

Gender-Related Particularities in the Identity of Young Muslims Living in Germany

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Abstract: Against the background of migration, globalization and nationalization, questions arise about the identity formation of young Muslims living in Germany. Gender-related characteristics of identity are of utmost relevance for the individual in order to be able to successfully locate oneself in modern society. In this article, we examine gender-specific differences between young Muslim women and Muslims with a Turkish migration background who grew up in Germany. We aim to answer the question of how the social, cultural, and ethnic identities of young Muslims growing up in Turkish immigrant families were formed, and to what extent gender differences between young men and women exist here. This question is particularly interesting as young Muslims with a migration background stand at the intersection of different ethnic, cultural, religious and political worlds and have to cope with the task of forming their own processual identity. In this qualitative study, 50 interviews were conducted with young Muslims aged 18-25 whose parents or grandparents migrated from Turkey to Germany. The interviews were audio-documented, transcribed, and imported into the qualitative software program *atlas.ti*. The analysis was structured by a codebook consisting of structural and open codes. Furthermore, co-occurrence analysis was used to examine the co-occurrence of open and structural codes verified through an interrater reliability calculated using the statistical measure Krippendorff's alpha. The results show that society and culture have a great influence on young Muslims. The development of identity shows significant gender-related characteristics: Young women describe a predominantly good, especially professional, integration into German society. In their Turkish family, however, they tend to encounter criticism, alienation and devaluation. The men are more likely to report discrimination and experiences of disintegration. On the other hand, they experience fewer conflicts in their Turkish family; as sons, they are held in higher esteem than the daughters. These findings reveal divergent expectations placed on men and women by Turkish and German society, which influence their identity formation, but also their inner-emotional conflicts. A hybrid migratory identity represents a valuable resource for shaping transnational and postmodern life-worlds.

Keywords: Muslim, Migration, Gender, Oedipus Complex, Integration, Qualitative Research

1. Introduction

Already at the beginning of the 20th century, close political relations existed between Turkey and Germany. After World War II, the focus of these relations was on economic and trade relations [11]. Migration of labor from Turkey on a large scale began, especially with the bilateral

recruitment agreement in 1961. The number of Turkish migrants rose from 6,800 in 1961 to 910,500 in 1973. The continuing increase in the Turkish population in Germany since then is the result of births, family reunification or marriage migration and asylum immigration.

Looking at the situation of Turkish women, these changes began decades before the great migration movements of the

1960s and 1970s. In the Arab world, the jurist Qāsim Amīn published the groundbreaking books "The Liberation of the Woman" and "The New Woman" at the turn of the century, which called for the modernization of Egypt and, among other things, the abolition of veiling [4]. Subsequently, Muslim women themselves also stood up for their rights: in 1923, this development culminated in the appearance of the Egyptian women's rights activist Hudā Sha'rāwī, who took off her veil in front of the public [1]. In Turkey itself, these upheavals are linked to the establishment of the Turkish Republic [2]. For example, in the 1920s, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the state, carried out his modernization project of a pro-Western "Kemalism" with two goals: 1.) the Westernization of political, economic and social life, and 2.) the banishment of Islam from the public sphere. An important component of this modernization project, according to Aksoy (2014), was the upgrading of women: in 1924, educational institutions were secularized, religious schools were banned, and compulsory education for boys and girls was introduced [2]. In 1934, the Turkish parliament introduced women's suffrage at the national level. This equality enforced "from above" drew a new female ideal, namely the image of the pro-Western, modernly dressed and well-educated Turkish woman. On the other hand, the scope of these Kemalist reforms was limited. Islamic patriarchal structures persisted, especially in rural areas, and the majority of Turks clung to traditional values. In the 1990s, Turkey was confronted with increasing internal social conflicts, which were triggered by the rise of political Islam and Kurdish autonomy aspirations, among other things. Nevertheless, further reforms were initially implemented, for example in connection with Turkey's accession process to the European Union: In 2001, civil law was reformed again, and equal treatment for women and men was enshrined in marriage, divorce and property law. In the last ten years, however, the conservative image of women of the AKP government, which has been in power since 2002, again took over. As a counter-model to the concept of "gender equality," the concept of "gender justice" is now being propagated. Its origins in the traditional Islamic gender order. This describes a complementary role of women and men and has its origins in the traditional Islamic gender order [3]. Surprisingly, the AKP government succeeds in making its conservative projects attractive to women (especially in rural areas). Today's religious-based social policies promote the submissive role of women, but on the other hand, they convey feelings of protection and recognition. Thus, today the position of Turkish women is characterized by great contradictions. There are worlds between the freedom of upper-class women in metropolitan areas and the lives of women in traditional families living in the outskirts of big cities or in the countryside [2]. Accordingly, Turkey today (2020) ranks 130th out of 154 in the Global Gender Gap Report on gender equality, while Germany still ranks tenth [27].

