan eem.. evde adet gelenek var bi yandan bi yabancısın, bi yandan bi müslümansın eee.. bi yandan günah sevap ayırımı var, çok karışık işte böyle bi genç yaşta insana böyle bi net klar (clear) ifade edilecek bişey yok. Hepsinden biraz karışık karışık, böyle sıkı ve katı kural.. katı kural demeyim de çok sık kurallı bi aile şeyi var.. Babam filan çok disiplinli idi. Annem de öyleydi, hani çok dikkat edilirdi. Bişey dense, işte almanlaşırsın!!, o korku da vardı. Kendi aramızda ve çevrede de.

parents did not have enough qualification to support them against this new situation. Moreover, they pressured them:

I: Did you have the same fear? If I become Germanized?

Ö2 : Hmm.. I would say *jaein*, Yes and No, I mean.. It could happen, but not necessarily. Well... we were like, I mean... we were living this dilemma all the time. Rather, I mean... there was the fear of committing a sin. Am I sinning, is this right or wrong? There was another thing, I mean... there were neighbourhood influences, too. If neighbours... well... knew or saw anything bad about us, there was also lots of gossip, all of these factors had too much of a fear effect on us. To be influential in class was inevitably difficult for us. Even the teachers made us feel our foreignness in these things. It was openly expressed. Well... how can I say... "We live and learn." Then, well... not all the time, but especially during the *Fasching* carnivals, you may have doubts about the way you dress, is it religiously permissible or not? Is it a sin or a Germanization? ... Actually, there was no clear guidance from my parents about that, either. It was forbidden. Directly there would be a command.. "It's impossible, never"... Our parents never had the notion of convincing us or explaining the reasons why or how¹⁷². (22)

After the culture shocks she experienced, her mother fell fatally ill when she was in the seventh or eighth grade at school, which she reports as the fourth section of her life. This situation created a big shock on the family and this continued until the death of her mother a few years later.

Ö2: She was severely ill, I mean.. She was sick, she had been sick for a long time, as I remember; we used to take her to the doctor all the time. I used to translate and later on, anyhow those doctors could not... (heal her). As a child I was 13, 14 years old, how could I be of help to her, ... Of course, mother is sick all the time and she's suffering, she's in pain, and you can't do anything. Besides, she had been suffering from... well... Finally, she had an operation when she was in the hospital. She also had a... after her illness was diagnosed, well... it was really for us, I mean... how should I say? I didn't understand what was happening very well in those years¹⁷³. (24)

¹⁷² I: *Sizde de var mı idi o korku, acaba almanlaşır mıyım diye?*

Ö2: *emmm jaein (hem evet hem hayır) deyim yani.. olabiliyordu da, olmayabiliyordu da, hani şeyde (çelişkide) kalıyorduk her zaman. Daha doğrusu şey korkusu vardı; acaba günah mı işliyorum, acaba günah mı doğru mu değil mi? Bir de hani çevrenin de etkisi çok vardı işte. Konu komşu çevre duyarsa veya görürse, dedi kodu etme olayı da çok, onların da çok etkisi vardı işte korku olarak. Sürekli hani sınıfta eee etkili olamıyorduk ister istemez. Böyle şeylerde sürekli hep yabancı olduğunu öğretmenler tarafından da hissettiriliyordu. O dile getiriliyordu. Böyle yani ne deyim, mit der Zeitfindet man damit sich ab. Dann ee zamanla hep olmasa da.. mesala en basit böyle karnaval kutlaması olduğunda böyle Verkleidung (Karnavala uygun giyinme), ne derece caiz yani olur mu olmaz mı? Günah mı, almanlaşmış mı, böyle bi emm tam böyle kesin annemden babamdan da bii açık ve net bi şey de yoktu. Yasaktı. Hemen emr-i vaki, olmaz yasak, ama böyle doğru dürüst izah ettiğin, hangi sebepten dolayı olduğuna dair düşünce de yoktu.*

¹⁷³ Ö2: *Çok ağır, hani rahatsızdı. Sürekli uzun zamandır hatırladığım kadar rahatsızdı, sürekli doktora filan götürürdük. Tercüme ederdim, ondan sonra o bi türlü doktorlar pek yani şey olmazdı. Çocuk olarak o zaman ben 13- 14 yaşlarında ben. Ne derece (yardımcı olabilirim) Tabi sürekli anne rahatsız, ağır sancı çekiyor, bişey yapamıyorsunuz. Onun şeyi filan da var, işte en sonunda işte hastaneye filan yattığında ameliyat geçirdi. Şey filan da oldu. Teşhis konduktan sonra o tabi bizim için büyük bi eee şey oldu.. nasıl desem ee o yaşta tabi bazı olayları tam olarak anlamıyordum.*

As the eldest daughter in the family, she begins to assume the responsibilities of the mother. Her earlier happy childhood has ended, and she is swamped by burdens. She had to discontinue her education for a while. She wanted to find a solution for her education. She told this problem to her teachers, but was ignored by them.

Ö2: well... I was going to eighth grade then... (*crying*) I didn't go to school for a long time, I suppose it was almost at the end of eighth grade. After I told my teachers, I mean.. I can say that (when I compare it to the present) the teachers were also really insensitive. If something like that happened today, they would act differently¹⁷⁴. (26)

At a very early age, she and her siblings were forced to bear responsibilities. This situation was one of the most important factors causing changes in her and the family's life perspective. The image of their mother as a harsh disciplinarian then changed. In her eyes, her mother represents faith, strength, and fortitude. She says that her mother had strong faith: "since my mother was a strong believer." Thus, she resisted her disease successfully. Later on, her brother got engaged with the enthusiastic consent of her mother, because one of greatest desires of her mother had been to see a daughter-in-law (*gelin*) at home before she died. Her mother passed away when she was 17 years old. She cries and is full of emotion while relating these events.

Her father began to display harsher behaviour about the education of his children after her mother's death. For example, he tried to impose some responsibilities which she couldn't endure. She says:

Ö2: One day my father called me and told me: "Starting tomorrow, you will go to school wearing your headscarf." He made a rule, OK?.. When I think about it, it should be when I was in seventh or eighth grade, the rule was set. It was an absolute command from above, well... from now on, you have to do this. It was a really heavy responsibility at that age. You're already feeling like a foreigner and feeling tense, how can you do that? It was a very heavy burden for me at that age

¹⁷⁴ Ö2: *Sekizinci sınıfa gidiyordum o zaman, (ağlama) .. bi uzun zaman okula filan gitmedim. Heralde o sekizinci sınıfın sonuna doğru sanırım, işte öğretmenlere filan da söyledikten sonra.. 'şimdiyle karşılaştırıyorum da öğretmenler falan da çok duyarsızdı diyebilirim yani. Şimdi böyle bi durum olmuş olsa biraz daha değişik intensiv ilgi gösteriliyor.*

and it was like... I mean... it was the first time I faced something like that. Besides, there was no understanding and supportive atmosphere, either¹⁷⁵. (28)

On the other hand, she had to take care of her siblings. The German youth office made a proposal to take care of her siblings, but she did not accept. The wife of her brother moved to Germany after marriage and helped her in household chores and in caring for her siblings. However, the German youth office kept them under observation for a while, to check whether the children were living in good conditions. In the meantime, their relations with their father improved, they became close to him emotionally.

After the death of her mother, the father remarried. She reports that she has good relations with her father and stepmother. She sees her stepmother like her own biological mother, whereas initially, she could not imagine anyone filling that position and was harshly opposed to it.

Ö2: God is going to ask me that, too. Because she has no blame in my mother's death. So I can say, both as a Moslem and as my human obligation, she is now part of our family. I will be responsible for her in God's sight, she plays a role at that point. Her attitude is also the same. Because of that, most people don't know we're steps. When we tell them, they're surprised¹⁷⁶. (76)

There have been positive changes in her father image. The passage of time has dissolved bad memories and left only sweet ones. In retrospect, she remedies her father image and relativizes the stories.

Ö2: The more people grow up and learn about the rights of parents, you realize your responsibilities, and it's more intensive, due to our duties towards our father. Because when you look back on our childhood, he was strict and cruel and a child-beater, but that doesn't matter anymore, you know how some things seem sweeter as time goes by¹⁷⁷. (78)

¹⁷⁵ Ö2: Bir gün babam çağırdı, yarından itibaren başın kapalı gideceksin okula dedi, kural koydu tamam!. Yine heralde 7. 8. sınıf döneminde emm.. bir ee şey yok hani nasıl olacak olmayacak diye düşünmek. Tamamen emr-i vaki, bundan itibaren işte yapacaksın. O yaşta çok ağır bir sorumluluktu. Zaten yabancısın ve sürekli böyle geriliyorsun, bunu nasıl yapabilirsin? O yaşta o çok büyük bir yükü bana, insanın böyle şey olarak... İlk defa böyle bi şeyle karşı karşıya idim, ve anlayacak destek olacak bir ortam yoktu.

¹⁷⁶ Ö2: Allah bana onu da soracak çünkü annemin ölümüyle onun herhangi bir suçu kabahati sorumluluğu yok. Onun için hem bir insanı görevim olarak hem bir müslüman olarak, o da artık allemizden bir parça ve Allah beni de onun için ona da mesul tutacak ve o noktada o bi nevi rol oynuyor. Kendisinin davranışları falan da öyle işte onun için, çoğu insanlar yani böyle bilmiyor üvey olduğumuzu, dediğimiz zaman şaşırıyorlar.

¹⁷⁷ Ö2: Ondan dolayı emm büyüdükçe ondan sonra, baba anne hakkını öğrendikçe ondan sonra tabi biraz daha sorumluluk düşünüyor insana daha intensiv oluyor hani o babamıza olan şeylerimiz hani, çünkü çocukluğuma geçmişime falan bakarsan

The content and structure of these quotes highlight her perspective taking: for instance, she explains how her attitude towards her stepmother should be by feeling responsible before God and humanity. Actually, she has a secure attachment to the parents from the start, but is not aware of it. Her relations with significant others are centered on the concepts of responsibilities, rights and duties. These reflect the characteristics of Stage 3.

4.1.5.2.2. Relations with Significant Others and Exploring Muslim Female Identity

Mrs. Özkan 2's narrative on this subject is concerned mostly with her position within the family and her family's conception of a conventional religious woman. In her view, the family originally had certain extremely conventional tendencies. The crucial thing for her was the negative and pejorative image of women in the family. Before her marriage, she attempted to rebel against this understanding, but was unsuccessful, because she did not find the strength in herself to conduct this rebellion alone. She says:

Ö2: Both before and after my marriage, somehow I couldn't accept it. And I was saying, "This can't be." According to my beliefs, I should have rebelled (*revoltieren*) (*laughs*), but there was no suitable space for that. Yet I could feel the rebellion in me. I wasn't able to describe it, but I was resisting. I never wanted to accept that. But I was constrained, so I accepted it after a point. But belief in God was certainly prominent, and foremost was the fear of God. Because of that... well..I don't know¹⁷⁸. (58)

She adds:

Ö2:...I didn't think there was room in God's justice for that, as a human being I mean...those cliché things! You know.. "Women are long on hair but short on intellect." Women aren't consulted or they're lower than men, I mean... All that stuff, I never wanted to accept as a human being created by God. Meanwhile, there was fear of committing a sin. As if I was opposing God, I had paradoxical

oo çok yani çok kurallı çok böyle gaddar dayaklı böyle şey bi babalığı da vardı ama olsun. Onda sonradan sonraya tatlı geliriya bazı şeyler.

¹⁷⁸ Ö2: Hani bekar iken de hep böyle yani genç kız iken de hep böyle bir türlü hazmedemiyordum ve diyordum olamaz diyordum. Hani bi yandan benim inandığım şeye göre his olarak bi revoltieren yapmam lazım (gülme) ama mekanım uygun değildi veyahutta yoktu öyle destek, ama yine bi başkaldırı mı desem veyahutta bişey vardı içimde direniyordum, kabullenmek istemiyordum. Ama mecbur kalıyordum benim eğiyordum hesabında, ama Allah inancı muhakkak vardı ve korkusu çok ön plandaydı. Onun için eemm bilmiyorum...

fears in those times. On the other hand, I was telling myself, "It's impossible! God wouldn't discriminate that much," I mean... it shouldn't be...well..it was, of course, in those times¹⁷⁹. (66)

Questioning all these, and getting rid of old traditional values with support from her husband, she was freed of fears and believes she destroyed this traditional negative image of women. Consequently, this gave her comfort and peace of mind. She also regards this as a grace from God. According to her, God has given her the chance of seeing "the truth."

Ö2:...Well...it gave me peace, relief. Another thing ...Another thing is, as we inevitably experienced that kind of paradoxical thing in our environment, it was solved relatively easily... Saying "No, it was my belief, this isn't the Islam I know, this is people's fault or their false practice," you can speak about it freely. Or on the other hand, God values us because of people's faults...that were giving me a different kind of happiness and peace. God gave me this right, this chance, but if people don't use it... Of course, I thought it was their own (fault)¹⁸⁰. (72)

She states that along with the support of her husband, her own experiences and character also had an impact on her improvement and personal maturation. She explains that "experiencing the bitter side of life" and assuming responsibility at a very early age" had a significant role on her personal development. Due to all this, Mrs. Özkan 2 characterizes the post-marital period of her life as one in which she did many new and different things. The situation she regards as change came by way of an outside influence. In her view, all this occurred after marriage, with the support of her husband.

Ö2: The important thing is... well...at first I was like... I mean... How should I say?... getting to know my character... I mean... I had a chance to know myself as a person and a Moslem woman. Thanks to my husband's supportive attitude towards me, the ridiculous traditions in our family, Islamic rights between husband and wife, what Sin is... All that kind of stuff was a purification period for me. Considering my personality, we were brought up traditionally... Women were

¹⁷⁹ Ö2: Allah'ın adaletine şeyine yakıştıramıyordum, insan olarak hani, dediğim gibi o klasik şeyler işte kadının saçı uzun akli kısıdır, kadının fikri sorulmaz hep erkekten daha alacaktır filan, hani Allah'ın yarattığı bir kulu olarak, kabullenmek istemiyordum, bir yandan da şey korkusu vardı. Günaha gireceğim, hani sanki Allah'a başkaldırmış, Allah'a karşı gelmiş gibi, içimde öyle çelişkili bir korku da vardı o zamanlar, ama bir taraftan da olamaz diyordum hani, Allah o kadar büyük ayırım yapmaması lazım, hani olmaması lazım. Tabi o zamanlar...

¹⁸⁰ Ö2: Yani şöyle ee rahatlık verdi bi ferahlık, bi de eee ister istemez çevremizde de o tip çelişkili şeyi yaşadığımızdan dolayı, rahatlıkla hani şey olabildi, hayır bu benim inancım idi bu benim bildiğim İslamiyet gibi değil bu insanların hatası yahut da yanlış uygulaması diyerekten onu rahatlıkla diyebilme şeyi olabilir veya bazı yönlerde de yani bak Allah bize değer veriyormuş, insanların hatasından dolayı. Orda da ayrı bir mutluluk ayrı bir huzur veriyordu yani. Allah bana bu hakkı bu imkanı vermiş ama insanlar onu kullanmıyorsa artık tabi onların şeyi diye.

generally kept slightly in the background. Like I said... some of that came from my mother, of course she didn't intend it badly, and she also was brought up in the same way, due to cultural pressure. Men eat the best part of the meal, but women eat later (*laughs*), always keeping women subordinate on every issue. I was also brought up in the same way. Later.. I mean... after I got married, the first book my husband gave me as a gift was about women's rights in Islam¹⁸¹. (42)

Her husband was the occasion of a religious perspective change not only for Mrs. Özkan 2, but for the whole family. His entry into their lives caused something of a revolution in religious conceptions. Mrs Özkan 2 sees her husband as an expert on the subject of religion. When he says something, he can't be criticized in the family: no one would dare to say it was wrong, because he is more rational. Her husband supported her in getting German citizenship and obtaining a driver's license, whereas receiving German citizenship was earlier impossible and unthinkable for her, because she considered acquiring German citizenship almost as a betrayal of Islam.

Ö2: I applied for citizenship with my husband's support, I mean... he pushed me. It was lost time for me, how could I get German citizenship? I felt like I was selling my religion. I had lots of questions like that in my mind. My husband told me: "Don't be silly. When you're in God's presence, he won't ask you if you're Turkish or German, what he will ask is, 'Are you Moslem or not?'" He had lots of simple explanations like that. Until then, I'd been feeling as though I would sell out my religion if I got German citizenship, it was like a kind of betrayal (*Verrat*). Another thing was his pushing me to get a driver's license. As for my father: "Never! Impossible! A woman is going to drive a car and I'll sit next to her?" It was inconceivable (*unvorstellbar*) for him. I mean it was not (acceptable). After that my husband did... I mean.. said that a driver's license is more necessary for a woman¹⁸² (48).

¹⁸¹ Ö2: Ön plana çıkan eee , ilk sefer biraz böyle emm.. nasıl desem eee kendi kişiliğimi tanıma, şeyi özelliği mi böyle nasıl desem, eemm kişi olarak, insan olarak, müslüman bayan olarak tanıma fırsatını tanıyabildim sağolsun eşimin desteği ve tutumuyla.. aradaki böyle aile içindeki örf adet ee böyle saçma adetler de varsa onlarla İslami yönden artık gerçekten böyle hakla hukukun kadın erkek durumu olsun günah nedir, şey filan onlar bi arıtma dönemi diyebilirim ee kendi şahsıma bakarak, çünkü bazı şeylerde çok böyle geleneksel yetişme tarzımızda vardı, genelde kadın biraz arka planda. Biraz dediğim gibi işte annemden de kaynaklanan ve art niyetli filan değil de ee öyle alışılmış, kültürün biraz baskısı işte, yemeğin iyisini erkekler yer, kadınlar sonra yer (gülmeler) herşeyde kadınları hep ikinci planda tutan, ve öyle yetişmişim, sonradan işte evlendikten sonra eşim bana ee ilk hediye ettiği kitap şeydi, ee İslamda kadın hakları.

¹⁸² Ö2: O o zamandı hatta eşimin de desteğiyle, zorlamasıyla diyebilirim, vatandaşlığa müracat ettim. O zaman benim için bir kayıptı. Nasıl ben Alman vatandaşı olacağım? sanki ben dinimi satıyormuşum gibi, kafamda böyle sorular var idi. Ya dedi saçmalama dedi, Allahın huzuruna vardığın zaman dedi Allah sana Türk müsün Alman mısın diye sormayacak dedi, sen müslüman mısın diye soracak dedi. Böyle çok basit açıklamaları vardı ama o zamana kadar ben sanki Alman vatandaşı olursam, öyle dinimi de satıyormuşum gibi, öyle ee Verrat gibi geliyordu bana. Yine ehliyet almama onun zoruyla başladım, mesala babam; hayır kesinlikle, kadın araba kullanacak ben yanında oturacağım? Onun o dönemki düşüncesi içerisinde unvorstellbar yani hiç şey değildi, ondan sonra o şeyaptı sağolsun, yani bi bayana daha çok lazım falan dedi.

Although her traditional perception of women has changed, her religiosity is still at the conventional level. This is clearly apparent in her method of decision making. She says that she turns to God when she has to make an important decision. And this orientation occurs in two ways: the first is by praying and invoking God, the second is “Guidance” Prayers (*salat al-istikhara*: Islamic Prayer to help in the decision-making process). She used to perform many Guidance Prayers in decision making, but now she does so rarely.

In sum, she has always been conscious that opposing the image of women will not harm the image of God. Clearly, she distinguishes between Islam and the family tradition in this context. In her view, there is equality between man and woman in true Islam, and her husband has helped her see this. It can be seen that she defines her positions with the aid of a second person, both at present and in the past where the stories take place. In the interview passages that correspond to the dimension of form of logic, Mrs. Özkan 2’s view of the past is both narrative and critical. There are also references to what this means for the present. Hence she is not entirely embedded in her stories, she can also look at them from the outside. Her definition of her identity or position with the help of her husband—and the fact that she has developed a reflective perspective on this—points to a mixture of Stages 2, 3, and 4.

4.1.5.2.3. Appropriation of Religion

We have just seen the supportive role of her husband in her discovery of her identity as a Moslem woman. Among her current relations are her family and close friends. Her friends are people with whom she shares common values. In her preference of friends, she seeks common themes that she shares with them, which is an indication of synthetic-conventional faith (Stage 3). For example, she says:

Ö2: Well... the kind of people I mean..There should be mutual beliefs, and things we share in common. Both in religious purpose and social activities, events, child education issues, domestic relations (man-woman issues)—considering all those issues not as a typical Turk (*klassisch*

türkisch), but following God's and his Prophet's rules. So we have relationships with those kinds of people in general. I guess that has a profound influence. ¹⁸³ (84)

She has a specific circle of friends. She participates in some activities, but is not a member of any group. What she means by a group is religious communities and mosque associations. She says she greatly values her own freedom, so she rejects becoming a member of any organization. In reply to a question about group membership, she says:

Ö2:... No, I... I'm very attached to my freedom; I don't want to get involved with any community or religious institution. Then I lose my freedom, it's important for me, as far as possible¹⁸⁴. (88)

Asked why freedom is so important for her, she replies that she feels able to stand on her own two feet. She can make her own decisions by investigating. She reckons she can separate truth from falsehood. She believes that some comments of communities or groups might cast a shadow on her ideas, they might try to govern or guide her. She says in German: "freedom is very important for me" (*unabhängigkeit ist für mich sehr sehr wichtig*)...

In learning about Islamic religion, she mentions many and varied instances. The process of religious education started at the mosque and has continued with almost no interruption to this day:

Ö2: But when I was a child, we went to mosques and we experienced the taste of mosque beatings. We received lots of beating from teachers. "No beating, no learning." I've always wanted to learn Islam better and study specific issues more. Thank God, due to this environment of dialogue, you feel responsible and compelled to study and research. I've been improving myself with my husband's support. I've been asking my husband about some issues. In my circle of friends, we try to support and complement one another. But our goal was, as we improved, to get acquainted with and learn the essence of Islam. Thanks be to God, through TV programs, I can say that we've been very impressed by the books of Mustafa Islamoglu. It was very nice to see myself benefiting from his books. When I read the same questions that were in my mind in his books, I

¹⁸³ Ö2:Eee şöyle insanlar hani, aynı fikir aynı yolda hani paylaştığımız ortak noktaların çok olması lazım. Dini amaçdan olsun, sosyal faaliyet ve olaylardan olsun çocuk eğitiminde olsun, ne bileyim işte aile ilişkilerinde hani kadın erkek durumlarında emm klassich türkisch değil de gerçekten hak olan, Allah'ın bize peygamber efendimizin bize sunduğu örnek şeyi noktaları olan şeyler. Ondan dolayı çevremizde genelde o kişilerle görüşüyoruz. Onun da çok büyük etksi olduğunu da tahmin ediyorum yani.

¹⁸⁴ Ö2: Yok ben ben özgürlüğüme düşkünüm, ben hiç bir cemaatin dini kuruluşun içine girmek istemiyorum. O zaman özgürlüğüm kalmıyor. Benim için önemli ee elimden geldiği kadar.

thought to myself, "He answers all questions very easily and in a sensible way." I can say that his books are also very fruitful sources¹⁸⁵. (104)

More than one instance has played a role in her appropriation of religion: the mosque in childhood, a continuous desire to learn about religion in her own psychodynamics (which she does not associate with anything else). Later, her desire to learn religion was further motivated by dialogue activities. At present, together with German and Turkish ladies, they come together every week at the church association and engage in dialogue. Another instance is her husband's support in educating herself about religion.

Another cause that affects her maturation in the religious sense is her circle of friends and their exchange of ideas. She also perceives TV programs as aids in enhancing her religiosity and acquiring religious knowledge. She finds the answers to questions she has in the books of Mustafa Islamoglu. She does not criticize these books or explain what her metaphysical questions are. Why she has turned to Mustafa Islamoglu is not entirely clear, but he is a writer well-known to traditional society in Turkey for his rational but also strictly conservative descriptions. He severely questions folk Islam in his books, and sets forth the social and political aspects of Islam in a strict Community (*Umma*)-oriented way.

The passage above also shows that her self-education in religious matters stems from a motivation to provide adequate answers to questions posed from the outside during dialogue meetings. Interestingly, she has not engaged in any religious, metaphysical, or existential inquiry. She is at pains to establish her social position as a Muslim woman with the aid of religion, not the intellectual dimension of her religiosity. As Klinkhammer notes in his study, this is an indication of a religious conservative woman's desire to individuate and exist in social life.

¹⁸⁵ Ö2: *Bi zaman cami işte çocukken camilere gittik orda bol dayaklı bi cami tadı aldık, hocanın vurduğu yerde gül biter diye bir sürü dayak yedik, ve sonradan işte hep içimde hedeflerimden birisi hani ee İslamiyeti daha iyi öğrenebilmek, daha belirli şeyleri böyle daha güzel araştırabilmek, içimde hep o yatıyordu ve Allah şükür bu ortamda, bu diyalog ortamlarında filan olsun, o sorumluluk o mecburiyet olunca işte bazı şeyleri okuyorsunuz, araştırıyorsunuz, yani ne deyim, bi kendimizi yetiştirmeye çalışarak işte daha çok eşimin desteğiyle, bazı şeyleri ona soruyordum, ve kendi arkadaş çevremizle de birbirimizi Unterstützung yaparak ergänzing yaparak, nasıl söyleyim, emm doğru ve yetiştirdikçe ama bizim amacımız şeydi, hani öz İslamiyetle tanışalım ve öz İslamiyeti öğrenelim, onla tanışalım ve Allah'a şükürler olsun bazı işte bi televizyon programları Mustafa İslamoğlu'nun kitapları falan çok bizi etkiledi diyebilirim. Çok güzel eemm o yönden kendime faydalandığımı gördüm yani bazı kafamda olan soruları orda okuyunca, ha dedim basit bir şekilde adam az ve net güzel cevaplandırmış yani, onu da çok öyle verimli bir zaman.. yani verimli bir kaynak olarak onu da diyebilirim.*

4.1.5.2.4. Image of God

Asked about the changes in her relations to and belief in God, Mrs. Özkan 2 starts by telling how religious her mother's family was. In her opinion, religion has always been at the forefront in her mother's family. The image of God presented to her in early years of life by the family was one of "burning" and "punishing." She later started thinking about God's "forgiveness" and "mercy." Traditional beliefs existing in the family always preoccupied her and gave rise to a fear of committing sin, also when she thought about God. She reflects on the changes in her image of God and understanding of religion. Hence, she is aware of changes in her God-image and is open to discussing these. It can be seen that the change in her image of God coincides with a change in her image of religion in general. This is neither an acute change, nor one sought fervently and developed internally. Mrs. Özkan 2 is aware that some things are not right, and has awaited the formation of proper conditions to remedy this. In the interview, she does not explicitly articulate an overt practical search for change, or what she encountered during this process.

In what follows, she reflects on the development and change of her God-image. Asked whether she experienced changes in her relations with God, she replies:

Ö2: That too happened, of course. Like I said, well... since my childhood, because my mother's side was devout and religious, I mean... religious beliefs and things were at the forefront all the time. It was never in the background, both at home and when we went on vacation. It was something continuous in our lives. But... How should I put this... at first I met with the attribution of a creepy, a punishing God. Burning, placing in the fire and punishing, well, how should I know? We learned about his mercy and forgiveness much later. At first it was imposed on us in our childhood, if something (bad) happens, "stones will rain on your head", well... as a child I knew, I remember very well. You know it as child, I mean... If I did something wrong or made some mistake, I used to hide to protect myself from those falling stones, or I used to tell myself: "I'd better hide." I used to look up all the time, wondering when those stones would rain down on me. I used to say that all the time, because I had heard it as a child. I used to wonder about the stones, thinking, what is that huge stone like? All this aside, God was always in the foreground. Like I said, regrettably, those traditional beliefs were taught as if they came directly from God. It had been imposed on us like that. But thank God, He gave me a chance to separate the truth from falsehood. I had been so

confused about... I mean, I was never able to accept the discrimination between man and woman¹⁸⁶. (56)

When asked about current image of God, like “who is God or what is God,” she replies after some hesitation:

Ö2: For me, God... What kind of question is this, anyway? (*Laughs*). Well.. He’s everything, who gives breath, my existence, I mean... I can’t imagine a life without God, I don’t know at all. At every beginning, in every step I take, in everything I do, he also contributes in part. I can say it’s an opportunity he granted me, I mean. It’s impossible to do anything without God for even a minute¹⁸⁷. (60)

Although she mentions changes in her God image, she is surprised and hesitant when confronted with a question about her present image of God, describing God in terms of literal attributes. This indicates that she persists in previous levels, at Stages 2 and 3. Actually, she has noticed in the process that the inferior image of woman stems from religion. Her husband’s support has liberated her from the burden of that traditional understanding. She has escaped the burning and punishing image of God and appropriated a more unifying, positive God-image. In this sense, God has been transformed from an agent who burns and punishes to one who causes her to exist and supports her. Hence in this domain, Mrs. Özkan 2 displays the characteristics of Stages 2, 3, and 4.

4.1.5.2.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Mrs. Özkan 2 reports that being religious is a relative phenomenon which changes from one person to another. She herself explains the meaning of becoming

¹⁸⁶ Ö2: O da oldu muhakkak. Dediğim gibi işte, Çocukluğumuzdan beri anne tarafım çok böyle takva ve inançlı bir çevre olduğu için, ee sürekli dini inançlar hani dini şeyler ön plandaydı, evde de olsun izine filan gittiğimizde de olsun, yani hiç eee arka planda olacak bir durum değildi, sürekli hayatımızın içinde olan birşeydi. Ama ee nasıl desem, çok böyle ürpertici ve çok böyle emm cezalandırıcı böyle bir emm şeyapan bir Allah sıfatıyla tanıştım ilk başta. Yakan, ateşe atan ve cezalandıran ne bileyim işte. Böyle merhametli, bağışlayan affedicisi sıfatı çok çok çok sonra, ilk başta hani böyle kafamıza yerleştirilen çocukluğumuzdan beri. Birşey olduğu zaman kafama taş düşer işte, çok hatırlıyorum yani çocuk olarak biliyordum, çocuk olarak biliyorsunuz, hani bir kabahat işledim bir hata yaptım, saklanırdım, böyle kafama taş düşmesin, yahut da saklanıyım derdim, sürekli hep yukarılara bakardım, o kocaman taş ne zaman inecek, sürekli hep çocuk olarak öyle duyduğum için öyle derdim, acaba bu nasıl birşeydir, o kocaman taş nasıl birşeydir, diye düşünürdüm, bunlar bir yana ama Allah her zaman ön plandaydı ve rol oynanıyordu. Bazı şeyler dediğim gibi, geleneksel olan şeyler ne yazık ki Allah tarafından geliyor diye, öyle öğretildi öyle aşılandı bize, ama onlar sonradan sonraya ayırılmak nasip etti Allah Allaha şükür, onun karışıklığını yaşadım, ee şöyle deyim, ben kişi olarak bazı şeyleri oldu bitti bazı şeyleri kabullenemiyordum hele hele bu kadın erkek ayrımında.

¹⁸⁷ Ö2: Allah.. benim için... valla nasıl bi soru bu şimdi (gülme) emm herşeydir, nefes veren, yani hayatta olabilmem, Allahsız bir hayat düşünemem bilmiyorum artık. Herşeyin başında, her attığım adımda, her yaptığım şeyde bi parça onun da katkısı ve onun bana verebildiği bi imkan diyebilirim yani. Onsuz bi dakika bile şeyayilabilecek gibi değil.

religious in Islam with the Five Pillars of the religion. Especially, performing the Five Daily Prayers and fasting are very important. Her model person in faith/religion is the Prophet Mohammed. According to Mrs. Özkan 2, Muhammad delivered important messages to humankind. For example, she thinks the domestic life of the Prophet should be taken as a model. She claims people misunderstand and abuse (*suiistimal*) the Prophet's messages. In her view, all people need to follow the Prophet's lead. Thus, Muhammad is the only exemplary leader for her. She adds that there might be people who are pious and religious, but they are always deficient in some respect. She believes that nobody is perfect. She lays special emphasis on the Prophet's relations with women.

Mrs. Özkan 2 performs her Daily Prayers five times a day and states that she offers supplications (*dua etmek*) after each Prayer. She learned from her late mother to do "formal Prayers for the trip" prior to her journeys. She is not a member of a Sufi order. Thus, she does not have special forms of meditation or religio-spiritual disciplines. As for personal, informal prayers/supplications (*dua*), she prays as she desires without any special form.

Ö2: But in case of any worries, I used to do... I got the habit from my deceased mother, for example, when we make any journey, whether long or short, especially when we fly to Turkey, I certainly perform a special Prayer for the journey. I pray, "Please God," for our safety before we get off, I perform my Prayers, I try to read some verses from the Koran as far as possible. After we reach our destination safe and sound, I perform another Prayer to express thanks to God. That kind of thing—Prayer and worship—has a very important role in my life. I mean, they're at the forefront. When I feel troubled or worried, I read verses from the Koran that evening. Taking refuge in God, I worship God to achieve something by reading some verses from the Koran. That's all I can do about that, I have nothing to do with saying beads and so on.¹⁸⁸ (177)

¹⁸⁸ Ö2: Ama böyle herhangi bi sıkıntı böyle ne bileyim benim böyle çok şey alışkanlığım vardı hep o da rahmetli annemden kalmıştır, yolculuk yapacağız, uzun mesafe olsun kısa mesafe olsun, hele Türkiye'ye gideceğimizi zaman illa bir yolculuk namazı kılarım eee Allaha derim inşallah ya rab yola çıkmadan önce iki rekat namaz kılarım ee elimden geldiği kadar Kuran felan okurum, inşallah herhangi bi sıkıntı yaşamadan şeyapmadan, ulaştıktan sonra nereye gideceksem gideyim, sağ salım vardık, Allahım ulaştık diye de onun için tekrar Allaha şükretmek için Allaha teşekkür etmek için onun için ayrı bi ibadet ederim yani o tip şeyler dualarımda hayatımda çok ee oynar, yani ön plandadır, çok böyle bir darda bi sıkıntıda kaldığım zaman o akşam Kuran okurum Allaha sığınırım, Allahım inşallah bi hayırlı netice bişeye ulaşabilmek için sen hayır niyetine benim şöyle şu kadar sayfa Kuran okuyacağım, yani öyle kendi kafamda canladırabileceğim kadar bişeyler hani öyle şeyayabilirim, ama onun hariç dua hani böyle tesbih çekeyim şeyapayım o tip ee şeyler yok ama.

The most important religious symbol is her headscarf, which she sees as an expression of her personality. She states that she can work with her headscarf without any problem at government work in her region. She says:

Ö2: Well... in society, my headscarf, of course. That is an expression of my personality... Wherever I am or whatever I do, it expresses definitely what religion and opinion I belong to, even without saying anything.¹⁸⁹ (165)

She supports dialogue between different faith systems. For the resolution of disputes between religions or in interfaith relations, people must abandon the notion that theirs is true and the other's is wrong, because all religions actually come from the same source, and are linked to each other in some way.

Ö2: Yes, I was about to say that (divine religions). I got confused. Well... there... because they all come from the same source, because people are misguided and depart from the straight path on religious matters, anyway they all are connected to each other. But when I speak to anyone, I first try to strike a balance. The points that are valid in their beliefs may not be valid in our religion. Not just necessarily because of differences, but we might be able to, not unite, but maybe come together about these matters. Then, only then, can we talk about an interfaith dialogue. For my part, I've never approached these matters in terms of "mine is right, yours is wrong." Besides I would never do so, because God knows who is more sincere or faithful in his religion. This is all about God's will. As far as possible, I try to hold no prejudice about others' beliefs or religions. On the other hand, I don't have the right to do so¹⁹⁰. (189)

Although she does not disclose much about the meaning of her life, among her short-term goals are going on Pilgrimage and not deviating from God's way. Her understanding of religion fits the ritualistic form of conventional religiosity. To the question whether she considers herself a religious person, she replies that religiosity is a relative thing. Her own definition of a religious person is one who fulfils the basic rituals of religion, especially Prayer and fasting, both of which she

¹⁸⁹ Ö2: Toplum içinde tabi tesettürüm. Beni kişiliğim olarak böyle ifade ediyor... nerde olursam oluyum, ne yaparsam yapıyorum hemencik hangi dine nasıl bir görüşe mensup olduğumu açık ve net hani bişey söylemeden bilene ifade ediyordum yani.

¹⁹⁰ Ö2: He semavi dinler diyecektim ben şeyi karıştırdım, emm orda çok, emm zaten hepsi bi kaynaktan geliyor diyebilirim, ondan dolayı hani insanların yanlış yönlendirdiği sonuçta hani yolunu sapıtıp öteki dinin geldiğini hani birbirine bağlantılı hani şey olarak, ama bir insanla böyle şey görüştüğüm zaman önce daha çok ortak noktalar la belki birleşme değil de belki bi beraberlik olabilir hani, aynı ondaki geçen şeyler bizim dinimizde de geçerli olmayınca ille hani farklılıklardan değil de daha çok beraberlikten benzerlikten hani belki ortak noktada buluşulabilir ve orda bi diyalog olabilir. Ve hic bi zaman seninki kötü benimki iyi diye öyle şey yaklaşmayı ben kendim hiç yapmadım, yapmak istemem çünkü neticede Allah bilir diyorum kimin daha inancında daha bağlı daha samimi daha inançlı olduğunu, çünkü o Allah'ın karar vereceği bi iş, ama elimden geldiği kadar hiç bir insanı önyargılayıp da hani eee öyle sen yanlışsın sen doğrusun veyahutta sen kötü yanlış dindesin, bilmeyorum o yetkiyi kendimde bulmuyorum.

implements. Hence her religiosity is implicitly ritualistic, which she will fortify with the Pilgrimage journey.

Like religiosity, in Mrs. Özkan 2's view, the measure of truth changes relatively from one person to another or from one society to another. At the same time, certain evaluations are also subject to change depending on the time. A deed may be right at a certain time according to the value judgments of a society. But after a while, those judgments might change. Thus, old deeds that were right might not remain so in a new era. But there are global ethical principles that everyone should observe. She says about these main ethical principles:

Ö2: Well...first of all, honesty, sincerity, not exploiting others for one's own self-interest. For instance, stop thinking only about yourself, learn to share with others around you. Lying... One should be sensitive to people around one. And they have a responsibility to us, as well...No religious discrimination, such basic orientations, I can say¹⁹¹. (134)

Sin comprises acts prohibited by God. There are specific reasons for such prohibition. These are placed by God for the benefit of humans, and they aim only to prevent harmful things. Just as in the sin understanding of her father, Mrs. Özkan 2 divides sins into two categories, as major and minor. There are sins that are described as cardinal (major) sins, as well as minor sins. Because God knows us and our characters and disabilities very well, avoiding sin is a prevention and reins us in. She describes sins as limits. They are things that are dangerous for human beings. What God forbids is for our interest, our surroundings and our health. God determines what is sinful. Although these restrictions may seem negative, eventually they may have positive results. She is more individual in her approach to the measure of right and moral principles that are always right, while her understanding of sin is more conventional. This indicates a plurality of stages in her aspect of form of world coherence.

¹⁹¹Ö2: *Emm ilk başta hani ee doğruluk dürüstlük ee başkalarının sırtından kendi menfaatini çıkartmama olayları, mesala sadece kendi çıkarlarını düşünmeyi bırak, hani çevrendekiler de böyle paylaşmayı, yalancılık olsun, ee nasıl desem başka işte böyle biraz daha çevreye de duyarlı olma, hani bi bu temelde olan, insanı ee hepimizi etkileyen hepimizi şeyapan hani çevrenin bize olan sorumluluğu var, hani bütün dinlerde, hani hiç bir din ayırım yapılmıyacak, böyle bi ana temel yönlendirmeler diyebilirim yani.*

4.1.5.2.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

According to Mrs. Özkan 2, this world in which we live is a world of trials. God tests us in different ways, and that means we have children and responsibilities. She thinks that she has a responsibility to society as a Moslem. Here she does not make any distinction between responsibilities to the Muslim Community (*Umma*) and to people from other traditions. She also has responsibilities to her family. She believes that God will ask her how she spent her time in this worldly life. Because of that, she wants to fulfil her responsibilities. Given the chance, she does not want to change anything in her life, because she has already changed everything before. She has not accepted being a typical housewife from the start. She has wanted to be a useful person to herself and society, and has largely accomplished this. Thus, there remains nothing to be changed. To be a good Muslim is the most prominent of the values she devotes herself to. In her interview passages, she frequently repeats that this world is temporary, but the hereafter is permanent and worth preparing for. Like other interviewees, she trivializes this world in comparison to the afterlife. This understanding causes her to feel in harmony with God, cosmos and other creatures.

According to her, death is not an end; on the contrary, it is the starting point of an encounter with the facts. Expressing that she is very afraid of death, she articulates her desires and hopes of being forgiven by God. She says about death:

Ö2:...For me it's dire! (*Laughs*) Scary, creepy, I don't know...It's something difficult, how can I describe it? God willing, I hope to be forgiven, but I'm not hundred-percent sure about that.

...Our bodies? I'm really very scared of darkness (*laughs*). Especially, snakes and centipedes can drive me crazy. That thought is enough for me. We will be buried in earth. ...That's the point, rats and insects will show up ... sometimes when I go to bed and pull the quilt over me, as soon as I start to think about those matters I try to hide my head under the quilt, and I feel like I'm being choked. So I'm not able to... able to imagine that. Because I'm scared of darkness, even thinking about that is enough. (*Laughs*) I can't bear anything more.¹⁹² (145- 147-149)

¹⁹² Ö2:Benim için çok vahim (gülme) korkutucu ürpertici bilmiyorum. eemm zor bişey, nasıl deyim bilmiyorum... Allah'ın merhametine affına sığınarak, inşallah diyorum yaptığımız bişeyden herhalde bişeyi kurtarabiliriz umudu yani kendimden yüzde yüz emin değilim de... bedenimiz... onlar benim için, ben kendim karanlıktan çok korkan bir insanım, (gülme) hele yılan çıyan o tip şeylerden benim için tamam böyle kafayı yiyecek durumdur. O zaten o düşünce bana yetiyor, toprağa gireceğiz... o işte, fareler gelecek böcekler gelecek şey yapacak falan, karanlık, zaten o görüntü bilene bazen uykuda tam böyle yorganı üzerime çekerim kendimi tam böyle düşündüğüm zaman, yok kafayı o zaman acayip böyle nefesim daralıyor,

Her conceptions about the afterworld:

Ö2: I used to believe that, after we're placed in the grave, the angels will come to ask us some standard questions. I have always been thinking about that since my youth. After those questions are answered, our graves would be comfortable until doomsday. Now as I study, I think all souls will be kept in different place. But I don't know for sure, it's hard to imagine and there's confusion.

...Well. I think, taking refuge in God's justice, that probably all souls are kept together in one place. I think they are interrogated there, but there is no questioning about deeds. It seems as if time stands still (*die Zeit steht still*), they are all unconscious. But when Judgment Day comes, everything will be disclosed. Judgment will begin. This is all I know and how I console myself. That's how I'm able to imagine it. Otherwise, there's some other stuff which makes me upset. Well, that's it.

I: For instance, what makes you feel upset?

Ö2:... Like I said, when I pray to God and say, "Make our graves comfortable and full of light," like we're accustomed to believe. On one hand, it is said that there's nothing like that, on the other hand it's said that the angels of interrogation will be there. There's always this uncertainty (*unsichern*), and then you feel like... anyway, I hope and ask for God's help there will be something like that. But certainty about the afterlife is... you can compare (*vergleichen*) that to technological advances. Sometimes when I think to myself about the creation of a human being and those man-made high-capacity chips that you can save thousands of information units on. So the chips created by God should have a higher capacity. Like, those examples make you feel more able to imagine those matters. But pondering on other matters... God knows best. Because when I'm too engrossed in that matter, I feel like I'm on the horns of a dilemma. Then I see that it's too much for me. To tell the truth, I don't want to go into those subjects¹⁹³. (153-157-159)

şey yapıyorum, kendim yani canlandıramıyorum, çünkü karanlıktan çok korktuğum için (gülme) o düşünce bana yetiyor. Daha fazlasına gidemiyorum yani.

¹⁹³ Ö2: Orda da şöyle bi kesin bi şey elimde yok hani, ben şöyle bi inancım vardı, hani kabire konulduktan sonra melekler gelecek ve standart sorular var işte onları soracaklar, hep hayalimde o vardı yani ta öncelerden gençken, işte belirli şeyler cevaplanınca da o zaman kabrimiz biraz rahat geniş artık dünya batmasına kadar orda kalacağız gibisinde, şimdi ee böyle araştırdıkça, ne bileyim ruhların ayrı bi bölümde olacağını düşünüyorum, hani benim için tam şöyle olacak diye böyle bi canlandırarak şey yok yani, o yönde çok, karışıklık var.