The situation of Turkish migrant women in Germany must also be viewed against this background. In particular, studies conducted since the 1990s on young women with a Turkish migrant background contradict the widespread stereotypical

image that Turkish girls are primarily dependent victims of patriarchal family structures who break down due to the conflicting demands of the outside world (emancipation) and the parental home (subordination) [11]. These findings also reflect the process of emancipation, which since the 1920s has given Turkish women - especially in urban areas - more freedom, legal equality, and the possibility of a Western lifestyle.¹ Edthofer & Obermann (2007) interviewed Turkish mothers and their daughters in Austria [17]. While the mothers grew up predominantly with many siblings in rural areas of Turkey, the majority of the daughters spent their childhood in smaller families and in an urban environment. Most of the mothers were unable to realize their educational aspirations, unlike their daughters. Mothers married at a young age, while daughters often postponed starting a family until after their education. Here, various studies point to the great importance of success at school for parents from the first generation of migrants [12].

Behind the scenes, however, traditional patterns are still evident in the upbringing of the Muslim girl today. In terms of their personal leisure time, girls are more regimented [51]. The educational goals of Muslim families are mainly related to a cohesion in foreign countries (as an "ethnic community") as well as to the professional success of the children [31]. Accordingly, Muslim girls in educational institutions appear predominantly adapted, inconspicuous and successful [51].

Comparatively little research has dealt with the "Turkish man". What is described is the diversity of Turkish ideals of masculinity. This can be explained, among other things, by the fact that Turkey, as the successor state of the Ottoman Empire, has inherited its multiethnic and multireligious heritage, and that it has been shaped by the pro-Western policies of Atatürk and his successors [50]. Conservative forms of Turkish ideas of masculinity can be seen, for example, in the "family patriarch" who directs the fortunes of the family. Under Atatürk, a new ideal of masculinity was created that was oriented toward Western models. This rift through Turkish society continues to divide ideals of masculinity to this day [53]. In recent years, moreover, the traditional ideal of masculinity - analogous to the restorative efforts with regard to the position of women - has once again come to the fore under the influence of the increasingly Islamist AKP government [31, 49].

For the Turkish men of the first migration generation who came to Germany, migration began with an often traumatic farewell to their homeland. Often, the men left their families behind in Turkey. To this day, the biographies of many Turks living in Germany seem to be marked by homesickness and the feeling of being excluded [32]. The negative image of the

¹ Surveys on the religiosity of young Turkish women in Germany, most of whom were well-educated, show that adolescent Muslim women (and Muslims, too) consciously turn to Islam in their search for an authentic way of life [40]. Belonging to Islam enables them to "remain in a common sphere of experience with their parents." What is characteristic, however, is the personal demarcation of a "true Islam," whose contents can be acquired almost scientifically, from "traditionalist Islam," which demands the unquestioned adoption of a rigid set of values [11].

Turkish man that often exists in Germany has a long history: this resentment has been consciously constructed by the nobility, the emperor, and especially the European clergy since the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, transported through various spheres (such as language, religion, music, literature), and cast in one-sided stereotypes (e.g., of threatening aggressiveness) [50]. In the end, today's resentment towards the "Islammacho" is also part of this tradition [10]. The striving for "phallic visibility", however, meets with a negative response in the feminist Western world. Thus, the development of Turkish men is determined by the contradiction of family idealization and social devaluation [51]. This problem is also reflected in the fact that young Muslims are more likely (than natives) to drop out of school, are more likely to become unemployed, and have a higher crime rate [24]. Especially in large German cities, young Turkish Muslims are considered the most disadvantaged of the German education system [8].²

In this article, we now examine gender-specific differences between young Muslim women and Muslims with a Turkish migration background who grew up in Germany. The concept of *identity* is relatively new. It was only introduced towards the end of the 19th century and is a philosophical term of art intended to denote a "unity of essence" [13]. Based on Freud's concept of identification, the view of an identity that is primarily processual and fluid persists to this [30]. Permanently, the sense of identity is revised, recreated, and transformed. This process takes place in the field of tension between the individual's self-perception and the influences of the socio-cultural environment [30, 39]. and is particularly interesting when the individual is at the intersection of different socio-cultural influences, traditions and upheavals. We hope that in the introduction we have been able to show something of the field of tension in which young Muslim women with an Islamic or Turkish migration background find themselves today. The Gender theory offers a particular way of describing such a processual identity. Gender identity is no longer understood as biological, but rather as a consequence of various, conscious and unconscious sociocultural influences and normative behaviors of the environment [9, 14, 34]. In this study, we aim to answer the question of how the social, cultural, and ethnic identities of young Muslims growing up in Turkish immigrant families

were formed, and to what extent gender differences between young men and women exist here. This question is particularly interesting as young Muslims with a migration background stand at the intersection of different ethnic, cultural, religious and political worlds and have to cope with the task of forming their own processual identity. This task is intensified by migration, but may already have been posed by the fact that the migrants' country of origin, Turkey, is itself at such an identity crossroads.

2. Methods

2.1. Sample and Study Design

In summer and fall 2018, we conducted a total of 50 research interviews with Turkish Muslims between the ages of 18 and 25 in the form of a cross-sectional study. This study was approved by the ethics committee of the University of Luebeck on 10.10.2017. In order to achieve the broadest possible social stratification of the sample, we attempted to canvass our subjects both in the university and in Islamic communities, associations, and counseling centers in northern Germany. However, we encountered significant reluctance toward our project in Islamic institutions. Only members of one Islamic community agreed to participate in the study. Therefore, the majority of our subjects were students. The Muslims participating in the study ($N = 50$) were 18 to 25 years old ($M = 22.32$, $SD = 1.93$), in a gender distribution of 50% female subjects and 50% male subjects. Female subjects ($n = 25$) were 18 to 25 years old ($M = 22.24$, $SD = 2.13$) and male subjects ($n = 25$) were 18 to 25 years old ($M = 22.40$, $SD = 1.76$). Female and male subjects did not differ in age ($U = 305.50$, $Z = -0.14$, $p = 0.89$). Three subjects were about to graduate from high school (6%), 3 subjects were vocational students (6%), 7 subjects were employed in predominantly manual occupations (14%), and 37 were students (74%).

Interviews were conducted using a semi-structured interview guide. Questions covered the following areas: Relationship experiences, self-awareness/self-image, conflicts and traumatic experiences, bodily experiences, gender identity, and migration. We invited participants to speak freely about themselves, their thoughts, and their world. The interviews were audio-documented, transcribed, and imported into the qualitative software program *atlas.ti*.

2.2. Qualitative Data Analysis

First, we conducted a sample coding of the first ten interviews. Based on these codes, a codebook was created, which served as the basis for coding all interviews. Structural and open codes were designed and ideas and observations were recorded in memos during the analysis process. The process was continuously supervised.

The structural codes (SC) were derived from social science theory. These were deductively created even before the interviews were coded. They contain the different forms of the identities surveyed here (social, cultural, ethnic) as well as questions regarding gender identity, e.g. regarding the

² Even though the sample of our study is binary, i.e. consists exclusively of heterosexually oriented subjects, reference should be made here to the situation of the LGBTIQ* community in Turkey (LGBTIQ* = lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, intersex and queer people). The history of the Turkish LGBTIQ* community is extremely dynamic: On the one hand, partnerships outside heteronormative ideas have been recognized as legal in Turkey since 1852. On the other hand, today there is a radical change in government policy towards representatives of the LGBTIQ* community. AKP representatives oppose anti-discrimination laws. Public events (e.g. the so-called Gay Pride) are banned or broken up with police violence. Various associations report raids, arrests and detentions. Despite this discriminatory attitude of the government, there has been an increased visibility of the LGBTIQ* community in recent years (e.g. in the form of student protests at Bogazici University in 2021). Representatives of the queer movement stand together not only against homophobia, but also against sexism, racism, ableism, and class- and milieu-specific discrimination [15, 16, 51].

image of women, or the image of men. During the data analysis of the first ten interviews, open codes (OC) were developed inductively, derived from the respondents' statements. All codes were described in a codebook with a definition and anchor examples. The other 40 interviews were coded using this codebook. Memo writing was used to record all ideas, associations, and mini-theories during the coding process [26]. Furthermore, co-occurrence analysis was used to examine the co-occurrence of open and structural codes (Please refer to the Appendix).

Interrater reliability (agreement between two raters) was

calculated using the statistical measure Krippendorff's alpha. In the present study, all codes show excellent interrater agreement ($\alpha = .99$).

3. Qualitative Results

3.1. The Women

With the code *cultural identity*, the open codes *religion* ($n = 31$), *father* ($n = 20$) and *interpersonal conflicts* ($n = 18$) appear. The occurrence-analysis is displayed by table 1.

Table 1. Co-Occurrence-Analysis of women regarding structural Codes as well as Open Codes.

	Cultural Identity	Ethnic Identity	Social Identity	Image of Men	Image of Women
Open Codes					
Appreciation			15		
Collectivistic Structure			14		
Disappointment		10			
Family			31	9	
Father	20			17	18
Interpersonal Conflict	18	32		9	
Mother				11	29
Religion	31				
Stigma		51			
Triangulation					19

In the interviews, the respondents report on their *cultural identity* primarily when it is connected with *religious* decisions. Here, the wearing of the headscarf plays a major role in determining who the female subjects are. With the onset of adolescence, the following respondent decided to express her Islamic identity by wearing a headscarf:

"I started wearing the headscarf exactly ten years ago, when I was in the sixth grade and I discussed it with my teacher that I wanted to do it. And then introduced to me, what in general the headscarf is and which other cultures also do it, that was quite good, but what happened then was, people realized, that's someone else."

Despite the teacher's guidance, the subject had to accept the alterity experience as a devout Muslim.

Such decisions can also lead to *interpersonal conflicts* within the Turkish family, especially between mothers and daughters. The headscarf expresses whether a woman is for or against Kemalism, the Western lifestyle, female emancipation or Islam and its traditions. Identifications with role models or close persons form a dense and multi-layered motivational network that significantly influences the decision to wear a headscarf. For example, one of the respondents, whose aunt is a successful academic and wears a headscarf, sees it as a sign of emancipation. Another respondent uses the headscarf to distinguish herself from her mother, who refrains from wearing a headscarf for fear of discrimination. For other women, the headscarf stands for their own autonomy from the liberal-secular family, which brought this secular style with it from Kemalist Turkey.

The position of the *father* as the traditional head of the family is certainly problematized in the interviews. At the same time, the daughters acknowledge a certain openness and liberality on the part of the fathers, which is due both to

(professional) contact with German society and to a Kemalist influence. In general, the fathers of the test subjects, who are mostly students themselves and belong to the middle or upper class, are described as rather liberal, even if they feel connected to tradition. In this respect, the cultural identity, e.g. being a young, emancipated woman who makes her own choice of partner, tends to be supported by the fathers. This is how one female respondent reports:

"But my dad speaks to me a lot. He keeps asking me if I'm talking to anyone. He recently approached me about a boy who wanted to get to know me and asked me whether I would like to or not, whether I had written with him or not. I just said I didn't want to. So he's quite relaxed, also quite open in that regard."