..... eeem şöyle düşünüyorum, heralde diyorum Allah'ın adaletine sığınarak, heralde diyorum ruhlar bi yerde toplu bekliyor heralde orda sorgu sual veyahutta ne bileyim ameli filan soru şeyi daha yok, bi nevi yani sanki *die Zeit steht still* yani zaman durmuş, bişeyden yani bişeyi bilmiyorlar, ama gerçekten ahiret kurulduğunda o zaman herşey ortaya dökülecek ve o zaman hesap günü başlayacak diye artık öyle kendimi teselli edip ve öyle canlandırabiliyorum yani. Yoksa öbür türlü farklı çok değişik değişik şeyler var ve o beni huzursuz ediyor yani böyle.

I: Mesela ne huzursuz ediyor?

Ö2: Dediğim gibi, hani dualarımda Allahım kabrimizi ferah aydın tut felan diye, hep öyle alışkın olduğumuz için bi taraftan yok öyle bişey yok deniliyor, bi taraftan yok işte hesap melekleri gelecek deniliyor, böyle hep de *unsichern* oluyor insan yani o zaman çok değişik böyle şey yapıyor, o zaman diyorum neyse gene böyle Allah'a sığınarak, herhalde diyom öyle bişey vardır, ama kesin bir ahiret olup ee artık, ee bazen ee bu teknolojinin ilerledikçe bazı şeyleri orda bi nevi hani *vergleichen* yapabiliyorsunuz. Mesala diyordum ki hani, bir insan hayatını nasıl ortaya çıkacağı, ama bu minicik bir chip şey kapasitesi ne kadar çok, böyle kaç bin tene bilgi sığıyor içine, diyorum ki o zaman Allah'ın chipleri daha kapasitelidir felan gibisinden, hani ordan insan biraz canlandırmasına bi destek oluyor. Ama yine de bazı şeylerde de fazla kafa yorma artık o Allahın eline kalmış ve Allah'ın bileceği bi iş, çünkü öyle şey çok kendimi kapırdığım zaman, bu sefer kendimi bi çıkmazda buluyorum ve bakıyorum ki kendim, benim şeyimi aşacak bi durum oluyor. O zaman o noktalara girmek istemiyorum işin doğrusu.

Like many of the second generation, Mrs. Özkan 2 tries to support existence and death with certain technological inventions and internalize them that way. In this respect, she is open to explaining religious symbolic statements and to their interpretation in different ways. But this is expressed in a way that strengthens her conventional religiosity, and the final decision is left to God. Because Mrs. Özkan 2 describes life as a test, whether a person will be successful in this test is, in her view, also uncertain. Hence she tries to avoid speaking about the future and making predictions about it. The path to ultimate salvation lies in religiosity, but neither should one place absolute trust in one's religiosity, because many religious people deviate after a point. Hence, she continually takes refuge in God from sins, and prays for protection against them. She thereby implies her uncertainty about how things will fare in the future.

In her opinion, the presence of evil in the world has a direct connection with the theme of destiny. God determines what is good and evil. Mrs. Özkan 2 criticizes nonbelievers who claim God is powerless against disasters. However, in her view, it makes no sense to blame God for everything, because there are some tasks people are obliged to perform. She has never been sceptical about that.

Since she believes in divine justice, she seeks a reason for natural catastrophes. If a baby dies in an earthquake, perhaps that baby will get its reward elsewhere. Although she is not sure, she reports it is said that a new-born baby might help its family. Since the baby is going to be innocent in the afterlife, that might be possible. We should think about fate, too. It is illogical to hold God responsible for everything, because God has given us responsibilities and free will. Blaming God for cruelty and poverty is contrary to her beliefs. On the subject of evil, human beings are not entirely passive, and God's actions are not wholly arbitrary. Human responsibilities are not abandoned, but the traditional notion that God determines fate is upheld. Hence, although there are traces of Stages 2, 3, and 4, Mrs. Özkan 2 belongs in Stage 3, with her statements reflecting conventional Islamic faith.

4.1.5.2.7. Summary

In dividing her life into chapters, Mrs. Özkan 2 highlights the migration of the family to Germany, her father arriving first and herself arriving later on together with her mother and siblings. Although there are many references to geographical and temporal changes in these life chapters, internal changes are also expressed with awareness. One of these is her discovery of female identity and her realization that Islam is not a religion that oppresses women. After migration, she did not experience alienation in German society. The comprehension that she is a foreigner with a different ethnic-cultural background came later, during daily life. The episode during a particular Christmas is an example of this.

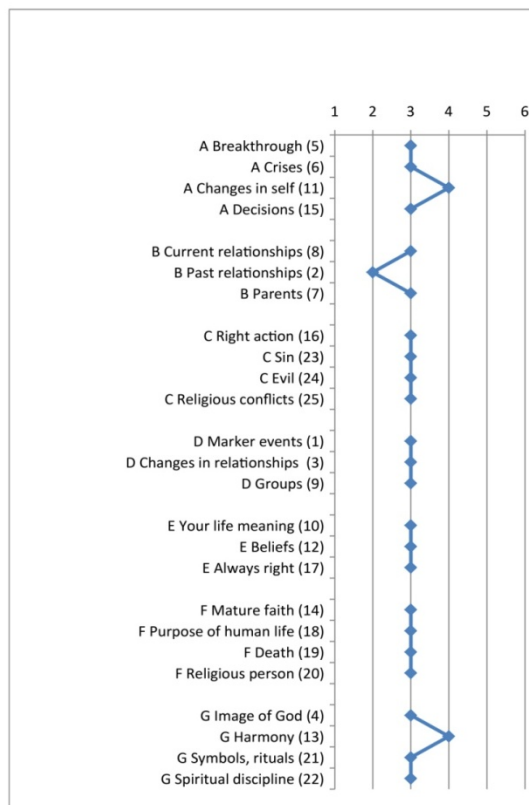
Her family did not constrain her against the outside world when she was small. Intervention occurred during puberty. She was kept under strict observation by her mother, whom she describes as very disciplined. As a result, she had fears of falling into sin in many things she did. This lasted until she got married and her husband's support began.

Her mother's early demise caused her to assume responsibility for the care of her siblings. This burdened her beyond the calling of an ordinary young girl, but also marked the awakening of maternal feelings of responsibility. A strong attachment to her mother is observed, but this does not prevent her from criticizing her mother when necessary. This is also apparent in her attitude to the father. Although her parents are open to criticism, she regards respect for them as a requirement of religion. Thanks to her marriage, she was able to escape her discomfort at having a secondary status in the family as a female. She experienced a religious liberation and partial autonomy thanks to her husband. She continues to expand her life world by participating in activities such as interreligious dialogue.

When viewed from today's perspective, she can regard the formative processes of her religiosity and her God-image reflectively, even if this reflection is only partial. She regards the headscarf as part of Moslem female identity. Honesty, righteousness, observing the rights of others, shunning greed, sharing, not excluding anyone because of their religion, acting responsibly are, for her,

paramount ethical qualities that everyone should have. Still, she believes that ultimate salvation lies in implementing religious worship. She finds that human welfare underlies the concept of sin, and hence is open to an interpretation of this religious concept. She accepts the traditional Islamic notion that this world is a place of trials without any criticism. In connection with death, there is again an effort to expand the image provided by traditional religion and to accommodate it to a form that she can comprehend. She interprets the problem of evil—for example, the death of a baby in an earthquake—as salvation in the afterlife. Man is not entirely passive, nor is God arbitrary. God decrees fate, but human beings also have responsibilities.

Figure 9: Stage Assignments of Mrs. Özkan 2.



4.1.5.3. Ms. Özkan 3

Ms. Özkan 3 is seventeen years old at the time of the interviews. She was born in Germany as the first of two children. Her brother is 14 years old. She is a high-school student.

4.1.5.3.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Ms. Özkan 3 divides her life into three parts. These are mostly connected with school and education. She had a happy childhood which she describes as beautiful, and had everything she wanted to enjoy life. Friends, acquaintances and good memories are among things remembered in this section. This period also includes the time she went to Kindergarten. She says:

Ö3: Now...maybe it's not a special event, but what I can remember, that is, almost every weekend in the summer we went for barbecues. It was a permanent ritual in our circle of friends and acquaintances. We knew, for example, there will be a barbecue every Saturday...or on certain religious festivals (*Bayram*), we always had a festival breakfast (*bayram kahvaltisi*) and therefore, we had our friends with a... as it were, my mother's friends, I grew up together with their children...and that was just the way it was a great experience. These have remained in my memory from my Kindergarten times.¹⁹⁴ (12)

The second part is when she started elementary school. Then her mother began working again. She was obliged to stand on her own feet a bit.

Ö3..a little bit...So, where I have become a bit of an adult. Self-development, as my mother had started to go to school again, soon the [*inaudible*] she simply was not at home. So I had to be a little independent, or I had become so.¹⁹⁵ (14)

During this period, she began to understand “everything,” and refers to it as a turning point in her life. When she grew older, she was deeply affected by her cousins, who were severely diseased and disabled.

¹⁹⁴ Ö3:Jetzt vielleicht kein spezielles Ereignis, aber woran ich mich erinnern kann, dass wird im Sommer fast jedes Wochenende Grillen gegangen sind. Freunden und Bekannten Kreises war unser festes Ritual. Wir wussten jeden Samstag wird gegrillt zum Beispiel.. oder an bestimmten religiösen Festtage (Bayram) hatten wir immer bayram kahvaltisi (gemeinsame Festtagsfrühstücks)und dann haben wir mit ein unserem Freunden also [...] sozusagen, die Freunde meiner Mutter, ich bin mit deren Kinder zusammen aufgewachsen.. und das war ein halt so ein großes Erlebnis die mehr aus meiner Kindergarten Zeiten noch in der Erinnerung geblieben sind.

¹⁹⁵ .. Zum bischen.. *ja wo bin bischen erwachsene geworden bin, selbst Entwicklung, da hat meine Mutter angefangen wieder zur Schule zu gehen, so auf der Preging das sie einfach nicht zu Hause war. So bin bischen selbständige werden musste, oder geworden bin einfach ja,

In the third part of her life, there is high school which she still attends. There have been important changes in her at this school. The period of getting used to high school was an important experience for her. Furthermore, she had some health problems right at the beginning, which have not yet been diagnosed and seem to have disappeared. The doctors suspected a brain tumour or a kind of paralysis. All these factors triggered her to think more deeply about life and death. Despite all these events, life has never been meaningless for her.

She says she experienced the first serious crisis in her life with the death of her grandmother, who lived in Turkey. After this event, changes occurred in her worldview. This was the first time she came face to face with death and lost one of her significant others. After this incident, she became more inquisitive about the meaning of life and death. At that time she was in shock and lost in thought. As she describes it:

Ö3: It was the first time I lost someone so close to me... And that was the first time, and the first moment I really confronted death, I hadn't had to worry so much before... and yes, I'm with the, then I had to worry much more about that...the meaning of life..Why are we here, really? Death and life, things like that.¹⁹⁶ (63)

In the near future, she wants to finish high school (*Gymnasium*), to study and have a good profession, to be a human being useful to people, and to learn more about religion, since she has scant knowledge of it. In the end, she wants to get married and establish a family.

She does not dwell on the changes these events caused in her worldview. She initiates inquiries into matters such as the meaning of life, and life and death, but cannot reconstruct the effects these had on her. In the aspect of biographical self-reflection and form of logic, therefore, she bears the characteristics of Stage 3.

¹⁹⁶ Ö3: *Das war das erste Mal, dass ich jemand so nächstendes verloren habe.. + und das war das erste Mal, uhm war der erste Moment wo ich so richtig mit dem Tod konfrontiert worden war, ich habe mir vorher darüber nicht so viele Gedanken machen müssen..+und, ja, ich habe mit der, danach musste ich mir viel mehr Gedanken darüber machen... Sinn des Lebens.. warum sind wir eigentlich hier? Tod und Leben, solche Sachen.*

4.1.5.3.2. Reconstruction of Relations with (Significant) Others

Among past relationships that she considers as important, there are the relations with her parents and friends. She has had some important life experiences in her friendships; these made a major contribution to distinguishing “good from evil.” Besides that, there is no specific person she gives importance to. She states that she has not had sudden changes or transformations in her way of thinking, but that some important changes are taking place based on her age.

Ö3: I think... as a little child I just looked at the world. That was... I think quite normal that you simply see many things, and believe that problems can easily be solved, that all people are good and things change with time, older people are more experienced. But not now, where I would say..Now my direction has radically changed, and I think completely differently ...¹⁹⁷ (41)

Changes occurred in her thoughts about, and relations with, her parents. This is due to her growth and maturation over time. In addition, she seems to assume a parental role in guiding her brother.

Ö3: I have become... an adult, I have simply become older, I believe with puberty where one is thirteen-fourteen years of age, there one has . well, one has greater reluctance about parents, who are always the nearest ones and always want to know everything. And the older you get, the more evident it is that they somehow have the right, but also, only because I've had the experience that what they say comes true, or where, I can see it with my brother, even if I give him any tips or advice, then immediately that hits the wrong note, then he thinks, umm... “You think I'm stupid, you just want to prescribe everything to me, but you have no idea.” This is exactly what I did with my parents, so to speak. These are the things that have changed my picture of my parents.¹⁹⁸ (78)

Ms. Özkan 3 draws attention to herself, others, and relations between these two. Hence, her perspective taking is above the unawareness level of Stage 2. She

¹⁹⁷ Ö3: *Ich glaube ich habe als kleines Kind einfach in die Welt geblickt. Das war.. glaube ich, 'ganz normal, dass man viele Dinge ganz einfach sieht, und glaubt dass sich Probleme ganz einfach lösen lassen, dass alle Menschen gut sind und solche Dinge die sich halt geändert haben mit der Zeit, die älteren waren mehr erfahren aber jetzt nicht wo ich sagen würde.. jetzt hat sich meine Richtung ganz radikal geändert, und ich denke vollkommen anders..*

¹⁹⁸ Ö3: *Ich bin Erwachsen geworden, ich bin einfach älter geworden die ich Glaube mit der Pupertätsphase wo man dreizehn vierzehn Jahre alt ist, da hat mein... ja so eine Abneigung gegenüber seinen Eltern, die sind immer am nächsten und wollen immer alles besser wissen. Und je älter man wird desto mehr zeigt sich, dass sie doch irgendwie Recht haben das aber auch nur, weil ich Erfahrung gemacht habe wo dann was sie gesagt haben wahr geworden ist, oder wo ich das an meinem Bruder selbst sehe wenn ich ihm irgendwelche Tipps und Ratschläge gebe, dann trifft das sofort auf den falschen Kern, dann denkt er ... uhm du hältst mich für dumm, willst mir nur alles vorschreiben, du hast doch keine Ahnung, genau das was ich mit meinen Eltern gemacht hab sozusagen. Das sind die Sachen die mir das Bild gegenüber meine Eltern geändert haben.*

makes reflections on her inner world during her childhood, comparing this at the meta level with the inner worlds of adults. She is aware that some things have changed, but while she regards this change as radical, she does not reflect its contents adequately. She finds it sufficient to express the change and difference.

She is aware of her internal states about the parents. She compares this with her current relation to her younger brother. She believes that the influence of her parents—whom she previously regarded as all-knowing—over her has diminished. Thus, her general perspective on relations seems open to development and elevation to higher stages. In terms of content, she is aware of an independence and a reciprocal “give and take” in relations, but cannot substantiate this with evidence or examples. She believes that her inner development has precipitated the change in relations, and believes that the change was due to her maturation as she grew up. Still, she has not yet reached the third-person perspective in the form of a system or ideology (Manual, 24). Thus, she should be assigned to the mutual form of perspective taking. She clearly has a category of “self and others,” but does not treat the difference between the two at the level of a theory or ideology. She is aware that self and others are different, which places her above Stage 2.

On the other hand, she is not harshly judgmental about the perspectives of others (Manual, 37). The way they think is judged partially, which can be seen as an indication of Stage 3. There is no sign of a disciplined imagination about the interiority of the other. She has gained partial independence from others, and has the desire to increase this. She attempts analytical approaches to self, others, and their interrelationships. There is no comparison, however, between what she thinks and what others think. Further, she is not completely aware of where this difference is leading her. She is attracted only to emphasizing the difference. This can be assessed as youthful idealism. Still, Ms. Özkan 3 has the potential to reach Stage 4 in the dimension of perspective taking. She displays signs that this will be easily achieved with advancing age.

4.1.5.3.3. Appropriation of Religion

She attended Koran courses at DITIB and Süleymanci mosques in Germany. She presently attends courses her mother gives to women. Asked about which groups she finds herself close to, she gives ambivalent answers. She says that she finds herself closer to Turkish groups. She feels closer sometimes to German and sometimes to Turkish communities. But being a Muslim helps her to establish a balance between the two, and her Muslim identity keeps her above German and Turkish identities. She has both citizenships from her parents. She describes her characteristic peculiarities with own religion, Islam. She says she is considered as a foreigner or a “female Turk” (*Turkin*) in Germany, and as a “female German” (*Deutschlanderin*) when she goes to Turkey. However, she thinks that her identity is more than these ethnic identifications. Above all, she is a Muslim, and this is more important for her than being a German, a foreigner, or a Turk. Furthermore, she sees this as a base or stronghold (*Stützpunkt*). She says:

Ö3: After I was educated, I adopted a lot from German culture, as well as the values of Turkish culture. I've extracted what I like from both cultures, and these can be combined in Islam. Giving value to punctuality, correctness, honesty, these belong to my religion... The rights of other people for me ...again, I found these on the Turkish side, I would, those are now just examples ...somehow warmth and hospitality don't belong only to Turkish culture, but also to my religion...So I identify myself with my religion.¹⁹⁹ (128)

In line with her youthful ideals concerning future expectations and her desire to be useful to humanity, she would—given the chance—learn many languages so that she can contact people from various nationalities. For in her view, only in this way will it be possible to reach all people. What motivates her in language-learning is that people misunderstand each other due to language barriers. Eliminating the German-language deficiencies of the Turkish community will help both communities to better understand each other.

¹⁹⁹ Ö3: Nachdem ich erzogen worden bin.. 'also ich habe sehr viel von der deutschen kultur übernommen auch Werte der türkischen kultur ...Ich habe mir aus beiden Kulturen das raus genommen, was mir gefällt und dies ist beides kombinierbar im Islam. ... Sachen auf die die Wert legen sind Pünktlichkeit, Korrektheit, Ehrlichkeit die gehören mir in meiner Religion... 'rechte der anderen Mesnchen für mich.. die habe ich da wieder gefunden auf der türkischen Seite, würde ich da das sind jetzt nur Beispiele.. irgendwie Warmherzigkeit, Gastfreundlichkeit die nicht nur zu der türkischen Kultur gehört, 'sondern auch zu meiner Religion.. also identifiziere ich mich durch meine Religion.

Ö3: Because...I find it really important to just, uh... To be in exchange with people.. And to be able to move, to change something in the world..To be able to reach all people..You have to speak their language. And unfortunately, I'm not linguistically gifted and I find that unfortunate.²⁰⁰ (136)

In her view, the key concepts for the solution of religious conflicts are acceptance and respect.

Ö3: And you umm..try on a basis of respect and acceptance, because if one enters a discussion with a preconceived idea... "My religion is the best and you're all wrong anyway," you just can't get anything positive out of that situation. I think you have to have an open ear to the other and reply with respect. And in any problem, when everyone insists on his opinion, if you can't say that's right or wrong, and you don't arrive at a solution, then you have to be able to say, "OK then, I accept your opinion. Mine is right for me but I accept yours, and then we leave it at that." I also believe you shouldn't talk in vain.²⁰¹ (347)

In the above, both ethnic and cultural identities are discussed on topics that correspond to the dimension of form of social awareness. Finally, religion is decided upon. In group identification, she is rather conjunctive. She seeks to extend her social world with abstract concepts from religious, cultural and ethnic identities. She is open to synthesis. From these, she attempts to create a social self oriented to religion. She is selective about cultural and ethnic identity formation, yet absolutely normative about the religious identity of self.

Instead of dwelling on the faults or blind spots of the two cultures she lives in, she prefers to choose the positive sides of both. Her own psychodynamics have a major role in this. Her social consciousness has transcended the primary group (the family) and aspires to a larger body. It would be premature here to speak of Stage 5, which represents an eclectic structure. In this dimension, she stands open to a new interpretation of Islam. Still, she confines herself to official Islam for the time being.

²⁰⁰ Ö3: Weil ich das ganz wichtig finde um einfach äh.. im Austausch mit Menschen zu sein.. und um was in der Welt bewegen zu können um irgendwas verändern zu können.. um alle Menschen erreichen zu können.. muss man ihre Sprache sprechen. *Und leider bin ich nicht sprachlich begabt und das finde ich schade.

²⁰¹ Ö3: Und das man uhm.. versucht auf einer Basis von Respekt und Akzeptanz, weil wenn man schon gleich in eine Diskussion mit dem Gedanken reingeht.. meine Religion ist sowieso die Beste und ihr habt sowieso alle unrecht, kommt man einfach nicht positiv aus der Situation heraus. Ich glaub man muss ein offenes Ohr für die anderen haben und mit Respekt an die Sache rangehen, und, wenn man bei irgendein Problem wo es wirklich drauf hinausläuft dass jeder bei seiner Meinung bleibt, wenn man nicht sagen kann das ist richtig oder falsch, man nicht zu einer Lösung kommt, dann muss man auch sagen können, ok, dann akzeptiere ich deine Meinung. Für mich ist zwar meine richtig aber ich akzeptiere deine und dann lassen wir das hier auch beruhen, ich glaub dass man auch nicht alles tot reden muss.

Her social awareness is also extended beyond the groups she is immediately involved with. In this, she restricts herself neither to family nor to her age group. As in her views on interreligious dialogue, she does not have harshly stereotyped (Manual, 47) preferences about others. At the same time, what she refers to as “choosing between cultures” is typical clichés. On the other hand, she affirms pluralism as an enriching phenomenon, which is a criterion of the dialogical religious style of Stage 5.

She displays openness to differences, but assigns certain values to specific groups: e.g., punctuality to Germans and hospitality to Turks. In choosing what is suitable for her in the values of these two societies, she assumes an attitude that is opportunistic, optimistic and pragmatic rather than critical. Although she does not exclude interreligious dialogue, she highlights harmony. As such, she stands close to Stage 3.

4.1.5.3.4. Image of God

Ms. Özkan 3 has answered other questions freely and with self-confidence. To the question about her image of God, she responds more carefully. She is astonished at first by the question, and then responds.

I: so, who / what is God?

Ö3: (*serious*) What do you mean, who/what is God? God is God.

I: Who is God for you? Or in your imagination? How can you explain your thoughts about him?

Ö3: Ah, that's a heavy question...God, yes, the creator of the world, the one who created us, who is responsible for all that exists. So, my beginning, my goal...I can umm.. I was created by him and my goal is to return to him again someday, so my path is simply the world... Someone who is always there. I don't know if God is a person, but (he) is always there for one. If you leave him, he is one that you can return to if you need help, or (he is someone) to whom you can give thanks when you're OK ...²⁰² (42-47)

²⁰² I: Also, wer/ was ist Allah?

Ö3: (*seriös*) *Wie wer/was ist Allah? Allah ist Allah.

I: Wer ist Allah für dich? Oder in deinen Vorstellungen? Wie kannst du uns deine Denke über ihn erläutern?

Ö3: 'Aha das ist eine schwierige Frage... Allah ja, der Schöpfer der Welt, derjenige der uns erschaffen hat, der zu all, der für das was jetzt die so existiert, sozusagen verantwortlich ist, mein Anfang, mein Ziel... ich kann uhm.. ich wurde von Ihm erschaffen und mein Ziel es ist irgendwann wieder zu ihm zu kehren, ja mein Weg ist einfach die Welt... Jemand der immer für ein da ist. Ich weiss es nicht ob man so es jemand also nicht persönlich fixiert, sondern ein etwas der immer für ein da

She feels close to and in harmony with God in two cases: first, when she faces difficulties and encounters bad situations; and second, when she performs her worship.

Ö3:... I think in situations that I feel bad, so what shouldn't be.. I mean, yes, you should also think of God in good times, but I think if I feel bad, when I'm in trouble, if I need any help, then I think, I believe in God most of all... I pray and hope that it gets better. Yes, harmony is yes... yes something more, when I do more for him, so to speak, for example, when I fast or pray, then I think one is more in harmony.²⁰³ (47)

Ms. Özkan 3 is neither interested in changes in her God-image, nor is she willing to discuss the formation of her present-day image of God. She defines God as a "locus of power" in a more literal way. In addition, what she understands by "harmony with and closeness to God" is to appeal to God' help in times of trouble. In this sense, "Symbols of the deity are still anthropomorphic" (M56). Both a literal and a pragmatic image of God can be detected in her. Besides the literal definition, "there is a sense of the power of the symbol to evoke an emotional response" (M56). Literal and anthropomorphic expressions reflect Stage 2 in faith. She also has the tendency to see God as a dialogue partner and a helpful authority, which correspond to Stage 3. In this tendency, God is a powerful refuge that always embraces a human being: "If you leave him, he is one that you can return to if you need help, or (he is someone) to whom you can give thanks when you're OK." These words reflect a strong emotional and loving bond with God.

ist, ob man verlassen kann ob der man immer wieder zurückreifen kann wenn man Hilfe braucht oder bei dem man sich bedanken kann wenn es einem gut geht.

²⁰³ Ö3: *Ich glaube in Situationen wo es mir schlecht geht, *was ja nicht sein soll.. ich meine man soll ja auch in guten Zeiten an Allah denken, aber ich glaub wenn es mir schlecht geht, wenn ich in Not bin, wenn ich irgendwie Hilfe brauch, dann denke ich, glaub ich am Meisten an Allah.. bete und hoffe dass es besser wird. Ja Einklang ist ja mehr wenn ich irgendwas ... ja mehr für ihn tue sozusagen, beispielsweise wenn ich faste oder bete, ich glaub dann ist man mehr in so einem Einklang*

4.1.5.3.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Ms. Özkan 3 is not sure whether she is religious; she hopes she is (*Hoffentlich Um Gotteswille wörtlich*). Having faith or religion is always equivalent to fulfilling religious injunctions. She does have a more comprehensive perception of religiosity, for which she establishes certain normative rules. In her view, religion should not be something like a knapsack that one carries on one's back. It should be the main item in the soul of a person, and one must become integrated with religion. In other words, religion must be a part of one's personality. One's whole life should be regulated according to religion. For her, religious worship is not really a series of formal actions undertaken in sequence. These should be something beyond distinct forms which are implemented at certain times. Beyond that, worship should be a unity of rules that regulate the rhythm and flow of life, and infuse human life with meaning.

Ö3... religion should, for example, with us yes, this... The Five Daily Prayers, these should regulate one's daily routine, and not be like a TV series that I have to watch, or like a club which prescribes when I should go to training ..These five times (of the Prayers) should, for example, regulate my daily routine.²⁰⁴ (279)

Beyond religious rituals and their social and psychological dimensions, Ms. Özkan 3's understanding of religiosity encompasses the ethical dimension as well. What she finds most important in religion is that it emphasizes the equality of all in God's sight.

Ö3...The idea that I find great is that every person is equal before God.²⁰⁵ (287)

She states that she performs the Five Daily Prayers by saying: "So, I try to do that regularly" (*also... ich versuche es schon regelmäßig zu machen*). In her supplications, she asks for God's help and an easy educational life. For example, she asks God to give her the brain power to learn, so that she can be successful at school. Or

²⁰⁴Ö3: ... die Religion sollte beispielsweise bei uns ja dieses.. fünf Mal am Tag beten, das sollte einem den Tagesablauf regeln und nicht die 'Serien die im Fernsehen laufen nachdem ich mich richten muss, oder irgendein Verein der mir vorschreibt wann ich zum Training gehen soll.. diese fünf Zeiten sollten z B mein Tagesablauf regeln.

²⁰⁵ Ö3:... die Vorstellung erstmal davon was ich ganz toll finde ist das jeder Mensch für Allah erstmal gleich ist

sometimes in daily life, she says she prays and turns to God for the simplest things:

Ö3: Or.... if I run for the bus in the morning, and I see the bus coming, I wish or pray for the light to turn red soon, and thus I'm able to catch it.. Things like that.²⁰⁶

Ö3: Among the rituals, what I find very important is fasting. Because this is a very special month for me. Because I know that all Muslims do that all over the world, at the same time. And yes, the Five Daily Prayers, I'm trying to do those.umm.. I simply call it a date with God, that's where I'm facing him, two minutes, I take time out for myself and my religion where I wind down a bit, umm, a little relaxing, meditation, like.²⁰⁷ (292)

The term "meditation" has gained a specific meaning in her life. She explains this as thinking about God and religion. To do this, one needs no special time or form. She perceives thinking about God on every occasion as "meditation." She says that she accepts the word "meditation" because she cannot find any other German word corresponding to this "thinking about God." In her view, meditation is not an Islamic term. By the term "meditation," she actually intends the Sufi concept of *tafakkur*, but does not use the word herself.

Ö3: So I've now taken that as a generic term, because I believe there's no such thing in the German language.²⁰⁸ (320)

Her approach to the term "sin" is connected with prohibitions:

Ö3: All forbidden things; yeah, all the things..that... according to the Koran, God, and our Prophet, is not permitted.²⁰⁹ (327)

Someone sins when s/he performs one of these prohibited acts. She says:

²⁰⁶ Ö3: ...Oder wenn ich morgens zum Bus renne, und sehe der Bus kommt, dann wünsche ich oder bete ich schnell dass die Ampel rot wird, und ich es noch schaffe.. solche Dinge

²⁰⁷ Ö3: von Ritualen was ich für mich sehr wichtig finde, das fasten. weil das für mich ein ganz besonderer Monat ist, weil ich weiss dass überall auf der Welt zur gleichen Zeit alle muslimen das machen, und ja das fünf Mal am Tag beten, was ich versuche umzusetzen uhm.. einfach ich nenne das mal ja Anführungszeichen ein Date mit Gott, also wo ich ihm dann gegenüber stehe, zwei Minuten die ich für mich und meine Religion Zeit nehme wo ich ein bisschen runter komme, uhm ein bisschen entspanne, meditiere sowas.

²⁰⁸ Ö3: Also das habe ich jetzt als Oberbegriff genommen, weil ich glaube in der deutschen Sprache gibt es nicht sowas.

²⁰⁹ Ö3: 'all die Dinge die Verboten sind ; ... ja all die Dinge die.. laut Koran, laut Allah laut unseren Propheten nicht erlaubt sind.

Ö3: These things are sin. Those proscribed things... Not to eat pork, drink alcohol, hurt other people, insult them ...killing animals or destroying natural resources.²¹⁰ (329)

For her, the source of ideal faith is the Prophet Muhammad. However, she takes her own parents as living role models. What she finds most attractive about the Prophet is his emphasis on human rights:

Ö3: Umm... yes... because he was the perfect human, the perfect Muslim.

I: What makes him perfect?

Ö3: It is said, yes..that he is the Living Koran. So he has taken everything for themselves, he, umm.. Often all.. The father of human rights; at all levels of human existence, the perfect human.²¹¹ (171-172)

As to her parents: “they actively work to contribute good things to the community,” and hence are worthy of being taken as examples. Besides, they struggle to provide a good life for her and her brother, and always support their children. In her eyes, her parents deserve to be appreciated. Like her parents, she wants to get more involved with society. Like her mother; she turns to God first for a solution when she faces difficult problems. She does not explain in detail how this works. Next she consults her parents, then friends or an expert on the specific problem. At the time of the interview, she was faced with a very important decision about her education, for which she was taking courses. She first prayed to God for guidance, and then consulted her parents. Next, she wants to talk to her teachers and friends so that she can get an informed opinion.

To recapitulate: in the domain of understanding religiosity, she does not separate the object world and the ultimate environment from each other, and constructs them together. For her, life represents religion and religion, life. She believes that religion should make itself felt in all areas of life, and guide material as well as spiritual life. To a great extent, her worldview is determined by religion, but she

²¹⁰ Ö3:...Diese Dinge sind Sünde. Das sind ja vorgeschriebene Sachen.. kein Schweinefleisch essen, Alkohol trinken, andere Menschen verletzen, sie beschimpfen, die... Tiere töten oder die Quellen Natur Zerstörung.

²¹¹ Ö3: uhm... *ja.. weil er der perfekte Mensch, Muslim war

I:Was macht denn ihn perfekt?

Ö3:Man sagt ja.. dass er der wandelnde Koran ist. Also er hat alles für sich eingenommen, er hat uhm.. oft alles.. Vater als Menschenrechtler oder auf all diesen Ebenen des Menschseins war er.. und perfekt einfach.

has not yet succeeded in turning this into a fully open system. Religious symbols, worship, and things related to subjective interpretation are prominent in the construction of her worldview. Considered from the dimensions of perspective taking and the limits of social consciousness, the ultimate goal of religion emerges as personal and social life. But she is still undecided about her own religiosity.

In the background of her uncertainty about whether she is religious, despite her observance of basic religious practices, there lies the Islamic conception that “only God knows who is religious.” She cannot overtly state or assert that she is religious, because this would correspond to arrogance in her subconscious perception. This is also apparent when she says “I try to do the Prayers” rather than “I do them.” For in the traditional Islamic conception, there is no guarantee that a person’s worship will be accepted by God, and hence one continues worship in a tension informed by hope and timidity. The thought that God observes everything one does, including one’s worship, leads a person to always do good, but also bears within itself the trepidation that success is not assured.

The data under this heading comprise half of her personal cosmology. The other half comes under the heading of form of believing in metaphysical themes. There is a tacit system here, a synthesis of her parents and the religion to which she belongs. She makes additions to this from her own experiences. In the example of Prayer, she envisages a daily life informed by religion. She enriches her conception of religion by borrowing from the concepts of other traditions. However, a critical examination is not apparent in the passages. She comprehends religious symbols—and rituals such as fasting—as means for participation in the Islamic community and for spiritual communion with it. She deepens her community consciousness with fasting. In sum, her statements represent a synthesis of conventional orientations. She is not aware of having a system.

She turns to the Prophet for an ideal personality in faith. The example she gives provides a link between her area of interest and the corresponding aspect of the Prophet. In this way, her own interest in human rights leads her to invest the Prophet, too, with the role of champion of human rights, and determines her image of the Prophet. In this sense, the authority here is actually her own interpretation

and a manifestation of her psychodynamics. But she is unaware that she has such a system.

On her views of interreligious dialogue, a simple and uncritical pluralism comes to the fore. The dominant tones in this field are romantic and heroic views of the self in the world (M 54). She makes her worldview abstract with the aid of religion, but there is not much reflection on this.

Ms. Özkan 3 notes that the measure of good and evil can differ between persons. As for herself, the measure of truth is determined by the religion she believes in.

Ö3: Ands he says...right or wrong... Everyone would say now, we do x, y, anything, and a person of the Christian faith, umm would say, for example, "that's right" ...a Jew would say "this is wrong or (I) have no idea," Arabs would say "that's right," a Chinaman would say "this is wrong"... so that's very different, it depends on the cultural and religious circle one comes from, on where and how one is brought up. But if you asked me, of course I would see that from my perspective.²¹² (196)

Ö3: I judge...as I am prescribed by my religion. Because we know what God calls good and bad, and what he finds good, I find good too, and what he calls bad, I find that bad.²¹³ (204)

There are ethical rules on which everyone should agree. The basic moral value is that people should be open and honest with each other. Among her statements on this issue, the emphasis on equality is noteworthy.

Ö3: ...all should really be treated equally, no matter what religion they believe in, no matter what their gender is, or which culture they come from, attention should not be paid to externalities..Yes, what's very important for us today is that each person should be allowed to have a (minimum).²¹⁴

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²¹² Ö3:...Und daher sagt er richtig oder falsch.. jeder Mensch würde jetzt sagen, wir xy tut irgendetwas, und ein Mensch der uhm des christlichen Glaubens ist würde zum Beispiel sagen das ist richtig.. ein Jude würde sagen das ist falsch oder keine Ahnung, Araber würde sagen das ist richtig, ein Chinese würde sagen das ist falsch... also das ist ja ganz unterschiedlich aus welchen Kulturellen und religiösen Kreis man kommt. Wo und wie man erzogen worden ist. Aber wenn man mich fragen würde, würde ich das natürlich aus meiner Perspektive sehen.

²¹³ Ö3:... Ich urteile wie es mir meine Religion vorschreibt. Weil wir wissen was Allah für gut und was für schlecht beheisst, und was er gut findet, finde ich auch gut, und was er für schlecht beheisst, finde ich dann auch schlecht.

²¹⁴ Ö3:...das alle wirklich gleich behandelt werden, egal welche Religion sie haben, egal welches Geschlecht sie haben, oder von welcher Kultur sie kommen, das man nicht auf Äusserlichkeiten achtet.. + was ja für uns heutzutage sehr wichtig ist dass man jedem Menschen ermöglicht.. + dass mindeste zu haben.

Ö3: That everyone can, umm enjoy a certain school education, have enough to eat and drink, a roof over one's head, and something to wear... Yes, such basic human rights or the needs of all people should be satisfied by nature.²¹⁵ 211

Ms. Özkan 3 states that her moral assessments are rooted in Islam, but those of others don't have to be. She accepts that a person's milieu has an effect on the formation of one's perspective in moral assessments and determining what is right and wrong. She implies: "Others should not have any claim on me, just as I do not make such a claim on them." Here she accepts the implicit religion, which is Islam, as locus of authority. Simultaneously, she implies that she is open to the perspectives of others in the criteria of moral judgment. In doing so, she also lays down the importance of her own perspective. She is not willing to sacrifice her perspective for those of others, or *vice versa*. Hence in her case, one can speak of "societal perspective, reflective relativism or class biased universalism" (Manual p. 24).

She also gives the signals of a principled higher law, for she regards the basic rights of human beings as an ethical problem, and has transcended her ethnic, cultural and religious bounds in this respect. Neither the expectations of significant others, nor the principles of the religion one adheres to are binding. "Those like us" is not a theme here. She does not make a distinction between "us and them" in reaching for the base of human rights. Perhaps the traditional properties of fine morals can be mentioned here, or the following evaluation can be made: Ms. Özkan 3 is saying something that is normally expected of all Moslem youth, at least in theory.

For her, society is here "an abstract system of rules and relations" (M42). Her moral universe has an abstract value that encompasses the entire human race. In Kohlberg's terms, law-and-order reasoning has started in her. "Right" is associated with the duty that falls to her within this system. The rule that everyone should obey is generalized human rights. In comparison, she regards other problems as

²¹⁵Ö3:... *Dass jeder Mensch eine gewisse uhm.. schulische Erziehung genießen kann, genug zum Essen zum Trinken hat, ein Dach über dem Kopf, und etwas zum anziehen.. ja solche Grundsätzlichen Menschenrechte oder Bedürfnisse.. die jeder Mensch von Natur aus hat dass diese befriedigt werden*

details and sub problems. She believes that she has an important place in this system where she can make contributions. In both the fields of moral judgment and locus of authority, she falls between Stages 3 and 4.

4.1.5.3.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

She describes her life as meaningful. She thinks religion is what gives meaning to her life. She believes that her presence in this world is not a coincidence: she was created to fill a gap, and she was created by God for a purpose. She speaks about how religion gives meaning to her life:

Ö3: My religion..... because it gives me an answer that I'm not some random outcome of the theory of evolution, that it's not only that some lucky apes began to walk on two legs and such, but I'm here in this world because one who is Omnipotent desired it, and I have a certain role to play, just like a gear. So I imagine that if I was absent, the world would be a little different, so I think I'm here.²¹⁶ (132)

She believes that all good and evil is from God. Thus, she reckons that a religious person never falls into absurdity or pessimism, while the nonreligious may fall into depression. In such bad cases, God gives faithful people strength.

Ö3: Very important and umm, and the idea that everything has a meaning. Both good and evil come from God, and at first sight we don't know if something is good for us and may think that it's bad... + and...It lets us fall back or so, and, I think in such moments it makes a big difference whether one is religious or not. .A person who is not religious falls into depression, and is totally pessimistic, sees no meaning in life, but one who is religious knows that it will be better someday: "There's someone who knows what's good for me." And therefore I think they'll be optimistic and not fall into such depression. I think especially at such moments, religion and God give one... a big (helping) hand.²¹⁷ (290)

²¹⁶ Ö3: ... Meine Religion.. weil sie mir eine Antwort gibt, dass ich nicht irgendein Zufall der Evolutionstheorie bin, dass es nicht nur darin dass irgendwelche glücklichen Affen angefangen haben auf zwei Beinen zu laufen oder so, 'sondern das es gewollt ist von jemanden der Allmächtig ist dass ich auf dieser Welt da bin, und dass ich eine gewisse Rolle spiele in so einem Zahnrad. So stelle ich mir das vor und wenn ich fehlen würde dann wäre die Welt ein bisschen anders, deshalb glaube ich das ich hier bin

²¹⁷ Ö3: Ganz wichtig und uhm und die Vorstellung davon dass alles einen Sinn hat. sowohl das Gute als auch das Böse von Allah kommt, und das wir ersten Augenblick nicht wissen das es gut für uns ist und denken dass es schlecht ist..+ und, uns zurück fallen lassen oder so, und, in solchen Momenten finde ich macht es einen großen Unterschied ob man religiös ist oder nicht.. ein Mensch der nicht religiös ist verfällt in Depressionen, und ist total pessimistisch, sieht keinen Sinn mehr in seinem Leben, 'aber ein Mensch der religiös ist weiss es wird irgendwann besser, es gibt jemanden der weiss was gut für mich ist, und daher finde ist er optimistischer und verfällt nicht in so eine Depression. Ich glaub in besonders solchen Momenten gibt die Religion und Allah einem.. einen großen Halt.

For Özkan 3, religion is the ultimate environment. Religious belief provides her with the sources of human life and its purpose. Her personal cosmology is determined ultimately by religion. However, her worldview is not restricted only to religion. She begins her account by positing the creation theory of religion as the alternative to Darwin's theory. She attempts to expand on this with logic and some philosophical considerations. She places herself at the center here, and strives to prove that her existence is important and inevitable. Her line of reasoning becomes clearer when this is combined with social perspective taking and bounds of social awareness. Her development of counter-ideas—opposing the religious theory of creation to Darwinism—can be read as a sign that she is ready for transition to higher stages.

In the remainder, she uses statements that fall under the locus of authority. Her ascription of extraordinary importance to religion, and her claim that religion protects one from depression and psychological distress, correspond to Stage 2, because she states this forcefully but is unable to back it up with evidence. Further on, she displays the characteristics of Stage 3 when she refers to an external authority. But it is obvious that she is trying to internalize and assimilate this, because she thinks that if she weren't in the universe, everything would be different.

She finds authority in the field of religion, but also has the tendency to develop an idiosyncratic interpretation and style. She has a normative stance on religiosity (a person who is not religious falls into depression, and is totally pessimistic, sees no meaning in life, but one who is religious knows that it will be better someday: "There's one who knows what is good for me.") What kind of religious person she means is not explicit, but she clearly implies an Islamic religiosity.

According to Ms. Özkan 3, man is created for a goal and approaches that target day by day. This life will end someday, and everyone will meet "either their reward or their punishment." That is the simple fact, the meaning of human existence in the world. Hence, human life is an extensive period of testing. The only force beyond human agency that influences human life is the power of God. God affects

this through natural events, climate, and natural disasters. Different forms of social life and classes emerge in different countries and continents. Hence, Ms. Özkan 3 attempts to concretize the deity's system of operation by referring to the social and natural sciences.

In her opinion, death is a passage to immortal life. It has two stages:

Ö2: That's simple... Our spirit leaves the body.. + and we will first be in suspension, in a standby mode, and then sometime, we'll wake up again to life.²¹⁸ (251)

What she describes as the religious explanation of death fully corresponds to the content of classical Sunni Islamic theology. Everyone will be gathered up and questioned for everything they did in the world.

Ö3:Umm.... so rough, so, I imagine I have this picture in my mind that somehow millions or billions of people are in a place somewhere... I don't know where..I don't have that well-defined yet + and then I imagine something like a big movie screen... where their life will be played back to every human being and where s/he was then for the things s/he did..will be held to account. Hmm.... and then everyone can watch, on this huge screen there, what this person has done in life, whether it's good or bad.²¹⁹ (260)

She understands death symbolically (as a passage), and internalizes the resurrection by seeking support for it in scientific terminology (standby mode). She resorts to imagination. Her statement:"I don't have that well-defined yet" is an indication that she recognizes and admits her limits in this respect. Judgment Day is again constructed using similes from worldly life (a huge screen). In conclusion, the dichotomy of good and evil and the great reckoning mark her understanding of death.