For the young Muslim women, their social identity is an important topic ($n = 92$). In this context, the terms family ($n = 31$), esteem ($n = 15$) and collectivist structure ($n = 14$) are mentioned most frequently. Thus, family has a markedly high value for most of the women (as, incidentally, it does for most of the men). The myth of friendly cohesion between parents and children or siblings and relatives is regularly invoked:

"For me, the most important thing at the moment is, of course, my family and family cohesion. Of course, I think it's nicer when we're all together. It's just the way you imagine a friendly relationship. You live in one house. We see each other around the clock. And it's just the way it is, I have very good friendly contacts and I also maintain them. But my siblings are also my friends for me. And for me they're my best friends."

The family is also at the top of the list in terms of (*mutual*) esteem. Accordingly, the entire Turkish community is described as collectivist (in the sense of *collectivist*

structures) in line with the family model: *"Turkish society is very collectivist. I like that."* - In this respect, the young women experience themselves as pronounced family beings who strive for harmony and for whom being raised in the family is extremely important. Many of the young women interviewed place family harmony above their own desires, which may diverge from the interests of the family. Thus says one respondent:

"Well, I have the impression that the family is very important, so that you stick together, yes, that you are such a unit, I think that's pretty Turkish, because it's kind of very familiar and yes, it is also still the case that it is difficult for me to say bad things about my family in front of others, because that's how it is, yes, I want to protect my family somehow, and we stick together and yes, I think that's something beautiful."

Nevertheless, some women report conflicts and difficult relationships they have, especially with their mothers, which shape their problematic, basically split social identity: Here the question arises whether the female subjects identify with their mothers or are in rivalry with them. Thus, the following respondent comments on the quarrel with her mother, her rivalry with her mother and her own efforts to individuate:

"It's very ambivalent with my mother, sometimes it's very good, yes, very good, and sometimes it's not that good. Most of the time there's even a lot of arguing. It is also this comparison: I experienced something completely different than my mother and therefore she probably undertakes an unconscious comparison and then sees everything that she could have had in me and I think that then leads to a certain resignation or to a certain sadness and yes, then I think she has the feeling that she has to upgrade herself with other things. For example, I can't cook, or cook that well, or clean that well, or just do other things (...). It's pretty impressive, to be honest, that I've developed completely into the opposite of my mother, actually."

Ethnic identity (n = 88) is mentioned comparatively rarely. Among the open codes, *stigmatization* (n = 51), *interpersonal conflict* (n = 32), and *disappointment* (n=10) appear most frequently. Often, the young women describe being stigmatized as Turkish immigrants. They react to racist remarks primarily with feelings of *disappointment*. In contrast to men, they are more likely to report discreet experiences of stigmatization or - probably in the context of the high pressure to adapt described above - also experience them less seriously than men:

"Two months ago I had someone who asked me if I had German roots and I said no, I have Turkish roots, and then she said yes, we like foreigners like you. And so I'm like ok, what do you mean by foreigners like me? And then she said yes, those who just do something and those who are new here, we don't like them."

In the context of ethnic identity, interpersonal conflicts can play a role, but they tend to be rational and less emotional. In the following example, the respondent argues with her academic career when she was insulted because of her headscarf.

"I went to the doctor, where the older man insulted me because of my headscarf. I could just say, for example, that I am a student, am in the xxx semester and am studying xxx."

The Muslim women's image of women, which is reported in detail (n = 180), is determined primarily by the motives of the mother (n = 29), *triangulation* (n = 19), and the role of the father (n = 18). From this perspective, the image of women is very clearly shaped by triadic, intra-family relationships. The mother is described via the attributes "providing," "nurturing," and "organized." The pattern of "giving without expecting anything" seems to define the image of the mother or mothering well. Analogous to the "gender equity" model currently promoted in Turkey, motherhood and femininity are closely linked in the subjects' image of women. One female respondent sums up this view as follows: *A woman is a mother.* One could also say that this means: *As a woman, I have to be a mother.* Compared to fathers, mothers (n = 18) are often described as more emotional, more temperamental, but also more dominant. Due to the frequent, usually professional absence of the fathers, the mothers take over important educational decisions that are hardly questioned on the part of the fathers.

"So my mom is very organized and sometimes, very roughly speaking takes the lead. My dad doesn't know about anything, she just handles most of it, she knows about everything."

Often the subjects talk about the triangle of mother, father and daughter (as in the example above). However, the position of the third party is often occupied by motives such as school, education or professional achievement, so that the paternal position, which tends to be undermined by the low level of family involvement, seems to be strengthened with the help of this form of triangulation. However, the mother's powerful position within the family is contrasted by a tendency toward passivity, closed-mindedness, and low integration in society. In the interviews, the young women often reflect on missed opportunities in their mothers' lives without talking about them within the families themselves. They often speak of feelings of guilt at not being able to meet maternal expectations (of loyalty). Especially loyalty to the Islamic faith and its rituals, which determine the family's spiritual milieu, appear as a kind of "reparation" with regard to one's own individuation aspirations. In this field of conflict, not only feelings of guilt appear, but occasionally also a guilty restlessness and agonizing fear of doing something wrong (namely, of being more independent, professionally successful and emancipated), which are accompanied by psychosomatic symptoms (e.g., dizziness). In this respect, the female identity is actually a split one, resulting from an identification with the mother (woman = mother) and a counter-occupation (woman = emancipated, professionally successful). The counter-occupation is supported by triangulation, as by turning to the father or the educational system as a third party.

3.2. The Men

Men speak most frequently about their *ethnic identity* (n =

94), and mainly in connection with the topics of *disappointment* (n = 12). Table 2 shows the occurrence-analysis of *stigmatization* (n = 67), *interpersonal conflicts* (n = 41), and

Table 2. Co-Occurrence-Analysis of men regarding structural Codes as well as Open Codes.

	Cultural Identity	Ethnic Identity	Social Identity	Image of Men	Image of Women
Open Codes					
Ambivalence	12				
Appreciation	11		21		7
Collectivistic Structure			12		
Disappointment		12			
Family	6		25		
Father				13	
Interpersonal Conflict	11	41		11	
Mother					11
Professional Achievement				8	8
Religion	12				7
Stigma		67			7

Many *stigmatization experiences* as well as *conflicts* are reported, even if some subjects try to put these experiences into perspective with positive experiences:

"I have had both experiences. Good and also bad. I've also heard full-on racist stuff. That has all happened. But I think that's part of the life of a migrant (laughs). Shouldn't be, but it's always there. No, but it is also amazing how many others there are who have also shown they're committed to us."

"I wouldn't immediately label myself as a Turk or a German. And whoever gets crooked, for example, 'You're a Turk, then be a Turk', I immediately keep my distance from them, that doesn't work for me."

The young men feel badly hurt by the xenophobic and Islamophobic discrimination, and their ethnic identity is in danger of being negatively damaged ("broken") and inferiorized by this resentment. They often express feelings of disappointment:

"I find it very sad that such high criteria are imposed. And a person's psyche, of course, is destroyed by it. A whole country hates you."

They often report an inner, conflicted ambivalence about being Turkish or German. Their longing for "correctness" or "completeness" is frustrated:

"You're never a real Turk, but you're not a complete German either, you just can't be, because the cultural space is different."

Thus, *relationships, especially within the Turkish family*, come to the fore in a compensatory way. As a counter-image to the damaged identity as a migrant, a positive image is built up as a hospitable, generous and proud Turkish man:

"Because we as Turks, we are hospitable people. You can't lump everyone together, of course there are such and such, but on the whole I don't find Germans as hospitable now as Turkish families. I feel more comfortable with my Turkish friends."

Cultural identity is also spoken about very frequently, especially in connection with topics of religion (n = 12), ambivalence (n = 12), appreciation (n = 11), conflicts (n = 11) and family (n = 6). Mostly, the faith or religion is reported or the family in which the religion and its rites are

cultivated:

"I grew up Islamic. My parents didn't raise me strictly, but then I still learned about the culture through friends. I also went to mosque for a while."

The cultural differences between Turkish and German culture lead to *ambivalences and conflicts*. Just as women do not reconcile the identification with their mother (as a fertile, emotional, but also envious woman) with the identity as an emancipated, Western, professional woman, men find it difficult to reconcile the proud Turkish identity with a German identity that devalues the Turkish one.

"It is a critical situation. It's not always easy with Turkish culture and German culture together. It's all not so easy, I think. Sometimes there are differences in perceptions."

On the other hand, there is also an *appreciation* of German culture: characteristics such as punctuality and reliability are mentioned here again and again:

"No, this is really an issue. The (Turks) can't get that right. Punctuality. They take some things much more casually than the Germans. They just say yes, it'll be fine."

Social identity (n = 79) is the least frequently reported. Again, this is about *family* (n = 25), *esteem* (n = 21) and the *collectivist structure* (n = 12). The family as a collectivist structure is clearly determinant for the social identity of the young men. They are "family beings" in an unbroken way: loved by their mother, respected as sons by their father, who is a role model. A clear *appreciation* of the family dominates. Thus says the following respondent:

"The relationship with the family has always been good, so with us it has always been good: with me, my parents, my uncle, aunts, cousins, because we often do something together each month or go away on vacation together and have always planned everything together, so everyone is together on the road in one group and we've been doing that since a young age (...). You make sure that you see each other regularly with the family and even if there are times, and of course there are in all large family, times with arguments, but for the most part they are always cleared up or resolved in such a way that you do not notice anything, or that it stays between two people and the family still does something together."

The paternal role models ensure a good basis for a secure and stable sociocultural identity. The following subject can therefore say exactly who he is: a Muslim who knows what is right and wrong.

"My father taught me to fit in with society, but to still not forget what you are and where you came from and how you were raised. And it was always like that for me, I always said, I am a Muslim, I know who I am, I know what is right and what is wrong. Of course I sometimes act wrong, but I just adapt to the circumstances that are happening around me."

Only in isolated cases do indications of an inner conflict emerge that have to do with the circumstances in the family or the father. In these exceptional cases, the father is portrayed more critically, namely that he is emotionally distant from the son:

"Yes, the relationship I have with my dad is also very strong and close, because of course I love my father, but I can't remember for example, the last time he hugged me, but still the love is there, maybe a bit strange, but I don't have the same relationship to my father as others may have, so that's a bit different. I think it's a bit different with Turks in general, that showing love is always a bit more difficult for them, but if it really matters, I would catch a bullet for him. So it's that strong, I would say."