She perceives the evil in the world as linked to the issue of social equality/inequality, which she has often stressed earlier. At the basis of evil is

²¹⁸ Ö3: *dass ist einfach.. unser Geist den Körper verlässt..+ und dann wir erstmal in einem Ruhstand in einem Stand by Modus sind, und dann irgendwann wieder zum Leben erwachen.*

²¹⁹ Ö3: *....Uhm so grob, also ich stell mir das ich hab so ein Bild im Kopf das halt irgendwie eine Million oder Milliarden von Menschen sind irgendwo auf einen Platz.. ich weiss nicht wo.. 'so genau definiert habe ich das nicht.. +und dann stelle ich mir sowas großes wie eine Kinoleinwand vor...wo dann, halt von jedem Menschen das Leben abgespielt wird und wo sie/er dann für die Sachen die sie/er gemacht hat.. zur rechenschaft gezogen wird. Mhm....und jeder Mensch dann dort auf dieser riesen Leinwand verfolgen kann was dieser Mensch in seinem Leben getan hat ob das jetzt gut oder schlecht ist.*

egotism. At the heart of egoism are the ways in which a person is raised, and types of socialization. She repeats this theme many times throughout the interview, which shows that she sees equality as a central value of life. On the other hand, she approaches the problem of theodicy bilaterally with an example. Her reply to the related question is as follows:

I: Let's say an innocent baby lying in its cradle dies in an earthquake. How do you explain that this innocent baby does not survive under the rubble?

Ö3: First of all one is naturally ...sad, yes it was a natural disaster, I can't say now, I can't really say who's guilty, the man who built that house and built it weak, or the man who, as a meteorologist (sic, geologist) hm..didn't give warning early enough, or so, I think I'd prefer back to my religion, and say, simply, it was willed by God that this child ..+ yes, it sounds a bit cruel, but somehow, somehow in the moment it dies there, I say in the end, it was best for that baby.²²⁰ (334-337)

This shows that she first looks for external reasons in the problem of theodicy. She is individualistic up to the point where she can explain things rationally, and submissive beyond that point. Finally, she appears fatalistic. Here the simultaneous diachronic presence of two styles is clearly observed. (I say in the end, it was best for that baby.)

4.1.5.3.7. Summary

As the firstborn child of parents who are academics, Ms. Özkan 3 leads a secure childhood full of positive memories. Her happy childhood leads to sensitivity to her surroundings when she grows up and becomes a young girl. Due to the secure environment of her childhood, she always has a love of life and has never fallen into meaninglessness. Her health problems, the illnesses and defects of her cousins within the family, the death of her grandmother in Turkey, all act as triggers for metaphysical inquiry. Her youthful ideals form her future perspectives. She has a positive outlook on the future: studying, work, religious knowledge, building a family, being useful to people.

²²⁰ I: Sagen wir mal ein unschuldiges Baby liegt in seiner Wiege und kommt durch ein Erdbeben ums leben, wie erklärst du das, dass dieses Unschuldige Baby unter den Trümmern nicht mehr lebend rauskommt?

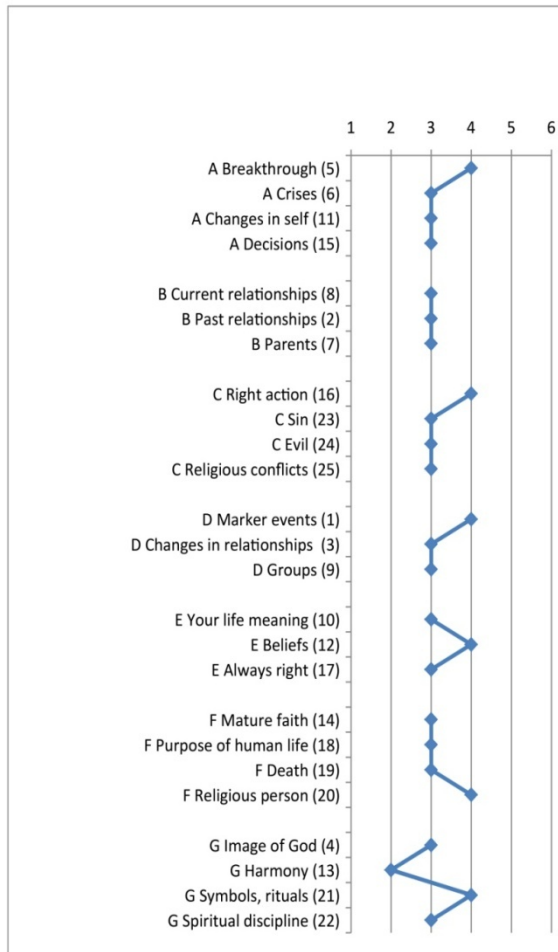
Ö3: ...Man ist natürlich erstmal traurig, ja es war eine Naturkatastrophe ich kann nicht sagen, ich kann jetzt nicht wirklich sagen wer ist schuld, der Mensch der dieses Haus gebaut hat und nicht stabil gemacht hat oder der Mensch der uhm als Meteorologe.. nicht früh genug gewarnt hat, oder so ich glaube ich beziehe mich dann wieder zurück auf meine Religion, und sag, einfach es war von Allah gewollt, dass dieses Kind..+ ja es hört sich irgendwie ein bisschen grausam an aber, irgendwie in dem Moment dort stirbt, ich sag am ende dies war am besten für dieses Baby.

Her secure attachment to parents enables her to develop a more individualized personality and a more individuated perspective. Her education at various religious communities is a clear indication that she is not bound by a single perspective. As a result, she also constructs an umbrella identity in explaining her Turkish and German identities, and brings her religious identity to the fore. She produces a higher (Moslem) identity in her strategy of dealing with her German and Turkish identities, thus becoming neither a Turk in Germany, nor a German in Turkey. She transcends her own problems in this way, and becomes a defender of universal human rights who is sensitive to her surroundings, taking an interest in the problems of the wider masses.

In the interview text, she gives extremely liberal explanations regarding worldly and social subjects, but is more careful and conventional on religious issues. God is an authority of trust for her, as well as a locus of aid in hard times. Religiosity means the meticulous practice of religious observances, but is not limited to that: it is preferable to internalize religion and make it part of one's constitution.

She expects concrete results from religion. Worship leads to salvation in the hereafter, but also orders human life in this world. In her supplications, she asks God not just for salvation in the afterlife, but also his aid in the simplest daily problems. This is an indication that she always wants to see God by her side—a sense of horizontal dialogue with God.

Figure 10: Stage Assignments of Mrs. Özkan 3.



4.1.6. Case Study of Three Generations of the Yıldız Family

The Yıldız family hails from the Black Sea region of Turkey. They live in North Rhein-Westphalia. Mr. Yıldız 1 first came to Germany in 1968. He was married at the time. He left his wife and children with his parents in Turkey. His wife came twice: first in 1973 and then in 1977. On both occasions, the children stayed with their grandparents. Mr. Yıldız 1 brought his wife and children over in 1980 and they permanently settled in Germany. Yıldız 1 still works at a steel and iron plant and has not yet retired. His son, the second generation, was 48 at the time of the interviews and worked for a factory as a welder. The third generation grandchild is 21 years old, goes to a vocational school, and takes courses for professional education in the same firm his father works for. He is single. The three interviewees live in the same building, in two different apartments.

The family was contacted via a mutual friend. Interviewing the first and third generations was easy. The second generation, Mr. Yıldız 2, was the hardest to interview: convincing him for an interview was not easy. Thus, he was interviewed three months later.

4.1.6.1. Mr. Yıldız 1

Mr. Yıldız 1 says his real age is 66, but he is recorded in his ID card as 62. He was born in 1944 in Turkey as the third of his parents' six children. He graduated from elementary school. He came to Germany in 1968 after completing his military service in Turkey, when he was 23 years old. He has been working as an unskilled worker in a steel and iron plant. He says that among his siblings, he is the only one who migrated to Germany.

4.1.6.1.1. Biographical Reconstruction

He does not divide his life into concrete chapters. He misses the times he characterizes as the "chapters of old times," because in the past, people were more tolerant, loyal, and devoted to each other. But now, everything is changed,

because, he says, the generations are increasingly changing. For example, it was seen as shameful to hug children in front of the elderly. In the past, children worked and supported their parents materially. He himself had always helped his father and the family elders. Today, children expect material support from their parents instead of working themselves. In the past, people paid more respect to the elderly; today, not so much.

Y1: That's the old times, but now in the new generations, you can't... For example, during a recitation of the Koran, we couldn't sit down, they would make us stand up... For example, smoking in the presence of your elders, (you couldn't do that). There were good manners. Of course, the times are changing.²²¹ (99)

He praises the old family traditions of respect and careful conduct when someone sat with the elderly.

Y1:...today, even the grandchildren sit at the table. As for us, when a visitor came, we couldn't even sit at the table with our father, we couldn't eat a bite at the table.²²² (103)

Asked about watermark events in his life, he explains how people viewed him when he was a young man.

Y1: Well, let me tell it like this: when I was in Turkey, they said: He's young, he can't hold onto money. I went on leave to Turkey in 1971, my first leave, my father-in-law wanted to see me. He said, "There's a lot of gossip about you." I was living a fast life then, I was a little hot-headed... But thank God, I never changed my course. Those who gossiped were ashamed in the end.²²³ (49)

After moving to Germany, he left his children with his parents. He says that for that reason also, he could not do "whatever he wanted." His father and the family elders interfered in his every move. Still, he does not criticize this controlling and authoritative style of his father and father-in-law. He says that migration and working in Germany did not change him. In his own phrase, he did not get a

²²¹ Y1: Hem öyle hani eski zaman ama şimdi yeni nesildeki şeyi edemezsin. Eskiden mesala bi Kuran okunur toplantı olur biz oturamazdık kaldırırlardı. Bi böyle yer göstermek oturmak, mesala büyüklerin yanında sigara içmek filan hani böyle bişey görgüden var öyle giderdi. Tabi asır gittikçe değişiyor.

²²² Y1: Ya şimdi mesala torunun da oturuyor, mesala biz misafir geldiği zaman ta önceden mesala babamın yanına, oturup bi masada ekmek yiyemzedik, oturmazdık masaya.

²²³ Y1: Valla ben şöyle diyem sana Türkiye'de iken biraz hızlı gibi şey varya gençken, buraya gelince para pul dutmaz işte bu bişey yapmaz demişler, burdan izine gittim ben, birinci izine 71 de, rahmetli kayınpeder haber göndermiş buraya gelsin. Onun yanına vardım, öyle oturduk konuşuyoruz, bana dedi ki dedi senin hakkında çok dedi kodu var dedi. Hayrola dedim ya bu dediler, bende burda biraz hızlı yaşıyorum, yani dik kafa idik. Oraya gidince uzaktan hani hiç bişey görünmez. Dedim öyle bişey Allah şükür yok, dedim ben şimdi söyle kendimi biliyorum ben. Biz herşeye boş versek veya çoluk çocuğa bakmasak, hiç Allahıma şükür düzenimi bozmadım. Yani o konuşan adamlar kendileri utandılar.

swelled head (*ne oldum delisi*). He speaks about his friends as an example. He came to Germany with a lot of friends. His friends did many crazy things in Germany and were obliged to return to Turkey. He never forgot that he came here to work, and that he had to get along well with German people and everyone else. He repeats many times throughout the interview that he came to Germany and did not deviate from his path (*çizgisini bozmamak*).

Y1:... Well, of course, I wanted to study, but we had farm animals, I couldn't go to school. When you can't study, you have to work in the mines, for thirty-forty years, and many of our people perished in the mines, from accidents and so on... I wanted to come here, thank God it was granted, I never deviated from my path, neither too high nor too low, but normal.²²⁴ (59).

He believes that his life proceeded linearly. He associates this with the fact that he always made correct calculations in his life, and complied with the recommendations of other people in his family. His parents lived until he was middle-age. Their presence averted the emergence of serious problems in his life. For example, he sent the money he earned in Germany to Turkey, and his father utilized it in the best way. He does not mention any problem with his parents. Whenever they had problems or were sick, he flew to Turkey and took care of them. He always endeavoured to receive the blessings (*hayır dua*) of his parents. He thinks that this is a command of God to human beings. He believes that this connectedness protected him throughout his life. He explains the absence of crises from his life as follows:

Y1:...the secret is devotion to your mother and father. God ordained it. If they said: "God damn you," even that would be enough.²²⁵ (96)

According to Mr. Yıldız 1, there have been no breakpoints in his life, either. For God has given him reason, and he can compare events and make assessments using it. He also consults his family, and hence everything is well-calculated.

²²⁴Y1: *Tabi mesala hayatın şimdi mesala, ben okumak istedim zamanında eski Türkçeden. Bizde koyun keçi dana filan vardı, okuyamadık. Okuyamayınca Türkiye'de madende çalışıyorsun mesala başka dersek. Ya maden devamlı kalmıyacak bu gün otuz sene kırk sene çalışacaksın dünya kadar vatandaşımız gitti (öldü) orda, onu duymuşundur kazadan şundan bundan. Hep bunları düşünerekten, başçavuş kursa yazacaktı. Ben de istemiyorum dedim, en büyük şef işteydi o zaman. Evladım nesin dedi -buraya ilk gelenler- o zaman tabi bilmiyoruz adamlar izine geldiler herkes heves etti. Allahım dedim inşallah bizi hani bu yurt dışına gönderir, Allah erdik muradımıza geldik buraya çizgimizi bozmadık yani, aynı ee ta eski yapı değil de normalden devam ettik ne aşağı ne yukarı.*

²²⁵Y1: *Olmayışının sırrı anaya babaya bağlı olmak. Cenab-ı Allah bize emretti. Senin Allah belanı versin demeleri onların gene yeter.*

About decisions made together with first-degree significant others, his narrative is disconnected and vague. The lack of crises in his life is again explained with family ties. His mother and father, as his closest supporters, were involved in his many issues until they died. There is great nostalgia and longing in him, and he always repeats the same point throughout the interview: namely, that love and respect were quite different in the old times.

It can be seen that he does not divide his life systematically into chapters. Although this is only implicit, there are two periods in his life: one in Turkey and the other in Germany. In his youth he is hot-headed, and people claim that “he won’t (be able to) hold onto money in Germany.” This is the impression he has left on people. However, he believes he has disproved this in Germany. No special relationships occur to him; he wanted to study in his youth, but wasn’t able to.

In his biographical narratives, nostalgia is used as an important method of retrospection. He is interested in outward change, not in the changes in his biography. He dwells on generational differences, and compares new generations with his own connectedness to his family. In reflecting on his biography, he is in implicit dialogue with “the others”—he tries to reply to their expectations, to vindicate himself and refute them. In retrospect, he concedes that his parents and elders were right to interfere in his affairs. Significant others are seen as having the right to guide him. In reality, this stems from his desire to have new generations accept his control over them: he expects his children and grandchildren to show obedience to him in the same way. Like other first generations, he regards the lack of change as originality. His basic narrative strategy is to justify himself by comparing himself to others.

Regarding his form of logic and biographical perception, he resorts to stereotypical expressions. Tacit meaning-making is prevalent throughout this aspect. He employs a logic that is nostalgic, self-justifying, and defensive—not analytical—over processes. There is a narrative dealing with emotional events (M32) which goes beyond the relatively straightforward and linear appropriation of narrative that is seen in Stage 2. Actually, he does have a theory: devotion to parents, culture, family, and God; and staying the course. His view of intergenerational relations is

a clear indicator of Stage 3. Here he orients to concrete experiences from his life. He does not regard his thought processes and the distinctive aspects of other generations analytically. Reflective awareness and simple narrative transmission of meaning are absent. This reflects the faith development properties of Stage 3.

4.1.6.1.2. Relations with Others

His current life world comprises family and relatives. Getting along well is emphasized.

Y1: Well, I always want to get along well with my surroundings, my villagers, my children. If my children are going to do something, I try to help them out to the extent that I can. I don't do, like, "Work and give me money." I didn't do that in all my life, and I won't.²²⁶ (108)

Still, intergenerational relations make him uncomfortable. If he had the chance, he would change the current relations between generations.

Y1: Well, not really change, but... I would tell young ones: "Love your elders," And to elders I would say: "Forgive them, wherever you go, don't lose your humanity," that's what I would tell them. That is, I wouldn't do, I wouldn't change, anything else.²²⁷ (122)

His close circle is at the center of his relations. He tries to get along well with his surroundings (family and relatives are meant by this, however covertly). He doesn't want to be on bad terms with anyone. No special relationships have affected him in the past. He always had good relations with his parents. He has earned their pleasure. Because God commands devotion to parents, he has always visited them, and has never wished to incur their curses. He regards this as a right and a responsibility.

In perspective taking and relations with others, he bears the characteristics of Stage 2 and sometimes of Stage 3. He tries to present himself as a harmonious

²²⁶ Y1: Valla ben hep kendi çevremnen, köylülerimnen iyi geçinmeye bakarım. Çoluk cocuğumnan öyle, çocuklarım mesala bişey yapacaksa onu elimden geldiği kadar yardım ederim onlara. Öyle mesala çalışıp da para verin veya şu bunu yapmam. Hayatta yapmadım ve yapmam.

²²⁷ Y1: Valla bişeyi değiştirmek hiç gene aynı. Aynı küçüklere büyüklerini sevmeyi büyüklerin sizde küçüklere affedeceğiniz yani böyle çevrende, çevrende olsun nerde olursa olsun nerye gidersen git insanlığını, yani hiç bunları kaybetmeyeceksin yani bunları yapacaksın diye söyledim. Yani değiştirmem başka bişey yapmam.

person who strives to get along well with others. He is very judgmental about relations with younger generations. He has no interest in analyzing the interiority, needs, or life world of the other—for example, of new generations. This is a sign of Stage 2. His embeddedness in his own close relations and his search for harmony there are marks of Stage 3.

4.1.6.1.3. Appropriation of Religion and Image of God

He has never gone to an institution giving Koranic courses or religious education, either before or after coming to Germany. Although he says he has not experienced changes in his image of God, he reports changes about his closeness to God after living in Germany, especially after the 1980s.

Y1: Now here, it wasn't that much when I came here, but after 1980, I (followed) the path of God to a greater extent.²²⁸ (61)

He explains this change with the increasing numbers of mosques and religious activities in mosques. When they first came to Germany, there weren't many mosques around for Friday Prayers. Today there are many possibilities, and imams give talks on TV programs. There are more religious meetings and ceremonies compared to the past. As he relates all this in the interview, his thoughts turn to the hereafter, and he stresses the impermanence of this world. On the establishment of mosques and mosque charities, and its reward in the hereafter, he says:

Y1: How to explain this? This world is like a picture. If they were to take a picture of the two of us together, and we were dead, that picture would be visible. This world is like that for us. If we can give something for the other side, (that's what counts. Otherwise) our existence, money, a house, this and that, these are all nothing.²²⁹ (63)

²²⁸Y1: *Şimdi burda ee mesala ilk geldiğimizde bu kadar değildi ondan sonra değişti, seksenden sonra Allah yoluna daha fazla yani şey yaptık.*

²²⁹Y1: *Bu dünya hani nasıl deyim sana bi resim, resimi çekersen mesala ikimizin resmini çekseler biz göçmüş (ölmüş) olsak o resim gözükecek. Bu dünya da aynısı bize. Obir tarafa bişeyler verebiliyorsak varlığımız para pul ev şu bu hepsi bunlar hava.*

After avoiding the question, he was asked again about his image of God, or how he understands God. He does not explain much about his image of God—because, he says, he does not have enough knowledge about religious themes. Hence, he believes in the necessity of religious knowledge in order to have a God-image.

Y1:...Now, I don't have that much knowledge about religious matters, because I didn't study. For example, we say God. God is with us now. God guides us and gives us everything, even our breath. If you don't recognize him you will definitely meet your punishment someday. I can't say much on religious questions.²³⁰ (65)

He fails to develop a viable image regarding his relation with God and the transformation of his God-image. After mosques were opened in Germany, he listened to the sermons of hodjas and donated more to charities, so he thinks he has served his afterlife. Hence he always gives thanks, prays, does his Five Daily Prayers, and shuns prohibitions. On the day of the interview, however, two Prayer-times came and went, and he still had not taken an ablution or performed a Prayer.

He feels close to God everywhere and all the time. He doesn't go into the details of this feeling in the interview. Indirectly, he avoids thinking about who/what God is. When he says „God,” he is reminded of religious life in general, rituals, the place of religion in this world, and the afterlife. This world is described as temporary, and the hereafter, as eternal. Within the duality of this world and the next, the little worth of this world is set forth. The change in his God-image is presented as a change in his relationship with religion. This points to outer-directed, not inner-directed, change. In other words, the increases of mosques and opportunities for worship in Germany have caused an increase in his ties with God.

His definition of God as a being is again literal. He assigns a place to God. God is with us, gives all things, and will mete out punishment one day if not recognized.

²³⁰ Y1: *Şimdi dini konularda o kadarı fazla bilgim yok çünkü ben okumadığım için, Allah mesala diyoruz Allah şimdi yanımızda. Bizi yöneten yani bizim herşeyimizi veren Allah. Nefesimizi dahi o şey yapıyor. Onu tanımazsan illaki sen günün birinde mutlaka bu cezayı çekeceksin. Dini sorularda fazla şeyi söyleyemem.*

Hence, a partly anthropomorphic and literally defined image of God is in play—a sign of Stage 2. He also consciously sets himself a limit: he cannot talk more about God because he does not possess the requisite knowledge.

4.1.6.1.4. Understanding of Religiosity

Mr. Yıldız 1 has never thought about the meaning of human life. God guides us to the straight path, and the devil makes us stray from it. He says he follows what he learned from his forefathers on faith issues. The Prophet Muhammad is a special person or personality to be followed in faith. He makes his own decisions and consults no one when he has to decide something. He does not take anyone as a guide for himself. At the same time, he says that if he faces a very hard problem, he gets help from friends in his circle. If he has to make any decision regarding the family, he talks it over with his wife first, and then announces the result to his children.

He believes that if someone does not know the truth in religion, he or she should ask the help of the imams or "hodjas". Further, one shouldn't talk about something one doesn't know enough about. In his view, there are no general moral rules which are valid in all circumstances. Some rules can be broken in certain special situations. He gives lying as an example: lying is a bad action in itself, yet we can fabricate a lie if it will help rescue someone's life.

He has not yet been to Mecca for the Pilgrimage. But going to *Hajj* is among his future plans. He thinks he will be more religious after Pilgrimage, and will not deviate from the path of God.

Y1: I haven't gone, if only I could go. If God makes it possible. And then not to stray from the path of God, I have nothing more to say.²³¹ (128)

He says that he doesn't abandon his Five Daily Prayers. His gratitude makes him closer to God, because, he says, God is present wherever he is remembered. He

²³¹ Y1: *Gitmedim, ha işte oraya gidebilirsek Allah nasib ederse, oraya yani. Başka da hiç Allah yolundan ayrılmamak yani başka bişey diyeceğim yok.*

prays for greater closeness to God and his Prophet. He arranges meetings for reciting the Koran in his home, and offers meals at the end. He sacrifices an animal on the occasion of the Sacrificial Festival (*eid al adha*). He considers adultery, gossip and stealing the greatest sins.

In his view, religious conflicts definitely need to be resolved.

Y1: Well, I think even if they disagree, they have to sit down together, get together and sit down, all have to explain calmly, then agreement will be better (easier).²³²232)

Religious people should take the lead in this, without breaking anyone's heart. On the other hand, he pleads lack of much knowledge and steers clear of expressing a view as to why there are different religions in the world. He believes in the necessity of dialogue and a sincere will to understand.

He expresses his conventional understanding of religiosity as "not departing from the path of God." One must not give anyone cause for worry, and must do the Prayers. When he says "true path," he means e.g. refraining from gossip. He believes in what he has seen from his forefathers and what he has heard from the Prophet, because these are his examples in faith. He does not name symbols and rituals he finds important, but speaks of his forefathers. In this sense, the forefathers stand as symbolic authority for him. He says: "For us, first God, then the forefathers."

He does not consider himself close to any group. Even though he respects other communities in Germany, he favours DITIB because that is what he has seen from his family.

Y1:... Now, err... for me, groups aren't... we have two hodjas here at DITIB, we know DITIB. I'm not interested in groups. This group, that group, I don't have anything like that.²³³ (112)

²³²Y1: *Valla bence ayrılrsa bile mecbur oturacak veya hani onların daha bi üstünde buluş yapıp oturacaklar, konuşa konuşa sakın sakın hepsi anlatcaklar, hepsi de birleştirmeyi daha iyi yapılacak.*

²³³Y1: *Şimdi benim gruplar şey değil mesala bizim burda iki hocamız var dinayette, biz dinayeti biliyoruz. Aynı öyle yani hiç ben guruplara pek böyle guruplarla alakam yoktur benim. Yani gurpnan, o gurupmuş bu gurupmuş hiç öyle şeyim yok benim.*

Human actions can be divided into two main categories, as right and wrong actions. What is important is to act according to what is right. The measure of rightness lies in one's "intentions," and this is known fully only to God.

Y1: No one except God can know that. For instance, you come here and I say to you: "Welcome." But did I say that with my tongue, or from the heart? An example. Who but God can know that? It's the same.²³⁴(163)

Concerning the discrimination between right and wrong and moral justification:

Y1:..They're separate, of course, how can they not be? If you do wrong, that's wrong already, if you do right it's right. But as far as possible, you have to try to do what's right, you have to be careful.²³⁵ (161)

As for the faith development in this area, Mr. Yıldız 1 draws attention to one's inner ethics in moral judgment. The intentions of people are regarded as the measure of what is right. He ascribes a literal meaning to what right and wrong are. As for sin, he invests this with its conventional Islamic meaning. This leads to the outcome that something is wrong because God has forbidden it. In short, authority functions as internal and external in moral judgment. "Intentions" signify internal authority, "God, the Prophet, and scholars" signify external authority. Traditional values are specified in a covert and noncritical way. He uses an emotional style in legitimizing his standpoint. His thoughts represent a widespread traditional perspective rather than a critical one.

4.1.6.1.5. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

According to Mr. Yıldız 1, life does not have meaning. True life means to do good things and establish good relations with our neighbours. This life was given to human beings for a short term. Man must use this term well and make good use of this chance on earth.

²³⁴Y1: Onu Cenab-ı Allahtan başka nerden bileceğiz. Mesala sen buraya geldin ben sana hoş geldin dedim ama dilimle mi dedim kalbimle mi dedim. Bir misal. Bunu Allah'tan başka kim bilir? O da aynı.

²³⁵Y1: Ayrılır tabi nasıl ayrılmasın. Yanlış yaparsan zaten yanlış, doğru yaparsan doğru. Ama mümkün olduğu kadar da bunu hani doğruluktan ayrılmamaya gayret edeceksin, özen göstereceksin.

Y1:...Well, human life has no purpose at all, man, OK? Here we go... (God) already knows how long you're going to live even while you're in your mother's womb. You come into this world. To live straight, honestly, righteously. Follow the path of God. However long we're going to live.²³⁶ (170)

Furthermore, he avoids explaining the aim of our existence in the world, stressing that he does not have enough knowledge about religion. Yet he believes that the power governing and directing human life is God. This is a power we cannot resist.

Y1: Now outside us, who is there besides God? In order to make you stray from the path, the devil. Those are the ones I know. Other than that, I'm a primary-school graduate, I didn't study much, that's all I can tell you.²³⁷ (178)

He approaches the problem of evil in a submissive manner. He believes that the negative incidents in disasters happen under the sight of God. For example, an innocent baby dying after an earthquake might have had a bad life in the future. Because God loves this baby, he takes him earlier from life, and in this way he keeps the baby from committing bad deeds. The same holds for other people who die in disasters. Death is a reality that everyone will inevitably taste. Everyone will be held to account, and will be treated according to their worldly actions, whether good or bad.

Y1: Now what we've learned from hodjas, heaven and hell exist. Just as you invest in a house in this world, if your deeds are good... Prayers, this and that, God is forgiving, hopefully, if you've done (bad) he may forgive it over there. I can't say anything but God to you, I don't have the knowledge. Everything is in God's hands.²³⁸ (192)

His answer to the question of death is also literal. "Death, everyone is going to taste that, impossible not to. You believe you were born, you have to believe you'll die." In the after-death state, one will live well if one's deeds were good. If they were bad, God only

²³⁶ Y1: *Valla insan hayatının bence heeeç bir amacı yok arkadaş, tamam mı, işte hani gidiyoruz. O ana rahminde zaten sen ne kadar yaşayacağını biliyor. Mümkün varsa hani bu dünyaya geldin. Doğru ahlaklı düzgün yaşamak, Allah yoluna git. Yaşayacağımız işte ne kadar bi süre varsa o kadar.*

²³⁷ Y1: *Şimdi bizim dışımızda Allah'tan başka kim var mesala seni o güçten şeyden yoldan çıkarttırmak için şeytan. Benim bildiğim bunlar. Başka sana ne deyim okumadığım için fazla o kadar ilkokul mesala mezunuyum ben, başka bişey diyemem ben sana.*

²³⁸ Y1: *Şimdi bizim hocadan bildiğimiz cennet cehenem var, amelin iyi ise nasıl bu dünyada ev yaptırırken yatırım yapıyorsun ona. Namazlar şunu bunu, Cenab-ı Allah inşallah affedicidir. Onu sen de belki onu yaptırırsan o yanda affeder onu. Allahtan başka bişey diyemem ben sana, çünkü bilgim yok o kadar. Herşey Cenab-ı Allah'ın elinde.*

knows. He has learned from hodjas that heaven and hell exist. He prefers imitation here instead of forming his own conception of the hereafter. One must perform one's Prayers, God is forgiving.

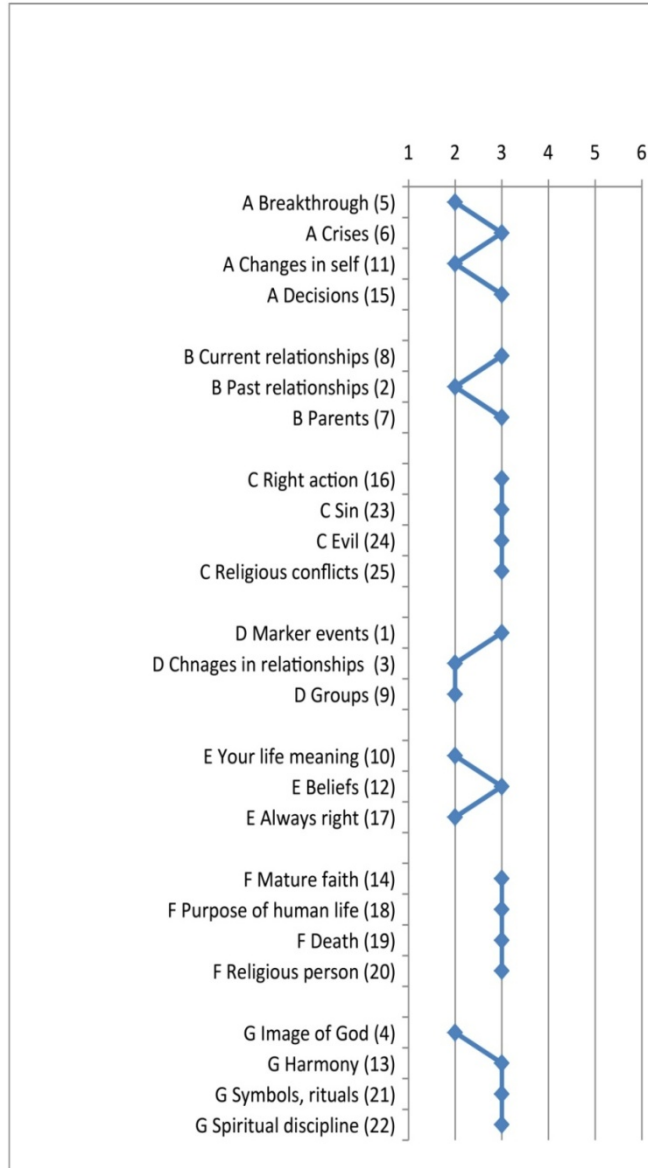
4.1.6.1.6. Summary

Mr. Yıldız 1's biographical reconstructions related to form of logic take shape around nostalgia and loyalty to the family. Although he does not divide his life into chapters, migration plays a significant role in his biography, as it does in the case of others. His basic narrative strategy in his biographical reconstructions is to prove himself and spite others. He is disturbed by the change in present generations: he expects the same obedience and respect from younger generations that he showed his elders.

A second strategy in his narratives is changelessness. Expressing attachment to elders is an important strategy in proving personal and cultural continuity. His life world is narrow, comprising family and relatives. He has received no formal religious education. His image of God is presented in the context of worship. God is expressed as external to man, in terms that are sometimes anthropomorphic: God is with us, he guides, he gives everything, he gives breath and life, he is great, he punishes those who don't recognize him. Religiosity is defined as giving thanks, praying, and avoiding prohibitions. He believes his religiosity has increased with the opening of mosques in Germany.

From this, it can be deduced that Mr. Yıldız 1 first encountered institutionalized religion in Germany. Perhaps this is why mature and perfect religion is defined as the path of his forefathers and the Prophet. In his view, this world is of little worth compared to the hereafter, and the afterlife is where the reckoning will take place. His expectation that he will be fully religious after Pilgrimage is a sign that he does not consider himself in that light in the present. Hence, he constructs an indirect link between rituals and religiosity. Again, religiosity requires study in his view, and there are also other criteria: ablution and Prayer, not to stray from the path of God, not to cause distress to anyone, not to gossip. In practice, he performs the rituals of having the Koran recited and animal sacrifice.

Figure 11: Stage Assignments of Mr. Yıldız 1.



4.1.6.2. Mr. Yıldız 2

Mr. Yıldız 2 says that his real age is 48 at the time of the interview, but is registered as 43 in his ID card. He was born in 1962. He came to Germany in 1977 or 1978; he does not remember the exact date. He was 15 or 16 years old

when he came to Germany. He lived 9 years in Turkey separated from his father. His father migrated to Germany when Mr. Yıldız 2 was 7 years old. He stayed with his grandparents, and his mother was also present, as is usual for most of the second generations. He is the oldest of his parents' four children. His other siblings also live in Germany.

He finished elementary school in Turkey and attended one year of school in Germany. He is married and the father of two children. His daughter is 24 years old and married. His 22-year-old son is single and lives with him. He works as a welder at a company that produces iron and steel, and his wife works as a part-time cleaner at another factory. During the interview he was relaxed and open to conversation, but was observed to have problems in self-expression and language. He is very reproachful of his family and relatives, and he states that he has problems with everyone in his milieu. He connects these to disappointments he experienced at the hands of the family, relatives, and friends. Although his connection with religion is weak at the practical level, he is deeply fond of religion.

4.1.6.2.1. Biographical Reconstruction

Mr. Yıldız 2 states that there could be two chapters in his life: the first is life before coming to Germany until he was 16, and the second is his life in Germany. He speaks of a distinctive change between these two life chapters.

Y2:...The first chapter, I was really pure of heart, if someone needed help, I wouldn't think: "Someday I may need his help in turn," I would rush to the help of everyone, and so on. But then that person would turn around and try to stab me in the back. In my second chapter, that really hardened me.²³⁹ (45)

He focuses his narratives more on this second chapter. In this chapter of his life, he changed his behaviour towards people, because he realized that people misuse him and behave hypocritically. He evaluates the second chapter of his life

²³⁹Y2: *Birinci bölüm, ben gerçekten temiz kalpliydim, yani bir kimseye yardım olacaksa, düşünmezdim yani bu arkadaş zamanı gelir benim de ona ihtiyacım olur diye, herkese yardıma koşardım, bilmem ne yapardım. Yani adam ondan sonra dönerdi arkamdan vurmaya kalkardı. İkinci dönemde yani iyice sertleştirdiler yani.*

as an exact rupture from people, because of the problems they caused him. He stresses this situation below:

Y2:...Whether a neighbour or a relative or whatever, even if it's family, I really don't want to see anyone. It's still like that, I don't go. I don't know...²⁴⁰(83)

In his opinion, people do not appreciate the goodness in him:

Y2: The closest example is my brother-in-law. I was on leave for three weeks in 2003. I had bought an apartment. I worked in his house those three weeks, I got up at 8 in the morning and came back home at 5 or 6 p.m. Then he wanted to move. I had worked for three weeks, he didn't give me a day off. I had only one day (of leave) left. And then he didn't speak to me for a year and a half, saying: "Why are you doing this?"²⁴¹. (87)

His narratives about his life revolve around stories like this, which he often repeats. He complains that his good deeds (as he perceives them) are not appreciated by others. This has led to disappointment. The "do ut des" style of "Help me and I'll help you in return" is clearly perceived.

Just like his father's nostalgia for human relations of the past, Mr. Yıldız 2 harbours similar thoughts. His narratives are disconnected, but revolve around the same theme. He, too, considers that life is not what it used to be, that people have become too distanced from old values, such as helpfulness. People were closer to each other in the past, they could make up right away even if they fought. Now, they nurse a grudge for years at the slightest offense.

He is also disturbed by the present individuation. But rather than attempting a conceptual analysis of individuation, he makes superficial assessments: there used to be respect and love, and elders were respected. It used to be that he

²⁴⁰Y2: *Komşu olsun, akraba olsun ne olursa olsun. Yani aileden de olsa yani hiç kimsenin yanına doğru dürüst gideceğim gelmiyor yani. Daha halen de öyle. Yani gitmiyorum . Yani ne bileyim ben yani [.....]*

²⁴¹Y2: *Yani en kısa misal eniştemden veriyim. Eniştem mesala sona ben 2003 de mi ne daire aldım. Üç hafta izine ayrıldım . Mesala sona eniştemin evinde daireyi aldıktan sonra ben üç hafta onun evinde çalıştım. Kuruş da para istemedim. Mesala sona sabah sekizde kalktım, akşam beşte altıda evime geldim. Mesala sona bi gün o taşınacak, ya İbrahim benim bi günüm kalmış. Üç hafta arkadaş ya, üç hafta ben çalıştım ya bir günü de dinlenmeme şey ver. Ondan sonra adam tuttu bana diyor ki yani ne deyim sana bi sene mi bi buçuk sene mi adam benimnen konuşmadı. Neden böyle yapıyorsun diye.*

couldn't smoke even in the presence of his villagers, let alone family elders. Now, young people rebel against their elders about many things.

Similar approaches are observed when he narrates the crises and dead-ends of his life. He has only done well to everyone, such as buying them dinner. When the police confiscated his driver's license, nobody stepped up to help. He cites this as one of the things that hurt him most. Again, he has failed to receive the reward of the good he thinks he has done.

The way he divides his life reflects the relational changes he underwent rather than a chronological flow of life. Like Mr. Demir 2, another second generation, he has seen different lifestyles. He has gone to discotheques and had outside friendships, but he didn't harm anyone, whereas his friends did. He claims, as his father does, that after the extreme poverty of their conditions in Turkey, people coming to Germany have "gone overboard." They have become spoiled, and the elder-younger hierarchy has disintegrated.

In all relations discussed in the interview, he sees himself as a "victim." A language of protest dominates his narrative style. His object world is constructed around the tension between self and others. He does not engage in inner-directed inquiries about the meaning of life. Conflicts are blamed on others, but left unresolved. His strategy of dealing with conflicts leaves him moored in the past. He is self-defensive and tense. It is unclear which authority functions in crisis situations. The cause of change is again seen as other people themselves. He cannot construct a coherent life story at the meta level, remaining embedded in his own expectations and relational failures. These events have failed to shape a more independent, coherent life narrative. Rather, he consistently repeats how he has been victimized throughout his relations.

As a person who is 48 years old, works, and is married, one cannot expect him to be at Stage 1 of faith development. There are many things in him that point to Stage 2. For instance, he both constructs and narrates the change in his view of relations within the framework of causality and seriation (M31). He is also quite aware that a real world exists beyond his expectations and perceptions. He has

the sense that “the world has its own coherence” (M31). His complaints to the interviewer can be regarded as the coexistence of Stages 2 and 3. Language is used in an interactive way. In reality, he is trying to individuate—to distance his own social reality from the external world, but is unable to extricate himself from being a passive defender in this unending showdown. He cannot close his accounts with others in his relations. There is opposition, which is a sign of individuation, but this is not at the level of ideological, systematic, or reflective awareness (Manual p. 33).

4.1.6.2.2. Reconstruction of Relations

At present, Mr. Yıldız 2 has given up his old habits which he considers “madness,” and strives to correct himself. For example, one of these is not paying the debts he owed to the bank, and as a result he was forwarded to confiscation (*Schufa*) in Germany. In this problem, too, nobody in his family helped him; rather, an acquaintance helped him out.

Y2: When a person is bad, when he does something bad, he can't be bad all the time. My people don't consider this. Once you're known as bad, it's better to die than to be known badly. They've graded me, and they haven't changed, they still haven't changed: “You can't do this, you can't do that...” I'm the one earning the money, and I'll do what I please. Nobody can prevent that.²⁴² (108)

His family does not want to help him because, in his opinion, the family members want to see him constantly in need and dependent on the family. He stresses that he did not have any individual or personal relationships that affected him throughout his life. God and the Holy Koran are the two things he trusts most. He thinks of starting to read the Koran, due to which he recently reduced his alcohol consumption. Previously, he always used to come home drunk, and then had more alcohol at home. Now, he drinks outside occasionally and does not allow alcohol to enter his home. He speaks about his uncle, who drank alcohol and also read the Koran. He cites the famous (deceased) Turkish businessman Vehbi Koç as an example. According to him, Koç was doing ritual Prayers and also drinking

²⁴² Y2: *Ya bi insan kötü olduğu zaman, bi kötülük yaptığı zaman, bu adam devamlı kötü olamaz. Bizimkiler bunu düşünmüyor. Bi adam kötü mü, bi adın çıkacağına canın çıksın daha iyi. [...] notumu verdiler, hiç değişmediler, daha halen de değişmediler, daha halen de tutuyorlar, bilmem yok sen şunu yapamazsın yok be sen bunu yapamazsın. Ya gardaşım parayı kazanan ben miyim, ben istediğim şeyi yaparım. Buna da hiç kimse engel olamaz.*

alcohol. He says that if you have psychological problems, or if you give yourself over to drinking, there is certainly something beneath it.

Y2:...He was doing his Prayers. He would come in from work, one glass or two glasses, I swear, they showed the man on TV. He was saying, "If God counts this as a sin, let him." To relieve stress, and then there are people who hang themselves, who go crazy. It doesn't happen by itself. This man doesn't hang himself for nothing. He definitely has something. [...] Could be his surroundings, his family... going nuts, I mean.²⁴³ (118)

He speaks of a childhood friend in Turkey who migrated before him to Germany. In Germany their friendship continued, even if only briefly. Mr. Yıldız 2 witnessed this friend use heroin and get involved in a brawl. He himself never did such things. But he has been drinking alcohol, which for him is not a religious problem. He justifies his use of alcohol further as follows:

Y2:I drank, and then I said, better for me to drink than to take drugs. I mean, I tried it once but it's not my thing. I won't do it, I said.²⁴⁴ (55)

His father and mother are among the people he criticizes. But in spite of all this, he says he is ready to do everything for them.

Y2:...I'm in good relations with my mother and father, what should I tell you, I'd give my life for my mother and father. Nothing can change me from that.²⁴⁵ (171)

In the aspect of perspective taking, his endless reproaches against his family and his attempts to draw their attention reveal that he has not been able to achieve full individuation, that he is still dependent on the family and in need of their cohesion. Hence, he has a mixture of "do ut des" and conventional styles.

²⁴³Y2: *Fehmi Koç, adam mesala sona namazını kılıyordu. İşten sonra geliyordu, adam bi bardak, yemin ederim sana iki bardak mı ne, adam yani televizyonda gösterdiler. Allah diyordu bunu günah yazarsa yazsın bana diyordu. Stres atmak için, bazı insanlar olur ki, mesala sona bir insan kendini asıyor, ya işte bi insan deliriyor. Ya bu adam kendiliğinden delirmiyor. Bu adam kendiliğinden asmıyor. Bu adamın mutlaka bişeyi var. [...] ya ee çevresi olabilir, aile tarafından olabilir, ne bileyim yani kafayı üşütme yani.*

²⁴⁴Y2: *İçki içtim, ondan sonra dedim ben onu (uyuşturucu) içeceğime içkiyi içerim daha iyi. Yani bi sefer denedim baktım benim şeyim değil. Ben dedim yapmam.*

²⁴⁵Y2: *Ya anne babamla ilişkilerim iyi, mesala sonra ne deyim sana ben annemin babamın için canımı veririm. Yani beni bundan da hiç bişey değiştiremez yani.*

4.1.6.2.3. Appropriation of Religion

Mr. Yıldız 2 states that religion has lost the unity it used to have in the past. In his view, there is one type of religion and path in Turkey. He criticizes the existence of various Turkish-Muslim religious movements in Germany, and sees these as “division.” After Turks came to Germany, he says, they too became like Germans. Turks have separated into groups like Süleymanist or Erbakanist, just as Germans are divided into Catholic and Protestant among themselves. He claims the Germans are responsible for these divisions in the Muslim community: Germany always supports division in the Muslim community. Because they have the Catholic-Protestant division, they want the same for the Turks, as well, and this division increases every day. Nevertheless, when he first came to Germany, the division was not so widespread.