The Muslims' image of men is primarily determined by the topics of *father* ($n = 13$), *inner conflicts* ($n = 11$) and *professional achievement* ($n = 8$). In the discussion of *fathers*, pride and loyalty are mentioned very frequently. It is emphasized how powerful, ambitious and successful the *fathers* are professionally, despite all the obstacles as a result of migration. Since they are usually the sole breadwinners, they are under a heavy workload and are often absent from everyday family life, but this is usually forgiven. One young man sums up the family and professional structure as follows: *"Dad goes to work, Mom stays at home."* Because of this professional activity, the *fathers* seem better integrated in Germany: *"In any case, I think my father is a bit more adapted to Western culture."* In addition, the *fathers* are described as role models who live their lives in a more relaxed manner (compared to the *mothers*), who *"move through life more calmly,"* so to speak, and who radiate more distance from family decisions, which is interpreted as natural sovereignty. That is why *fathers* are ascribed a "top priority" after all:

"My father is calm, but I still see him as the highest authority, the highest authority figure. He's still my father like that, and no matter what he says, let me tell you, it's the law then."

Family relationships and the image of men conveyed through them are hardly determined by inner contradictions for the subjects. The male position of power is endorsed, even if some subjects report pressure to be able to fill this position.

"For me, being the man of the house means being the authority figure in difficult situations, giving orders. And then, when everyone else is saying something different, he

says, come on, we're going to do it like this. Done."

4. Discussion

Against the background of a complex socio-cultural situation with a multitude of upheavals and contradictory developments already in Turkey and as well as the experiences of migration, we investigated the social, cultural and ethnic identity of young Muslim women and men who grew up in Germany. In this article, we focus primarily on possible gender-specific characteristics in the identity of these young women and men. We will first discuss the findings on these topics and then address specific constellations in identity formation by elaborating particular features of the Oedipus complex. We will argue that the respective Oedipal constellation and its resolution has a lasting impact on the interpersonal relationships, career advancement, social integration, and general attitude towards life of young Muslims.

4.1. The Identity of Muslim Women and Men

In our interviews, the *Muslim women* most frequently mention *cultural and social identity*, which is characterized by a very typical conflict between their own aspirations for individuation and fear of maternal disapproval. This conflict is exacerbated by the desire to be recognized by parents as a loyal member of the family. A lack of recognition is all the more threatening because German society does not offer a safe alternative to family, but tends more or less explicitly toward xenophobic and Islamophobic discrimination. The women often try to defuse the conflict with their mother by turning to religion. They show this loyalty by observing rituals and their faith, but also by wearing a headscarf, for example. However, such characteristics, especially the headscarf, can be quite equivocal, owing to the multi-layered situation. They are expressions of what Freud [22] and later Lacan [33] called a "single or unary trait", that is, that the subject identifies with a single characteristic of the other. The headscarf can stand for religious attachment, for a transnational Islamic unity, emancipation, or for the identificatory closeness to a beloved person, such as a deceased grandfather. Here, religiousness is borrowed to preserve a sense of security and closeness, and the headscarf becomes a feature of this borrowing, but for many subjects it also stabilizes their ego ideal.

Across the interviews, it is clear that although the women have internalized the (now politically motivated) doctrine of a role identity of "woman" and "mother," they are critical of this role definition. Their primary, i.e., mirror or imaginary, identification with the mother leads to a female identity determined by her biological fertility and the child-rearing function in the family: *"I am (only) a woman when I have children."* On the other hand, being professionally well-educated and successful is an emancipatory concern for all women, most of whom study at a university: *"I am a modern, professional woman"*. This conflict between a Western Kemalist and traditional Islamic identity was already

brought by women from Turkish society. It was already created by the modernization of Turkish society in the 20th and 21st centuries. However, it is considerably exacerbated by the contradictions between the Western secular ideology in Germany, which is by and large without alternative, and the current conservative Islamist ideology in Turkey.

We have the impression that many of the women here do not find a solution in the sense of a "hybrid" identity combining different tendencies, but rather form what we would like to call a "chameleon identity" bent on adaptation. Such an identity is stabilized by a subtle split. It allows the daughters to appear more devout and traditional within the family (and especially toward their mother), while outside the family they choose a professionally emancipated lifestyle. In this way, the young women perfect an impressive "ability to change" by adapting perfectly to the respective environment. Also, some women report anxiety, pressure and psychosomatic symptoms, which may indicate the level of the price for such a "chameleon solution".