He does not exclude anyone because of their religion or nationality. He has always had Kurdish friends, for example, and does not discriminate anyone. People used to sit together and entertain in the same atmosphere of brotherhood in the past. Today, people are further divided as the followers of different groupings. The theme he emphasizes is cooperation, which existed in the past but no longer does. In the past, for instance, a person who could not afford to go to Turkey on vacation would be financed by his friends. They would collect money among themselves and give it to that person. In the past, when someone needed money, they could easily borrow it from their surroundings. Today, these have all disappeared.

Turks in Germany also receive their share of his criticism: immigrant people in Germany were living in poor economic circumstances before the migration. After arriving in Germany, they got richer and became spoiled. As a result, the principle of respect for the elderly and love for the young has vanished. Times are changing, the world is not the same world, and the people are not the same people. The society in Germany is divided into a number of different communities. For example, his nephews participate in the community of Süleymanci (Süleymanists) in Germany. They criticize him and say: “Uncle, if our teachers saw you, they would not regard you as a Muslim” (*dayi bizim hocalar seni görse müslüman demezler*). Thus, according to him, the Süleymanists are brainwashing

young people. He covertly defines groups he is in contact with as Moslem groups, but it is not clear what he really means by these groups. In his view, people must again become considerate and respectful like they were in the past.

Y2...If God really gave me the chance, I would attempt to change people.

I: How would you change them?

Y2: I would tell them: Even animals get along together. People should talk to each other, until they find a way to get along.²⁴⁶ (273-275)

He states that he shares the views of the nationalists. What he means by nationalism is not the classical Turkish "idealism" or the "Gray Wolves." On the contrary, it represents the secular DITIB community in Germany. He is recognized as an alcoholic by the nearest DITIB mosque, with which he faces problems. In fact, he thinks that his drinking should not be a problem. He gives his uncle as an example. His uncle died in a car accident a few years ago; he used to read the Koran with boxes of beer bottles under his bed. Reading the Koran and drinking did not create any conflict for his uncle. Anyway, he intends to stop drinking:

Y2:...Yeah, but the time will come. I was arguing with my father, not arguing but discussing, he says, "Son, you have to put an end to this, too." And I say, "OK Dad, I'll do that. As soon as I get my son's wedding out of the way, in one or two years' time, I'm going to." That is, I'm not dependent on it. I'm going to stop one day.²⁴⁷ (75)

He opened a joint with his brothers and father in Germany. He complains that his father and brothers oppressed him by loading more work on him. They exploited him and continually attempted to deal with him in an unfair way. He says: "I've written off even my father." Due to driving under the influence (of alcohol), the police prohibited him from traffic and he lost his driver's license. Nobody helped him in that period. This was another factor which shook his confidence in people. He says he doesn't trust anyone, even those who do their Five Daily Prayers, because in his opinion, "humanness" is now dead.

²⁴⁶Y2: *İşte bana Allah gerçekten fırsat verse ben insanları değiştirmeye kalkardım.*

I: *Nasıl yapardın?*

A: *Ya insanları konuşarak, anlaşarak, ya bak derdim hayvanlar bile koklaşa koklaşa anlaşıyor, ya insan, Allah bize dil vermiş, damak vermiş, insanlar da konuşa konuşa anlaşsın diye.*

²⁴⁷Y2: *He ama zamanı gelecek, bu gün hatta babamla da tartışıyorum da az bi, tartışıyorum derken konuşuyoruz yani. ya oğlum diyor artık diyor senin de bırakman lazım. Ya diyorum baba tamam bi iki sene şu oğlanın diyorum düşününü yapayım ondan sonra ben de bırakacağım. Yani ben buna bağlı değilim. Ben de bir gün bırakacağım.*

Y2: Now who is going to trick whom? (That's what they're all after.) How will I take that guy's 1 Lira...? I swear to you, these guys do their Prayers, that is, that's their conviction. Humanness is dead, it truly has died. There's no respect or love left in anyone. In Turkey, I observe, there's still some respect and love left, if only to his own father. Not here, bro. Here, the man's in a gambling room with his father, I can show you if we go there, he's gambling with his father and smoking in front of his father.²⁴⁸ (91)

He says he severely criticizes people who belong to some religious organization and are fond of religion, who repeatedly go on Pilgrimage, when the same people swindle other people or institutions, including German governmental agencies. According to him, there are people who consider usury a forbidden act in Islam, yet do not hesitate to deceive the state and other people.

Y2:This man tries to make a mosque-go err out of me, he says: "Come every Friday," he's going to tell his friends: "See, he was an alcoholic only yesterday." Then we're sitting at an ice-cream parlour, and he's looking at miniskirts, he's eyeing the legs of girls.²⁴⁹ (98)

He is pessimistic about the resolution of religious conflicts. Because everyone is trying to draw everyone else over to their view, such resolution is impossible. Nor does he suggest a solution. He does not want to take sides on this.

Y2: It's a bit, well, difficult. Some people understand, some don't. What can I tell you? A nationalist, a Süleymanist, an Erbakanist, they can't agree. One tries to pull religion this way, the other, that way.²⁵⁰ (267)

4.1.6.2.4. Image of God

For Mr. Yıldız 2, there is no special place (or time) where he feels close to God. He says he feels close to God anywhere and in any case. He never experienced a

²⁴⁸Y2:Şimdi şu durumda yani kimi kim kandıracak ben bu adamın 1 lirasını nasıl alacağım nasıl yapacağım. Yani yemin ederim adamlar namaz kılıyorlar, o düşüncedeler yani. Ya insanlık öldü gerçekten öldü gerçekten öldü. Saygı sevgi kalmadı kimsede. Türkiye'de bakıyorum yine de adam yani babası da olsa yani biraz sayıyor, seviyor . Burda kalmadı abi. Burda adam babasıyla ya kumarhanede, ben sana göstereyim gavelere gidelim babasıyla kumar oynuyor ya, babasının karşısında cigara içiyor.

²⁴⁹ Y2: ...camisinin neci olduğunu bilmiyorum ama ondan sonra, ya öyle diyeceğine mesala sona, la yiğenim seni her zaman böyle görmek isteriz, her cuma günü gel, her cuma günü görmek isteriz diyecek kişi, beni camiye alıştırarak kişi adama bak diyor yav dün içki içiyordu bu gün ... ama bunu da söyleyen adamlar bi ara gel [...] ben sana çoğunu göstereyim. Mesala sona dondurmacıda oturuyor, adam tutuyor, mini eteklilere bakıyor, bacaklarına bakıyor kızların.

²⁵⁰Y2: Biraz işte zor. Bazı insanlar var anlıyor, bazı insanlar var anlamıyor. Ne deyim sana şimdi. Mesala sona milliyetçiynen bir Erbakancı veyahut da Süleymancı anlaşamaz. Bu dini o tarafa çekmeye çalışır o o tarafa çekmeye çalışır.

change in his image of God. He committed a lot of sins, beginning with alcohol. God says he will forgive all sins, except violations of other people's rights. Therefore, he plans to make an "alcohol jubilee" at his son's wedding, and then never touch it again. He adds that he never drank at his daughter's wedding, because the family of the bridegroom was religious people (*haci-hoca*).

He says there is no difference between "God" and "Allah." Concerning his present image of God, he says:

Y2: God is one, God is our creator. And then, for example, he sees and hears what no one else can, he knows what's in your heart, he's that... you make a mistake, God punishes you... As I said, he says: "Don't come to me with (violations of) the rights of others." But I did. I withdrew money from that bank. Of course, the bank got it back in spades, because if it gave you its finger, it would take back your arm. X bank was like that. But I suffered for that violation, and then God said: "OK, that's enough, I'm absolving you, now slowly pull yourself together." And he showed me the ways. Now if that man hadn't believed in me for God's sake, for humanity's sake, he wouldn't have helped me, either. Right?²⁵¹ (141-148)

Interestingly, these quotes reflect his trust in God. He is ready to bargain with God and to use any easing God may provide. Here he again starts comparing himself to others, and forms his position *vis-à-vis* God in comparison to others. He believes in God, but does not reflect on his image of God or its connections. His image of God is still anthropomorphic, and the exact nature of his attributions to God—such as creation, sight, hearing, and knowing what is in one's heart—remains unclear. Hence, rational operations are not entirely employed here. Because "self and others" is not a clear position of Stage 4, he is assessed as being at Stage 3. He has a tendency to see God as a "buddy" and make God do what he wants. He also wants to dominate God. The deity is understood as a being whose existence and power are acknowledged, but who does not interfere much in his affairs and has a special tolerance for him.

²⁵¹Y2:Allah birdir, Allah bizi yaratandır. Mesala sona kimsenin göremediğini gören duyan, senin kalbinden ne geçiyorsa onları bilen, budur. ... bak Adana'da deprem oldu, evler toprak gibi ya. Yani bunu Allah boşu boşuna bize işte ne deyim sana ya adam bi yanlışlık yapar Allah seni cezalandırır. Bak beni cezalandırdı, sana dedimya demin bana diyor neyle gelersen gel ama kul hakkıyla gelme, ben çünkü kul hakkı yedim. O bankadan parayı çektim gerçi o banka yüzde iki yüzünü çıkarttı. Mesala sonra parmağını veriyordu kolunu alıyordu senin. Öyle bi bankaydı zamanında Banka x. Ama onun şeyisini bana Allah çekti, ama şimdi dedi ki tamam dedi artık serbest ediyorum, hadi dedi kendini toparlamaya yavaş yavaş başla. Bunun yollarını gösterdi ve de o adam bana inanmasa Allahına inanmasa, insanlığına inanmasa o adam da bana yardım etmez, doğru mu?

4.1.6.2.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Mr. Yıldız 2 does not take anyone as a role model in religion, because in his view, nobody fulfils the requirements of faith perfectly. He says he will follow whatever is in the Koran. In this respect, he recognizes no authority other than the Koran and God. He says everyone can make mistakes anytime, and admits that he does, too.

He considers himself a religious person, because it is essential to participate in one's religion. Islam and religiosity mean sharing. According to him, a person sleeping on a full stomach while his neighbour goes hungry should not be considered a Muslim. Sharing is a fundamental precept of Islam, but few people observe it these days. Perhaps, for others, such things as Prayer and fasting may be indicative of religiosity. But for him, the true measure of religiosity is to help people. How he helps others is explained as follows:

Y2: There are poor children in Turkey who are dumb (they can't speak). I take them to a restaurant, I feed them, I buy them clothes, if they don't have shoes I buy them shoes, I put some money in their pocket. I do these things. And I'm proud of it. Some say, "He'll tear it up in a day or two." Well, let him. As long as I help, that's up to him.²⁵² (241)

He does not confine religion and religiosity to the field of rituals. His interpretation of religiosity as sharing indicates that he is more interested in the social and ethical dimensions of the matter. He is also aware that his views differ from those of others in this respect. He has considered the Pilgrimage to Mecca an important ritual since childhood, but is unable to afford it at the moment because of his debts. As observed in many interviewees, Pilgrimage is perceived as a turning point in the life of a Muslim. Great masses of Muslims believe that their sins will be forgiven after Pilgrimage. That is, the impact of the *Hajj* on the psychology of Muslims is greater and more functional than other kinds of religious worship. They even take the title of *hadji*, which is a highly prestigious religious title for Muslims.

²⁵²Y2:Tabi, mesala sona ben Türkiye'de mesala sona bazı fakir çocuk var, fakir çocuğu alıyorum. Yani konuşamıyor. Gidiyorum onun restoranda karnını doyuruyorum, mintan ceket alıyorum, pantolon aliveriyorum, ayakkabısı yoksa ayakabı aliveriyorum, üç beş kuruş harçlık koyuveriyorum cebine. Yani bunları yapıyorum. Bunlan da gurur duyuyorum. Bazısı diyor ki yav iki gün sonra diyor yırtacak diyor. Yav yırtsin, ben yardımımı yapıyım da, bu ona bağlı.

So Mr. Yıldız 2 also wants to go on Pilgrimage in the future, and believes that his sins will be forgiven. However, after returning from the *Hajj*, one must fully observe religious practices. He admits that realizing this is difficult for him at the moment. That is another reason Muslims avoid going to *Hajj*—because they fear they will not be able to fulfil its requirements after their return.

Y2: For instance, if I had no debts, no worries, I would go on Pilgrimage. I'd like to be truly religious, a true Moslem. I have to have no problems. My family, in peace. I would go with my family and become a good religious person. I don't know the Koran well, I can't read it. And then, some people say, "When you go on Pilgrimage, all your sins are forgiven." But when you set foot in that land, you have to fulfil the duties. You have to go only on the path of God²⁵³ (243-247).

Learning the Koran and helping people are two activities which he finds important. If he were in peace, he would like to help people more and learn how to recite the Koran. Here he again repeats his agitation, finding pretexts for his non-observance of rituals in external causes. Praying has an outstanding place in his life compared to other rituals. The central theme of his prayers (supplications) is wishing for the forgiveness of God. He believes that God will forgive him one day, even though he thinks that he commits a sin by drinking alcohol.

Y2: I pray, of course. Thank God, I pray very well. I say err, may God forgive me... If God registers my drinking as a sin, I should know how to atone for it. I should get it forgiven. Then on holy nights, doing Prayer, supplications, having the Koran recited for the sake of my (dead) grandfather, granny, to remember them, that is. I fulfil worship of that sort.²⁵⁴ (253)

There is self-confidence in his relations with God, which can be understood as a fancy. He supports his belief in his religiosity with these statements. The necessity of Islamic worship is strongly accepted, but has not been internalized in practice. He cites work as an obstacle to performing the Five Daily Prayers. Until recently,

²⁵³Y2: *Mesela sona borcum olmasa benim hiç bi derdim olmasa şu anda hacıya giderdim. Gerçek dinci gerçek bi müslüman olmak isterdim. Hiç problemim olmayacak. Yani ailem huzurlu, ailemlen beraber gider güzel bir dindar olurum....Hacıya gittiğin zaman, Kuran'ı tam olarak bilmiyorum okuyamıyorum da ama bazı insanlar diyor ki, mesala sona hacıya gittiğin zaman günahların affoluyor. Ama tabi o toprağa bastığın zaman, orda şey yaptığın zaman o ifadeleri yerine getirmen lazım. Sadece sadece Allah yolunda gitmen lazım.*

²⁵⁴Y2: *Dua ediyorum tabi. Allahıma şükür çok güzel dua ediyorum. Ben diyorum hatayı yapıyorum, Allah beni affetsin. Fehmi Koç gibi yani Allah birtek içkimi günah yazıyorsa onu da affettirmesini bileceğim yani. Onu da affettireceğim yani...ya mesala sona kandil gecelerinde, namaz kılmak, dua etmek, mesala sonra dedemin ebemin Kuranını okutmak, yani onları hatırlamak. Yani böyle ibadetleri yapıyorum yani.*

he has been fasting since childhood; but because of work and the illness in his stomach, he can no longer do so.

Righteousness is the primary value for him. To be a Muslim is better than belonging to a special group. A Muslim must be righteous.

Y2:...If a person tells me: "I'm a Moslem," and if he's righteous, I'm close to him. Even non-Moslems: when you give the man money, he doesn't usurp one cent and doesn't give up one cent. For one cent, the man will break a hundred Euros. That's righteousness, that's how one should be.²⁵⁵ (179)

In the thinking of Mr. Yıldız 2, human actions can be separated into two kinds, as right and wrong. One can observe the measure of right in the things one does. For instance, if you go to the Friday Prayers, or feed a poor hungry person and he says "God bless you" as a result, then this is right action. Righteousness and honour (chastity) are top ethical values everyone must have. To be chaste is not to covet the wives and daughters of others, to see them as one's sister. He believes that the ethical standards of a Moslem must be high.

At the basis of his moral judgments lie an inner quality and its reflection on behaviour. A thing is moral if it gives the rightful their rights. Here he is entirely subjective, and adopts the moral quality of the others' religious group (breaking a hundred Euros for the sake of one cent) at the expense of his own. Thus, he believes that the other can have a moral perspective even if they're not Moslem.

Still, much more evidence is needed before we can begin to speak of a reflective relativism or a class-based universalism (M24) in his case. He regards right as everyone doing their duty, and righteousness as "law and order." He implies that the system will work better if everybody observes this rule, and is certain of this. The "even" in the quote above ("Even non-Moslems") actually reflects his belief that this should be a basic moral quality of each and every Moslem. He implies that this moral quality forms the basis of his faith, and that it can be present in those of

²⁵⁵Y2:Ya benim için adam elhamdülillah müslümanım dediği zaman, doğru müslümansa ben ona karşı, mesala sona ben Allahıma karşı, böyle seşlere yakınım. Mesala sona şu gavura dahi yani para verdiğin zaman fazla, ne bir sentini yiyor ne de bir sentini yedirtiyor. Bir sent için adam 100 euro bozuyor, ha dürüstlükse dürüstlük, böyle olmak lazım.

other faiths, as well. Hence, righteousness is open to all human beings: Moslems do not have a monopoly of it. Here he lays down a principle that society should be based on.

4.1.6.2.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

The factors that make life meaningful are happiness in the family, the happiness of his children, and for his children to stand on their own feet and live their own lives. In his reckoning, human life is a test: man was sent to this world to be tested. He says:

Y2: Once, there were animals and no human beings. What did the animals do? They devoured each other. What did God do? He put them all underground and created different animals. They still devour each other, but God said to human beings: "I'm creating you, let's see how many will follow my path and how many won't." ... Just as you've been born, your battery will expire someday, then you'll die. That is, it's a test of human beings...²⁵⁶ (210)

According to him, humanity is now in its final stages, because Doomsday is coming, and a lot of Doomsday signs have appeared. One of these is the moral bankruptcy of societies. However, his thoughts on this are confused, and contradict each other.

Y2: Now it's like this: if one sleeps with one's daughter, one's own blood, what happens? [*Long silence*] Then, it used to happen in old times, his brother dies, he marries the wife (widow) of his brother. Me, I couldn't enter the bed of my brother. I couldn't do it. By my book, that is. But our ancestors were ignorant, they did it. And we should exercise reason a little bit. We're not going forward, we're going backwards.²⁵⁷ (133)

Death is an event that occurs beyond man's will. People will die physically, but their souls will continue to live. The soul will be called to account for the actions

²⁵⁶Y2: *Mesala sona zamanında hayvanlar vardı. Mesala sonra bunları insanlar yoktu o zamanlar, ne oldu? Bakti hayvanlar birbirlerini yemeye çalıştı. Ne yaptı Allah? hepsini toprak altı yaptı, ondan aynı hayvanlar yaratıldı ama başka türlü, yine de hayvanlar birbirlerini yiyorlar ama bizim insanlara dedi ki Allah mesala sona ben bunları yaratıyorum bakalım benim yolumda kaç kişi gidecek kaç kişi gitmeyecek? Deneme tahtası. Mesala sona nasıl doğduysan bir gün pillin bitecek o zaman öleceksin. Yani bu insanların deneyi, deneme tahtasındayız biz. Ama ne deyim sana o deneme tahtasının da sonu geliyor.*

²⁵⁷Y2: *Şimdi şöyle bişey, bir insan kızıyla yatarsa, kendi kızıyla kendi kaniyla yatmaya kalkarsa bu ne olur? [uzun sessizlik] mesala sona eskiden ha eskiden oluyordu, kardeşin mesala sona kardeşi ölmüş, kardeşi onun ailesi (hanımı) ile evleniyordu. Benim şu durumda olsa ben kardeşimin girdiği yatağa ben giremem. Ben bu işi yapmam. Ne derler, benim kitabıma göre. Ama eskiden atalarımız yani, cahiller yani öyle yapıyordu. Mesala sona bizimkiler daha kafayı çalıştıracak zaman yani bazı insanlar geri geri gidiyor, ilerlemiyoruz.*

one did in this world. Those who did good deeds will go to paradise, and evil-doers will go to hell. He says:

Y1: God gave this life, and God will take it... Your body dies, but you don't. Your spirit lives. Your blood and bones die, but your spirit remains. Then he litigates with that spirit. God says: "I showed you such-and-such a way, you didn't do that but you did the opposite. Answer for this. You didn't perform Prayers, but you drank."²⁵⁸ (225)

In his opinion, evil is from God, but if innocent people experience evil things, this is due to evil-doers or guilty people. As the proverb says: "the wet (logs) burn along with the dry." The innocent suffer for the iniquities of the sinful. In explaining the problem of evil, he gives many examples until the connections are lost.

4.1.6.2.7. Summary

What Mr. Yıldız 2 describes of his life are problematic relations between self and others. As he employs reproachful expressions for others from start to finish, a desire for approval makes itself felt throughout the interview. He finds the causes of his every experience in other people, whether close or distant. In his biographical reconstruction, his statements—in the aspects of form of logic, perspective taking, moral judgement, and the like—consist of complaints. He has an excessive nostalgia and favoritizes the bygone values of "the good old days." Money is the reason for this loss of values.

He tries to define religiosity beyond its conventional meaning, as righteousness. He is rather lax on what is generally regarded as sin, except for the violation of the rights of others. Due to his positive image of God, he has no fear of sinning. Believing that God helps him, he establishes a positive connection with God, who treats him with a special tolerance and forgiveness.

Even though he defines religiosity as sharing, which is a moral quality; religious rituals still occupy an important place in his conception of religiosity. Pilgrimage,

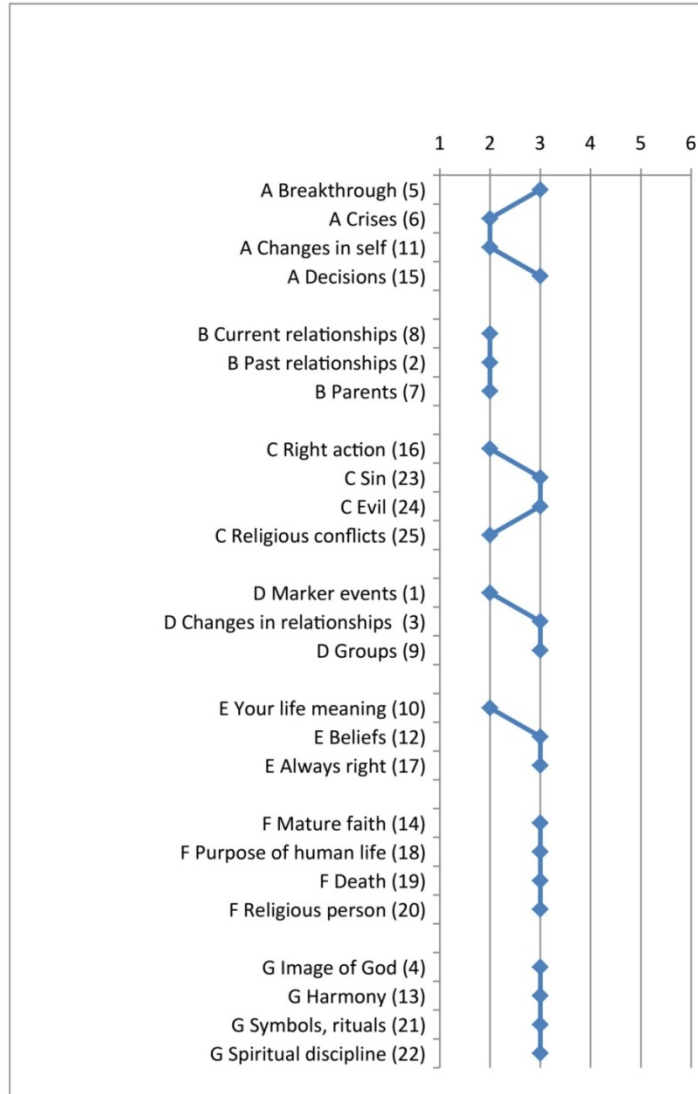
²⁵⁸Y2:Allah verdi Allah alacak bu canı...mesala sona senin vücudun ölüyor ama sen kendin ölmüyorsun. Senin ruhun yaşıyor. Sadece etin kemiğin ölüyor ama ruhun kalıyor yine de. O ruhnan mesala sona carpişma yapıyor. Allah diyor ki sana ben sana böyle böyle yol gösterdim, ama sen onu yapmadın da tersini yaptın. Bunun cevabını ver. Verdiğim namazları kılmadın ama sen içki içtin.

his belief that one's sins will be erased after Pilgrimage, his desire to learn how to read the Koran, his desire to stop drinking, are all indications of this. He does believe strongly in the necessity of rituals, but since their practice has not been internalized in any way, he cites work as an excuse for his non-observance of Prayer, and stomach pains for that of fasting. No solution is sought so that these can be practiced.

In the area of moral judgment, non-violation of rights and righteousness are held to be the basic moral values. As with many other Moslems, human life on earth is regarded as a test from God, without any discussion of its religious or philosophical underpinnings. He states that death will occur physically, while the spirit will remain immortal and account for one's actions, but does not go into the details. Hence, his beliefs are held strongly but expressed covertly. In conclusion, he repeats the Islamic predefinition that the good will go to heaven and the evil-doers to hell, without any rational support.

The acceptance of pre-formulated clichés also emerges in his treatment of theodicy. Bad things happen in the world because bad people doing bad things and those he categorizes as "good" are also harmed by this. The aspect of divine justice in this matter is not dealt with at all.

Figure 12: Stage Assignments of Mr Yıldız 2.



4.1.6.3. Mr. Yıldız 3

Mr. Yıldız 3 is a Turkish third generation youth who has serious problems with his father and family. He stresses that he and his father cannot understand each other well. He is 21 years old at the time of the interviews, and he is afraid of getting married. On the one hand, he says he wants to live his youth, and on the other, he is afraid of getting married and then divorcing, thus losing his child (if he has one)

in this manner. He complains that after divorce, fathers have to pay a large alimony in Germany. He wants to study, but thinks his family is very “materialistic” and does not support him for his education expenses. He already has finished his first professional training as a machine-tool fitter (*tesviyeci*) and now he is receiving a second, at the same firm for which his father works as a welder. His aim is to be able to work as a foreman at the Thyssen Company, and believes this is possible only with successful professional training.

The interview with him was conducted a week after his grandfather. He preferred to give his interview outside of home. He complains that he cannot make sense of the relations in his family; sometimes he is confused. He says he doesn't know whether the relations within the family are good or bad. His parents are always having arguments. He says that in his view, his mother is an angel, but he does not remember anything good about his father. The most bothersome thing for him in life is that his father has never supported him—neither in his childhood, nor in his youth.

4.1.6.3.1. Biographic Reconstruction

Concerning the chapters of his life, Mr. Yıldız 3 responds that his life has only one chapter, “and that is the lack of love from his father.” Because his father has not been there for him or his family, ever since his childhood. His mother works as a cleaner. She migrated to Germany after marrying his father. When she first came to Germany, she did not know the language or the living conditions in Germany. In the past 22 years in Germany, she has learned how to stand on her own feet, experiencing the bitter side of life in his account. His father did not have any real contact with family members until they moved to their current home in 2000. He thinks his father has calmed down a bit after moving to this home. His grandfather invested more time with him, more than his own father. The grandfather now has a heart condition, and cannot interfere with Mr. Yıldız 2. Mr. Yıldız 3 reports that the grandfather was more intrusive with his father in the past.

He believes nobody contributed to his growth and education in a real sense. He says he educated and trained himself. He learned lots of things by thinking, living and experiencing. He describes his struggle to “stand up” as follows:

Y3: I always consider both sides of a matter. How should I explain this...? If I jump out this window, and if I don't have a parachute, I'll die. If I have one, I have the chance to survive. So I always think, will it be good or bad? As I said, I don't smoke either, because (I do) sports. Drinking (alcohol) doesn't attract me, either. I go out once in a while during weekends when I want to.²⁵⁹ (28)

He says that important changes about his views on life occurred thanks to professional education. He observed the workers there, and saw all of them doing very difficult jobs. This gave him the motivation to be more successful and the will to work in top positions. He now thinks: “I'd rather be a foreman than a worker, one who gives orders rather than one taking them.”

He experienced two crises in life, but is not willing to share these in the interview. In both cases, he managed to protect himself and did not let himself go, in order to save the rest of his life. He had depression for two years, but managed to survive it without anyone's help. To a question about the meaning of life, he replies as follows:

Y3: No, I never thought that (that life is meaningless). Because I'm 21, if I let myself go now, what will I do for the next forty years, how will I go on?²⁶⁰ (138)

He does not go into the details about the reasons of the crisis, but when pressed further, explains: “Well, it was my father, let me tell you that.” About changing anything in his life, he is fatalistic. He insists there is nothing to change in his life. The lack of fatherly love saddens him, for he has always expected that from his father. Compared to his father, he appreciates his mother's care of him more. His first-degree significant others comprise his closest circle. He has no special

²⁵⁹ Y3: *Yani şimdi şey yaparsam, iki taraftan bakıyorum. Böyle yaparsam ne olur şöyle yaparsam ne olur. Yani nasıl anlatayım şimdi bunu emm işte şimdik bu camdan atlasam şaysız, paraşütsüz, aşağıya düşerim ölürüm. Ama paraşütle atlayım, şeyim var yani şansım var ölmek için. Öyle söyleyim sana. Yani hep düşünürüm yani, iyi mi olur? İyi olmaz mı? Dediğim gibi yani sigara da iimiyorum o da spor yüzünden. İçki de çekmiyor beni içki. Ya hafta sonlarında ara sıra canım istediği zaman çıkıyorum.*

²⁶⁰ Y3: *Yo onu (hayatın anlamsız olduğunu) hayatta düşünmedim. Çünkü ne deyim yani 21 yaşındayım, şimdik kendimi koyuversem gelecek kırk sene ne yapacağım, yaşama nasıl devam edeceğim.*

relationship other than that. His grandfather emerges as the first-degree caregiver (*Bezugsperson*).

As a strategy for escaping crises, his motivation to protect himself and his future life can be perceived as a clearly individual act, but the way he expresses this is conventional. What he expresses as a change is not an intellectual turn, but a conventional one. The conflict with his father has not yet been resolved; he is still within the process. What he calls change or transformation is a focusing of motivation. Although he doesn't state this openly, a suicide attempt is involved in the conflict. His own psychodynamics have worked to resolve this: his self-evaluating personality has functioned as authority. He sees himself as a victim, especially in his relations with his father. This point to Stage 2, while the submissive perspective that he cannot change anything in life indicates Stage 3. He says he lives by believing in himself, and receives strength from self-trust. To the question: "if he was given the chance, what he would like to change in his life," he gives the following answer:

Y3: I sometimes think about that. I wouldn't do that if I came into the world again, but what is written in my fate will take place. What would I change if I were reborn? Nothing in myself. And I can't change my father. So, thank God I'm not disabled.²⁶¹ (223)

Hence in the crisis situation above, a fatalistic and submissive understanding was instrumental in resolving the problem. This reflects a form of logic that is a mixture of Stages 2 and 3.

4.1.6.3.2. Reconstruction of Relations

The distant relations with his father have affected him very negatively from earliest childhood. He says;"He can't fulfil the duties of a father. [...] How should I put this? If he said 'How are you?' just once every day that would be enough for me." He says his father approaches him only when he needs some money. Thus, it distresses him that

²⁶¹ Y3: *Ara sıra düşünceler geliyor da Böyle, yine dünyaya gelsem bunu yapmazdım. Ama şimdik düşünüyom. Kaderimde ne yazdıysa o olacak ama yine gelsem neyi değiştirdim? Kendimde bişey değiştirmedim. Ama pederi de değiştiremem. Onun için yani Allah'a şükür, elim bacağım tutuyor.*

they do not have a proper father-son relationship. He attempted to rectify this relation many times, but it did not work. He says his father expects material things from him, whereas he expects love from his father. He has always suffered about his image in the eyes of his father. He says his father always used to say: “will our son study and be a man” when his mother prepared him for exams. He states that as a young person, this approach was very disgracing for him and affected him very negatively.

His mother is more valuable and important for him. He does not remember positive memories about his father. He remembers only when his father came to see him a few times during football matches. This made him very happy, because he always hoped his father would come to see him at football games. On the other hand, he complains that the behaviour of his mother has also been changing in recent times. His mother, too, has recently become egotistical. His older sister married an acquaintance, yet got divorced after a short time (his father claims that his daughter is still married). His sister also attends a professional training course as hair-stylist and works nearby. His sister is very timid, so he always has to guide her. He plays the role of the big brother. His family is very important to him. He says that four people in the family have a high income, and he cannot understand how, with all this money being spent, they still lack money. In his opinion, these four people are not devoted to each other. This is the potential reason why they cannot save money. He expresses his concern about the family as follows:

Y3: I was very concerned about my family. I thought, it's enough if they can see; it doesn't matter if I don't, as long as they're happy.²⁶² (181)

The closest person to him in life is his friend. He says that they both share the same destiny. His friend is in the same situation with his father. This is the common point that brings them together, and makes them understand each other well.

Y3: Because his story is almost the same as mine. He can't get along well with his father either, that's why we understand each other very well.²⁶³ (36)

²⁶²Y3:Gözümde ehm çok düşünürdüm ailemi çok, onlar görsünler ben görmeyeyim, yeter ki onlar mutlu olsunlar.

Because he doesn't trust anyone, he says if he were to fall someday, nobody would pick him up. He is reproachful of his family as he is with his father, but neither can he be independent from them. He does not ask anyone when he has to make decisions. He says that generally, he makes his own decisions, that he has been standing on his own feet, and hence solves all his problems by himself. At the bottom of his thoughts is his distrust of other people. He explains this distrust as follows:

Y3: If I were to say to someone, "Give me your finger," he would take my arm instead.²⁶⁴ (284)

He gives an example of this: he recently paid for the birthday party of one of his German friends, but could not get his money back. Because they are good friends, he adds that he does not feel sorry about that.

4.1.6.3.3. Appropriation of Religion

He says that he has love and respect for Islam. He attended religious courses in the Süleymanci and DITIB mosques until he was 12 years old. His grandfather took him to mosques and Friday Prayers. Neither his mother nor his father had any hand in this. His grandfather got him accustomed to Friday Prayers. After the age of 12, he never attended mosques for religious education.

He feels himself close to the DITIB organization, and goes there sometimes to Pray. This is because he attended religious courses at this mosque and his friends also go to this mosque. Still, he is disturbed by the harsh style of education there, describing it as follows:

Y3: They didn't beat us, they would shout, we were small then. So we didn't like it, there was that reason when we were small. After that, my grandfather took me many times to Friday Prayers. I got accustomed to going to the DITIB mosque.²⁶⁵ (198)

²⁶³Y3:Çünkü onun hikayesi de benimki gibi aynısı nerdeyse. Yani o da pederleri iyi anlamıyor yani onun için çok iyi anlaşıyoruz onları.

²⁶⁴ Y3:Yani şimdiki desem ehm bi kişiden bişey işte, bi kişiye parmağını ver o da elini alır yani o mesele.

4.1.6.3.4. Image of God

In reply to his image of God, he recalls that he used to go to mosque when he was a child. He reports that he has not experienced any change in his image of God. His relations to God have always remained the same. He consciously admits that he turns to God only when he needs help: "There was no change at all, man. But I only plead to God when I have to." Yet this makes him feel unhappy in any case.

Y3: I made many mistakes. When the time came for exams, I'd get up in the mornings, do the Morning Prayer, I would plead to God: "Let me succeed in this exam." When I took an exam in my vocation, for a driver's license, in all exams. I'd go to mosque on weekends.²⁶⁶ (76)

The quote below is from his replies to questions about his definition of God:

Y3: That's what they told us: God is One. How can I describe God in words? For me, God is... (*thinks for a long time*) what, the Prophet? That's not right, either! In my sight, God, we open our hands and plead. Let me tell you: God is the person who sets us on the straight path.²⁶⁷

Here, an overt anthropomorphism is observable. God is perceived as someone before whom one is powerless. People must invoke him when they need help in order to overcome difficulties. Their only trust must be in God. God helps man in good works.

Y3: How should I put this? Ask for good things, to succeed in the exam, things like that, that's when we plead. Now if you were to plead to God so that you can get six in the lottery, that wouldn't work. Because God always wants you to go on his straight path. Earning money by the sweat of your brow, that's your straight path. In my sight, God is the person who sets you on the straight path.²⁶⁸ (101)

²⁶⁵Y3: *Dövmezlerdi, bağırlırlardı, o zaman küçüktük. O yüzden sevmiyorduk, yani o sebep vardı küçükken. Ondan sonra dedem beni çok götürdü cuma namazlarına. Dedem de şeyi derdi, diyanete ehm küçüklüğünden alışmış yani ayağım oraya gitmeye.*

²⁶⁶Y3: *İşte o beni çok hatam oldu işte. Yani yazılılar geldiği zaman sabahları kalkar, sabah namazını kılardım. Allah'a yalvarırdım yani, kazanayım bu imtihanımı. Mesleğimde imtihana girdiğimde, ehliyetime girdiğimde, imtihanlara girdiğimde yani. Sabahları kalkar namaz kılardım. Allah'a şey yapardım. Küçükken giderdim camiye hafta sonları.*

²⁶⁷Y3: *Bize böyle dediler. Allah birdir. Bizim için yani Allah hmm nasıl deyim sözlerle diyemezsin yani. Onu ... nasıl anlatıyım ki Allah'ı? Allah benim için (uzun düşünme) şimdi Allah desem, peygamber oldu mu? o da olmuyor işte! gözümde yani benim gözümde böyle Allah yani elimizi açarız yalvarırız. Allah seni doğru yola sokan kişi deyim sana.*

²⁶⁸Y3: *Ya nasıl desem yani, şimdik dediğim gibi imtihanı kazanmak için, iyi şeyleri işte öyle şeyleri söyleyim sana. O zaman yalvarırız. Yani şimdi Allah'a yalvarsan bana yarın lotoda altuyı tuttur olmaz yani işte. Çünkü neden sorarsan yani Allah*

The two things he is committed to are his mother and God. He feels close to, and in harmony with, God when he is in a mosque, and when in need. He feels that God helps him.

Y3: When I went for the driver's license, I was very relaxed, I wasn't stressed at all. Then there was the motor catalogue questions (*fragebogen*), again I was very relaxed. I think he helped me because of my faith.²⁶⁹ (247)

The Koran is very important for him as a symbol.

Y3: The Koran, should I say a book in which everything is written, right and wrong, everything is written in it. What a Moslem can and can't do. It's very important for me.²⁷⁰ (380)

In general, God is perceived by him as an invisible image of power, and he is not aware of the language he is using. The general narrative confirms that he is a mandatory Moslem and does not go into internalizing inquiries.

4.1.6.3.5. Understanding of Religiosity

About faith, too, he says he doesn't have much idea. He is respectful of religion, but he has no idea why religion exists, or even why we exist in this world. He attended Koran courses, but does not remember anything about the religious knowledge imparted by imams. He only goes to Friday Prayers when he has time on Fridays. He fasts in the month of Ramadan, and does not constantly practice any other religious ritual. However, he thinks that helping people is also a form of worship.

Y3: Worship, how should I say, helping, can we add worship to that, I don't know. I used to be able to recite the 32 Obligations, now I've forgotten.²⁷¹ (412)

senin her zaman doğru yoluna gitmeni ister. Doğru yolda alın terinle kazandığın para, o işte senin doğru yol. Yani benim gözümde o yani, Allah seni doğru yola sokan kişi deyim sana.

²⁶⁹Y3: O ehliyete girdiğim zaman yani ehliyete girdiğim zaman çok rahattım yani çok, hic stresli değildim. Bi de benim soru kataloğu vardı, motorda yapmıştım. Çok rahattım. Bence inancım sayesinde bana yardım etti yani.

²⁷⁰Y3: Kuran yani, çünkü orda herşey içinde yazan bi kitap mi desem, yani doğru yanlışı herşey yazıyo içinde. Bi müslüman ne yapabilir ne yapamaz diye. O benim için çok önemli.

²⁷¹Y3: Yani ibadet ee nasıl deyim yani yardım olarak mı desem, yardıma ibadet katsak bilmiyorum ki yani. ibadeti, 32 farzı eskiden sayabilirdim, şimdi unuttum.

The person to be taken as an example in faith is the Prophet Mohammed. Each person has his own views. He did not take anyone's faith as an example for himself. He does not consider himself a religious person. From his further explanations, we understand that in his opinion, the measure of religiosity is fulfilling religious rituals, especially performing the Five Daily Prayers. He does not fulfil the rituals, but says he has great respect for religion. He wants to unite two things; he wants to be religious (*dinci*) and also to "live his life." It can be observed that for him, to be a Muslim is one thing, to fulfil rituals is another. He unconsciously makes a separation between religion and religiosity. One can be a Muslim without practising rituals, and religion is not a hindrance to a good worldly life.

Y3: Let me put it like this, man. I have infinite respect for my religion. But nobody can say to me, "You're not a Moslem," just because I don't do my Five Daily Prayers.

I: Yes.

Y3: I don't do my Five Daily Prayers, I drink, I live my life, but I respect my religion.²⁷² (363-364)

Hence his ultimate relationship is to respect religion and not oppose it. He attempts to legitimize his non-observance of religion with respect for it. This helps him to form a worldview that is not religious, but sympathetic to it. This worldview is constructed on the basis of altruism, love of religion, and the desire to be religious. However, the relations between these are not constructed firmly enough. He gives further explanations on the conditions of being religious. Religiosity is to do what is written in the Koran, to do the Five Daily Prayers, and to know what is right and wrong. In this context, religiosity is defined in two dimensions: first, to do or practice, and second, to possess religious knowledge.

For him, the Koran is an important religious symbol, because it is a book in which we can find everything. Everything a Muslim must do and avoid is written in the Koran. Among his spiritual practices, prayers occupy an important place. The contents of these prayers comprise the well-being of his family.

²⁷²Y3: Şöyle söyleyim abi sana, dinime saygı duyuyorum sonsuza kadar. Ama şimdi beş vakit namaz kılmıyorum diye müslüman kimse bana diyemez yani. Yani şimdi bes vakit namaz kılmıyorum diye bana hiç kimse diyemez ki müslüman değilsin.

I. Evet

Y3. Nasıl deyim yani, bak beş vakit namaz kılmıyorum, içki içiyom, ya nasıl deyim abi, hayatımı yaşıyorum ama dinime saygım var.

Y3: Until now I always said, let my mother and father live a good relationship, let my big sister have a good future, let her be successful. Those things, that is.²⁷³ (392)

He finds his mother more religious compared to his father and sister, even though she does not do the Five Daily Prayers. Participating in the present study and giving an interview is also a kind of worship for him. In the same way, evaluating everything “as sinful” is also wrong. Such an understanding, that everything is a sin, makes one’s life unbearable. It is also impossible to think of a life without sin. In his understanding, there should also be tolerance for sins. Thus, one should oneself evaluate the things one does. Perhaps imams have the right to speak about this, but people should decide themselves. If you think that something is sinful, you should avoid it.

As with problems in general, for religious problems also, people should refer to experts in areas of conflict.

Y3: People with knowledge, not modern man but people with knowledge, they think differently. Put a 40-year-old villager on one side and a 40-year-old educated man, a doctor, on the other, they can’t think the same. The first says, “The man to marry my daughter should be from my land, my religion, an acquaintance.” (The other says :) “Let my daughter marry a man that will make her happy.” That’s the difference, I mean. A person with knowledge talks on the basis of thinking.²⁷⁴ (450)

He regards the existence of various faiths in the world with respect, because their differences are a result of the will of God. Asked about the conflicts between religions, he says:

²⁷³Y3: Şimdiye kadar hep şey derdim annemle babam iyi bir ilişki yaşasınlar diye, ablamın geleceği güzel olsun kendini başarılı yapsın, o şeyler yani.

²⁷⁴Y3: Bilgili ehm çünkü bilgili insanlar, modern insan demeyim de bilgili insanlar, bilgili işte, onlar başka düşünüyorlar. Yani bak iki adamı koy 40 yaşındaki köylü adamı koy, bu tarafa da 40 yaşındaki bi adamı koy okumuş doktor olanı, hayatta onlar aynı düşünemezler hayatta. Bu der benim kızım, memleketimden olacak aynı dinimden olacak, tanıdık olacak. Kızım hangi çocuğu isterse kiminle mutlu olursa onunla evlensin. Fark burda yani, bilgili insan düşünceli konuşur.

Y3: With respect, man, Hebrew, Christian, I don't know... Sometimes we get peeved at Germans, why are they like that? But let them make it easy for me, and I'll make it easy for them. If they don't say anything about Moslems, I won't say anything about Christians.²⁷⁵ (462)

He tries to invest his life with meaning by believing in himself, though it is not clear what he means by this. In another definition of religiosity, he says:

Y3: ...Being religious is to do everything, everything that's written in the Koran. To do the Five Daily Prayers, to know good and evil, things like that.²⁷⁶ (376)

It can be seen that more than one definition of religiosity has emerged throughout the interview. He makes no attempt to construct a coherent link between these and to make their relationship meaningful.

Not to be in need is also an important principle for him. The frustration which he does not want to clarify in the interview caused him to think more about himself, and to prioritize his own demands. Our actions can be divided into two parts, as right and wrong. An individual himself has to discriminate between these two. The measure of truth is relative; it changes from one person to another. For example, smoking is bad for him, but the same action may not be bad for someone else. But for him, the proof of right action is when one does not repent after doing something. Here, he reflects moral problems by recourse to his life experience. In his division of right and wrong, he stresses relativism, and hence the inner selves of human beings.