Mother-daughter conflicts do not always remain preserved under the cover of a family harmony. Some women also report difficult and openly conflictual relationships with their mothers. It is indeed the case that first-generation Turkish women have a poorer qualification profile than their daughters, as well as lower German language skills, a lower level of education, and are less likely to have vocational training. Daughters are thus under pressure to compensate for their mothers' professional shortcomings, to distance themselves from them, and yet to remain loyal to them. This solution contrasts with demands by Turkish feminists such as the lawyer Seyran Ateş (2009) - who is also controversial in Western media - who call for comprehensive, sexual emancipation instead of performance-based partial emancipation of Muslim women [7]. The fathers, at any rate, take a triangulating, clearly less conflictual position here, opening up the identificatory (achievement-oriented) path into German society for their daughters on the basis of their professional activities. - It is true that the women also report experiences of stigmatization with regard to *ethnic identity*. However, such experiences are mentioned less frequently compared to the men's reports and are usually presented as less serious. Often the women report pseudo-positively formulated discriminations, which lead to disappointment and anger about the resulting exclusion, but which do not induce active, compensatory actions. Summarizing these results, the identity of young Muslim women in Germany can be described as follows:

Muslim women are pronounced family beings but torn between their identification with their mother as an emotional and fertile woman and their dissociation from her; who is not a role model in professional terms and whose envy they have to fear. It is not entirely clear to them what definitively defines their female identity: are they more of a fertile mother or professionally emancipated? They feel encouraged and understood by their father in their professional advancement, even if the father also represents tradition. In any case, they try to

come to terms and adapt to the situation. Within the family, the belief that, despite these conflicts, they are a family being and do well with their parents helps them. Nevertheless, sometimes they have anxiety and feelings of guilt. They feel pressured and have body ailments, such as dizziness. As Muslim Turkish women, they often feel rejected by German society, but they can make up for this by returning to their professional success and, incidentally, adapt well in this respect.

The men mention *ethnic identity* most frequently, and passages in which the topics of *stigmatization* and *exclusion* occur predominate. These are mentioned more openly and more affectively by the men than by the women. For example, one respondent describes the xenophobic reporting by German media and his personal response, in which he refers back to his Turkish ethnic identity:

"Well, I find the German media very offensive in that regard. They attack cultural values like that. Even if it is not who you attribute something to, but that one speaks directly, yes, Turkey's like that, Turkey that, Turkey this. Then at some point you think like that, I'm a proud Turk, what is this here, what are they talking about here."

The recognition that the young men receive in the family, with the rather idealizing love relationship with the mother and a father whose patriarchal position inspires respect and who offers himself as an object of identification, is not only denied on the part of German society, but turned into the devaluing opposite. When the proud Turkish man looks into the mirror of German society, a hated foreigner appears whose religion is considered a barbaric threat. Thus, German stigmatization causes a reactive, self-esteem-enhancing strengthening of Turkish-Muslim identity.

Social and cultural identity is described as comparatively free of conflict. The men describe no problems in adopting parental values, and there are hardly any signs of rebellion or conflict. Only one respondent reports that he became a criminal together with his brother in adolescence and served several prison sentences. However, he also described a broken-home family situation with a very distant relationship to his father, who was traumatized in turn. Normally, however, the father is admired, especially for his diligence and authority, and there is primarily the desire to live up to the father's expectations. The *image of men* appears to be consistent without contradiction and is hardly discussed in our interviews. At the same time, the young men do not seem to have any problems with the fact that their (Turkish) female partners are all in education or work. The prototypical identity of the men could thus be described as follows:

The identity of Muslims is clearly a "family being": As sons, they feel loved by their mothers and respected by their father; who is a good role model for them as an energetic and achievement-oriented man. They realize that this respect also comes with a certain emotional distance. Sometimes they are under pressure when they have to fill this position of power of the father themselves. But they are loyal and always stand by their family. What hits them hard is the xenophobic and Islamophobic discrimination.

Just as they experience themselves as proud Turkish men within the family, they often feel damaged, devalued and inferior in German society. They feel complete neither as a Turk nor as a German. Although they value some features of German culture, they are disappointed in Germany and have difficulty seeing themselves as Germans.

4.2. Migratory Experience in the Context of the Oedipus Complex

Freud regarded the Oedipus complex as a "shibboleth", i.e., as a component of his psychoanalytic theory which is central and cannot be dispensed with. The Oedipus complex was later repeatedly subjected to criticism, especially with regard to the fact that it would heteronormatively, i.e. ideologically, cement the triadic family image. The fact that we repeatedly encountered Oedipal themes in the interviews may be related to some extent to the fact that most of the test persons came from family relationships that actually exhibit a triadic structure, not unlike the families from which Freud's patients in fin de siècle Vienna came. - The Oedipus complex is understood as the totality of the love and hostile desires that the child feels toward its parents [34]. The child, according to the original conception, turns to the opposite-sex parent and rivals the same-sex parent, of whose sanctions ("castration") he or she is afraid [21]. The Oedipus complex resolves as the child, i.e., both daughter and son, identifies with the same-sex parent. Thus, the individual gains the freedom to engage in partnered relationships later, in adulthood, on a mature, object level [23]. In Lacan's view of Oedipus, the father's task is to establish a triad, i.e., to support the child in breaking away from the dyad with the mother so that further developmental steps become possible [20]. A whole series of studies, conducted among others in Africa or in India, but also casuistic observations with Iranian, Turkish and Arab patients prove that the Oedipus complex is universally valid [5, 6, 41, 42, 43, 46, 52]. However, the outcome or resolution of the Oedipus complex has culturally specific features [6]. Parin (1972) saw the anal issue of possessing (e.g., the mother) and aggressively killing (e.g., the father) as rooted in the cleanliness and achievement education of Europeans [43]. In contrast, among the African Dogon people, for example, it is not the father but the collective that takes the place of the third [43]. In Islamic countries, according to Ardjomandi (2013), the Oedipus complex is characterized by sons being "castrated" by their fathers in real terms (and not just in fantasy) as soon as they enter into competition with their fathers [6]:

"The fear of castration, i.e., the fear of paternal sanctions, thus seems to be stronger and more justified than in modern Western cultures, in which the position of the father has undergone relativization and destabilization. The projective fantasy of being completely at the father's mercy and exposed to a mortal threat increases the boy's (child's) fear of castration by the father, known from developmental psychology, to such an extent that specific defensive measures are necessary to control the fear and avert the feared mortal threat. Fathers also develop

considerable fear as a result of their power and preconscious aggressiveness, especially against male offspring, which they must bind."[6].