4.1.6.3.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

Man exists "to work" in this world. Everyone has various goals:

Y3: Of course we have goals. You want to be a doctor, you work to get a diploma, what I want is to be a foreman (*meister*).²⁷⁷ (323)

²⁷⁵Y3: *Saygıynan abi, hebraeischen, christlichen ben bilmem ki, Allahın şeyi yani şimdik, nasıl deyim yani şimdik. Ha ara sıra şey yaparız hani almanlar üzerinde, kızarız niye böyleler. Ama onlar beni rahatlatırsın ben de onları rahatlatıyorum. Onlar müslümanlar üzerine bişey demesin ben Hristiyanlar üzerine bişey demeyim.*

²⁷⁶Y3: *Abi benim gözümde dindar olmak demek, ya herşey yapmak yani, yapmak derken, müslümanın Kuran'da ne yazdığını, ne yazdığını yapmak yani. Beş, günün beş vakti namazını kılmak, işte doğruyu yanlışını bilmek. Öyle şeyler abi.*

²⁷⁷Y3: *Olmazsa, amaç olmazsa insan tabi amaç var. Sen ne olmak istiyorsun abi doktor olmak için, diploma almak için çalışıyorsun, benim de istediğim Meister (usta).*

On the other hand he says he cannot find any meaning in human life. He cannot understand why he exists in this world. He tries to make a connection with religion, and says that perhaps some imams told him something about the goal of existence in the world, but cannot remember these.

Y3: Now if you ask someone, if you have a child you live for your child. But speaking frankly, if we leave out children and such, I can't find an answer, why we came into this world.²⁷⁸ (335)

In this sense, he is trying to integrate the various elements of his life experience, but cannot quite succeed. His statement to the effect that "perhaps the imams know" shows that he places authority on the outside, and that he is open to external suggestions. He does not explain anything about his social world. Still, his mention of imams may be taken as an indication that he seeks a religious explanation to the meaning of life.

As for his image of death, it clarifies what has been said above. He hopes he will die without catching a bad disease. After death, there will be paradise and hell. Just like an exam, right actions and wrong actions will be separated from each other. One has to give thanks to God in order to enter heaven. It is also observed that he tries to avoid saying something wrong in explaining these ideas. Man is helpless and powerless in the face of evils taking place in the world. He admits that evil occurs within the laws of nature. He also emphasizes the helplessness of human beings, and tries to explain this with predestination.

Y3: Why is it in the world? I saw a tsunami once on TV, they said it happens because of undersea earthquakes... Tsunamis happen, and so do earthquakes, but if people die in that moment of anguish, if you ask why, it is fate, man, what can you do?²⁷⁹ (428)

Life is not bad or evil in itself. Human beings make it bad as its main actors. Bad events (natural disasters) that occur in the world beyond human agency are fate,

²⁷⁸Y3: *Ya şimdi bi kimseye sorarsan yani, şimdi senin çocuğun var çocuğun için yaşarsın. Ama bunu daha açık konuşursak yani. Onların dışında yani çocuk filan dışına atarsak, cevap bulamıyorum yani, bu dünyaya niye geldik yani.*

²⁷⁹Y3: *Bu dünyada neden var? tsunamiyi bi kez gördüm televizyonda şey sayesinde oluyormuş. Deniz yani denizlerin altında Erdbeben olduğu zaman. Kırıklar açılıyormuş tsunami oluyor, işte Erdbeben de aynısı. Ama o kötülük anında insanlar giderse sorarsan niye, kader abi, ne yapabilirsin ki?*

and there is nothing to be done about them. For him, hungry children in Africa are also an evil (*böse*). Here he is trying to develop his own ideas. Two kinds of evil emerge: one arises from man; the other is the fate of God. He does not approve of children going hungry in Africa when people can eat whatever they want in Europe. Again, life is not bad in itself, people make it so. The higher powers that direct human lives in this sense are, for him, the foremost among the wealthy in societies.

4.1.6.3.7. Summary

His life, for which he claims only one chapter, is shaped around his father's lack of interest in him. Although this gives rise to a serious attachment problem for him, he continues his struggle without yielding to the difficulties of life. He expresses this through statements aimed at standing on his own feet. He sees learning lessons from others' lives and deciding to become a foreman as an important turning point in his biography. He relies on himself to survive crisis situations. Still, he shows no sign of gaining independence from his family and attaining an independent self, for he is unable to extricate himself from family issues and daily problems.

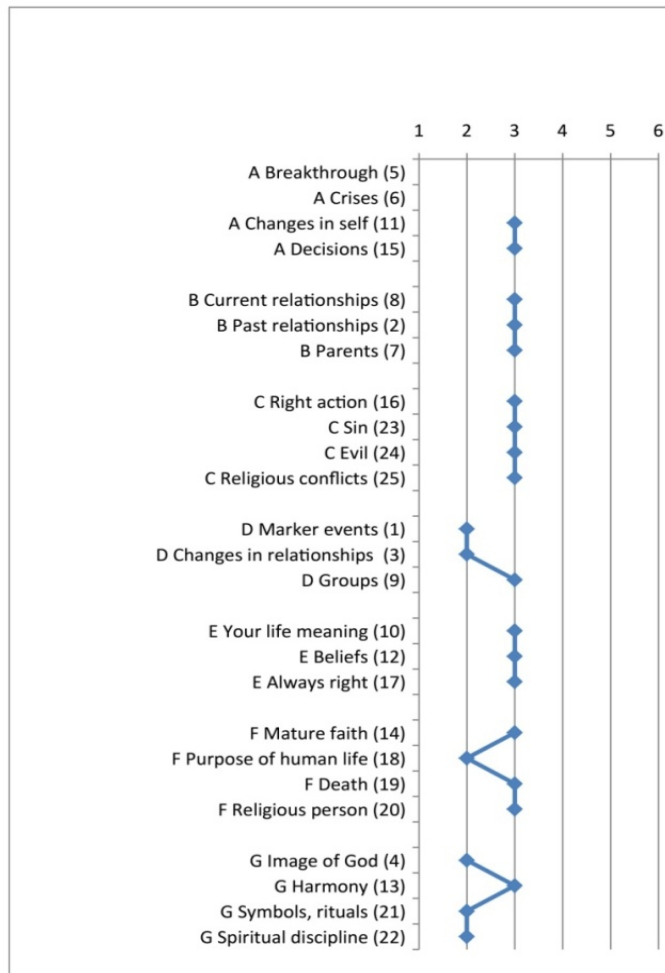
His understanding of fate plays an important role in conflict resolution, and thanks to this, his identity problems are not deeply felt. There are many signs of a mental restructuring by way of serious thought. Although he has a stronger connection with his mother, the clear signs of an ambivalent image of parents are present. On the other hand, he feels excessive responsibility toward his family.

His connection with religion is emotional and (*tasdiq*) faith-based rather than practical. Within the family, his grandfather was instrumental in having him attend religious courses. Even though he criticizes this personally, he has a pragmatic image of God. God is understood as a power, an authority, and a person, who lends a helping hand in hard times. The two occasions when he feels closest to God are in his hours of need, and when he is in mosques.

Although he is non-observant, his attachment to and respect for religion continues. He is unwilling to inquire why religion and human beings exist in this world. In his case study, it emerges that many years of religious education at the mosque have contributed nothing in this respect.

Even if he does not regard himself as religious, he has a conception about the various dimensions of religiosity; these dimensions are sometimes articulated as connected with each other and sometimes otherwise. In this sense, his understanding of religiosity is ambivalent. Religiosity is understood as helping others in one place, as possessing religious knowledge in another, and as fulfilling the injunctions of the Koran in yet another (by which is meant performing the Five Daily Prayers). Still, he tries to justify his position by claiming that he is a Moslem, even if not a devout one. Two criteria determine what a sin is or not: the first is the decisions of imams, the second, and the way one feels in one's conscience. Different religions have manifested as a result of God's will. Here he displays a simple relativism, just as he does when defining the measure of right. In this sense, the inner self determines what is wrong. Though he does not know what the meaning of life is, he implies that it could be religious. Life will be followed by death and death by heaven and hell. The evil in this world is explained by the workings of nature and his belief in fate. Human beings are partly responsible for the problem of evil.

Figure 13: Stage Assignments of Mr. Yıldız 3.



4.1.7. Case Studies Three Generations of Polat Family

Contact was established with the Polat family via acquaintances. They live in North Rhein-Westphalia, and hail from the central Black Sea region of Turkey. All three generations were visited in their own homes.

Three meetings were needed for the interviews. The first and the second generations live in the same town, while the third generation, Mr. Polat 3, lives in another city. The interview with Mr. Polat 1 was conducted on 10.01. 2009. During this first meeting, the four sons of Mr. Polat 1 were present. Mr. Polat 1 has his own house with a garden. The top theme of the meeting was religious sects in Islam, and they had a great interest about Alevism in Turkey. They directed many questions about the emergence of heterodoxy in Islam. They were also critical of the citizenship law in Germany, and the test applied to Turks for acquiring German citizenship. There was an opportunity to talk with them for long hours. The first interview with Mr. Polat 1 was conducted during the first meeting.

Mr. Polat 1 never went to school. He was, “educated by his father.” He does not have a diploma of any sort. He was a farmer in Turkey before he migrated to Germany. He came in 1968 (when he was 30 years old) first to Belgium on the invitation of his older brother, and then moved to Germany within the same year. He started working at a paint factory soon after reaching the town he still lives in, and worked for 23 years. He lost three fingers from his right hand in a work accident, and so was sent into early retirement.

Mr. Polat 2 lives just 500 m away from his father. The interview with him was conducted the next day. He was born in Turkey and came to Germany when he was 14 years old. Mr. Polat 3 lives far from his father and grandfather, about 80 km away in a big German city with his wife. The interview with him was conducted a week after the first two.

4.1.7.1. Mr. Polat 1

Mr. Polat 1 was born in a village of the central Black Sea region of Turkey in 1938. Until he came to Germany, he worked as a farmer in the village, raising mainly hazelnuts and corn. He did not go to school. He attributes his education to his father at home. They were six siblings and all were home-schooled by their father. There was no school in his village at the time, so their father taught them the Arabic alphabet, the Turkish (Latin) alphabet, reading and writing. The education style of his father is a kind of take-off point for Mr. Polat 1's life narratives. Even though those days were difficult for him, he looks back with longing on them today, recalling the strict discipline of his father with gratitude. He says:

P1: He would teach and teach, then if you couldn't answer, smack! He would knock our heads together. I'd say, I wish someone would come to visit him today so we can run off to bed while they're talking, and so get this night over with. I had thoughts like that. He would really pressure us, may he rest in peace.²⁸⁰(33)

4.1.7.1.1. Biographical Reconstruction

It was difficult to explain the question about life chapters to Mr. Polat 1. He was asked to divide his life like the chapters of a book. He answered that he is not an educated person and so, could not reply to this question. He does not see detailed chapters in his life as "former and later" or "old and new." Without any distinction or comparison with his life in Turkey, he expresses the period after moving to Germany in a negative narrative tone. This longer period is identified simply as "difficulties." These difficulties are remembered as not knowing the language, desolation, the problem of adaptation to a new foreign atmosphere, and being a stranger to the food culture in Germany. He assesses that all these problems actually revolved around the problem of language (84).

The second category of difficulties is associated with "confusion." He did not feel good until he brought his family members to Germany. He was staying in special worker homes for guest workers. He was sharing the kitchen with people he did

²⁸⁰ Öğretirdi öğretirdi, bilemezsen taak. Tokuşturdurdu bizi, ben hey gidi derdim bu akşam babamın yanına mahalleden bi lafçı gelse de, o gonşurken biz yatağa geçsak, bu ahşamı da atlatsah böyle diye, öyle düşüncelerim vardı yani çok sıhıştırurdu, Allah rahmet etsin babam bizi.

not know. Living in the same building and using the same furniture with them disturbed him very much. These are also characterized as the “difficulties” and “confusion” he faced in Germany.

P1: We went through a lot. Finally, like a new colony splitting off from a beehive, whoever brought their families over left the hostel (*heim*); finally we escaped, too.²⁸¹(86)

He copes with these “forced” situations by thinking about the condition of guest workers before coming to Germany. He says:

P1: So we went through a lot, we had many problems since we didn’t know the language. But because we had come from poverty, whether they spoke well or spoke ill, we pretended not to hear. We never opposed.²⁸² (88)

In spite of the difficulties he had in life, he says that he did not take someone else as an example. He believes that no one influenced his life, and he did not experience any changes. He sees himself as the main actor of own biography.

P1: I’m in the same habit, I still have the same love and respect, I never changed, (wealth) didn’t change me. I don’t know what vanity is. I’m still what I was when I was poor.²⁸³(101)

Not having changed is a source of pride, and a cause for regarding himself as “right.” This also has to do with righteousness, trustworthiness, and authenticity. He abstracts his personality from his physical conditions, differentiating between past and present. He was poor in the past, but has become rich after coming to Germany and working there. He recalls the economic situation of his family in Turkey. They were a big and crowded family. He had many brothers, and his father wanted to marry them off. But nobody would give them brides, because they didn’t have a good house, a proper shelter in which to live. Besides, everyone in the village had sheep and animals, whereas his family was a have-not.

P1: A bride was requested for my big brother from fifteen homes, nobody consented. My father also solicited for me, I didn’t know about it. He never told me. The man had five sons and a daughter. You know what he said? “I can’t build a house for my son-in-law when I’ve already built

²⁸¹Y3:Neler çektik, en sonunda işte arı oğul petek atar gibi göçünü getiren heimdan eve çıktı, göçünü getiren arı oğul atar gibi eve çıktılar o heim halini şeyini kurtardık.

²⁸² Y3:Yani neler çektik dil bilmemezlikten çok sorunlarımız oldu ama ne dediyse biz fakirlikle geldiğimiz için, iyi de söyleseler deliliğe vurup işitmiyok. Kötü de söyleseler deliliğe vurup dinliyok. Yani karşı koymadık heç.

²⁸³ Y3:Aynı huydayım aynı aynı sevgide saygıdayım, ben hiç değişmedim beni valilik değiştirmede. Ben kibirlilik bilmem yani fakir iken neyisem şimdi de oyum.

houses for my sons.” He looked down upon us and didn’t give his daughter. But now I have houses in Bursa, in Istanbul, I even have a house in Germany. God gave it, thanks be to God. So you shouldn’t fault anyone for being poor.²⁸⁴(105)

Mr. Polat 1 says that he did not experience serious crises in life. Asked about turning points in his life, he remembers how his first marriage ended in divorce.

P1: No, only once (*lowers his voice*) my family fell apart, I was shook up then.

I: Uh-huh.

P1: I’m working for my children, because my family fell apart. I was about to go astray, I went to beer halls for some time. I’m here to provide for my children, but my family fell apart.²⁸⁵(148-150)

He does not provide information about the details of this marriage. He visited pubs for a short while. Yet the responsibility of having a family protected him from further decline.

In terms of faith development, Mr. Polat 1 says he didn’t experience any turning points in his life, and attributes this to the good education his father gave him and his siblings. He quickly overcame the effects of the divorce, thanks to both his father’s good schooling and his feelings of responsibility toward his children. He wants to accept things as they are in this world. He never consults anyone in his decisions, preferring to act on his own. When he wanted have a mosque built in his hometown, he went over to Turkey without saying anything to anyone and went right ahead with the construction.

Mr. Polat 1 believes his life is meaningful. This is due to his children. He mentions two reasons: they didn’t go astray, and they all have jobs to support themselves. As with other first and second generations, what gives meaning to his life is the present condition of his children. He believes his children are obedient and haven’t given him cause for worry, which makes him happy. He found jobs for all four of

²⁸⁴ P1: *Abime onbeş yerden kız istendi kimse kız vermedi. Babam bana istedi birinden beş oğlu bir kızı var adamın benim habarım yok. Bana hiç söylemedi, istemiş adam ne diyo bilyon mu, oğullarıma ev yapmış iken bi de damadıma ev yapmam diyo, Ali'nin diyo oğluna diyo ev yapacak yeri yok diyo, bizi fakir görüyo hor görüyo kızını vermedi. Ama Allah bize yok yerden ne ev yapma yerler verdi ki şükür gurban olduğum. Almanya'da bile evim var, Bursa'da evim var İstanbul'da dairem var, köyde evim var, Allah bize ne ev yapma yerleri nasip etti yani kimseyi fakir diye kınamıyacaksın yiğenim.*

²⁸⁵ P1: *Hiç bi sefer bi şeyim oldu (sesini düşürüyor) yuvam yıkıldı, o zaman bi sarsıntı geçirdim*

I: *Hmm*

P1: *Yani ben çoluk çocuk için uğraşıyom benim yuvam yıkıldı diye, yani kötü yollara düşme şeyine düştüm, bira hanelere getmeye başladım üç beş gün. O zaman bi kötü yola düşecektim, ben çoluğun çocuğun rızkı için buralardayım da yuvam yıkıldı deydi.*

his sons at the factory he worked in. At present, he spends his time in worship. He plans to give his accumulated savings to charity.

Mr. Polat 1's present relations are with his children good. He is proud of their religiosity and pleased with them in general. His attribution of his life's meaning to external sources and his excessively familial attitude can be assessed as Stage 3.

4.1.7.1.2. Relations and the Image of Parents

The family in which he grew up was farming hazelnuts and corn. He says that his paternal grandfather was a very religious man who died because of an infectious disease (cholera). Mr Polat 1's account of his traditional family in Turkey centers on his father becoming an orphan.

His father did not have any formal education, but learned to read and write during his military service. He believes that his father was very cautious and intelligent in his relations. For example, when they were dealing with farm work in the village, they used to go to sell hazelnuts on the open market. He says that his father would weigh the hazelnuts at home and calculate how much money he would earn beforehand. Thus, nobody could deceive him at the market. This is a principle Mr. Polat 1 learned from his father. Thus, he plans everything in advance. He reports that he did not experience any changes in relations with his parents. This has to do with his unconditional allegiance to them.

P1: He trained us that way. When our father said: "This is how it has to be," none of us could object. Whatever his orders, whether good or bad, we always remained within them. And we never protested, there was never a confrontation.²⁸⁶(159)

For their religious education, they were sent to the village mosque. He says that these were the years between 1948 and 1950. (40)

In Germany, he identifies himself with the DITIB institution. Because it is linked with the state, for him it represents the state and the nation.

²⁸⁶ P1:Hiç olmadı çünkü bize öyle bi eğitim verdiki biz babamız böyle olacak dedi miydi, biz de hayır öyle değil de böyle olacak diyemezdik. Babam ne emir verdi ise iyi işe de kötü işe de babamın emrinden soluğundan çıkmadık biz yeğenim, kaç tane kardeşiz, babamızın dediğine gittik, babamıza karşı da bi aksaklık böyle karşı gelme, karşı karşıya gelme olmadı.

4.1.7.1.3. Image of God

He does not reflect on the formation of or the changes in, his image of God. He believes that his thoughts about God have not changed. He describes God as follows:

P1: He is a great being, for a believing Moslem, there is nothing greater than him.

I: Uh-huh.

P1: I never changed, and I tried to make my children study as best I could, I had them all complete the Koran. There were times when they weren't going to the Relaxation Prayers (during Ramadan), I hauled the TV set to my room and locked it away.²⁸⁷ (117-119)

As with many other first generations, Mr. Polat 1 has a mythic-literal definition of God. He does not think much about God: there is no attempt to define him in broader terms beyond the traditional in a symbolic language. For him, harmony is connected with worship and when he worships, he always feels in harmony with God.

4.1.7.1.4. Understanding of Religiosity

Mr. Polat 1 considers he is "probably" religious. He defines religiosity as non-commission of sins and knowing God's commandments. The latter is understood as following basic religious precepts, which is also the way it is used in traditional religiosity. This includes both the practice of rituals and basic moral principles.

He also defines sin within his concept of religiosity, and ascribes an entirely religious meaning to sin. He does not show a tendency to unpack the concept of sin, to invest it with different meanings, or to correlate it with ethics. He especially emphasizes not going to extremes. In the following quote, he gives indications of what he means by this. He understands God's commandments as rules that must be meticulously observed within a chain-of-command-like hierarchy.

²⁸⁷P1: *Büyük bi varlıktır, her müslüman, inanan müslüman, o büyük bir varlıktır, ondan büyük dünyada heç bi varlık yoktur.*

I: *Hmm.*

P1: *Ben hic deęişmedim yiğenim, ben çoluğumu çocuğumu da elimden geldiği kadar burada okutmaya çalıştım, hepsine hatim ettirdim, öyle zaman oldu ki terefilerde (teravihler) camiye getmiyolardı televizyounu yatak odama koydum kitledim.*

P1: Just as your superior commands you in the army, but you don't do what he tells you and instead do whatever you want... If you're a believer, a Moslem, you have to obey the commands (God) gives you.²⁸⁸ (289)

When applied to sin, the chain of command simile fits the Stage-2 principle of meticulously observing religious principles. Just as in the case of his God-image and his personality, he believes he has undergone no change in his religiosity. He is also aware that he is not deeply religious, since he does not study or bother with details. Thanks to the knowledge his father imparted, he has not become "confused" or "perverse."

He lays more emphasis on individuality in the discrimination between right and wrong. In his view, one discerns the difference between right and wrong oneself. For instance, if you're holding a metal spoon, nobody can call it "wooden." Hence, human reason can distinguish between right and wrong. What is universally right is that a person must think with his own mind. If there are others one admires, they can be taken as examples; otherwise one doesn't take examples, either.

On interreligious relations, he appears to have the notion that Moslems should achieve unity, although he doesn't formulate this explicitly. He does this by giving the West and Christians as examples. In his view, Christendom has unified its holidays and important days, and formed a unity. He thinks that Moslems should unite and form a system like Europe. He criticizes earlier Turkish prime ministers for not getting along well with Arabs and neighbouring countries. He thinks that Erdoğan, as prime minister, has improved relationships with all countries and developed the economy. He implies that religion is not just a system between God and man, but also one that arranges the relations of societies with each other.

There is a discrepancy between what he says about other matters and his statements on this subject. On religiosity and matters of the Unseen, he reflects an extremely traditional view. On relations between religions and societies, he is a strict communitarian, highlighting the political role of religion. But he cannot reconcile these two within a viable theory. At least, there is no reference to the

²⁸⁸ P1: *Nasıl askerde senin üstün sana bir emir veriyor onun dediğini yapmıyon da kendi kafandan gelen ayrı bir iş yaparsan, yapmak gibi, Hak teala hazretlerinin, inanıyorsan, müslümanısan, o zaman onun verdiği emirlerine uymak zorundasın.*

place of this in the sources of Islam. Instead of citing proofs from the Koran and the Prophet's Way, he implies that being Moslem means being united, and this should help to bring societies closer together. This can be understood as a mixture of Stages 2 and 3, where the other is excluded in Stage 2, and "we and those like us" is a sign of Stage 3.

From the religious point of view, he does not think that what he says implies fundamentalism, an exclusion of the other, or that he is excessively defensive of Islam. In religious conflicts, convincing one another is essential.

P1: You have to try to convince the other person. You have to explain in a most appealing way. If you say: "It has to be my way," you won't be able to convince... Scholars and men of religion have to do this.²⁸⁹ (117)

He is in favour of convincing the other with goodly speech in religious dialogue. If one fails to convince, one cannot force one's own views on others. If people experience conflict in religious matters, the authority of resolution is men of religion. For instance, if Moslem countries dispute when to begin the fast and when a religious festival should begin, they should decide according to astronomical calculations in a country with higher technology. Here he is comparing Arabia with Turkey, and favouring Turkey because it is technologically more advanced.

4.1.7.1.5. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

There are two goals in human life according to Mr. Polat 1. One of them is the worldly goal of life, which is to earn more money and live better. The way to a better life leads through greater profit. In this way, a person will not be in need of others. The other goal, he explains with the help of a Tradition. The Prophet says: "A hand that gives is better than a hand that receives." So, for one's spiritual goal, one should help others materially and be beneficial to them.

²⁸⁹P1: Karşında adamı ikna etmeye çalışacak özellikle güzel güzel anlatacak edebilersen edersen edemezsen illa da benim dediğim olacak derse karşındakini ikna edemezsin...Bunu bilim adamları din adamları koyması lazım.

Human life is arranged by God. In this sense he is purely fatalistic, and does not explore the place of different experiences in the planning of human life. He does not broach a discussion of the role of the human will in arranging own-life processes. (245)

He believes unreservedly in the hereafter and the resurrection after death. The afterworld is a place of reckoning, where we shall reap what we have sown in this world. Death reminds him of the afterlife, and the afterlife of the judgment of people for what they have done. The most important thing is that one shouldn't die with a violation of rights on one's slate. (254) If you violate the rights of people here, you will pay for it there. God forgives his own rights: that is, the ritual activities he has commanded us to perform. But people won't forgive, and will demand recompense for their rights.

P1: You shouldn't go with a violation, you shouldn't usurp the right of an orphan, if you have lived your religion, God will forgive small mistakes. But if you encroach upon the field of another, if you knowingly plough 3, 5, 20 meters into his plot, saying "I have a larger family," like it happens in villages, you're doomed.²⁹⁰(256)

In the other metaphysical field concerning the problem of evil, he is fatalistic, saying that such matters don't brook discussion. His view is that what comes from man can be called evil, but what comes from God can't be called evil, because these are things God wants, and they happen as he ordains (295-299). Since natural disasters and other bad things that happen in the world do so by the command of God, they really shouldn't be called evil at all.

4.1.7.1.6. Summary

He says he can't divide his life into chapters because he didn't study. His life in Germany is marked by difficulties and strife. In this time of struggle, he experienced the danger of going astray: he drank for a short while and went to bars. His responsibility to his children saved him in the end.

²⁹⁰P1: *Kul hakkıyla gitmeyeceksin, yetim hakkı yemeyeceksin, eğer dinini yaşadınsa hatalar olabilir. Allah af eder de ufak defek de amma kasıtlı, bile bile birinin tarlasını sen sürdün 3 metre 5 metre 20 metre daha ileriye, bunu kasıtlı bilerek gücüm yetiyor, kalabalık bir aileyim diye böyle bir kötü hareketlerde bulundunsa, köyde bu işler oluyor, vay haline.*

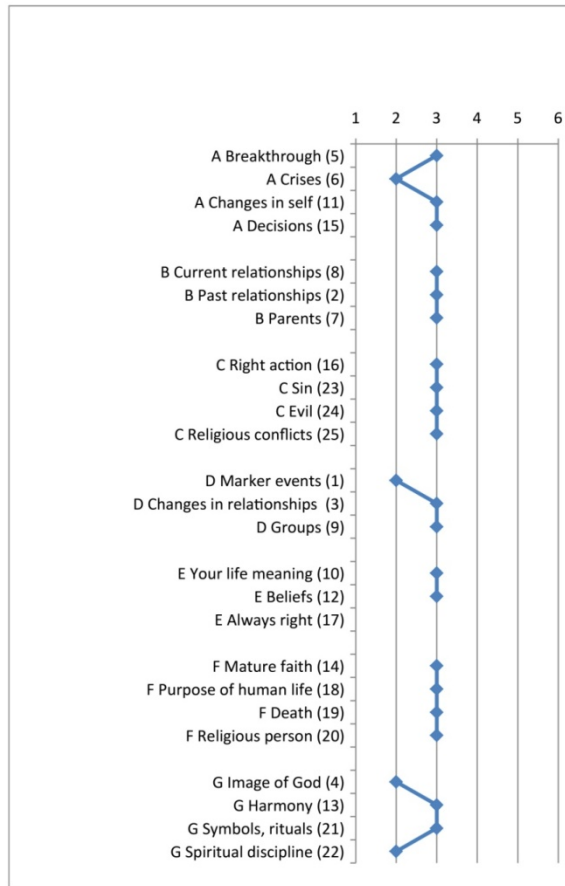
He strongly emphasizes that he makes his own decisions and carries them out himself. The harmonious life of his children and their obedience to him infuses his life with meaning. Closeness to God is associated with worship; he believes there has been no change in his image of God. It is essential to avoid extremes in religion.

Obeying and observing religious principles is presented as a criterion of religiosity. The other criterion is not to knowingly commit a sin. He finds a religious meaning in the concept of sin. God's commandments are understood as a collection of hierarchical orders that must be implemented within a chain of command.

In matters of dialogue, there is an emphasis on convincing with commendable speech and conflict resolution by men of religion. Technological data should also be used in resolving religious conflicts.

He conceives of interreligious relationships in more political terms: religion is not just a relationship between man and God, but an element that brings societies together. What he recounts as the goals of life are entirely worldly things: to work, earn, and not be dependent on others constitute the primary goal in life. God alone determines the future of human life. The afterworld is a place of reckoning where what has been sown shall be reaped. God will forgive all sins there, except the violation of others' rights.

Figure 14: Stage Assignments of My Polat 1.



4.1.7.2. Mr. Polat 2

Mr. Polat 2 is 45 years old at the time of the interviews. He was born in 1964 in Turkey. He is presently on disability retirement because of an illness, but sometimes works as a taxi driver.

He describes his life in a Turkish village as a time when poverty and despair were rampant. People were homeless at the time he was born. When he was a small child, his father and uncle came to Germany together. He, his mother, and two smaller siblings remained in Turkey. Because there was no school near his home, he attended a school that was at 45 minutes' walking distance, and that was not a

proper school building, but a store converted to a school. He went to another village for middle school, finishing it before he came to Germany. (3)

In 1979 his father decided to bring them over to Germany. His parents had separated in 1971 and his father had remarried. Mr. Polat 2 and his siblings stayed with his grandfather, his uncle, and the family of his stepmother: “We changed a lot of homes,” (7) he says.

He has been a responsible person since early age, and has felt responsibility toward his siblings as their eldest brother. He wrote a letter to his father in Germany when he was 14, saying that he should bring them over to his side, or else he was planning to move to another city with them. That’s when his father and stepmother decided to bring them over to Germany.

Upon arrival, he contracted an illness that manifested as nose-bleeding, so he underwent treatment many times at a university hospital. When the doctor at the university clinic realized he couldn’t speak German, he recommended sending him to a German-language course to his father.

He goes to a language course in Oberhausen in 1979, with the mediation of a counsellor on the issues of Turkish labor immigrants. For two years, he learns how to read and write German. He is unable to attend school because he is too old by now. He begins to work in 1981 at the paper-bag factory where his father is also employed. He gets married in 1985, moves away from his father’s home to a place close by. He is diagnosed with hepatitis B in 2001 and sent into retirement in 2006. He cites different reasons for his illness, such as malnutrition during childhood and the possibility that he contracted it at a hospital during a blood transfusion. (38)

4.1.7.2.1. Biographical Self-Reflection

Mr. Polat 2 divides his life into three chapters. The first chapter is being raised as an orphan. This chapter is “painful,” but when viewed from the present, he sees this as training. (47) It had positive results for him in growing up and confronting hardships. The second chapter is life at work: being a stranger in a strange land,

not knowing the language well enough. As for the third chapter, this is married life, the birth of his children, and raising them. (57)

While he speaks of three chapters in his life, he also mentions two turning points: (62) marriage, and getting religion. He expected that people's views of him would change after marriage, but people derided and excluded him because they were "jealous." He believes this taught him something about life. The second turning point is the process that started when he began doing his Prayers. He was impressed by a sermon a hodja gave at a mosque, and started performing Prayers. He assesses this as an important development in his life. (63)

He perceives the period that followed as one of getting acquainted with Islam. Looking back, he regrets that he didn't start Prayer earlier, referring to those years as "lost." He regards the Prayers he failed to do then as a kind of debt.

After Prayer, his religiosity was consolidated when he went on Pilgrimage. He realized then that worldly things had made him forget God and his Prophet. He says that after going to Mecca in 1998, he realized that true love comprised love of God and his Prophet. (91) Asked about breaking points in his life, he again mentions finding religion. The same theme is reflected in many parts of the interview. At the center of his narrative and life story is beginning to perform Prayer, its before and after. Before starting Prayers, he is addicted to worldly life. He wants to work, earn, and have possessions, because no one in his surroundings values anything else. His wife is also influenced by this and exhorts him in this respect. But later, he realizes that worldly belongings are but a lie, and this is a turning point in his life. Today, he wants to help the poor and destitute.

In terms of faith development, he is able to look systematically at the chain of events that were influential in his life. He does not want to leave this world while in debt. He has bought a house and has debts. He wants to die after he has repaid these debts, and not go to God with a violation of rights on his slate.

4.1.7.2.2. Relations with Significant Others

He claims that the conduct of his father towards him and his siblings has changed. Even if he treated them badly, they didn't reciprocate. He has always believed in the need to treat his father well. He assesses this as "attaining consciousness" and regards it as a religious duty. For in his view, failing to please one's parents causes very grave consequences in this world. (93) As to the reason why, he explains:

P2: ... Whoever doesn't look after his parents is a rebel. God says, "To obey the mother and father is to obey me." ... I haven't been able to do as much for my mother as I did for my father.²⁹¹(95-99)

His retrospection on getting religion reveals an outer-directed appropriation process. He attributes great importance to the sermons of imams. The sermon that was crucial to his religiosity also dealt with the impermanence of this world and the permanence of the hereafter. This made him realize his responsibilities as a human being. Until then, he only used to fast. He regards that imam as an important personality. He sees Prayer and worship at the center of his relations either. He does not speak of a specific person, but of imams in general. He is also no longer concerned about other people's views of him. Even though he partially criticizes his father, these are clichés, and he reverts to religious arguments almost immediately.

4.1.7.2.3. Image of God

Mr. Polat 2 does not dwell on the changes in his image of God. In his present God-image, three aspects take priority: he is creator, he tests, and he owns. He explains these as follows:

²⁹¹P2: Çünkü anasını babasını seven beni de sever diye Allahu teala, bizi yaradan öyle diyor yani. Yani anasına babasına bakmayan isyankardır. Bunun çeşitli örnekleri var yani anne babaya itaat bana itaattir diyor Allahu Teala

I: Bu bir ayet mi?

P2: Bunlar benim şeyime baktığın zaman yani ayet olması gerekiyor. Ayet yani.

I: Peki senin için şu anda önem arzeden herhangi bir ilişki var mı? Bu yaşayan bir şahısla ilgili de olabilir ölmüş bir kimse de olabilir.

P2: Ben anneme karşı... annem biraz uzakta olduğu için ona karşı biraz daha iyi davranmadığımın farkındayım yani. Ona karşı biraz daha ilgili, burda, babam ne kadar da olsa burda, onun yanına gidebiliyorum, bir gönlünü alabiliyorum hal hatırını sorabiliyorum ama annem için o kadar yapamıyorum bunun bir kırıklığını yaşıyorum yani.

P2: He created me; he gave us spirit while we were in our mothers' womb... God the Great, our God, brought those spirits into the world and set them on a process of trials... The Koran, this Book has an owner. It explains all the prophets including the last one, our Prophet Mohammed, may peace be upon him... I also read his biography, and learned lessons from that... After that, this one says this and the other says that, it doesn't concern me at all. I understood that I have an owner who brought me into this world... When he is my owner, I have no need of other owners.²⁹²(78)

He feels close to and in harmony with God when he is alone. By being close to God, he understands continuing to live religiously. He thinks crowds inevitably distance one from God and religiosity. Hence, one should choose people who have faith as friends. One will then be naturally religious in such an atmosphere. (115)

4.1.7.2.4. Appropriation of Religion

Like his father, Mr. Polat 1, he used to go to the DITIB community. However, he switched to the Milli Görüs community after meeting them, for he views their activities as having a much higher quality. He laments that Moslems are divided up into different communities. A unified and whole Moslem community is one of his foremost ideals:

P2: Our orientation is the same; our Prophet is the same, why are we splintered? We don't need these (different groups), why don't we come together?... We've come to the point where one hodja doesn't pass in front of another one's mosque... we're all different rivers flowing into the same sea... That is, we're all God's servants. Think about the difference between a river and a brook. A river carries more water, but a brook can dry up one day. Communities are like that. I believe our strength will flow more if we unite. So I don't want to say "I'm this or that," I have just one desire: we should unite. I should (be able to) say, "We all."²⁹³(101)

²⁹² P2: Beni yaratan, ruhlar aleminden anne şeyine.. rahmine ulaştırarak bizi işte daha dünyaya gelmeden anne karnında iken bize ruh veren ve o ruhları dünyaya getirip, bizim bir imtihan sürecine sürükleyen yüce Tanrı Allahımız. Ben bunu Allah olarak kendimde şey yapıyorum. Ve bu Kuran-ı kerim'de de son zamanlarda şimdi biraz şeyaptığıma göre bu kitabın da bir sahibi var. İnsanlara niçin gönderdiğini, onun bir peygamberi olduğunu, peygamberleri olduğunu, ve son peygamberimiz de Hazreti Muhammed sallallahu aleyhi ve sellem olduğunu... onun da hayatını okuduğum için onun da hayatından örnekler aldım. Benim için bunları okuduktan sonra artık, Ahmet böyle demiş Mehmet şöyle demiş, şu şurdan geçmiş.. hiç beni ilgilendirmedi bu artık. Bana sahip çıkan, beni bu dünyaya bırakıp da beni bu dünyaya gönderip de benim sahibim olduğunu anladım ben. Benim sahibim o iken başkalarının beni sahiplenmesine gerek olmadığını.

²⁹³ P2: Bizim Kabemiz bir yönümüz bir, peygamberimiz bir, biz neden paramparçayız, niye ki ne gereği var ki ne var ki de ortada, işte diyanetçisiymiş, Fethullahçısıymiş, Milli Görüşçüsüymiş, işte ne bileyim Hizbullahçısıymiş. Yok ne bileyim şucuymuş bucuymuş, bunlara bizim ihtiyacımız yok. Biz niye paramparça olduk, niye biraraya gelmiyoruz? Bizim peygamberimiz bir, kitabımız bir, yönümüz bir. Her şeyimiz bir olduğu halde niye bizi bu kadar ayrıma hatta bir hocamızın öteki caminin önünden geçemediği bir duruma gelmişiz yani. Bu nedir yani, buna ben çok kahrediyorum, onun için ben şu anda ben şucuyum bucuym demiyorum ben. Ben demek istiyorum ki bizim yönümüz şeyimiz hep aynı, biz ayrı ayrı ırmaklarız ve hep sonuçta denize akıyoruz. Yani bizim akan ırmaklarımız ayrı yerlerden geçiyor ama sonuçta hepimiz Allah'ın kuluyuz yani. Onun için biz ayrı ayrı olacağına, düşünün ki siz bi ırmağın halini bir de büyük derenin halini. Irmak ne

At present he educates young people at a mosque of the Milli Görüs community, and he attends religion courses designed for adults. He and his friends study the Koran, Koranic commentary, Traditions, and systematic theology in these courses. The course he has taken on systematic Islamic sources reflects directly upon his views of conflict resolution. If people are divided on a subject, they should first look to the Koran, then to the Traditions. If they can't find the answer there either, they should have recourse to analogy with past rulings in the Islamic tradition. He is convinced that analogy is a must, and that here the reference has to be historical experience. In this respect he upholds official/organized/traditional Islam. His comments on analogy follow:

P2: I believe this can only be resolved in this way. By analogy. I think that just as we live today, similar problems were faced by other people in the last 1500 years...²⁹⁴(184)

This exactly reflects the functioning of Islamic law principles and the strategy of decision-making given in books of Islamic methodology. Hence, Mr. Polat 2 stands closer here to high Islam (official traditional Islam), and has embarked on a stage transition in this sense. However, this appears to be a memorized imitation of methodology in Islamic law rather than a fully consolidated strategy. His suggestion for conflict resolution reflects the well-known hierarchy of Koran-Traditions-Analogy-Consensus in Islamic law (*fiqh*).

4.1.7.2.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Mr. Polat 2 is striving to be religious, and wants to be, but is not sure how religious he is. The reason for this uncertainty is that he sometimes feels that he has become too involved in the affairs of "this world". He believes he is not doing enough for religion. He is concerned to reconcile religion with worldly life. He has the ideal to become more religious. It can be deduced from this that the further

yapar daha çok su taşır ama dere bir gün kuruyabilir yani. Cemaatlerde böyledir yani, bence birleştiğimiz zaman gücümüzün daha çok akacağına inanıyorum. Onun için şucu bucuyum demek istemiyorum, benim gönlümden geçen tek bir arzum var o da bir araya gelmemiz gerekiyor, biz hepimiz deyim yani.

²⁹⁴ P2: Bunun anca bu şekilde çözülebileceğine inanıyorum yani, kıyas, yani mutlaka bu gün biz nasıl yaşıyorsak bundan 1500 sene önce de veya daha önceki zamanlarda veya daha sonraki zamanlarda aynı problemlerin her insanın başına geldiğini düşünüyorum yani. Aynı problemlerle karşılaştığını.

one is removed from this world, the more religious one is. He also believes that his fulfilment of religious requirements is insufficient. (155)

The leader of the politico-religious community to which he subscribes is, for him, the ideal to be emulated. He regards ex-prime minister of Turkey Necmettin Erbakan (now deceased) as his role model in faith. In his view, Erbakan is a person who studies, does not yield to oppression, is always humble, and works to the utmost for the ideal he believes in (123). He regards Erbakan's resignation from government (18 June 1997) rather than complying with the requests of the military as an honourable move.

Prayer is again in the foreground as the most important symbol in his understanding of religiosity. When asked about a religious symbol that has always been important for him, he replies:

P2: Of course there's Prayer, we have to do it continually, day and night, summer and winter. Even if we're sick, we can't speak, as long as we're in possession of our minds, I think of it as a worship we have to perform, it's at the top of kinds of worship. I can't think of a life without it...²⁹⁵(159)

For him, sin means going outside God's commandments.

P2: This could be anything; it could be lying, stealing, it could—beg your pardon—be fornication. It could be violating another's rights, so there are many kinds. Right now, there are very simple ways of committing it. There are so many opportunities today, you could commit (a sin) without even realizing it. If one obeys the desires of the ego, one can do it at once.²⁹⁶(172)

Within society, one inevitably drifts with the flow of life. He says he is distracted by other things when he's with people. One catches the habits of one's friend. He believes, therefore, that one has to speak with people *with faith* as far as possible. He derives lessons from many things about religion and death, even from the functioning of the universe. Invocation (*dhikr*) is one of his main practices. Prayer,

²⁹⁵ P2: *Tabii ki var, bu namaz, namazı süreli gece ve gündüz yaz ve kışına göre değişen böyle devamlı yapmamız gereken hatta hasta da olsak, konuşmasak da aklımız yerinde olduğu müddetçe yapmamız gereken bir ibadet olarak düşünüyorum. İbadetlerin de en başında geldiğini düşünüyorum yani. O yüzden bunsuz bir hayat düşünemiyorum yani şu anda. Ben kendim de yaşadığım için bu işi, namazı..*

²⁹⁶ P2: *Bu herşey olabilir mesala bu yalan söylemek de olabilir, hırsızlık yapmak da olabilir. Afedersin zina etmek de olabilir. Başkasının hakkını yemek de olabilir, yani bunun çeşitleri çok. Şu anda da o kadar basit yapılacak şeyler var yani. Hiç farkında olmadan da yapabilirsin bunu, bu gün o kadar fırsatlar var ki. Bunları, anında bir insan nefsinin arzusuna uysa hemen yapabilir yani.*

fasting, and Pilgrimage all have their special times and places, but not invocation. One can do it whenever one wants, and he does so. For instance, he both engages in sports and invokes God's name.

4.1.7.2.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

His approach to the problem of evil in the world is:

P2: I think of it as a test. It tells us: "Human beings don't think you'll all live to old age. You can die any time, so be aware of that." We believe in fate, we believe that it's one of the Six Pillars of Faith. We can die at any time. If children die, they will be exempt from reckoning. What happens to this child²⁹⁷ is a warning from God. God says, "I can do anything I want at any time: earthquakes, tsunamis, similar disasters. Take your precautions before they arrive." I'm thinking that these are warnings from God.²⁹⁸ (177)

In this quote, he is fatalistic: God is the only one who determines events in this world, and is also a warmer. The quote also reflects his image of God. In this sense, God is a superior being who teaches human beings lessons, who warns them by disasters. People should be tested in this way and check their standing with God. Thus, departure from e.g. morals is punished or warned against by God. Here, traditional religious texts are accepted without being backed by sources. An anthropomorphic image of God is clearly perceived. For him, God has created nothing in vain. Every tree has a purpose: shedding its leaves in winter and blooming in summer, providing fruits for human beings, are indications of that purpose. So human beings and animals also have their purposes in creation. (140) God is planning all these. Hence, no matter what plans human beings make, God's plan is all-encompassing. Man is powerless before God. What is incumbent on man is to strive to do what he can, and leave the rest to God. He thinks it is also meaningless to ask why something doesn't happen if it doesn't. (146)

²⁹⁷ The death of an innocent baby in an earthquake was queried.

²⁹⁸ P2: Buna diyeceğiz sadece ki bu dünyada ölümün yaşlılık olmadığını bi insanın yani Allahu Teala belli bir vaad kıldığını, işte bak ey insanlar hepinizin yaşlanacağını zannetmeyin, kiminiz ufak yaşta ölümün yaşı olmadığını her an ölebiliyorsunuz ona göre ayağınızı denk alın diye bize bir imtihan olarak düşünüyorum yani ben bunu. Bizler bir de kaza ve kadere inanıyoruz, imanın şartlarından bitanesi olduğuna inanıyoruz. Onun için Allahu Teala kaza ve kader gereği her an ölebileceğimizi, çocuklar mesala ölse de onun ufak yaşından dolayı sorguya çekilmiyeceğini, ama burda ölümün herkes için geçerli olduğunu, çocuk da olsa, ikincisi de bu çocuğun başına gelen hadise ölüm anı, yani bu Allahın bir uyarısı. Her an istediğimi yapabilirim düşünün ki bir fırtına, bir deprem, tsunami ya bunun gibi şu felaketleri bunlar gelmeden ayağınızı denk alın ona göre rabbimize karşı gelmeyin böbürlenmeyin veya şirk koşmayın. Diye Allahu Tealanın bize uyarısı diye de düşünüyorum ben bunları.

P2: Well, I've been going to mosques for 8 or 10 years. I'm taking courses. From what I've seen in books, death is the end of human life and the beginning of a period of reckoning. That is, we take the exam in this world, good or bad, plus or minus, we don't know what the result is. Of course, I believe that God is forgiving, that he will pardon our errors, which we will live in another world. We will be called to account for things we did in this world. That's the meaning death holds for me.²⁹⁹ (149)

His image of death reflects the conventional view. The concepts used here are borrowed from traditional religion and accepted unquestioningly. He emphasizes the forgiveness of God, and believes he will escape unscathed from the great reckoning in the afterlife, thanks to his trust and faith in God.

4.1.7.2.7. Summary

Among the second-generation interviewees, Mr. Polat 2 is a person who is most diligent in his religious practices. His acquiring of religion is the basic theme in his life, which he divides into three chapters. Marriage and the process of getting religion are the two main turning points. The increase in his religiosity began when he started performing Prayer and devaluing things of "this world", and was consolidated with Pilgrimage.

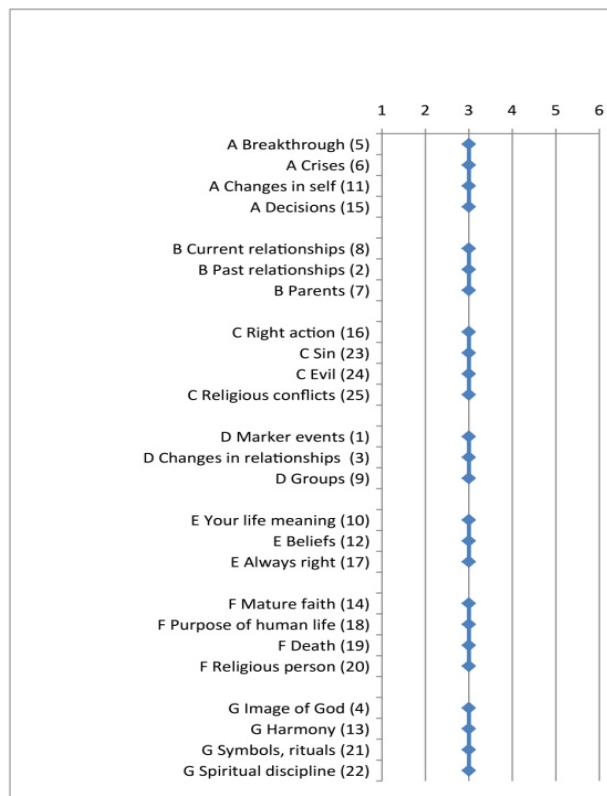
What he describes as worship and the path of God is basically Prayer. Religion is also determinative in his relations with others. The love of parents and obedience to them is identified with obedience to God. Thanks to becoming more religious, he was also freed of the inferiority complex he felt before others. He no longer cares about what others think of him. This nostalgic reflection on the development of his religiosity is not repeated for the development of his God-image. His statements imply that his connection to God was strengthened with increasing religiosity. Hence, in his view, society and the external world stand as obstacles to becoming more religious.

²⁹⁹P2: *Valla ben bu zamana kadar sekiz on senedir camilere gidiyorum. Dersler alıyorum, okuduğum kitaplara baktığım kadarıyla, ölüm insan hayatının bitip imtihandaki gördüğün hayatın sorgu veya şey, hesap hayatının başladığı bir döneme geçiş oluyor öldüğümüz zaman, yani bu dünyada imtihan veriyoruz, iyi veya kötü eksi veya artı bilemiyoruz. İşte onun ne kadar, tabiki burda merhamet duyguları, bizi yaratanın merhametinin yüksek olduğunu hatalarımızın da affedileceğine inanarak başka bir alemde hayatımızın devam edeceğini düşünüyorum. Bu dünyadaki yaptığımız işlerden dolayı sorguya çekileceğiz. Ölüm bizim için, benim için o anlamı taşıyor yani.*

Like his father, he favours enlisting the aid of the unifying power of religion. He criticizes schisms, implying that it comes from within. There is emphasis on the strength that union provides. The reason he speaks of strength and being united is that he has unquestioningly internalized the slogans of the Milli Görüs community.

He is not certain that he is religious. Two things are indicators of religion: the first is Prayer, the second, keeping distant from worldly things. He uses a very normative and unusual approach in saying that life without Prayer is impossible. He seeks a religious aspect in natural events, using them to fortify his faith. There is a strong trust in God’s mercy, so the hereafter reminds him of forgiveness. His anthropomorphic perception of God leads him to believe that he will be forgiven in the afterlife, and will continue to live in another world in peace.

Figure 15: Stage Assignments of Mr Polat 2.



4.1.7.3. Mr. Polat 3

Mr. Polat 3 is 22 years old at the time of the interview, and makes special mention of the fact that he will be 23 two days later. He was born in Germany as the first child of his parents. He has a sister 8 years his junior. He has been married for a year, and is not yet a father. His wife came to Germany from a Balkan country for university studies; she, too, is Moslem by birth.

He used to go to Turkey with his parents every year, but hasn't spoken with them for a year, because he married against their will. He accepted seeing his father again by dint of this interview. He is connected to his relatives in Turkey via phone and the Internet. He attended secondary school (*Hauptschule*) for two years, receiving "extended graduation" (*erweiterter hauptschulabschluss*). He has a vocation in the construction field (*Hochbaufacharbeiter Fachrichtung Stahl Betonbau* 18). He worked for a short while in that field, then as a cleaner for another short period. After that he found his present job, where he has been working for a year and a half. He works as a waiter at a café in the evenings.

4.1.7.3.1. Biographical Self-Reflection

The interview with Mr. Polat 3 was conducted in German and Turkish (mostly Turkish). It was difficult for him to understand the faith development questions in either language. He had to read the written forms of the questions, and then think a little bit over each. He says his whole life is "one big adventure" and can be considered as a single chapter: "Adventure, my life is an adventure, because everything's in it."

What he means by "adventure" is that he has done naughty things and engaged in fights. He had to appear in court as a result of these fights. He has now "learned his lesson" (41) and has kept his distance from such things for 4 or 5 years. As a consequence, he says he could also divide his life into two periods as "before the courts" and "after the courts." In the "before" period, he disobeyed his father, went out in the evenings, heeded his friends, and engaged in "senseless love affairs."

P3: Yes, um, let me explain it this way: I've, er, done a lot that I actually normally wouldn't have, but there was a reason for everything I did. In what sense? Umm, if I hadn't gone out in the evenings without telling my parents that I was going out, or had said: "I'm going out with my friends," maybe everything would've been different. My parents were dead set against this, my running away in the evenings. They always asked: "What are you doing? You could have bad friends." If I hadn't protested against this, or rather, hadn't gone out, hadn't done some things, maybe I wouldn't have been in my present life, I would've been a completely different person.³⁰⁰(72)

He clearly expresses his discontent with his present life at the end of the quote. He also reflects on what may be called crises or turning points in his life. He believes that marriage in particular has changed him a lot. With marriage, he started an orderly life, developed a sense of respect, and began to have feelings of responsibility. Here he adds in God and the Koran, indicating that he believes he didn't change in the religious sense: "Of course, without forgetting my Book, forgetting my God." (195)

Although he suffered disappointments, there have never been times when he thought life was meaningless. The disappointments arose from domestic unrest. The fights of his mother and father at home have always disturbed him psychologically.

P3: Psychologically it influenced me a hundred percent, then I slowly grew distant from my parents. I said: My mother, OK, my father, OK, I never forgot my respect, but I grew cold.

I: Uh-huh.

P3: I said, "You don't think of yourselves. At least, think of me. Don't fight in my presence." I always witnessed it, I was the one who cried between them.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ P3: *Ya Ich erkläre das mal so, ben, ich hab ehm vieles gemacht was ich eigentlich normalerweise nicht wollte, aber ich hab es gemacht, das ist irgendwann einen Sinn gegeben hat im welchem Sinne ehm, wenn ich nicht Abends rausgegangen wäre ohne das ich meiner Eltern erzählt habe das ich rausgehe oder sage ich gehe raus oder ich gehe mit meinen Freunden raus, söylemedim çıkmasaydım, belki herşey başka olurdu. Misal olarak annem babam çok karşıydı buna, akşamları kaçmama kaçmalara ondan sonra her zaman sorardı, ne yapıyorsun ne ediyorsun, ondan sonra yanlış arkadaşların olabilir, ben şimdi buna karşı demonstrasion yapmasaydım daha doğrusu çıkmasaydım birşeyler yapmasaydım, ben belkide şimdi olduğum yaşantıda olmazdım, yani belki bambaşka insan olabilirdim.*

³⁰¹ P3: *Psikolojik, yüzde yüz bayağı etkiledi sonradan yavaş yavaş uzaklaşmaya başladım annemden babamdan, annem dedim, tamam babam dedim tamam, hiçbir zaman saygımı hiçbir zaman unutmadım ama biraz soğudum soğudum biraz.*

I: *Hmhm*

P3: *Dedim madem siz kendinizi düşünmüyorsunuz, kendinizi düşünmüyorsunuz beni niye düşünmüyorsunuz, ben, kavga yaparken bari ben olmayayım yanınızda her zaman ben gördüm aralarında ağlayan ben idim.*

He says he doesn't want to remember that part of his life. He had already left home two years prior to this interview. His present perspective regarding his family is as follows:

P3: I can't see them, but when I go, I want to know everything that has happened: what's happened in my family, with my uncles, my grandfather, or my aunt. We talk, I ask, "Has there been any change, anything new?"

I: Uh-huh.

P3: Before, it was little Polat 3, now it's responsibility-bearing Polat 3.

I: Didn't you bear responsibilities before as well?

P3: I did, but it wasn't anything related to the house. For instance, I wasn't concerned with papers that arrived, insurance and so on, my father dealt with those. I didn't really bear responsibility. I worked, but work is a tenth part of responsibilities.³⁰²

To the question regarding what he would change in his life if he could, he replies that he would like to live in Turkey, to be born in Turkey instead of Germany. He believes that in that case, he would have been an entirely different person. Turkey is different in his view, and what makes it different is that the population is one hundred percent Moslem. They're all Moslems even if they don't all belong to the same religious community, because Turkey represents its essence. No matter how hard he tries, he can't improve his Turkish in Germany. Since he speaks German all the time, his German is like a German's. Hence, if only he had a chance, he would settle in Turkey immediately.

Although he doesn't speak clearly about the details, he implies that he doesn't want to live under the conditions of Germany. This subject seems to have preoccupied him for a long time, since he says during the interview: "I have so many questions," revealing that he has devoted much thought to the matter. His statement: "Maybe I would've been an entirely different person" reveals that he is not content with his present situation. He says he could improve himself further,

³⁰²P3: Görüşemiyorum ama gittiğim zamanda mutlaka herşeyi öğrenmek istiyorum, ne oldu ailemizde felan, amcamlarda, dedemde teyzemde veyahutta... konuşuruz ederiz ne oldu sizde fark eden değişen birşey oldu mu, herşeyi sorarım mesela.
I: Hm

P3: Şimdi eskiden küçük Polat 3, şimdi sorumluluğu taşıyan Polat 3.

I: Sorumluluk taşıyor muydun daha önce?

P3: Taşıyordum da ama eee eve bağlı olan birşey değildi yani, mesela eve gelen kağıtları sigorta olsun herhangi olsun ben onlarla ilgilenmiyordum babam ilgileniyordu sorumluluk taşımamış oluyorum, çalışıyordum ama çalışmak sorumlulukların onda birisi daha doğrusu.

finding his present improvement insufficient. He relates this explicitly to his environment in Germany. If he had been born and raised in Turkey, he says, he could even have been an imam. When he is reminded that he could also do that in Germany, he says:

I: You could have been one here, too.

P3: I couldn't, not here, because my surroundings and everything were different. I had friends. Going out with friends, going out with girls, I had things like that. I had a friend, he didn't have any habits like that. He just went on trips with me, on such trips we would only talk about things like school, religion, development, the future. He gave me great pleasure on these subjects. But that boy moved to Bremerhaven (northernmost part of Germany). After that, our friendship broke up. His ideas didn't suit me. Being a foreman (*Schichtleiter*), a manager, can't be the meaning of life for me. I've seen so many people in the city X, at the train station. They're managers, they're alcoholics, their wife divorces them and takes the children, and then they go to pieces.³⁰³(340-341)

Mr. Polat 3 regards his marriage as the most important turning point of his life. Marriage has changed him profoundly. It has brought an ordered life, respect, and responsibility along with it. He is pleased with this change. He assesses his life before meeting his wife as empty. "As I said, a great influence. Before her, my head was empty. Quite frankly, I was leading an empty life." He realizes that in a few months, he became a changed man.

4.1.7.3.2. Reconstruction of Relations with Others

At present, Mr. Polat 3 has no significant relations outside his home. He has no friends, either: he describes himself as a cold person. In any case, he believes friendships can't be built in a short time. In order to get to know someone, you have to be together with them for a year or two. Here he differentiates between

³⁰³]: Burda da olabilirdin.

P3: Burda olamam, burda olamazdım çünkü benim çevrem herşeyim başkaydı arkadaşlarım vardı arkadaşlarım sadece... din idi, ondan hariç dinden hariç konu camiydi, ondan hariç de gezmekti, ondan sonra, kızlarla dolaşmaktı, ondan sonra böyle şeylerim vardı, aralarında bir arkadaşım vardı, o sadece o öyle alışkanlıkları yoktu. Sadece benle gezerdi gezdiğimiz zaman sadece okul, din, gelişim, ileriye düşünerek böyle konularda bana çok büyük bir zevk veriyordu. Ama o çocuk Bremer Hafena taşıdı. Ondan sonra arkadaşlığımız bozuldu, onların düşünceleri bana hiç yakışmadı, onlar yok eee...bir iki sene sonra ... Yok Schichtleiter (usta, vardiye yöneticisi) olurum da, bunlar benim için hayatın şeyi değil, yani hayatın, Sinn des Lebens (hayatın anlamı) olamaz yani. Schichtleiter olmak Sinn des Lebens olamaz, yani müdür olmak Schichtleiter olmak benim için Sinn des Lebens olamaz. Benim için olabilir, hayatın bir kısmı ondan sonra... O kadar çok insanlarla görüştük ki x şehrinde. Alkolikler bahnhofta gezip sürtüyorlar, onlar ondan önce managerler, karısı bunları boşuyor, ondan sonra adam komple kriz geçiriyor, çocuklarını alıyor.

Kollege and *Freund*: the first is an ordinary acquaintance, the second is a friend with whom things are shared in common.

In his past relationships, he counts his family, without mentioning a specific person. He believes that with marriage, his wife brought about a change in the way he thinks and feels. He originally intended not to marry until he was 30, but this intention changed when he met his wife.

P3: An influence, a very great influence on my life. In the end, we got married. She's changed my forward-looking thoughts a lot. A great influence, on the thought of family life, responsibility... To be careful, not to make mistakes like before... Before her, my mind was empty. Frankly, I was living an empty life... She gave me a reason in life: for example, how beautiful the world can be.³⁰⁴

Until he was 17, his family insisted that he marry a girl from their hometown. Every time he went to Turkey, every time he visited his family, the same subject was broached. But he had seen his grandfather force his 20-year-old uncle into an unwanted marriage. As a result, he reacted against the notion of marrying someone he didn't want. He got into a fight at school in Germany and received a warning (*bewährung*). Then, he started to live independently of the family and make his own decisions. Even if he consulted others about some matters, he began to do things on his own. He believes his parents don't understand him, but cannot express this in a clear and determined way.

4.1.7.3.3. Appropriation of Religion

He associates himself with the Milli Görüs organization. He visits other communities as well, but only for the purpose of worship. He refrains from commenting on other communities. (279-281) It is not clear whether his interest in

³⁰⁴P3: *Einfluss einen sehr hohen Einfluss auf mein Leben, sonuicta evlendik simdi benim ileriye dogru düşüncelerimi bayağı bir değiştirmiş oluyor yani, çok büyük bir Einfluss oluyor yani, neyle ehm aile hayatını düşüncesini aile yaşantısını ehm büyük bir sorumluluk konusunda.*

I: *Hmm*

P3: *Sorumluluk üzerine taşınması ondan sonra eskisi gibi cahil yanlış hareketler düşünerek veyahutta konuşarak hatalar yapmamak dikkatli olarak davranmak, Ehm büyük bir değişen dediğim gibi Einfluss benim hanım, benim ondan önce benim kafam çok boştu açık söyleyeyim, çok boş bir hayat yaşıyordum.*

I: *Hmm, neler kattı mesela eşin senin hayatına?*

P3: *Hayatıma bir sebep verdi, ne sebebi? Mesela dünyanın ne güzel olabileceğini.*

Milli Görüs stems from sharing their ideology. This organization is important for him because he lived his youth there: Milli Görüs prepared him for God.

P3: I learned the Book there, I completed it there, I fasted there, we sacrificed animals, I did everything there... I spent my childhood there. Even when I went on excursions, I'd go there. Because they had a youth division, young people were there.³⁰⁵(292-294)

After moving to his present residence, he no longer goes to mosque or joins communities like he used to, because Milli Görüs has no organization in the city where he lives. This mosque association had a prominent influence on his socialization.

Regarding the resolution of religious conflicts, he posits a rule: namely, that the two sides in a conflict need to talk to each other. He indicates that those who decide have to be well-informed on the events leading to the dispute. He rejects a hasty and prejudicial decision, maintaining that reason has to be employed. A relativism that calls for the consideration of different ideas reflects his perspective on conflict resolution.

P2: I think, human reason. When you think about it a little, always "I, me," he can't put his point across. Because you're a politician and you represent something. But don't forget, there are lots of other people who think. Integrate yourself, but how? Don't forget you're another human being. Don't be like them, you're still someone else.³⁰⁶(523)

In this quote, he highlights subjects such as tolerance, self-exoneration, self-defence, counsel, consulting those with experience. On this matter, Mr. Polat 3 differs from his father. Whereas his father turns entirely into religious sources, he leaves more room for dialogue, and believes that the ideas of others may be valid, too.

³⁰⁵P3: *Ben orada kitap öğrendim, ben orada hatim ettim, ben orada orucumu tuttum, ben orada, kurbanımızı kestik, ben orada kermesimizi yaptık, herşeyimizi orada yaptım ben, herşeyi, ne varsa.*

I: Çocukluğum orada geçti ?

P3: Çocukluğum orada geçti ben gezmeye gittiğim zaman bile camiye gezmeye gidiyorduk yani, hani ben camiye gidiyordum çünkü gençler orda gençlik kolları vardı gençlerle orda.

³⁰⁶ P3: *Bence yani insan akli, yani insan biraz düşündüğü zaman her zaman hep ben ben olayını ortaya koyamaz. Çünkü sen politikacısın birşeyi temsil ediyorsun. Ama unutma ki senden başka düşünen çok başka insanlar da var. Kendini integrieren et ama ne gibi? Unutma ki du bist immer noch ein anderer (kendinin baska bir insan oldugunu unutma) onlar gibi olma yani, du bist noch ein anderer (sen halen başka birisisin)*

4.1.7.3.4. Image of God

He claims there has been no change in his image of God.

P3: I never had any thoughts like that, no rebellion. I never said: "God, why did you give me a life like this?" ... I feel in harmony with God when I'm alone... A second person isn't necessary.³⁰⁷ (359-369)

The concept of "we" emerges in relation to his image of God. He is imitating men of religion, hodjas, and the hodjas of the community he belongs to in particular. God is described as a locus to which everything is linked. Fatalism and an absolute submission to the authority of God are involved in his faith in God. He opens up to God when he is alone; he has a "personal partner" relationship with God: God is his "confidant," "an exalted being" whom one asks for help, and his "owner."

When he reflects on his faith in God, he claims continuity and no change, but cannot state this clearly. Though he occasionally implies a critique of his religious thought and openness to other ideas, he insists on the constancy and continuity of his God-image. Elsewhere in the interview, he implies he is always ready for God. He has perfect trust in God and expects his help, but is unable to connect this trust with his life experience.

4.1.7.3.5. Understanding of Religiosity

Mr. Polat 3 believes that ideal faith and religiosity cannot be experienced in Germany, that these would require environments such as those in Turkey. There is no one he takes as a model in faith. He is not a follower of any philosophy or

³⁰⁷ P3: Ben hiç böyle bir başka bir düşüncem olmadı mesela isyanlarım olmadı, demedim ki Allahım beni böyle hayata niye sokuyorsun böyle söylediğim şeyler olmadı, Allahım bana, her zaman şükür ederim, misal olarak her zaman akşamları yalnız oluyorum.

I: Peki kendini daha çok ne zaman Allah ile uyum içinde hissediyorsun?

P3: Yalnız olduğum zaman

I: Neden daha çok yalnız olduğun zaman Allahla uyumlu hissediyorsun kendini?

P3: Başbaşa olduğumuza inanyorum.

I: Allah'la?

P3: Evet

I: Hmm

P3: İkinci kişi bana olması da gerek değil.

system of thought, because these confuse issues. Still, he delineates the characteristics of a person with mature faith as follows:

P3: Perfect human, a human in peace, he knows what the meaning of life is from himself. You don't have to explain to him that the meaning of life is this or that. Because everyone has a different idea of this in their mind.³⁰⁸

He sees himself as passive-religious, calling his religiosity "passive" because he finds himself lacking in the fulfilment of religious practices. He cannot worship because of work, so he worships whenever he can find the time. Among his important rituals are Friday Prayers. He always prepares carefully for Friday Prayers, cleaning up and taking a bodily ablution. As a spiritual discipline, he says he prays. The contents of these prayers are pleading to God for those in needs, that they should have opportunities to live, eat, drink, work and earn properly. He also prays for the well-being of his family: for his father and mother, and for the deceased in his family.

He defines sin as "wrong action." Drinking, lying, deceiving are among these. He does not broach the subject of why these are sins, whether they are wrong in themselves, or whether only religion regards them that way. He believes the human mind can determine what is sinful: "When an intelligent person studies a bit, when things are explained to him, he can differentiate between right and wrong."³⁰⁹ (483)

Elsewhere in the interview, he claims that religion, i.e. the Koran, is the measure in determining right and wrong. But human intelligence is still important in evaluating the Koran.

P3: ... Anyone with intelligence can understand from the Koran what is right and wrong.

I: Are there actions that are always right? Under all conditions?

P3: Umm... I don't know what to say... I try to do what is right myself, according to my own lights. I mean, I never go and tell a person: "This is right, that is bad." So I don't know.³¹⁰(395-399)

³⁰⁸ P3: Perfekt insan, huzurlu insan, yolunu bilen, der der weist was Sinn des Lebens ist für sich aus, ona anlatman lazım değil Sinn des Lebens odur budur. Çünkü herkesin her insanın değişik bir düşüncesi var kafasında herhangi bir.

³⁰⁹ P3: İnsanın biraz kendisine göre düşüncesi vardır, onun için akıllı insan biraz okuduğu zaman, konuştuğu zaman, kendisine birşeyler anlatıldığı zaman, büyüklerden olsun hiç olmazsa kötü ile doğru olanı karşılaştırabiliyor, en azından yani karşılaştırmak da değil ayırabiliyor.

³¹⁰ I:Kuran'da hepsi ayrı ayrı yazıyor mu, davranışların?

Although Mr. Polat 3's right-wrong judgment differs from his grandfather's, it resembles his grandfather's in one respect and his father's in another. If a human being thinks with his intellect, he can discriminate between right and wrong. For this, the intellect must assess the Koran. His explanations indicate that there are no universal rights in his view, that everyone has their own right. He never tries to impose his own right on anyone, or advise anyone as to what is right or wrong. This reflects a liberal and dialogical perspective on personalized rights.

4.1.7.3.6. Form of Belief in Metaphysical Themes

He sees the purpose of human life as an Islamic mission. Man is in this world for a higher purpose. In his view, the purpose of human life is "to convert all the world to Islam—not to convert, but to introduce it and show that Islam is the only religion."(406). This world is a trial. He also concedes that this is only his personal opinion, and that others may have different views. (416) His conception of the hereafter is given below.

I: What happens to us when we die?

P3: To answer for whatever you did in this world; bad, right, all of them.

I: Can you briefly explain how you understand the hereafter?

P3: As a Moslem, let me not say "court," but there will be a reckoning. Angels will accompany (*begleiten*) you. Then all kinds of questions will be asked, your tongue is tied, your whole body will speak the truth, what is wrong and right, what you saw and heard, what you ate and smelled, what you stepped on, sat on, got up and jumped, any movement. That's how I believe it.³¹¹(417-420)

Like his father and grandfather, he tries to explain the problem of evil in the world with the belief in fate and predestination. If a baby dies in an earthquake, this is

P3: Davranışların değil de hiç olmazsa bir yön veriyorsun o yönde insana, boşuna Allah akıl vermemiştir, şuuru yerinde olan, doğru olan ve yanlış olanı Kuran-ı Kerime dikkat ederek, okuyarak doğru ve yanlış olanı bilmesi gerek

I: Peki her zaman doğru olan davranışlar var mı? Her zaman her yerde mesela şu davranış doğrudur diyebilirmisin?

P3: Ja emmm ich weiss nicht wie ich das sagen soll. Bir hristiyana göre söyleyen Allah birdir o tektir obür dinler anlamsızdır, bu zamanda yanlış olur ama..... ben kendime göre doğruyu en iyi bir şekilde yapmaya çalışırım. Ama für mich kendime göre. Yani hiç bir zaman bir insana gidip de ya bu doğrudur, bu kötüdür filan gidip de söylemem. Şimdi bilmiyorum yani.

³¹¹ I: Ölünce ne olur bize?

P3: Bütün bu dünyada ne yaptıkların, kötü doğru hepsinin cevabını tek tek vermek.

I: Kısaca açıklar mısın yani nasıl anlıyorsun ahireti?

P3: Bir müslüman olarak mahkeme demeyim ama sorguya çekilecek. Melekler seni begleiten (eşlik etmek) edecek. Ondan sonra herhangi bi sorular sorulacak, dilin bağlı, bütün vücudun doğruyu söyleyecek, yanlış olan doğru olan, gördüğün duyduğun, yediğin kokladığın, bastığın oturduğun ve kalktığın atladığın herhangi bir hareket. Ben buna böyle inanıyorum.

not because it is guilty. It dies in the earthquake because God has decreed so. This need to be believed that way, because for him, God expects Moslems to believe in predestination: this belief is one of the Six Pillars of Faith. A baby that dies in earthquake will definitely be placed in paradise. (507-513)

4.1.7.3.7. Summary

Mr. Polat 3 regards his whole life as an adventure. He believes the skirmishes and courts he got involved in at school had a lasting effect on his life. When his family tried to pressure him into an arranged marriage with a girl, this resulted in his departure from home. Both this and his marriage to someone without the family's consent are actually protests against his parents' treatment of him and each other. Although he attempts to criticize his father and mother, he also tries to rein this in for cultural and religious reasons. This results in the formation of an ambivalent image of parents. Although he is physically separated from the family, he continues to live with them mentally.

His interview replies reveal that he is experiencing problems regarding his national identity. His wish to be born in Turkey given the chance appears as the only possibility for him to camouflage himself in cultural, religious, and linguistic terms. In Germany he has no education, no social status, and has even left his family behind. He has married a person who, while she may share his race or religion, comes from a different culture. All this induces a covert discontent with his present situation in him. He is not willing to question his sincerity as to whether he wants to live in Germany. For as a citizen of Turkey, he always has the chance to return and live there.

What is external to his conflicted identity, and what he calls a change in his life, is the new life he has commenced together with his wife. Still, he reveals little about his wife in the interview. He fails to clarify the difference—or the precise turning points—between his old life, which he describes as ignorance, and his new one, which he describes as consciousness. In many ways, therefore, his biography is far from complete.

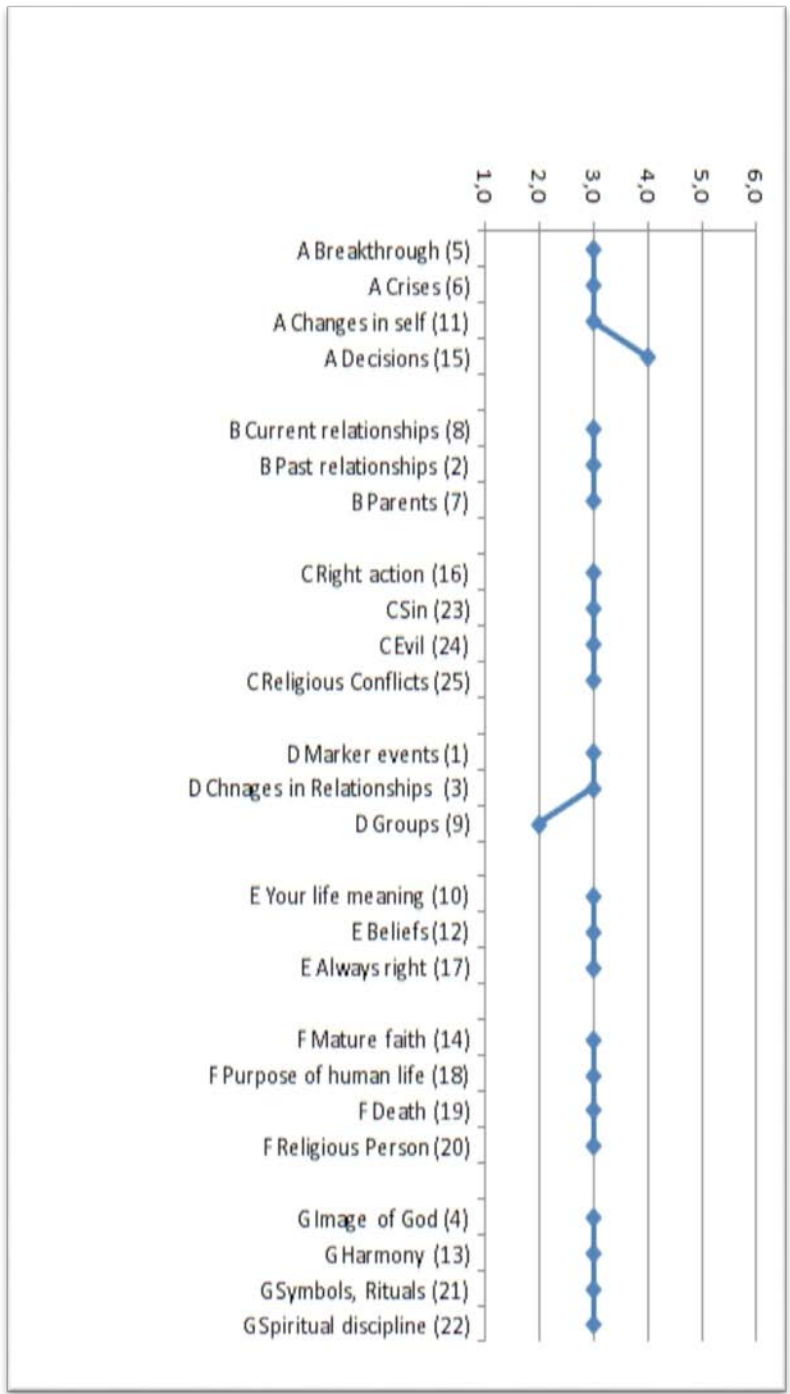
He has received religious education at the Milli Görüs mosques, and a part of his youth has been spent there. This has led to his adoption of the Milli Görüs perspective in some matters. This is clearly perceived in his view of the purpose of human life as a mission: namely, converting people to Islam, or at least, explaining Islam to others. Still, he prefers dialogue in resolving religious conflicts and differences in viewpoint.

He claims that his image of God is constant and unchanged. In this image, God is a personal partner and a trusted confidant. Hence, the belief in destiny and attachment to God are strong motifs in his faith. As for ideal faith, its country is Turkey at present. Germany is not perceived as an environment where Islam belongs.

His non-observance of religious practices results in an assessment of self as passive religious. In his understanding of sinfulness, which is the opposite of religiosity, the determining factor is the human mind. He does not speak of a separate ethical basis, because religiosity directly includes ethics. Like many Moslems, he probably does not even feel the need to point this out in the interview.

God and human intellect determine moral and ethic issues. This represents the relation between reason (*akil*) and transmission (*nakil*) in Sunni theology, but he does not appear aware of this fact, for this is how he has been taught at the institutions he attended: without reference to the sources of religion. Similarly, his faith structure of death and the hereafter does not give the appearance of being formed through self-inquiry. It has been imported directly from official Sunni Islam, and accepted without change.

Figure 16: Stage Assignments of Mr Polat 3.



5. Development of Faith and Religiosity in the Process of Generations

This research was performed on individuals of three-generation Turkish families living in North Rhein-Westphalia. The purpose of the study was to investigate religious change and transmission in three-generation Turkish families. The in-depth faith development analyses aimed to reveal religious development in the biographies of different generations and its progression in the intergenerational sequence.

It is important to understand the effects of a secular and modern German society on an immigrant community coming from a Moslem culture. At the center of the interest of this study is also how Moslems adapt their lives to a secular society and the challenges they face as they do so. Within all these contexts, an empirical study was performed of how religiosity and faith development manifests itself in generations, how it is transferred from generation to generation within the same family, and with what similarities and differences.

James Fowler's Faith Development Theory (FDT) constitutes the theoretical framework of the research. The interview questions used for data collection are those of the faith development interview (Fowler *et al.* 2004). Case studies of 15 persons coming from 5 families were presented above. In the basic analytic approach, the *Manual for Faith Development* (2004) was taken as model. On the other hand, a solely structural approach to faith was supplemented (Streib 1991, 2005) by attention to the life stories, life worlds, faith contents, and narrative aspects of individuals. In this way, the materials—past experiences, relations, religious-metaphysical assumptions, etc.—used by a person in meaning-making, the structure of meaning, and the role of the psychodynamic self in mental functioning, were all taken into account. The assessments also covered the ways in which individuals perceive self and life world as related to the past, present, and future. Thus, it was attempted to uncover what daily problems they encountered, what crises they faced, and to determine the conditions under which the focus of religion and authority (any authority) became activated. The purpose has been to

lay bare the life themes and realities of generations using detailed biographical analyses rather than to set forth solely theological, theoretical and normative religious data. Thus, the net was cast wide to enable a full-spectrum evaluation.

In terms of belonging to a social stratum, the sample seems monotypic at first sight. But every person has a different family background and lifestyle. It can be claimed that the findings here reflect a realistic picture of 3-generation conventional Turkish extended families. However, it cannot be stipulated that this picture provides a complete representation. It does provide a detailed analysis of the life worlds and a religious condition of the group that was interviewed, and has is explanatory in this context. What needs to be done in the present section is to form an intergenerational religious development portrait from a faith development perspective, based on the findings of the interviews. The sample in the study and the perspective of the approach has earlier been made clear. The results to be presented are based on this sample and this perspective. Occasions may therefore arise where the present study diverges from previous empirical ones in Germany in similar areas. What is necessary at this point is to clarify matters which did not sufficiently emerge during the case studies and discuss these results.

Innovative Faith Development Research in Bielefeld and my Findings: From the structural developmental perspective, similarity between generations in conventionalism is obvious. But only when we examine more the contents and narrative styles, the differences crystallize between generations. The projects made in Bielefeld on faith development and religious styles proved the importance going beyond the structural approach and detailed narrative and content analysis in faith development (Keller & Streib 2013, p.1; Streib et al 2009). Thus, attention to the individual dimensions of faith has been paid more (Streib 2005). This provided divergent stage assignment of aspects as it has already been shown in the revision of research procedure in Manual for Faith Development (Fowler, Streib& Keller 2004). With this perspective we observe the progress in one area and the regression in the other in faith development of a person. As it can be seen in detailed case studies above, it is not possible to argue an exact harmony between the aspects. In the cases presented, the stage assignments of three

people, Mr. Demir 2 and 3 and Mr. Polat 2 were determined as 3 in all requested areas (replies given to the FDI questions) and the aspects of faith development. Yet it should be admitted that this profile alone is insufficient to explore the diversity in the content and narrative dimensions of these three interviewed people. Ethical, individual, traditional, folk, ideological and even references denoting to official religiosity can be observed simultaneously in these research participants. Alone structural analysis could be insufficient to determine all these dimensions.

Below, both an overarching-comprehensive and an intra- and intergenerational inspection should be made of the mutual life worlds of each generation, their narrative strategies, their God-images and their religiosity. In theoretical terms, the structure of Islamic theology and the faith development approach will be borne in mind. Islamic theology forms the content of religious faith in this sample. As for the faith development approach, it stands at the nexus of theology and social psychology (Fowler *et al.* 2004). In this way, the central topics of previous analyses will be re-evaluated, with the aid of both empirical results and theoretical (faith development) perspectives.

5.1. Life Worlds and Life Stories in Generational Comparison

The contents under this heading are inspired by the aspects of Form of Logic, Social Awareness and Perspective Taking in faith development theory. The comparative analyses presented below cover the first two categories (Life Review, Relationships) of the faith development interview. However, other aspects (Form of Moral Judgment, Locus of Authority, Form of World Coherence, and Symbolic Function) and categories (Present Values and Commitments, Religion) will also be evaluated (*comp.* Fowler *et al.* 2004, p. 65).

According to faith development theory, the contents of faith are formed by the things people value, what they devote themselves to, authorities of command and prohibition, epic stories, words of wisdom, slogans, and mythological perceptions.

Individuals interpret their lives with the aid of these. The contents of faith comprise the assumptions or dogmas of a system of values (Ok 2007). This includes words used for connection, metaphors that are referred to, and the entirety of significant symbols. The character traits and faith orientations of individuals are reflected in stories that are related and answers given to life events (Fowler 1981: 277). The structure and content of faith are closely related. The constructive mental operations underlying faith comprise only half of a person's faith development. The other half is constituted by a person's interpretations, attitudes, symbols that leave an existential and formative impression on kinds of mental action, narratives, observances and communities—in short, the contents of faith (Fowler 2001).

5.2. First Generation

First generation immigrants in this study were born in Turkey, experienced their first socialization there and many of them came to Germany when they were young or newly married (Nauck 2007). They are considered the original immigrants. Today many are retired, and many others have already passed away. They were mostly ignored or kept out of previous research themes compared to later generations (Worbs, 2003)

As revealed in the conducted interviews for this study, the event of migration has an important place in the life stories of the first generation. In the faith development interviews, they either do not divide their lives into chapters, or the way they do so is not clear. Replies such as “I didn't study, so I can't say” (Polat 1) or “I'm not aware of my life” (Demir 1) indicate their unwillingness to review their lives systematically. The way they articulate their life subjects is generally narrative and implicit. Two main chapters emerge from these implicit expressions: the time in Turkey and the time after migration to Germany (Demir 1, Özkan 1, Yıldız 1). The first generation is mostly unable to articulate the kinds of changes they experienced between these chapters with a reflective mental functioning.

Turkey is recalled with “nostalgia,” Germany associated with “hardships and struggles” (Polat 1). The hardships enumerated do not arise from a search for

meaning and do not lead to the conscious formation of a new self. Hence, existential crises are almost entirely absent from the first generation. Meeting basic physical needs is prioritized over searches for the meaning of life. Financial security becomes, for them, both an ideal and a means of contentment (Demir 1). Almost all first generations stress that their search for a new destiny in Germany was precipitated by economic causes. Hence, “poverty” in their earlier lives is an overarching theme. Their initial goal is to earn enough money and then return to Turkey. The hardships experienced are not of a kind that will activate philosophical thinking. Since they have come in search of money and not meaning, change is perceived as material and economic in nature. Moreover, their social life does not require this inner qualitative and conscious change.

Many among the first generation regard themselves as both the main actor of their lives and the victim of circumstances. For example, Özkan 1 is one of them. Özkan 1 emphasises that nobody was influential in educating him—rather, he educated himself. Actually he implies that he has written his own fate and directed his biography. His many references to growing up without a father focus on the economic consequences of this absence, rather than on emotional deprivation.

The first generation left a collective lifestyle and an agricultural economy behind to come to Germany, with its individualistic lifestyle and industrial economy. As such, the necessity for family teamwork and the strength of family members was suddenly removed. Maybe for this reason, the first generations state that they make their own decisions. This can be expressed in terms of power relations: a new hierarchy has begun to form within the—hitherto traditional—Turkish family upon arrival in Germany. The patriarchs resist this change in hierarchy, wishing to preserve their roles of primary decision-maker as before. But with the new atomized structure in family in the migration their parentness authority was also in a danger. In the following process they faced the difficulty of rescuing collectivism in the family. To accomplish this they needed the help of cultural collectivism. Thus, cultural collectivism is stronger with the first generation members of this study.

The most of the first-generation immigrants have actually achieved their economic goals and accumulated enough wealth. Still, they are unable to return to Turkey. A few things prevent this: the effect of familial connections, their desire to remain influential and in a position of authority over the family, and their alienation from Turkey and the conditions of life they will find there. The life worlds of first generations in Germany are confined to a close circle of family and relatives. On the other hand, they are also accustomed to live in Germany. Social and secure life in Germany depending on economy seems to be more attractive for them. They expect today the future of their younger generations in Germany. They encourage their children to settle more in Germany by buying new houses.

In their narratives about their own lives, nostalgia, romanticism, legendary and simple narrative logic are the main strategies resorted to. The first generations seek the provider of inner harmony not within themselves, but outside. Family actors come first. If there have been disturbances in the biographies of children and grandchildren, or in the habitual family tradition, this is largely reflected in their biographical reconstructions and reflections on their relations with other people. Emotional shades reflecting sadness and hopelessness then dominate the narratives, as with Doğan 1. Doğan 1, who is not among the case studies, has three children aged 45, 39, and 36. They are all unschooled, lack professional careers, and have extramarital relationships according to his statements. He expresses his regret and hopelessness regarding his children as follows: "I would've liked to leave behind something after me, someone who would say a prayer for me when I'm gone. I'm going with my own deeds, there's no one else. I don't expect anything from anyone. I wasn't able to leave behind something like that" (Doğan 1, 77-year-old male). When he expresses his regrets and sadness about the situation of his children, interestingly, Mr Dogan 1 does not mention in the interview what kind of investment he did for his children in the past, especially about their education.

Almost all the first generations –as shown in the case studies find the meaning of life in family unity and peace. In reflecting meaning, the narrative structure they use reflects emotional closeness to and responsibilities towards significant others of the first degree. First comes meeting the basic needs of their children: food, drink, clothing and shelter. Second is protecting them from "straying from the

straight and narrow.” This second concern is an ever-present risk that has always been feared. In the collective culture where they originated, it signifies their failure as a parent. Hence, they are also forced to protect their own prestige in this respect (*comp.* the cases of Akay 1, Polat 1, Demir 1). To avoid the loss of prestige and to fulfill the responsibility towards the next generations the transference of religious and ethnic culture is regarded as a safeguard against straying. If the situation of children, grandchildren and families is fine in this respect, the first generation has a more positive worldview and self-image, the feeling of having fulfilled one’s duties, and greater self-confidence (Polat 1, Özkan 1, Demir 1). They use positive expressions of self-satisfaction in back-reflection in their narrative style (Polat 1). The feeling of responsibility continues, this time for the case of grandchildren (Akay 1, Akdeniz 1). These have guaranteed their children, “married them off and put them to work.” Now it is the grandchildren’s turn.

Simple perspective taking is the form that dominates the first generation. Overprotective, controlling, and anxious, their approaches to new-generation family members suggest a mix of Stage 2 and 3 in their faith development. While the excessive keenness to their children and the motivations of protection reminds the criteria of stage 3, their ignorance about the perspectives of younger generations calls the stage 2 in the mind in perspective taking. Synchronously they worry about their children to fall out of the family system and they endeavour to keep them in the family system. But when they are in dialogue with the next generations they do not care the dialogue. Their attitude of monologue and “authoritative *fait accompli*” refers to the stage 2. They are closed to the perception that the new generations may have different life worlds, experiences and interiorities. This reflects a perspective-taking structure belonging to Stage 2. The dominant style is controlling others, attempting to make them in their own image, and ignoring the perspectives of others (Akay 1)—“unawareness about the interiority of the other” (Manual, p. 37).

Many among the first generations try to justify themselves by comparing themselves with others. Thus, one of their general narrative strategies is the tendency to legitimize their own past. Many of them claim they were able to “survive” in Germany because they were hardworking, and avoided the excesses

of their friends, thus protecting both themselves and their families. This is the indicator of an extrinsic understanding of self which reflects very typical criterions of stage 3 in faith development.

The males of the first generation were young and lived alone for long periods when they came to Germany. This led them to relationships with new women and debauchery, jeopardizing the cohesion of their families. This kind of thing is regarded as “straying.” Polat 1 experienced a crisis when he left his wife: he was in danger of “straying,” as he calls it. He began frequenting bars and similar places. His feeling of responsibility towards his children in Turkey prevented him from “straying.” In a similar way, in many life stories, the first generations attribute their survival in Germany to continuous work, protecting their hard-earned money, refraining from spending it at bars, on alcohol, gambling and the like. Their highest ideals have been continuous work and faithfulness to the family (Özkan 1, Demir 1, Yıldız 1, Akay 1). Hence, they have the tendency to spite others. The first generations favoritize working, having a vocation, and “not being dependent on others.” Much emphasis on the economical comparison between today and past is very typical for the first generation in their narratives.

The first generations do not display a personality tendency to inquire about inner life. Their characters had settled by the time they arrived from Turkey, so they did not engage in a mental search. They were educated traditionally in the society which has no place for the further inquiries. Crisis situations are generally described as the sorrow at the passing of an important person (Arslan 1), sickness, separation from family, disobedience of children (Doğan 1), the symptoms that accompany stopping smoking, the stress induced by workplace injustices (Polat 1), own divorce or of someone in the family (Karahan 1), and so on.

For example, in Özkan 1’s case, the death of his wife led to concerns about the care of his children, not the incident of death itself. With the death of his wife it comes out the reality that how important was his wife in his life. As stressed earlier, not the event of death itself affected him but its results affected him. He had already a traditionally prepared meaning making about the death of a

significant other. It is the will of God (*takdir-i ilahi*), predestination. In his childhood he experienced the death of his father too. But these two events of death did not push him to enter existential crises. In the traditional Islam death of a significant person cannot be questioned. The questioning the event of death is perceived as a sin as well. His ties with the family have been loose for a very long time, since as the “breadwinner” in the family he is always at work and outside home. He does not assume any duties at home. He does not have any plans about his children’s education and ignores household chores. For in the family tradition then current, caring for the children and raising them are tasks performed by a woman at home, alone. Similarly, when Polat 1 divorced his wife, he experienced difficult times in caring for his children. However, these two and many other research participants do not explain in the interviews what new styles of meaning arose in them as a result of all these. They make no mention of ideational (existential: questioning the meaning of life and existence) crises and a search for new meanings. For the first generation the “acceptance” and “submission” is fundamental in the life events. In the Islamic traditional life understanding submission instead of questioning is a strong strategy of coping with the crisis situations. This is very common in the narratives of the first generations of this study. Quite to the contrary, many among the first generation proudly articulate the lack of any inner change. Expressions such as “I didn’t change my path, my style”, “I’m what I always was” are interiorized as proofs of originality. Thus, the individual does not tend to objectify him/herself in his/her thoughts.

The first generation people in this study see life as a space of struggle full of obstacles. This may be related to the fact that they have to earn their pay by physical exertion. They have a one-sided life in the family: as head of family, they decide for everyone else. They have no psychological activities that provide inner balance (*ausgleich*), such as sports, reading, education, self-improvement, greater integration into social life, and the like. All this results in the worldview that life is a struggle for material success. Furthermore the social networks of the first generations are limited. This is another reason for them to call Germany as “a place of hardships.” While there was a common life, family, relatives and support in Turkey, the life in Germany became a struggle faced alone. This space of hardships causes experiences in Turkey to be remembered with longing. Because

of the unskilled nature of the jobs they work in, they have not shown an interest in learning German. Most of them did not have the opportunity for that. When they learned the most necessary things for working at a factory, such as handling objects correctly and following products on conveyor belts, it was sufficient for them. After they brought their children over, they spent most of their time with families and relatives who provided a social environment and consequently, an isolating barrier from German society.

In industrial societies, the professional, educational and cultural positions of an individual are among the important criteria that determine social status. The first generation has been working at jobs that provide neither prestige nor upwards social mobility (Bade, 2000). The hope of returning to Turkey, nostalgia and longing for their hometown, prevented them from opening up to society, and brought further isolation from the local society to which they were already foreign (Bozkurt 2009).

The religious belief in fate and the motivation to avoid embarrassment, attachment to the family and faithfulness to values, all play an important role in overcoming crises and avoiding despair. A significant subject that emerges from first-generation biographies is a strong, clear and one-sided attachment and admiration to the parents or primary caregivers. In the interviews, first generations express an unconditional loyalty to their parents and family elders. Their belief structure is here determined by their use of nostalgic language in retrospect both for parental images and for village and family environments. The inerrancy of parental experience and the wisdom of all their deeds is a common perception among first generation (for example, Polat 1, Akay 1). This strong attachment to parents has provided both security and cultural continuity for them. The religious beliefs function to support and consolidate this attachment. In their view, younger generations are acting unreligious if they do not seek the approval (*rıza*) of their elders. For example, in retrospect, Polat 1 praises the discipline and home education of parents. Respect for parents and earning their approval is both a moral imperative and a religious requirement (Akay 1). Thanks to this trust and authority relationship, they have left their children at their parents' homes for long periods. There are those who live under their control even after coming to

Germany (Yıldız 1). The family back in Turkey has interfered in their affairs many times (Yıldız 1). Because the first generations were themselves raised to be obedient, they expect younger generations to be obedient to them in turn, and complain of generational change (Akay 1, Yıldız 1). Transformation of obedience style with the next generation causes the generational conflict between the first and second generations. With their understanding of obedience the first generations try to control the marriages of younger generations either, and encourage them to marry individuals they (religiously) approve of (Polat 1, Akay 1).

5.3. Second Generation

The *Second generation* in this study is the children of first generation guest workers. Most of the second-generation Turkish Muslim immigrants in Germany were born in Turkey. Their parents decided on their migration. The aims of the first generation about temporary residence in Germany turned into permanent settlement after the process with the second generation started. The second generation constitutes an important part of the Turkish population in contemporary Germany. They are mentioned as the “*in-between generation*” (Worbs 2003). According to results obtained from the case studies above the life subjects of second generations during childhood and youth take shape around either the excessive control of the family, or its inability to provide guidance. The process of enculturation takes place both in the migrant family and in the majority culture for the second generation. Some of them highlight that soon after moving to Germany, they were directly induced to start working, whereas they were in school age (comp. Worbs 2003).

Although all the inadequate conditions and negative experiences compared to the first generation, the second generation stands more fully within social life. Their life contexts enforce them to relations in the German social life. They connect directly with German institutions. They have the opportunity to be more intimate with German society through vocational training, schools, language courses, and the like. They have tried to integrate themselves conscious or unconsciously with the German environment from the moment they set foot in it. Today, however, they

lament the lack of support from their families. When they were very young, the families had little pedagogical experience about their enculturation. Family interference begins with puberty. The families worried that their children will adopt the behaviour patterns of the foreign culture. The main concern here is “Germanization.” This term used both for cultural and religious assimilation in the families. Even, this has led to fears of becoming a “sinner” in some of the second generations. Being Turkish is identified with Islam for the first generation. Being German is identified with irreligiousness or being non-Muslim in this context. Religion is instrumentalized as an auxiliary element in the transfer of ethnic culture by the first generation. Thus, sin gained an extra meaning in addition to its theological definition. Sin was the breaking of habitual norms and overturning traditionalism for the first generations.

The first generation is trying to transmit its ethnic and cultural norms to the second generation at all costs. Yet they do not have adequate pedagogical experience for convincing their (second-generation) children. They impose certain prohibitions without knowing how and why they are doing so. In this they seek the aid of religion, which they invest with mystery and inexplicability. As expressed by Perşembe (2005) this introduces tensions and creates problems of integration both with Turkish society and with German culture (actually, their own lives) for the second generations. Those among the second-generation males who are unable to integrate with life Germany, and receive no discipline or support from the family, devote themselves to a loose life and hedonism as expressed by Demir 2 in his narratives. As for females, remaining within family structures is the rule. While the young males exploring their boundaries out of home in night life and entertainment venues, the young girls stay at home as “the carriers of family honour” in traditional understanding.

When biographical self-reflection is viewed from the standpoint of faith development, the second generations in this study have narrative tones marked by instability and tension, viewing themselves sometimes as the victims and sometimes the heroes of life. This can be a coping strategy with the crisis situations and giving meaning to difficult life events. The confusion between being victim of events in life or the heroes of own biography (especially the former) leads

to an inability to resolve the reasons for their crisis situations. Many second generations regard migration to Germany, lack of money, school, work, marriage and having children as important turning points in life. As in the first generation, the “struggle for life” is a central life theme: the notion that life is a space of struggles has been successfully conveyed to the second generation. Although they are more in contact with the Germany society, similarly, today’s life world consists of family, relatives, and sometimes religious and in addition social institutions to these for the second generations. They, too, find the meaning of life in a peaceful family life and the well-being of their (third-generation) children (Demir 2, Akay 2).

5.4. Second-Generation Women

Second-generation women dwelt more than men on the subject of Germanization in the interviews. Women and children have a more traditional role in Turkish families. The traditional role of the women continues with the second generation. According to result obtained from the sample, the expectation from women is that they not become foreignized; from men, that they work and provide the means of life fees and so on. Like first generation, this can be connected to the meaning that gender identity is invested with. As a result of the patriarchal structure of traditional Turkish families, women are regarded as the bearers in practice of honour and chastity. In mother-daughter relations as well, the mothers are more concerned with the chastity of their daughters than their sons. This is a duty imposed on women in patriarchal society which they accept unconsciously. This is done in the name of protecting the honour of the family and, indirectly, the prestige of the male, rather than for the protection of daughters. The male-female differentiation on the subject of chastity can be clearly observed in the narratives. Although chastity is a concern in Koran for man and woman alike, in the traditional interpretation of Islam burden is more on daughters in practice: women are the practical bearers of chastity. Within the family, mothers are more restrictive in this respect. Here, too, the main concern is cultural alienation rather than religion (Akay 2, Özkan 2). Daughters are therefore under greater control in the family. Interestingly, mothers try to impart greater female roles to their daughters. But the

interviewed second generation women initiate to break this traditional authoritative and gender specific style down.

As we have seen in the two female second-generation case studies above, marriage is an opportunity for the second-generation women to emancipate themselves from the parental home and for their self-actualization. Many other second-generation women who were interviewed, but not included in the present study, have also described their mothers (first-generation women) as more dominant at home. Still, disobedience to them is not tolerated, both in religious and ethical terms.

None of the second-generation women in the sample spoke of exclusion and prevention from German society as a result of being a Moslem. On the other hand, rigid rules within the family and meaningless discipline were harshly criticized. The traditional family structure is criticized by the second generation Turkish women in this sample. Both of the second-generation women in the presented cases (Akay 2 and Özkan 2) and those who were not documented here express obviously and consciously their unease about the subordinate situation of women. Özkan 2 is saved from this situation by her husband—she experiences autonomy and religious liberation thanks to her husband and marriage. Akay 2, however, is still under the shadow of her parents. This may be related to the fact that her mother is still alive. Whereas the social life world of the former (Özkan 2) has expanded, that of the latter (Akay 2) has remained introverted. For Özkan 2, interfaith dialogue and for Akay 2, physical fitness count as social activities. Both women have questioned the religious and gender perceptions of their families, but have abandoned neither religion nor their families.

5.5. Intergenerational Relations and the Second Generation

According to the sample of this research, intergenerational conflict and problems are observed more between the first and second generations. During their youth, second generations complain that their parents do not understand their worlds. This leads to a defensive narrative in their biographical self reflection and relations

in general. Self-victimization, self-justification and emotive language emerge as important narrative strategies in this respect. The second generation holds “others” (significant or non-significant) responsible for difficulties encountered in life. They have not been able to achieve independence from their parents and older generations within the dynamic of relations.

In the faith development interviews of the second generation, their attachment to parents and their parental images are ambivalent contrary to first generation. In Akay 2, for example, the image of her parents is tense and ambivalent. There is an attempt to remedy this image, but there is also a hesitation of determining their errors and confronting them. Obedience to parents and respect for them are viewed both as a cultural and a religious duty. Love of one’s parents is identified with the love of God. In contrast, a stable and positive image of parents was dominant in the first generation.

This ambivalence prevents the second generation from individuation and from developing an original meaning template in the aspects of form of logic, social awareness, and perspective taking in faith development. The first generation is blamed. Feelings of deficiency and tension emerge as indicators of Stage 2 in faith development. For example, in the cases of Akay 2 and Yıldız 2, the image of parents is characterized by an emotional, defensive, and often aggressive language in the biographical self reconstruction and the themes about the relations. Seeing oneself as a victim emerges as a strategy for self-justification. Opposition to the family system and inability to gain independence from it coexist.

Elders desire to control the lives of younger generations at all times. In conflicts, the first generation is not open to dialogue. Where generational conflicts exist, the second generation is open to self-questioning, but the elders hold them unilaterally responsible (Akay 2). They have neither a strategy, nor indeed a desire, to aid in their individuation and emancipation. Further, they have little confidence that the second generations will be able to stand on their own two feet. This may be associated with the fact that first generation is still in concern about the second generation. They are not convinced with the individuation of second generation. This strategy of strict control is actually the result of fear. Strict control functions as

a parenting style by the first generation. The older generations want to survive for their children. They claim that all their efforts have been for their sake, but refuse to grant them independence. Excessive and unbalanced family control also prevents younger generations from establishing healthy personal relationships in social life. The second generation is observed to feel an excessive burden and to exhibit a faith development full of tension in biographical self reflection and social relations.

The first generation is not open to dialogue and, as such, has not been able to set an example for the second generation. This is contrary to the pedagogical consciousness that Schiffauer (1991) speaks of in the first generation. That is to say that my cases do not support the assumption of Schiffauer. We have more evidences of pedagogical awareness in parenting style of the second generations. The first generations are convinced that they have to do something for their children, but they have neither the knowledge nor the pedagogic/educational skill to accomplish this.

Compared to the first generation, the second generations raise their children more freely. At the time of their arrival in Germany, the first generations have completed a certain structure in terms of socialization and self-culture. They are in a position of strength against their offspring because they are young, and are able to establish authority over them for a while. But as the children grow up, the parents begin to lose their positions of power within the family.

Having opposed the errors in the practice of the first generation, the second generation strives to behave differently towards the third. In comparison to the first, they are constructive in intergenerational relations and more open to dialogue. They try to prevent the controlling and authoritarian educational style of the first generation from being transferred to the youngest generation. The first generation tried to make decisions without consulting anyone; the second and third generation value consultation and dialogue.

As in the case of the first generation, working and earning money is an idealized life strategy for the second as well. Once they brought their children to Germany,

first-generation caregivers were more interested in finding employment for them and marrying them off than investing in their education. The reason is that in the initial years of the second generation, migrant goals were still oriented to earning enough money to return to Turkey. In the present, employment and money are regarded as causes of happiness. Many first- and second-generation interviewees find the meaning of life in material well-being. If their children have their own homes and jobs, this is regarded as a means of salvation in life.

The narrative competence with the second generation is further developed compared to the first generation. The second generations are better able to divide their lives into chapters than to the first. In this division the event of migration occupies a major place. Individuals who experience generational conflict and cannot achieve harmony in the family reflect on their biographical process with bitterness. Perhaps for this reason, most second-generations believe that they were left to face their problems alone. Acceptance, being admired, being taken seriously are dominant themes in their narratives. While the first generation is insistent that there has been no “change” in self, the second is more capable of reflecting on self-change.

In the case of some individuals from the second generation, religion has a defining influence on the biographical process. Attempts are also made to “religionize” the biography after a certain period. Polat 2, Özden 2, Özkan 2, Dilmen 2 and other religious second generation all speak of a later acquirement of religion. In such cases, life is divided into two parts: before and after religion is acquired. Religious rituals are observed by these participants eagerly. The participation in the practice of religion together with the religious society is higher. Daily prayers are performed with congregation, readiness to participate in the Ramadan programs in mosque and religious organizations, following the religious courses and sermons presented there. They articulate religious ideas on the solving of problems. They pursue to explain the life issues from the perspective of institutional religion they learn gradually.

Faith (iman) is associated with the will of God by these participants. Polat 2, who divides his life into three chapters, regards his intensifying in religion as a blessing

from God. His period of acquiring religion started with observing the Five Daily Prayers. He describes the period of marriage as “learning life” and “a resurrection.” Actually, these are signs of awareness of inner change occurred with him. He places Prayer (namaz) at the center of his life, and his biography is “religionized” by Prayer. The second ritual fortifying his religiosity is Pilgrimage. Subsequently, a dichotomy emerges between religion and the world, and secular life is perceived as a threat against religion. Thus, departure from the secular, or devaluing it, is idealized as an orientation to religion. Religion and the world are considered to be in opposition. All these changes, however, are not the result of philosophical reflections or crises of meaning. They should be understood as a conventional and natural process of gravitating toward religion with advancing age—in a sense, of taking refuge in religion. In the faith development perspective the religion is only one of the meaning making instances. Sometimes this meaning making instance is most central and influential one. The person establishes a social identity with the help of religious belonging. Further, the ready meaning patterns offered in the religion for the orientation and relating to a spiritual or nonphysical realm supply the believer the mental strategies in giving meaning to the complexities of life. Evaluation of difficult past experiences and the life after death are some of them.

Some among the second generation have internalized the view that change will take place outside their own selves. The case of Yıldız 2 reflects this situation. For him, the external world has been transformed into a potential mechanism of distrust. This is directly reflected on his dimension of perspective taking, and adversely affects his interpersonal relationships. He believes that alcohol is prohibited by God, yet imbibes it himself; he ascribes this to rejection by his family and society. He justifies himself, legitimates his reaction to the social world he lives in. Similarly; he blames the German state and society for the disarray of Islamic organizations, and believes they are the ones that divide Moslems. On one hand, he expects material benefits from his family; on the other, he criticizes the material world, claiming that money prevents respect and love. As such, he lives a contradiction.

Until now we compared and analyzed the first and the second generations, below the third generation`s social world and realities will also be reconstructed as the background of their religious development.

5.6. Third Generation

In terms of education, the third-generation interviewees fall into three groups. The first are university graduates, the second, high-school graduates (Abitur), and the third, those with a middle-school (Realschule; Hauptschule) background and practitioners of a vocation. A noticeable improvement in status and educational level is observed in all interviewed families from the first generation to the third (Korucu-Rieger 2013). As in the case of first and second generations, the third generations also attach importance to employment and success. The third generations seek greater inner meaning in their future perspectives, and tend towards universal values. Among their significant plans for the future are studying, developing themselves vocationally, and learning religious knowledge, building a family, and being helpful to human beings.

Without exception, all third generation research participants have been born and raised in Germany. They have not experienced migration and, compared to the second generation, have led more positive lives with greater integration to their milieus. Hence, their feeling of self-worth is higher. In comparison to the second generation, the parental images of most third generations are more secure, more conscious, and more rational. Childhood memories are again expressed in more positive and nostalgic terms. Within the extended family, the first generations are full of love and tolerance towards third generations. Whether they like it or not, they appear to have lost control over the third generations. (Akay 3).

As in the first generation, the family image is constructed on feelings of responsibility and conservatism. Traditional family image continues with the third generation either. This has been successfully transferred between generations. In terms of faith development the third generation has a more individualistic and unifying style when compared to the other generations (self reflection). Among the

crises and high points recounted in life stories are the death of someone close, the shock effects of natural disasters, quarrels between parents, and diagnoses of illness are the events mentioned. The effect of education is to be felt in their narrative style in the faith development interviews. Özkan 3, for example, states that the suspicion of a brain tumour, the permanent illness of her cousins, and the death of her grandmother led her to think about life and death and reach new patterns of meaning. The positive image of life she acquired in childhood and a secure attachment caused her to cling to life and protected her against meaninglessness. As a secure attachment is realized, the development of a more individualized identity becomes possible.

When we take as an example the contents in the narratives on the self, these are richer with the third generation compared to earlier generations. But, they still do not qualify for Stage 4 in terms of complete individuation and rationality in faith development. For example, after the death of his grandfather and mother-in-law as two significant others, Demir 3 claims to have experienced changes. He summarizes the effect of these two dramatic events on him as follows:

Its effect on me was like this: I said to myself, the only thing you leave in this life will be your kindness, I said, nothing else. If someone remembers you, it will only be due to your kindness. Otherwise, nothing will make you remembered. You'll be forgotten, I said. So these things are easy. Only the ones you love remember you, and it's also a bit different, because they're your family; whether they love you or not, they necessarily remember you. But from the outside (other than family members) nobody remembers you at all. I mean, this is the greatest benefit you can hope for: for another to be able to say when you pass away (die): "s/he was really a good person". The only thing you can leave behind is this, property and the rest, all go to naught. (94-103)

As understood from this quotation death events within or close to the family affect third generations more than the earlier ones. This effect is actually due to the disquieting dimension of death. When they experience the loss of persons closest to them for the first time, this is a shock to them, and the meaning of life suddenly acquires a new dimension. This is actually caused by their own fears of self-annihilation. In the absence of an inquiring mind, this shock works to confirm them in their present faith stage rather than facilitating a transition to a higher stage. It can even lead to a regression. Akay 3's deep shock over the 1999 earthquake in

Turkey, and her subsequent turn to religious rituals for a while, can be understood as an entrenchment within the same stage of faith rather than an upwards stage transition. In such times of crisis, greater expectations from religion can even be understood as a regression in terms of faith development. The change involved does not stem from an inner inquiring personality trait. And the situation called as 'crisis' does not lead to an inquiring character and thus cause the birth of a new personality.

The strong belief in fate (*kader*) drives the first and second generation to the incontestability of death. This incontestability comes from a submissive acceptance which functions as a coping strategy in the crisis situations either. Another explanation can be also as the following; the first generations faced the loss of significant other with death events many times before. Maybe they questioned the meaning of death like third generations at that times, but from today`s perspective they do not question, and they do not feel like the younger ones about the death events.

As the fundamental socializing institution, the family is the smallest social unit whose members share a mutual environment and mutual past. The culture of the wider society one lives in is transmitted to individuals after being filtered through the family (Wohlrab - Sahr *et al.* 2009). Besides the family, there are many other external factors that influence the formation of a person's faith and character. The third generation, having been raised in Germany, has become more intimate with the cultural elements of the German society compared to the former generations, even more than second generations either. If we compare them to the second generation, for example, their life worlds and the spaces within which they can manoeuvre in socialization have further expanded. They can good command the German language, which opens them many possibilities in social participation.

Due to the absence of migratory experience and a sudden change in cultural atmosphere, they have stable processes of biographical continuity in comparison to earlier two generations. The first generations understand their foreignness in Germany with experiencing itself whereas the first and in Turkey born second generation came to Germany with a ready given understanding of foreignness.

They are informed about the migration from the narrations of the parents and grandparents. This gives them the opportunity of evaluating the migration event in a more meta level. If they have lived successful socialization process they easily overcome the migration and identity problems.

They also do not give voice to experiencing pressure or prevention within the family against “foreignization” as it was problematical for the second generation. This is a result of the change in pedagogical approach from the first generation to the next either. The extended family, their presence in German society from birth, knowing the language and continuing education, the stability of relationships with friends and relatives, all contribute to the enrichment of their life worlds and biographies. Feelings of “loneliness abroad” that plagued the first and second generations are less prevalent among the third. They have had the opportunity to mingle both with the institutionalized migrant society and the institutions of the majority, or German, society. Besides being embedded in family relations, they are also involved in sports, music, friendships, dialogues, education, reading activities; with relatives, universities, vocational schools, acquaintances, and mosque associations. These all contribute them to give a different meaning to their lives. At the same time the third generation is the doorway of the immigrant society to the social life in Germany. Thanks to third generation the earlier generations compulsorily open up to the German society and its socialization instances.

Human beings get to know about life and the world via relationships. Perceptions of closeness and separation, privacy, love and hate, are developed through relations. In the interviewed sample, all the generations, the central relationships of almost all people are with family members. In their initial growth periods, the first and third generations have more relationships with family members (*Bezugspersonen*). First generation had experienced this already in extended family context in Turkey. Third generation`s life processes progressed in the society at which they were born. They have had the opportunity to have a continuous relation with the family and the external world simultaneously. This has provided them with greater play spaces in socialization. They have more people around them to consult when they face problems. The same appears not true of

the second generation, for they have arrived in a migrant society still in the process of formation upon coming to Germany.

As with the first and second generations, the third also sees work and earning money as an important source of security in life. “Some materiality, of course this is a reality, I mean to be comfortable materially, it’s a fact,” says Demir 3. “Life depends on materiality,” says Yıldız 3. Within the three-generation process, some notable differences have also emerged in terms of the basic economic life theme. Financial assets and saving money are internalized as main goal by the first generation. The second and third –especially third- generations understand this as a medium for the quality in life. The second and third generations, unlike the first, are no longer concerned with obtaining the basic needs of life, but with universal human values. Economical well being is perceived by them as the precondition of a good life. This is the basic difference in terms of faith development that sets them apart from the first generation. Its effects on the ultimate concern will be dealt in the sections on religion below.

To summarize: The first generation was embedded in its own needs and relations, the second was involved in an effort to gain independence from parents and adapt to the milieu of migration. In the third generation, basic life themes become differentiated from the previous ones. They shape their lives according to more universal principles, and are more involved with global problems. For example, in speaking about her ideals for the future, Özkan 3 tries to develop concepts that will aid in meeting the needs of other human beings. Her basic life themes are more work, greater success, learning languages, and contact with people and other cultures. In contrast, her grandfather’s goals were to work more, earn more money, and thus change the economic fate of his family and himself. While material wealth is found necessary by the third generation, not material assets but moral and personal goals infuse life with meaning. This reflects also in the meanings they load in religious life and rituals which will be dealt in the following section.

So far we have handled the differences of the generations as regards of biographical processes and socialization conditions. Below the religious and faith

development of three generations will be explained in the light of the obtained results from the interviews and the case studies.

5.7. Religion in the Generational Dynamic

The subject of this section is the formation of religiosity, institutions or persons related to it, and how these are evaluated by the individual. In the traditional interpretation of Islam, depending on a Hadith, it is claimed that human being is naturally inclined to the religion. Practically in the Islamic societies, a person enters Islam by being born into it or later conversion. Relations with near and far milieus and all background experiences play an important role in appropriation of religion. If one is born into an Islamic context, the basic framework of religion is conveyed within the family from generation to generation by living together in the primary socialization process. In the next phase, that is the secondary process in the socialization, religion is consolidated with the society that the family is in relationship. In this second phase, one deepens or questions the religious knowledge and experiences appropriated in the family. In this way, a Moslem individual joins the wider spectrum of the Islamic community. In this second phase the experiences acquired from the primary socialization is questioned and filtered and compared with the outside world. One`s larger social environment can also be a challenge to distance from the religion. A theologically special ceremony, or a certificate of membership issued by a specific official or religious institution, is not necessary for this participation or separation from the religion. One should always be free to join or leave Islam as a religion (Koran, 2:256). According to Moslem theologians, coercion runs counter to a fundamental concept of Islam: that "life is a test." In this perspective a person should accept religion not under duress, but of her own free will.

The appropriation of religion and religiosity of the first generations were shaped in Turkey, by living in an environment that was mono-cultural- a society consisted of mostly Muslims in religion- and agricultural. Where they were raised, religion, morality and customs formed in an intertwined unity. At the basis of their religiosity there is adherence to Turkish and Moslem morality and customs. If they have

learned anything of official (traditional), organized religion, they have practised so through reciting the Koran and memorizing prayers at village mosques. Their religious knowledge depends first on family and second on the mosque. In acquiring religious knowledge the first generation seems rather heterogeneous. In the sample of this study, there are those who have taken no religious courses, such as Özkan 1. He has experienced religion in the family and later by studying books. Yıldız 1, on the other hand, has received no religious education at all, nor has he read any books. His knowledge of religion is confined to what he has heard at mosque sermons and picked up from society. Polat 1 praises the religious knowledge of his father and grandfather, but has himself learned only Koranic chapters and prayers at mosque. Traditional religious knowledge for the first generation is learning Arabic alphabet for Koran recitation, memorizing certain chapters of Koran and learning how to perform the basic religious rituals.

The childhood of the first generation coincided with a time when not even primary schools were available at the villages in Turkey. The fact that many have not even finished primary school has hindered their chances of learning through reading later on, since they lack basic reading and writing skills. For them, the family and the village are the milieus where religion and religious mores are lived practically. The practice of religious rituals, and especially Daily Prayers, is what first generations emphasize most about their initial religious experiences. Religion is consolidated through oral communication, visits to mosques, sermons, and religious conversations. Hence, the traditional folk Islam acquired in their hometowns persist in first generation participants.

After migration, the most important life issue of the first generation was to earn a livelihood, and to keep the family unity. For this they needed external supports. This motivated them to form mosque associations. Hence, Islamic communities in Germany have not emerged solely for the purpose of fulfilling a sacred function. As social centers, they also undertake social activities and social care giving duties. Families that contributed to the establishment of mosques have intended to accomplish the transmission of culture and religion via these institutions.

Imams (Prayer-leaders) play an important role in religious transmission in the mosques. They not only convey religious contents, but also influence the development of religious perspectives. There are significant intra- and intergenerational differences in the perception of imams. Whereas the imam is an absolute authority for the first generation, he no longer represents absolute religious authority for the second or third generations. For instance, second generations are more likely to view imams in a critical light. Their expectations from imams are that the imam convey a more liberal Islam and include more book knowledge in sermons (Akay 2, Demir 2, Yıldız 2). There are also those who claim they were influenced by sermons of imams and acquired religion as a result (Polat 2, Dilmen 2). Özkan 2 criticizes the authoritarian teaching of religion by imams in ironic terms: “no beating, no learning” says she. Akay 2’s mention of the negative sermons given by imams about women exemplifies people’s expectations of a more positive perspective from imams.

An imam is a person who has received instruction on faith in Islamic communities. He delivers the basic principles of Islam, leads congregational Prayer services, and supervises religious programs. There are differences in what is expected of imams in Turkey and in Germany. The duties expected of them in Germany are wider in scope. In Germany, an imam must provide leadership in religious, social, and interpersonal relations. He must engage in interfaith dialogue, represent Islam to non-Moslems, enlighten Moslems, supervise visits to mosques, and transmit Islam to young people. He must also be a social advisor providing solutions to family issues within the community, and support the integration of the Moslem community into German society.

In the religious understanding of Turks, loyalty to the state and to state authority has always occupied an important place. Many examples of this are to be found in the first generation. In the present sampling, which is random, ethnic and national motivation has a great influence on the elevation of the DITIB institution to a primary place by the first generation. In their view, DITIB represents the Turkish state. In the second generation, the interest in DITIB is focused more on the religious style of this organization. Nonetheless, three-generation family members are differentiated in terms of membership to communities and participation in their

activities. Within the same family, different generations become members or follow the activities of different mosque associations. Or the same person may have membership in different mosque organizations simultaneously. This is rather widespread among the third generations. The third generation attends also to the activities of non-Turkish religious organizations either thanks to their knowledge of German.

This study has not revealed exclusion experiences because of one's religion in Germany or Islamic radicalization due to such exclusion which was expressed by many previous empirical studies. According to findings from the interviews, the participants do not express that they are excluded in the German society because of their religion. I think there is a strong relation between the exclusion understanding, religious radicalization and family ties. Islamic radicalization is more widespread where family control is weak and the educational level is low (Gerlach 2010). This can also be interpreted as follows: feelings of exclusion can sometimes be defence mechanisms developed by an individual. A person, who has been raised under conditions where collective and emotional behaviour patterns are emphasized, and is unaccustomed to the individualistic structure of Western society, can also expect similar relations, such as good-neighbourliness and friendship from German society. However, the functioning of human relations in German society can differ from that among Turks (Uslucan 2011). Moreover, those who lack sufficient Turkish surroundings can experience loneliness in this atmosphere of individualism. Lack of ties to sports, education, entertainment, and the like, as well as an inability to synchronize with German society in terms of language and behaviour, can also produce feelings of exclusion in a person. Feelings of exclusion can also be the product of failed socialization. In multigenerational, Moslem Turkish extended families, feelings of loneliness and exclusion can be easily absorbed by family ties. Perhaps for this reason, exclusion experiences are almost nonexistent in the sampling of this research. Özkan 2, who wears a headscarf while working at a German institution, states that she has never been excluded since childhood on. When Akay 2 says: "Relations with Germans do not last," she means a difference in lifestyle, not an experience of exclusion.

The identity-constructive and identity-formative characteristics of Islam emerge as a result of the present study, regardless of whether a person observes religion in practical life. All the families in the sample prefer to raise their children religiously. They see religiosity as adherence to family values and a basic principle of harmonious living. Although everyone is opposed to a strict religious education, they all—including young generations—believe in the necessity of religious education.

This is supported by the findings of the Shell Study in the early 2000s: 73% of Moslem youth in the age group 15-24 prefer their children to be raised religiously (Fuchs-Heinritz, 2000). Under the conditions of migration, underscoring religious identity can be a shortcut for younger generations when the family or Moslem society cannot devote sufficient resources for identity development. Young people can experience alienation because of their greater participation in the majority (German) society. The complex relationships of modern life, together with the anonymity and isolation of large cities and industrial society, can be a personal danger for them as well as a social one (*comp. Aygün 2013, 188*). This leads them to participate in the Islamic community (*umma*), with its wider spectrum, and to emphasize the universality of religious belongingness. Hence, religion constructs a universal identity and is a provider of belonging for the younger generations and especially the third. From the standpoint of faith development, this is important in terms of the form of world coherence. The equilibrium between outside world and their inner stability will facilitate them social participation. This is an important factor in identity establishment, self enhancement and entering in dialogue with others.

Almost the entire sample supports readiness for dialogue, respect for religious differences, and tolerance. Extremist religious attitudes are not supported or encouraged. Many of the second and third generations prefer a middle course in religion. Sharp deviations and extreme opposition to family traditions are not observed in the youth of this sample of three-generation families. In general, democracy has been internalized, and there is satisfaction with the German state and social system. As Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000) also observes, the life orientations and future perspectives of young people are mainly centered in

Germany, whereas the first generation still dreams of return. Almost all the generations trust on the official state institutions.

The majority of Turks are adherents of the Hanafite School in terms of religious practices in Islam. Historically, the development of this school also coincided with the opening up of early Islam to foreign cultures and the multicultural environment of Baghdad in what is now known as Iraq. Hence, this school claims that Islamic law is applicable even in a non-Muslim environment (Rohe 2001, p. 85). In this context, tolerance and respect for other religions, cultures, and ethnicities are emphasized by all three generations in the interviews. They all state that religion is a private relationship between the human being and God, and the essential thing is deference to the rights of others. Previous studies have reached similar conclusions regarding the views of Muslims about members of other religions. Von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf's (2011) quantitative study shows that the overwhelming majority of Muslims in the sample have a tolerant image of Islam with respect to non-Muslims. More than three-quarters of Muslims believe that all human beings are equal before God (von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf 2011, 14). They do not regard being a Muslim as a precondition for equality before God. Being human is the only requirement for such equality.

On solutions to problems in interreligious relations, the first generation, however heterogeneous, has perspectives that imply dialogue and acceptance. According to Özkan 1, books, religious scholars and human reason should be referred to in religious conflicts. In dialogues, Polat 1 recommends that others be convinced with commendable speech, that men of religion solve problems in person, and that technology be availed of. In speaking of interreligious relationships, some also call for the unity of Muslims. According to Polat 1, whereas the West is united, Muslims are fragmented among themselves. He thus draws attention to an East-West dichotomy and casts interreligious relations in a political light. Religion is, in this sense, not just a relationship between human being and God, but an element that brings societies together. Polat 3 speaks of a mission in the life of human beings: drawing people to Islam. The political aspect of religion is discussed by the second and third generations in this family, who have been socialized under Milli Görüş.

Within the sample, only the Akay family speaks of religious education within the family in Germany. Intrafamilial religious education accompanies mosque courses for the third generations of this family. The father has supplemented these courses with memorizing the Koran at home, learning prayers (supplications), and singing hymns together during weekends as time permits.

Generally, the hodja-centric teaching of religion—with its archaic, rulebook-based language, and its terms and examples taken from ancient texts—fails to be productive for a generation raised in Germany, with its different language and cultural context. Hence, it cannot contribute to the spiritual development of youths. The religion that is taught is disconnected from the real-life concerns of young people: Yıldız 3 has continued religious education at mosques for years, yet remembers little of what has been taught.

In the aspect of social awareness, the third generations define themselves with their religious identities. They want to replace national identity with religious identity. The elements of the latter are more universal and provide them with greater opportunities for participation. They can fit both German and Turkish culture into it, and open themselves up to a more ecumenical style. For them, adherence to a Turkish identity alone is too local, limited, and unable to provide a proper representation of values.

Socialization environments, common biographies and the appropriation of religion in this context were dealt above in the sections. The God images of generations will be compared both contently and structurally in the next.

5.7.1. Reflection on the Image of God

Perhaps, what Moslems agree upon most and unites them is the conception of God, who is regarded as 'one' without question. Further perceptions of God in the sample are extremely complex and not easily summarized in the findings. These perceptions underlie the entire field of religion and ethics of Islam. In general

appearance, everyone shares a concept of God as the deity of Moslems. All three generations of interview partners perceive God according to the predefinitions of official religious teaching. These traditional, book-based images of God mostly take shape in family circles and within the Islamic community. Religious institutions and education consolidate this conventional, official perception of God (*comp. Aygün 2013 p. 189*).

If any exception is to be spoken of in the Sunni sample of this research, it is Akay 2's perception of God. Akay 2 attempts to define God as "nature," but does not advance this as an alternative to God as the Islamic conception of deity. She desires to speak of God together with beautiful things and events in the world. As she explains at length in her interview passages, the roots of this God-image are to be sought in her general understanding of self and the dynamics of her relations. From the first years of her biography, she has developed a negative image both of religion and of family. It is difficult for a person who has a negative image of self and surroundings to internalize the concept of a loving and accepting God. As a consequence, Akay 2 had a frightening image of God for many years. Neither the religious nor the general style of education in her family allows a person to have feelings of self-worth. As (Grom 1992, p.75) also observes, self-worth is the basis of inner unity. Religious beliefs have a positive or negative effect according to whether they support or prevent feelings of self-worth respectively. Akay 2 now claims she has transcended the concept of a judgmental and punitive God. However, the ongoing influence of this perception can be felt throughout the interview. Even though she has a positive God-image formed with the aid of therapy, she still continues to speak of things related to God and religion negatively and with trepidation. Despite her fears, she describes God as "power, creative power, positive power," using words beyond their literal meaning. Nowhere in her interview does Akay 2 attempt to prove that her God-image is un-Islamic, thus implying that she is constructing her image of God within the bounds of Islam. Harmony with God is identified with thinking about natural events.

From the faith development perspective, intergenerational differences in God-image are more likely to emerge when individuals are questioned about changes and development in their image of God. The first generation tends to reply that

there has been no change in their God-image, as also in other religious areas. They do not want to reflect on the development of their image of God. They express this image in simple and literal terms: “creator, nothing else, great, greater than all things, invisible and indescribable.”

None of the generations question the existence of God. Faith in God manifests itself as affirming his existence and absolute devotion to him. This affirmation is based on an unshakable faith. The relationship of the first generation with God has the appearance of a chain of command: God is always powerful, human is always weak. There is a relationship of unilateral authority between human being and God, who is the main repository of trust. God has absolute authority and does as he wills. But human’s responsibility for events in life and for personal success is not neglected, either. Human must work. God will provide his gifts only in response to this labor. This can also mean indirectly that human being can influence God’s will. In this respect, the first generation rejects an absolute fatalism and determinism which refers to their potentials for the higher faith stage assignments, which cannot be explained with the aid of faith development criterions in the Faith Development Manuel 2004 and Fowlers strict stage oriented perspective.

The younger generations (second and third) also try to define God in accordance with the conception provided in religious literature. All the three generations are united in their belief in God and in accepting his existence. People tend to internalize God and his attributes in the way they have heard about these from religious authorities or during education: literally rather than symbolically. God is the Creator who not only creates, but continues to intervene in all events, who punishes when necessary, and whose influence continues to be felt (Demir 3). A completely monotheistic, Islamic understanding of God (*Tawhid*) has been accepted that leaves no room for any doubt in the sample. Depending on the level of their religious education, the way people describe God can be more literal or more abstract. The grandfather of the Yıldız family, who has received no religious education at all, describes God as “the power who is always with us, who rules everything, gives breath and life, who punishes those who don’t recognize him, and guides human life” (Yıldız 1).

Compared to first generations, the second act more freely in reflecting on the formative processes of their own God-images, Akay 2 divides her image of God as “old and new” (before and after therapy). Demir 2 is aware that his God-image has changed from concrete to more abstract. Many other second-generation interviewees are also able to query the development of their God-image in detail, concentrating more on processes. They do not view an unchanging God-image as a mark of originality like the first generation does. Whereas the relationship between God and man has the character of a chain of command in the first generation, there is a search for dialogue with God in the second. Polat 2, for example, is trying to develop a strong attachment to God. He finds closeness to God in conventional religion, and appropriates the image of God prepared by official religion without much thought. Religious life provides him with proximity to God. For Polat 3, God is the focus of gratitude, a center of trust, and an authority that has the power to exercise free disposal over all things. “God gives God takes.” God is his confidant, his powerful partner, and his owner whom he feels close to when he is alone.

Demir 2 also speaks openly about the change in his image of God. He confesses that this image has evolved from concrete to abstract, from a God who is in the sky to a God beyond space and time. For him, the man-God relationship is rooted in trust. God is a supervisor and caregiver who lends aid in times of trouble and meets the needs of human being. He does not broach the subject of what he himself does as a servant in this process where needs are met. In one respect, he has the image of a God who is active and whose help is gratuitous. He believes that God will always protect him in hard times. This belief can be associated with the fact that his needs were easily met in childhood, and that he has a positive assessment of self. His spaces of feeling in harmony with God and universe are the mosque (although he does not go there often), when he is alone, and the quiet at night before he goes to sleep. He continually invokes “In the name of God...” in maintaining his connection with God.

The second and third generation in the sample express that they turn more often to God in periods of trouble. They believe that they feel the aid of God is felt together with prayer (Özkan 3, Demir 3, and others). God is presented as a

powerful partner and an invisible being. While God remains beyond life for the first generation, the second and third wish to feel God more within life.

5.7.2. The Problem of Theodicy and the Image of God

It is hard to speak of a great difference between generations on the problem of theodicy as this relates to the image of God. In all three generations, God's predetermination on the problem of theodicy is sometimes supplemented with explanations from the natural sciences. Especially in the second and third generations, theodicy and Islamic theological primary data are expanded by reference to the natural sciences. A similar was observed by Küçükcan and Köse who conducted a quantitative survey after the latest earthquake in the Marmara region of Turkey in 1999 (Küçükcan & Köse, 2000).

Few people from the first generation within the sample criticize those who explain evil with natural influences. They describe disasters as God's predestination and displays of his power (Akay 1, Özkan 1). This is how these two first-generation persons express the powerlessness of human beings. As for Demir 1, he believes that evil and disasters occur because of people who sin. They are punishments from God and indicators of his power. In this sense, God is a power that engages with human beings. Nevertheless, Demir 1 has a strong relation with God. He emphasizes God's mercy. Attention to interpersonal relationships appears to be more important than attention to relationship with God. Demir 1 understands the latter as worship. His image of God is crystallized in his image of the afterlife. The afterworld resembles a courtroom, God is the chief judge in final judgment, and this judge is a resort of merciful decisions who is more inclined to forgiveness.

On the problem of theodicy, the second and third generations endeavour to reconcile the will of God with natural events more than the first generation do. As a result, it is possible to speak of a higher stage of faith development in the cases of second and third generations. Evil is a law of nature. This is in accord with God's will. They find no contradiction in regarding disasters simultaneously as natural events and the will of God. As Yıldız 2 explains, "the moist (logs) burn along with

the dry” (the innocent suffer along with the guilty). As for Akay 2, she offers more empirical interpretations for the problem of evil. She tries to explain it with examples from nature. She gives her handicapped nephews as an example, and strives to understand this in terms of genetic factors, giving biological explanations that connect with the will of God. In any case, “the will of God” is always there.

The intergenerational transfer of the God-image emerging from this research presents the following picture: God images are described with positive reflections. All generations stress God’s mercy and forgiveness. God’s will can be interpreted positively even in worst-case conditions. Those who die in disasters are an example of this: God takes them to his side for their own good, so they might not sin in the future and bring punishment upon themselves in the hereafter (Yıldız 1). All generations believe that God has sent human being to earth in order to test him. What is right depends on one’s intention. In the final analysis, God himself knows what is right and wrong, and will decide accordingly in the afterworld. A perfect trust in God is transmitted from generation to generation. For them, God represents potential good. Concerning the problem of evil, the sufferings human being endures—even matters such as the death of a baby in an earthquake—can be interpreted as salvation in the hereafter. Human is not entirely passive in the face of events in this world (there is no absolute fatalism). Although God has absolute power of free disposal, he is not wholly arbitrary. God is the one who makes the rules and determines fate, but human beings have responsibilities, too.

The core of the image of God as powerful and positive figure has been transferred from generation to the next. From the second to the third there observed an expanding of these images due to their broader life world educational status and thinking patterns. For example the perfect trust on God mentioned above exists with all the generations. Thirds can explain this in details and execute more ideas on their God image as the focus of absolute trust. That is, the core is stable whereas the analysis on this core is more developed by the second and third generations, especially the third ones. Belief in God is more in accordance with the term *tasdiq* in Islamic tradition for the first generation. But it means more than *tasdiq* for the younger generations. They seek the social and psychological meanings in their God images.

5.7.3. Appropriation of the Perception of God in the Three-Generation Process

In the previous section, it has emerged that the changes that occur in the God-images of the three generations are more content-related. The Islamic monotheistic notion of God as “absolute power” is preserved from one generation to the next. The second and third generations display similar images of God. Starting from the early periods of biographies, the existence of God is experienced via actions such as prayers and entreaties.

According to Yavuz (1983), children raised in Islamic culture exhibit less tendency to compare God with human being or other concrete things. In Islamic culture, both in the family and in other fields of religious socialization, it is always suggested that God is one, abstract, unlike anything else, and a being with absolute power beyond human beings. The formation of the God-image is not allowed to chance in the Islamic tradition of religious transference. In every family, the elders shape a God-image that is unique and transcendent in children. This removes the child from a physical shaped understanding of God—with a definite and concrete shape—and orients infants toward a more abstract conception of God. In later stages, this monotheistic and abstract understanding of God begins to be experienced within life according to the religious styles of persons. Because God represents irresistible power, people try to connect with God in troubled times by prayer, asking for help, and religious practices. This situation is more apparent in the third generation in this study. God’s help is expected in every situation, from the most trivial daily matters to the most difficult. In this respect, their God-image is more saving than controlling, more nurturing than judging. In younger generations, the image of a loving God is more prominent: an understanding of God as one who loves and protects, but is also a partner in dialogue, is being formed. There is a tendency changing from “God as judge” to “God as helper” in the generational process.

In older generations, on the other hand, the relationship with God is more unilateral. God is not called upon in simple matters of daily life. His help is invoked only for more comprehensive and abstract wishes. For instance, a person prays to God for the well-being of her children, for the good of the nation, the state, and of humankind. The same holds for younger generations, but in addition, dialogue with God via prayer is also sought in matters of daily life. For example, the God-image of Özkan 2 resembles that of Akay 2: they both seek God within life. This is a clear departure from the perception of the first generation, which conceives of a God beyond life. As for the third generation, it can combine prayers for humanity with those for catching the school bus, not being caught at a red light, passing exams, and getting good grades.

5.7.4. Religiosity

Although the generations in the sample exist within the modern world, families are still successful in transmitting traditional religious values according to the results of the present research (*comp.* Kelek 173). The family is the prime locus that orients all generations in the genesis and formation of religiosity. The members in the sample of this study live in an extended family structure. The generations are in connection nearly each day. With this in mind, within the proximate life world, and especially for young people, the family, relatives, neighbours and acquainted families are influential in moulding religion. In the extended family context, the person is more likely to be in communication with the elements of own religious culture compared to the nuclear family contexts.

According to the results obtained from the present sample, none of the interviewees were willing to have called their status as Moslems into question, so they saw no reason to discuss why they are Moslems. And they do not deny the necessity of religious rituals. Both younger and older generations claim they are unquestionably Moslems. Islamically established rituals—the repetition of daily worship at certain times—form the religious understanding of all three generations. The degree to which the necessity of these rituals is underlined, and whether or not they are performed, depends on the style of religiosity and the centrality of

religion in one's life. Some of them don't practice because they imply their confidence to the forgiveness of God, some of them claim they do not practice because of inefficient religious knowledge and some of them are not accustomed to the religious rituals from childhood on.

As stressed above the necessity of rituals - especially the ritual prayer five times a day- are an accepted theme common in all of the generations. The differences arise how they give meanings to these. The first generations generally do not question the meanings and functions of rituals. The second and third generations try to understand rituals by expanding their conception of religion with ethical and social rules, just as they have tried to enhance their God-image by recourse to the natural sciences. In this sense, the first generation participants deal with the theme what religion is. The second and third generation participants have more interest in the theme of how and what does religion function. The second and third generations have a functional religion and religiosity understanding. The practice of rituals, giving thanks to God, praying, avoiding what is prohibited and the like are regarded by the first generation as criteria of religiosity. The dimension of meaning of these religious acts is left unmentioned, sometimes without explanation and sometimes with the excuse of ignorance. Although the observance of religious practices is considered necessary, many of the first generation admits they are not observant. The fulfilment of Islamic rituals can be impeded in a modern setting depending on conditions of work and health. Those who are lax in this respect at least observe Friday Prayers and practices of folk religiosity: Yıldız 1 arranges meetings for Koranic recitation in his home, offers meals, and makes sacrificial offerings.

In any case, Islam does not theoretically speak of a specific form of religiosity: human's relation with religion is defined in different ways in the Koran and other religious sources. Thus, it is hard to speak of a single theoretical style of religiosity in this sense. In addition to observance, first generations also stress moral principles as criterions of being religious. Every person cites different additional criteria, so that a picture common to all does not emerge. Polat 1, who tries to practice religious observances flawlessly, defines himself as "probably religious." For him, the criterion of religion is to not knowingly commit a sin. He still prefers a

medium, not an extreme, form of religiosity. For him, another criterion of religion is to follow religious principles. God's injunctions are regarded as commands that must be carried out in a hierarchical chain of command.

In the sample, parents are an important source in religion for the first generations. Polat 1 says that if his father had not informed them, they might have strayed. Today he practices his religion as uncompromisingly as he can. For Demir 1 who was not taught religion at home, the situation is more secular. He has not gone on Pilgrimage. He avoids a clear judgment regarding religiosity. He thinks only God can know who are truly religious. He himself cannot do Prayers or fast, because he is sick. Religion is reduced to a private matter between God and a person by Demir 1. The necessity of religious observances is not denied. God's clemency and a feeling of close connection to God lead him to a more relaxed attitude regarding observance. Although his lack of worship bothers him a little, he strongly believes in the forgiveness of God. In his moral judgments, honesty, observance of others' rights, good behaviour, not deceiving others, not overstepping boundaries are cited. These are all Islamic ethical principles.

In short, the first generation stands within the accepted bounds of Islamic traditional religiosity, and makes no attempt to go beyond them. Belief in the necessity of observing religious practices continues unquestioned. Ethical principles are included in religiosity. But the emphasis on the ethical principles as the criteria of religiousness is not as stronger as the second and third generation (especially the third). There is no sign of critical or individual interpretations of rituals and moral principles, and of attempts to invest them with new meaning by the first generation. The first generation finds the prescription for salvation in religion alone. Almost everyone underlines the need for ethical criteria, such as honesty and righteousness. For example, Özkan 1 has been doing Prayers since childhood, giving alms since he has had money, and has gone on Pilgrimage, yet he still does not regard himself as religious. He thinks there are three measures of religiosity: knowledge, education, and religious rituals. But honesty and righteousness come first. On the other hand, although many in the first generation emphasize the importance of ethics, they regard observances as the only salvation when it comes to the afterlife. In Islamic religious education, ethical and

metaphysical subjects are relegated to second place. Rulebook-based education prioritizes religious observances at the expense of personal ethical matters. Because people have little knowledge of the philosophical and metaphysical dimensions of religion, and are unable to produce ideas in this respect, they inevitably tend to favoritize a rigid, ritualistic understanding of religion. This is best observed among the first generations.

The second generation's understanding of religiosity also reflects the Islamic theoretical understanding. Still, it is difficult to speak of a single type of relationship with religion among second generation in the case studies. This relationship is articulated differently by different people. Demir 2's belief that he is getting more religious as he grows older is an example of this. As he matures, avoidance of alcohol, gambling, fornication and so on are interpreted as signs of religiosity. He also mentions other signs of being religious, such as knowledge of the Koran. Hence, he does not regard himself as religious.

Akay 2 sees the protection of others' rights as more important than religious worship. Worship is a relationship between God and man, but usurping another's rights concerns human-human relationships. Altruism is idealized as an indicator of religiosity. Nor are worship and rituals neglected and accepted unnecessary. Akay 2 explains the necessity of rituals by comparing them to sports. She does not regard herself as completely religious because she is not observant.

Polat 2 implies that he is not religious, but is trying to be. He is not sure how religious he is. Preoccupation with worldly things is presented as an obstacle to religiosity. He thinks a person is religious to the extent that s/he shuns materiality and lives religion. By the latter, he intends the practice of rituals. Prayer is very important in religiosity, and for him a life without Prayer is meaningless. In addition to rituals most of the second and third generations strongly highlight the moral rigor and ritual demand in religion. But at the same time most of them hesitate to call themselves as "religious", just because they feel that they do not do enough in terms of obedience and observance. However, they refer implicitly that they have enough quality in the ethical dimension of religion. The threshold for identifying as "religious" is very high because they don't pray daily. Even they pray they hesitate

to claim that they are religious. I think this is because of Islamic ethics. In Islamic ethics to see oneself sufficient in religion is not preferred. Any claim of self-sufficiency in religion indicates one's haughtiness in Islamic ethics. In this sense the person should be modest according to Islamic scholars. In Islamic ethics religiosity or *taqwa* (piety) is a special relation between God and person. This is a condition of heart and cannot be reduced to any religious attitude in this perspective. Religiosity is strongly related with the *niyya* (intentions) of human being. In a tradition attributed to Prophet Muhammed "Works are only rendered efficacious by their intention" (Powers 2004) is said. This may be the theological and moral reasons of people's hesitation of calling themselves as religious.

There could be some other explanations which can be psychologically and theologically established why people hesitate to call themselves "religious". Life conditions, socialization processes and permanence of Islamic religious rituals- especially the daily five times ritual prayers can play some role. The strong emphasis on the necessity of religious rituals is never left by the sample. Maybe for this reason they do not identify themselves as religious. Further, for the Muslims in general, the main criterion of the religiosity is praying five times a day. I think this also has a relation with a Hadith attributed to the Prophet Muhammad. In a by most of Muslims well known Hadith it is said that "*salah* (ritual prayer) is the pillar of religion". In the traditional interpretation, who does not perform daily prayers destroys the pillar of religion. This can be also a reason why people hesitate to identify themselves as religious. The traditional Muslim theologians are very strict in their interpretation of this Hadith. It has been in the Islamic history the scholars who claimed that Islam is more than five Pillars and the six conditions of Faith (Khorchide 2013 23-27; Fazlur Rahman 1966). But the traditional perspective is more common among the first and second generation participants in this sense. Yet the third generation signals the second perspective which defends that Islam is more than rituals. They seek more meaning of prayer or other rituals in the life realities of human being. For them one is not Muslim only with rituals and certain movements in certain times. Islam is more comprehensive than religious rituals and encompasses all dimensions of human life. Hence, the tendency to view the true function of religion as social regulation and contribution to social life is more pronounced in the third generations. The purpose of religious rituals is

articulated more by them, and rituals are invested with social meaning. Fasting and Relaxation Prayers (extra Prayers performed in Ramadan: *tarawih*) have unifying and socially instructive aspects. Yıldız 3, Akay 3 and Demir 3 regard helping people as worship. Their non-observance of Prayer and other forms of worship is never considered to exclude them from the Islamic fold even they deeply believe in its necessity.

All third generations mention the contribution of religiosity to social life and its consolidating effect on social morality. They, too, regard sin as the opposite of religiosity, and treat attacks on other people's rights as behaviour that threatens togetherness, social ethics, and justice. For Akay 3, religiosity does not just cover certain rituals like Prayer, fasting, and Pilgrimage. In the whole of the sample only she considers herself as a religious person, and affirms the necessity of performing all these rituals. However, "getting along well with other people" and "using nature with care" are more important in religion in her account.

Many among the third generations stipulate that performing Prayer cannot be reconciled with violating the rights of people. Worship is necessary for religiosity, but it is not sufficient by itself. In general, the third generation lays greater emphasis on humanistic and universal values. In this sense, the locus of authority takes shape more on an individual basis. To return to the example of Demir 3, he does not do the Five Daily Prayers, but fasts during Ramadan, and never misses Friday Prayer services. The meaning laid on religiosity is shaped around ethical concepts and not rituals. Materiality, jealousy and unfairness are traits to be avoided; a person must always possess goodwill. He criticizes those who neglect the ethical aspect of religiosity, yet does not consider himself religious. Because he does not perform daily prayers. He also points out that religiosity includes Prayer and fasting, but stresses the importance of having a pure heart. For him, worship and one's actions must be in consonance with one another.

It can be said that the necessity of rituals is a common theme between generations, yet its interpretation and practice differ from generation to the next. Here we observe the impacts of term *tasdiq* (acceptance, confirmation) in Islamic faith. For the first generation works (practicing) are a part of faith whereas younger

generation seem to separate between believing and practicing. Even if the younger generations have abandoned the rigid ritualism of the first, there is no departure from traditional, official Islam in their perception of religion. Rather, there is an endeavour to expand, modernize, and develop conventional Islam. At least, they are more open to this. However, their level of education, the traditionalism of their general character traits, and its reflection of familialism, keeps them from developing viable alternatives to the tradition in practical level. To explain this by the example of Yıldız 3; religion (Islam) infuses his life with meaning. He is more interested in understanding the metaphysical aspect of religion and his own existential aspect which is not a theme for his grandfather. The Prophet is the model personality in faith, but he is unable to judge what kind of model he is and in what respect. He does not consider himself religious because he is non-observant. He has the desire to be religious, but he also wants to “live his own life.” By the latter, he means certain things that are not approved by religion, such as drinking alcohol and having fun. He tries to develop a notion about this: even without rituals, a person can remain Muslim. He accepts religion as an instrument of identity and wants to remain a Muslim within the tradition, but implies that he may be sort of independent of religion in his personal life. Still, he does not intend to advance an opposing idea concerning the conventional meaning of rituals, because religion is not an obstacle to living a nice worldly life. Even if he is not religious, his attraction and aspiration to religion persists. He defines religiosity as obeying the commands of the Koran, but does not elaborate on this, implying that he understands the Five Daily Prayers by the contents of Koran. Two definitions of religiosity emerge: one is to practice religion, the other, to possess religious knowledge in Yıldız 3`’s account.

To generalize: compared with the first generation, the younger generations, and especially the third, are prone to questioning the place of rituals within the facts of life. Religious practices and daily worship are not automatically accepted, but assume importance for them to the extent that they contribute to one’s personality and humanity. Islamic practices are assessed in terms of their contributions to self-discipline, the solution of daily problems, and the coexistence of humanity and Islam. Thus, new generations are attempting to reconstruct, reinterpret, and internalize real-life elements that correspond to religious beliefs and rituals. This

explicitly can be accepted as a reference to difference in faith development between generations. Islam gains a new meaning in the thinking and behavioural patterns of younger generations.

In contrast to the strong ethnic, national, and cultural dimensions of religion in the first generation, the younger generations strive to live their faith in a more modern and individual way. In the transference of religion, national themes and imitation based on parents or society decreases from the first generation to the third. As in the case of Akay 1, the first generation often stresses the Turkish race, Turkish nationality and the Turkish flag. The third generation gravitates to a more universal perception of being Muslim. The first generation understood being Turkish and being Moslem as practically identical. For the third, it is equivalent to possessing a global identity. This is the signs of openness to the conjunctive and dialogical religious styles which need to be supported by general educational politics. The search for meaning in religious rituals is more pronounced in the latter. Prayer is regarded more in terms of its ordering of routine daily life than as a debt owed God. Worship is perceived as something more necessary for this world than the next (afterlife). Hence, it is fulfilled with a sense of individual consciousness rather than out of a psychology of fear, and more weight is laid on the meanings of observances in social and daily life.

Viewing the three-generation process in the sample collectively, it is hard to claim that the third generation exhibits complete individuation in the religious sense, and that religious authority becomes oriented from external to internal. They seem widely careful to present them as Muslims either. For belonging to the religious community (*umma*) and the family, and remaining within the framework of these, is a major source of security for individuals from the third generation. They can be integrated to global society only by possessing an Islamic identity. Any attempt to puncture the religious or familial order will result in loss of identity and the use of sanctions against individuals by family and society members. We can find the examples for the consequences of attempting to contradict with the family and the tradition of the society in the case of Yıldız 2. His noncompliance with family rules leads to his exclusion by the family, while the common knowledge that he drinks alcohol prevents his participation—even if occasionally—in the mosque

congregation and, by extension, Moslem society. His complete rejection of Moslem identity would entail very great risk and responsibility, which would only be possible with an impressive philosophy of life and a formidable intellectual style. Neither his level of education, nor his biography is equal to this task.

The first generation kept its distance from native (German) society from the start. Their life themes are different from those of the second and third. They have perceived participation in German society as bearing the risk of cultural alienation. For them, religion also functions as capital that preserves culture. Even today, emphasis on religious tradition serves as a kind of cultural life insurance among them.

According to the results of this investigation, people are engaged in an effort to reconcile religious teachings with the facts of their lives. Some are trying to connect religious observances with being abroad. Conditions of migration cause them to take greater refuge in the concept of mercy. Some interviewees (such as Akay 1) try to justify their religious shortcomings by saying that true religiosity cannot be fully realized in a non-Moslem environment like that in Germany.

Religiosity and moral judgments cannot be separated either in the teachings of Islamic theology or in the perceptions of Moslems. Therefore, the space of religion in Islam is life in its entirety. In classical books on religious beliefs and jurisprudence, the life of a Moslem is divided into three spaces: faith, worship, and ethics (Akseki, 1960). Moslems are educated accordingly; at the very least, official religion aims to convey the basic principles of these three spaces. The concept of sin in Moslem religiosity is treated by official Islam under the category of religious deeds rather than of ethics. As a consequence, people care more about the compliance of a deed with religious practice rather than its ethical substructure in deciding whether that deed is sinful. As per the classical Sunni paradigm, actions are perceived as sinful if God has prohibited them. Hence in people's understanding of sin, the following actions stand forth: alcohol, fornication, lying, fraud, violating others' rights, gossip, stealing (Yıldız 1); abandoning morals and religious rituals, lying, unfairness, opening one's head (dispensing with the headscarf), bearing ill will for another (Akay 1). Lying, stealing, fornication, obeying

the whims of the ego, all leads to sin (Özkan 2). In this sense, sin is regarded as the opposite of religion—as disobeying religious injunctions.

The distinction made in the Sunni paradigm between major and minor sins is reflected in the descriptions of some individuals. Major sins are regarded as involving the rights of others, minor ones as the rights of God (Özkan 1). In the present sampling, sin is generally presented both in connection with the image of this world, and that of the hereafter. Sins are forgiven by God in this world; if left to the afterworld, they will incur punishment (Özkan 1). Hence, a person must repent. Perhaps due to the positive God-image of the sample in general, there is serious hope that sins will be forgiven by God if one repents. Sins are the prohibitions of God, these prohibitions protect people from evil, there are great sins and small ones, sins are upper limits, avoiding them serves the well-being of man. This understanding of sin is pragmatic (Özkan 2).

Although extramarital sexual relations and male-female partnerships were not directly queried in the faith development interviews, responses on this subject emerge indirectly from responses given to other questions. Extramarital sex is sinful: this also emerges in the emphases on children straying from the right path. In people's perceptions, "straying from the right path" stands for an anti-religious mode in general, and also signifies a departure from all moral and social rules.

In sum, religion and religiosity represent significant meaning for the whole sampling across generations. Religion plays an important role in identity formation and self-localization (*Selbstverortung*: where one situates oneself in both the social and the metaphysical worlds). In this context, religious rituals are partly de-emphasized in second and third generations, while the sense of belonging is accentuated.

5.7.5. Understanding of Metaphysical Themes across Generations

In the case studies of the previous section, locus of authority, form of world coherence (personal cosmology) and symbolic function have been brought together under the same heading. An attempt has been made to reconcile the categorizations of Islamic theology with the divisions of faith development. The present section deals with what is known as “the Unseen” in Islam. Classical theology teaches that the Unseen can only be known by God in the final meaning. Although believers are not encouraged to think about these matters in the dogmatic theology, they have been discussed at length in the literature on Islamic prophetic Traditions and on faith precepts. The results have been presented to Moslems as perspectives in the form of presuppositions.

According to findings in this study, with some exceptions, the majority of the interviewee considers the purpose of life to be the testing of human being by God. At the end of this test, life will continue in the afterworld, where we will be held to account by God for our actions in this world. Almost every Moslem shares the belief that the real evaluation will happen in the final judgment court and one will receive reward or penalty. As a result, Moslems tend to devalue this world in comparison to the hereafter. In Islamic belief, life in the hereafter is prioritized. Worldly life is qualified as “of little worth” in Koranic verses, in the Tradition collections, and in the teachings of Islamic scholars. Affirmations of the afterlife and what will happen there are among the most emphasized of religious precepts.

Most of the people interviewed form their image of death according to this precept. As the sampling shows, the general tendency is towards the afterlife image of official traditional religion. According to Özkan 1, this is not the real life. The present life is fleeting; Moslems are here to prepare for their next world. In this sense, death is a transition. People will be held to account for their good and bad deeds in the afterworld (Özkan 1). The hereafter is the place of reckoning, where we harvest what we sow. There will be no forgiveness for violations of others’ rights. Other than that, God can forgive anything. There is a heaven and a hell in the afterlife. It is described as the place where one receives the results of the test.

Hence, truth will be separated from falsehood there (Yıldız 3). The fact that this world is impermanent leads to the notion that whatever belongs to this world is also of little worth. In this context, some people share the belief that money and material things are bad (Yıldız 1, Polat 2). When the subject of religion is broached in the interviews, people begin to talk about the meaninglessness of material things. Nobody states that they experience crises or time of meaninglessness because this world itself is meaningless or worthless. The emphasis on the emptiness of this worldly in the crisis situations functions a coping strategy. According to Yıldız 1, for instance, life has no real value. In reality, this lack of meaning derives from its misuse. To invest life with meaning, one has to do good deeds and get along well with one's neighbours. Another first generation, Polat 1, states the mortality of this world and his lack of interest in it. This conception does not cause him to lead a miserable life or to adopt a strict asceticism. In his view, everyone has to work in this world, earn his sustenance and not be dependent on anyone else. However, the younger, especially the third generations want to see the world as a place worthy of life with its social and ethical dimensions. Religion either means for them rather for this world. For the third generation this world is valuable, temporariness does not devalue it. This world is where we prepare for our afterlife. The third generation differs from the first and second because they draw the meaning of religion to this world.

According to the extant Sunni paradigm, the flow of human life is determined by God. In general, all three generations avoid expressing critical thoughts about fate and the problem of evil. Not what comes from God, but what comes from human beings, should be assessed in the category of evil (Polat 1). Stressing the importance of fate belief in religion none of the generations wholly abandon the will of human beings in terms of behaviour and responsibilities. Life may be a test and the world may have been planned by God, but this does not lead to an absolute fatalism for each generation. Rather, human beings are able to influence their own fate within this system. In the context of faith development theory, this is a perspective that combines Stages 2, 3, and 4. They maintain unconsciously the Islamic Sunni paradigm about the approach to the problem of evil. In this paradigm one is not wholly fatalist or rationalist. Generally the mutual religious style is common for each generation.

Although the similarities in belief about the metaphysical themes, there are certain differences between older and younger generations in terms of the meaning ascribed to the existence of human life in the world. The second and third generations resort to the natural sciences in investing life with meaning. They have not abandoned the Islamic notion that human being is a visitor in this world. An unquestioned power is ascribed to God in metaphysical area. God has tied human creation to certain causes. Everything in the universe operates according to a chain of cause and effect. This is exemplified by Akay 2, who finds that the characteristics of human beings are coded in their genes (DNA). Although traditional Islamic belief is still there, she tries to justify this belief with reason and science. Still, due to lack of sufficient knowledge, neither she nor the other new generations are able to set forth a successful perspective.

Strong familialism is reflected even in the afterworld image of some third-generation youth. For Akay 3, death and the afterlife mean reunion with the family. If one has sinned in this world, one will go to hell; if one has done meritorious deeds, one will go to paradise. This is reflected in the eschatology of all three generations. Only some of them, such as Akay 3, try to interpret the concepts of heaven and hell outside their conventional literal meanings. Hell is associated not with burning but with suffering, and heaven with feeling good. Presumably her good relations with her family lead her to this afterworld image, and so heaven is the place where she will be reunited with her family. She excludes the hellfire in the afterlife and creates a pleasant image of that. The association of hellfire for the sinners is a theme which is conclusive in the traditional official Islam's afterworld image. The initiative of Mrs Akay 3 in this sense can be understood as an indication of hermeneutical potential among the younger generations. In addition to those who describe the afterlife in the classical sense as the place where good will be separated from evil (Demir 3) among the third generation, there are also those who assign it a symbolic meaning and attempt to explain it in terms of modern technological developments. According to Özkan 3 (age 19), for example, death is a passage (*Übergang*). Upon death, she believes, human being enters a standby mode or waiting state, like a digital device. At the end of this wait, one will be resurrected and held to account. She thus attempts to understand death by recourse to technical terms and similes. She exercises her imagination to

internalize death and other symbols, giving examples from technology. We do not observe these kinds of scientific explanations and comparisons by the first generation participants and this is lower among the second generations. Almost all of the third generation highlights such comparisons.

The dichotomy of good and evil continues in almost all third generations. For example, Polat 3 was raised in a more religious family compared to others. Death reminds him of interrogation and angels. He has rather a negative and punitive image of after death. In the afterworld, one's tongue will be muted and one's other organs will bear witness to the deeds performed in this world. Thus, truth and falsehood will stand revealed for him.

The three generations are maintaining Islamic death image in the sample that it will be a resurrection and judgement. God will draw the human being in the account. The goal of human existence in this world is being tested. The differences between generations are emerging in how it proved. The first generations frequently highlight that this world is worthless and life in the Hereafter is valuable. For the second and especially third generations the life in this world is as valuable as hereafter. They believe that the life of Hereafter will be determined by our living style in this world. Only rituals and the worships will not be enough for the final salvation but the moral principles will be the key to the ultimate salvation. Their emphasis on the ethics in the style of religiosity can also be easily observed in their perception of the goal of human life in the world, death and the hereafter.

6. Conclusion

In concluding this research, it will be apposite to make some deductions and suggestions relating to the psychology of religion with a focus on faith development among Muslims, religious education, and Islamic theology.

Taking references from the results of former empirical studies on the Muslim religiosity in Germany, this thesis has also argued that Islam is understood by younger generations in a more modern and individualized way. It is more open to the modern and individual interpretation among young compared to older generations. According to this hypothesis, younger generations raised in a modern Western society are diverging from the traditional folk religiosity of their elders, because their life contexts and education differ from those of older generations and their life topics are more up-to-date. With these in mind, the faith development analyses have shown that the first generation understands religion mostly in a worship- and ritual-centered way. While the necessity of religious worship is accepted by the second and especially third generations, religion is perceived as a part of the subjective self, and all fields of life regarded as within the space of religion. The first generation is the “Republic of Turkey” generation, who has not received proper religious education. Their religious and ethnic identities have been formed in conjunction, and support one another.

The sampling has shown that modern identity and worldviews are gradually formed in younger generations, which support the hypothesis above, they put greater emphasis on the social and ethical dimensions of Islam. Second and third, and especially the third generations generally deal more with the functional dimension of religion.

As has emerged from this study, the faith of younger generations is open to more universal extensions. This should not be understood as a generational break in Islam or a religious metamorphosis. These new faith perspectives should not be relinquished for the sake of tradition in the religious pedagogy of Islam. Rather, the ground should be prepared so that young people can reach more adequate faith

stages, and they should be encouraged in this. Imams, teachers, and others in positions of religious instruction, supervision and counselling should be conscious of the individual differences between their clients. This will prevent limitations on the inner powers of individuals, enhance their self-awareness, and provide the opportunity to aim for a critical and responsible faith, as implied by faith development theory. This is where the real contribution of faith development theory to the fields of education and faith-care lies.

This can also be combined with the perspective of “human liberation” in Islam. The passage from imitative faith to be actualized faith in Islam should be interpreted as the attainment of mental independence and human self-actualization either. Within the framework of faith development theory, models specific to the Moslem community can be developed in the fields of religious education and religious psychological consultation. Within the framework of faith development, any imam, teacher, educator or pastoral care specialist should possess the characteristics of at least Stage 4 (Fowler 1981; Fowler Streib, Keller 2004) or Streib’s individuated systemic religious style (Streib 2001, 152; Ok 2007). In that case will they be able to empathize when listening to, or aiding, those who fall outside the scope of traditional religious belief. In addition, a good knowledge of psychology—as well as theories of personality, the flexibilities of Islamic theology, and historical perceptions—will facilitate better understanding of the religious issues of individuals, and lead to better service.

The determination of the true development and potential areas of development of people, and tailoring educational programs accordingly, can be regarded as a creative perspective in religious development (*comp. Ok, 282*). For in the case studies above, we have often witnessed the potential in many of the second and third generations to achieve higher faith stages or religious styles, but their inability to do so due to lack of knowledge, education, culture and/or language skills. In future studies and novel perspectives, Islamic theologians and religious officials/educators/instructors should pay greater attention to the psycho-social development of human beings. The images of God envisaged by theology, for example, should be conceived in positive ways that contribute to the development

of human beings that foster the sense of responsibility in individuals (*taqwa* in the Islamic sense).

In religious development, it is important for individuals to share their thoughts with others without the fear of being excluded. From the perspective of faith development, individuation is the transition of an individual to the style of “realized faith”, as this is expressed in Islam. It is to assimilate the contents of faith and life experiences after passing them through the filter of criticism. In this task, the faith development model can offer us wider perspectives, enabling a better understanding of Islamic religiosity, and a revision of educational methods to bring them into greater accord with the life experiences of individuals.

An important contribution of the present study is that it suggests a path to social integration and acceptance. In multicultural milieus, it is not enough to understand the values of others, it is also necessary to understand and accept that they *are* “others”. This calls for comprehending and accepting the contextual differences of others. With its strong emphasis on contextuality, the faith development approach provides a wealth of contextual data on the sample that is studied. In the multicultural environment of Germany, the faith development approach will make a significantly positive contribution to Islamic religious courses and the implementation of Islamic teachings. A structural approach to faith is mandatory for dialogue in a multicultural milieu. Although Fowler has pointed out that discriminating between stages using terms such as valuable/valueless is not a suitable approach and that his theory does not intend this, a hierarchy of religious styles is a reality of faith development theory. And it is obvious from the criteria of stages/styles that feelings of responsibility, openness and the capacity for dialogue increase as the levels are ascended.

Fowler's Stages of Faith from 1 to 4, follow Piaget's description of developmental movement from the chaotic structure to the abstract thought through organized logic to draw conclusions from concrete reasoning. Stage 4 suggests more dialectical thinking. Moreover, this view is an adaptation of the changes in cognitive ability that Piaget stated. The same thing is also associated with perspective taking. People become better in gaining perspective of other people

when they become more mature. Thus, if it will provide something for living together in mutual understanding in a multicultural environment, the goal should be to help people to raise their faith Stages to 4 and 5 via education. With the higher stages, the sense of self-centredness loaded into ones symbols will be reduced and highlighting for universal dimensions of symbols will start to rise.

The sample presented in this study generally reflects a simple relativism in considering other religious traditions or orientations. Simple relativism is a characteristic of Stage 3, implying respect for other religious and cultural traditions. Raising this to the level of reflective criticism at the next stage/style will enhance the contextual and dialogical consideration about the others. The dialectic constructive comments on the interiorities of the other people are very essential in dialogue. They will jointly assist individuals on the expansion of the boundaries of social awareness, perspective taking and this will lead to the conclusion that people have more things common between them and differences are also acceptable. It is possible to observe this in the third generations. Their potential indicates the orientation for the expansion towards universal dimension of belief and social consciousness, which needs further support. With this in mind as suggested by Keller and Streib (2013, p.13) wisdom research perspectives in personality psychology can offer helpful data on research in faith development and give insights to develop projects on interreligious negotiations. The projects helping people to develop wisdom-related knowledge will support capacity of people about interfaith dialogue. As it has been shown in a quotation by Keller and Streib from Lindenberger and Staudinger (2006) "People high on wisdom-related knowledge exhibit a more complex and modulated structure of emotions and preferred conflict resolution strategies that are based on dialogue rather than power" (Keller &Streib 2013, p. 11).

The faith development perspective is an approach that can aid theologians, psychologists and educators working in multicultural and multi-religious environments. As this perspective shows us, religion should not be seen as the only shaper of identity, but as one among many. Consequently, defining and classifying people solely according to their religious background will lead to inadequate results in terms of social integration. Religion is only one form of faith,

and as demonstrated in the present research (*comp. Ok 2007: 276*), the areas of faith should also be assessed in relation to the person's surroundings, autobiography, skills, and awareness (or otherwise) of the contents of faith. Further, it is not only religion by which human being constitute his / her ultimate environment. The whole area of meaning making, experiences of life, self establishment etc. constitute the faith of human being relating to the past, present and the future. This approach can enforce the boundaries of interpretation in official Islam. In the faith development approach, belief is not imprisoned within the bounds of institutional religion to the exclusion of other fields. There are deeper sociological and psychological dimensions to faith. Hence in future research on the psychology of religion, many factors that influence faith—such as the inner dynamics of the family, cultural codes and characteristics, the structure of religious symbols, the migration policies of the state, educational institutions, international connections, and the media—should be taken into account. This will also enable a better understanding of Islamic fundamentalism, which is a controversial problem today that threatens social cohesion. Providing an interdisciplinary scientific definition for Islamic fundamentalism, will aid in better comprehension of the issue, and provide associated institutions with the possibility to take realistic measures.

I think the hierarchy of needs by Maslow will play a crucial role in understanding of the faith and religious styles development. As it was shown in the hierarchy of needs in the self actualization and self expression of the human being, multiple factors play role. This would reveal how individuals (fundamentalist leaders) and group atmospheres foster such orientations. This is also similar to the findings of Hart et al (2010) that people that have a secure and dismissing attachment signal higher faith development stages. Such these, many theories and models can be illuminative in understanding of faith development. This is the higher potential of the openness of the faith development theory for the interdisciplinary research.

As shown by individual case studies, younger generations are more open to religious novelty and different forms of interpretation. Hence, spaces should be provided for young people to express themselves better within the society. This will mean more harmonious—and a higher level of—faith development, because identity formation by self-expression is a basis for faith orientation (Ok 2007).

According to past research (Bassett 1985; Ok 2007, p. 275), high intelligence, perception of self, trust, self-confidence, self-sufficiency, dignity, and similar factors are tightly coupled with faith development, and influence the latter in a positive way.

It could be also interesting to research the relation between faith development and the satisfying human's material and spiritual needs. Being satisfied in one need the next needs will rise. This naturally affects the thinking and meaning making patterns of human being. Maslow's self actualization phase is similar to Fowler's universal faith stage. When people fulfil their basic needs at a certain stage of faith development, satisfying the criteria of that stage and themselves achieving sufficient satisfaction, they move on to the next stage. (Fowler 1984, 57). The role of social status and economic contentment in faith development cannot be denied. In the sample of this research, the first generations are mainly embedded their basic physical needs. The second generation refers many times to the challenges of individuation and need to be accepted by their parents and social environments. The third generation is further developed in this sense. They deal more with the global problems and universal ethics. This indicates us the needs of different generations were different in their life contexts. The hierarchies of needs and its effect on the faith development could be an exciting research in this sense. Satisfying in one need probably brings structural and content difference in faith.

In the present research, the first generation has been identified mostly as being at Stages 2 and 3, the second generation as Stage 3, and the third generation as Stage 3 (with a few exceptions who are at Stage 4). In the symbolic-function aspect of faith, the perspectives of folk religion are dominant in the first generation, while the perspectives of conventional and book-based religiosity predominate in the second and third generations. Faith development scores of 2 and 3 (or 3 and 4) for the same persons support Streib's suggestion that faith development grading should be "domain-specific." This makes it difficult to speak of rigid barriers between stages as implied by Fowler. Thus, the findings of this research supports Streib's perspectives. In the assumption of religious style perspective of Streib, more than one style can be present simultaneously. And the criterions of different stages can overlap for one style. This has been observed in many cases

above. Therefore, sample interview quotes and examples about stage assignments are needed in a future faith development manual, since interviewers and researchers have difficulty in comprehending the characteristics of dimensions and stages on first encounter.

It emerges that faith development in stages may not be consecutive, but may exhibit different levels of development depending on dimension. Because the number and type of participants were limited in this study, it has been possible to demonstrate this only for the case of Moslems with conventional tendencies. Hence, this requires further clarification in the future, which may be accomplished by a longitudinal study. As the selected case studies show, results have been obtained for aspects of stages 2 and 3, and partly of Stage 4. This is indicative of traditional and folk Islam, and Stage 4, which points to individuation, is observed among younger generations. This is a stage that requires greater analytical and reflectional thought and a meta-level view of own-biography, surroundings, relations, and faith contents. It cannot be said that this was abundantly illustrated in the sample. In general, there is a desire in young people to transition from imitative (mythic, conventional) faith to realized faith. Awareness of this can be raised by means of guidance, faith-care work, and similar projects.

It may be asked: Why are there more examples of Stages 2 and 3 than of Stage 4? This has to do with the long-standing traditionalism of Turkish society, and with the concern to protect the family under Diaspora conditions (as explained at length in the introductory parts of this thesis). For Turks, the condition of migration has become a sociological reality. For them, greater traditional belief means greater family unity. As a result, families tend to increase the dependency of their children instead of encouraging their independence. Against the backdrop of the atomized family structure of German society, this is condoned and continued by Turkish family elders. As Ok suggests, a resistance to individuation has been a reality in the Turkish society (*comp.* Ok 2007, p. 273). It should be considered that if family cohesion and social traditions need to be protected, this can be also achieved via individual forms of belief.

In the sampling of this study, Islam constitutes the basis of worldviews. The Koran and religious concepts contribute to the formation of spiritual and social life perspectives. In future studies on the psychology of religion and interdisciplinary religious research, the difference between the normative style of Islam and the life worlds of believers should be discussed. The life worlds and life realities of the samples studied will help to better understanding of religious orientations of Moslems. This should have practical reflections on both Islamic theology and religious education. If these two can provide a meaning assignment to the realities of life that is functional in every respect, new generations will regard engagement with religious institutions as worthwhile and will take them seriously. Historical religious messages and conceptions should also be interpreted in a way that addresses today's conditions and problems, and new approaches should be regarded, not as threats, but as natural processes that arise from needs.

Although an empirical introduction to adult images of God has been made in the present study, the subject needs greater attention. Future studies will help to illuminate how the attributes and image of God take shape and develop in biographies. For this purpose, an empirical analysis of childhood God-images is important. A triangulation in qualitative research methods should be adopted in such a study, and different age groups should be investigated. This may provide rich data on early images of God in Islam. Such an approach may also provide an opening for the development of practical theology as a branch of science in faculties of theology.

According to Aygün, many Turkish Moslem parents in Germany concentrate on a punitive image of God in educating their children. It is related from Özeri that under conditions of migration, families emphasize a "burning and punishing" God in order to prevent inappropriate conduct in the child (Aygün 2013:189). Although the sampling of this study also reveals similar findings, this may not be limited to Diaspora conditions. The fear-based authoritative style of religious education is extant among lower-income conservative Moslem families, as also observed in the present study. This is not limited to migration. Moslems elsewhere in the world also favour the fear factor (the punishment of God) in religious education. An individual who assimilates a punitive image of God in early life is in danger of

regarding self as worthless, and disregarding religious injunctions and prohibitions, not taking them seriously, or drifting away from these in later life. A wholesome basis for religious development will be provided by the establishment of a healthy relationship between self and the transcendent from childhood onwards. This is only possible in the presence of a positive worldview and the development of a realistic personal cosmology in the individual. It is the duty of Islamic theology and education to correct God-images and religious conceptions that cannot be integrated with rational reality and ethical goals of human life. For this, a model of religious education is necessary that does not ignore the findings of modern science and can squarely face the facts of life. A religious education based on the simplest rulebooks (*ilmihal*) and oriented to rote learning will not help generations raised in Germany to solve their existential problems, or contribute to their self-enhancement (*comp.* Aygün p. 190). This is supported by the observation that, although Mr. Yıldız 3 and many others like him have been subjected to sermons and religious lessons for decades, they claim to remember almost nothing of even the most basic religious precepts.

Former Typologies and my Findings: It will be also apposite here to search some connections between my study and the findings of other qualitative researches in similar area. According to my observation, younger generations are traditional in general meaning, yet, at the same time they have very special spiritual interest in religion which described in the *spiritualist* type of Karakaşoğlu – Aydın or *universal* type of Klinkhammer. The young people do not deny and leave the dogmatic and ritualistic dimension of Islam; they are open to interpret that. They are strongly convinced that they are governed by a transcendent being, God, Allah. They seek social profits in religion. Secular religious tendencies are also to be found in the participants, as many participant express religion being as a private issue between God and person.

The young people seeking social and ethical profits in religious rituals can be evaluated also in the category of *pragmatist ritualists*, and can be evaluated in the category of *ideal ritualists* which identified by Karakaşoğlu-Aydın or *traditional* types by Aygün and Klinkhammer or *cultural* and *utopian* types by Tietze. Like these, in one participant, it is possible to observe in my study the intersection of

traces and criterions of different typologies suggested by Tietze, Klinkhammer, Karakaşoğlu- Aydın, Günay and Aygün. That is to say, in the light of faith development/religious styles analysis of my cases we can mention for a person to ethicalize religion in one dimension of life, politicize in other dimension, traditionalize, ideologize or utopiate in further dimensions. Emphasis on ethical and social dimension of religion and religiosity are also observed in the first generations which can be described with folks or traditional religiosity generally.

Younger generations in my study are more zealous and have desire to the knowledge oriented dimension of religion but their religiosity is not still supported by a serious intellectual orientation to the Islamic sources. Similar is also observed in the *traditional* style of Klinkhammer`s participants. In *universalizing* style determined by Klinkhammer, the participants highlight more global meaning patterns, and they seem to leave the practice and ritual oriented patterns of religion. In my cases the younger generations seek ethical and transcendental meanings in the rituals and try to interpret religious practices but they confirm the importance of the worships either. Even they do not practice, the conviction about maintaining compulsory (fardh) daily, monthly and yearly worships still stays at the fundament of their understanding of religiosity. They ascribe more importance and seek universal and ethical meaning and values on the one hand, and they strongly believe in the necessity of practicing religion on the other.

There is a tendency to internalize and privatize religious control among Muslim young people in Germany in the account of former qualitative researches. Nökel (2007), Tietze (2003), Klinkhammer (2000), Karakaşoğlu-Aydın (2000) determined that there is a change in accordance with the European conditions in the religious orientations of young immigrant generations living in Germany. My findings support this idea, but only partly. According to my impression, this is only at a level of interest among the younger generations. It is a little bit early to speak about a real endeavour for establishing a knowledge oriented Islam and a philosophical based ethic and life understanding which takes its references from Islamic conceptions and combining these with western humanistic and universal understanding. My participants in general, and even the younger generations studying at the universities, do not have much activity in learning and explaining

Islamic sources so that they can create an Euro -type of Islam. But they have this potential and interest.

Finally, the faith development interviews for this study have provided a rich source of data regarding the biographies of individuals, their faith contents, and also their modes of reflection on these. As mentioned above, Stages 2 and 3 have been found to predominate, with some dimensions of Stage 4 displayed in younger generations. How this evolves through the years both in terms of content and structure remains an exciting subject for future research. From a lifespan development perspective, a person can have different faith stages or styles in different sequences of life. As an example, a 48-year-old man interviewed in the present study was full of enthusiasm for the imam of his mosque, with whom he was also friends. Two years after the interview, the same man directed harsh criticism at the same imam for being wasteful in mosque expenditures. He claimed that wastefulness was a concept he had picked up from the imam himself. This reflects an acute perspective change in the context of the imam: a person who earlier was an unquestioned religious authority is now criticized. For this reason, it is intended to return to the present findings in a longitudinal study in the future, and to conduct fresh interviews with those participants who will still be available at that time.

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