The special feature of the "Islamic" Oedipus complex is that it culminates in the acceptance of the authority of a "superfather," with whom the boy then identifies in order to enter the patriarchal line of tradition. The relationship between father and son, which until then had been precarious and determined by mutual fears, is regulated by the defensive strategies of etiquette and ritualization typical of Islamic culture [6, 54].

4.3 The Oedipus Complex in Muslim Women

Unfortunately, to our knowledge, there are no publications on the female Oedipus complex in the Islamic cultural area. However, our interviews reveal that the female Oedipus complex of Turkish migrant women is primarily determined by the conflictual relationship with the mother: The mothers are envious of their successful daughters, and the latter have feelings of guilt. They do not want to orient themselves (only) to the mother's dyadic guidelines, but are specifically looking for a third, triangulating position represented by the father and German society, namely the educational system. For many Muslim women, the school or university becomes the "name-of-the-father," i.e., the symbolic father who makes partial emancipation possible. Accordingly, the fathers are portrayed in a predominantly positive light: Here, the modern path of Muslim women clearly differs from the (failed) outcome of female Oedipus originally described by Freud, namely that the woman is equally passed on from the circumstances of her family of origin into patriarchal marriage, and her sense of lack can only be compensated for by babies [23]. This variant seems to be propagated again within the framework of the "gender justice" of the neo-Islamist AKP ideology.

On the other hand, for the Muslim women interviewed, there is the following problem, which we will call the "impossible identification" and which co-determines the outcome of the Oedipus complex: The identification with the mother, which embodies the equation "woman = mother," is at odds with the emancipation of the daughters. Many solve this problem of "impossible" identification by either resolutely distancing themselves from mothers (i.e., the external objects of identification). They challenge the "mother's law" [36] that female identity is determined by children and struggle to achieve a "forced identification" with the father [28].

At the same time, the turn to faith, which is strongly rooted in the family and ritually permeates the lives of families, have the character of attempts to make amends: Faith is the bridge over the seemingly unbridgeable. A further mitigation of the break in identification is that the daughters fulfill maternal desires for delegation with their professional training. In doing so, they trace traits of the mother's ideal ego, for example, that a woman wearing a headscarf can certainly be successful professionally (if society permits this career). - The solution to the Oedipus complex, then, is the

(triadic) recognition of the father, who, from this perspective, represents Western society. From this perspective, the fathers would have provided an "auxiliary Oedipal identification" that allows the daughters to prove themselves in Western society without having to completely give up the original identification with the mother (which is shown in both beliefs and fantasies about having their own family).

4.4. The Oedipus Complex in Muslim Men

The Muslims in our study seem to experience Oedipal triangulation as less problematic compared to the women. They describe good and very respectful relationships with fathers, who are respected authority figures. Even when there is a criticism, such as that the father is emotionally distant, this criticism is put into perspective by saying that this distance is typical of the Turkish father-son relationship. Ardjomandi's (2013) fear of the father's real threat (including the father's fear of the sons' real threat) could be sensed in our interviews behind the etiquette of respectful politeness with which all sons spoke about their fathers, as well as the observance of primarily religious rituals (prayer, observance of the Ramadan commandments and family festivals) [6]. To all appearances, the outcome of the Oedipus complex for the young Muslims is that the father fulfills his triangulating function as a powerful, possibly threatening object. In the shadow of this triangulation, the sons can talk about their (often rapturous) love for mother. Possibly, however, the real-threatening aspect of the father is not experienced within the family, but outside, namely on the part of German society, which virtually lends itself to such projective processing because of its castrating-discriminating behavior. The threatening side of the father-imago has freed itself here from the corset of etiquette and rituals and appears as a discriminating press or in the form of German everyday racists. However, it is precisely this projective shift, which is promoted to the best of its ability by the stigmatizing reality, that can in turn lead to the radicalization of Muslims. In the most extreme case, the father is fought in the form of attacks on German or Western institutions or people.³ The much stronger reaction to discrimination compared to women can be explained, among other things, by this complication of the Oedipus complex. Another reason for the more violent affective reaction is, of course, that the strong position within the family, which promotes self-worth, is doubly challenged: The young Muslims are discriminated against in German society, both as men and as foreigners. The identification with the powerful father is painfully corrected by Western culture. This pain results in a retreat into the (narcissistically seductive) family - up to, in extreme cases, religious radicalization with replacement of the family by the faith

community. Geneviève Morel (2018) therefore describes radicality as a resistance to social injustice that manifests itself in a three-stage development: detachment from previous structures, inner emptiness, and seduction to a new religious-political identity [35]. Morel sees the desire to compensate for offenses and to take revenge on others as the driving force behind radical action [35]. The developmental task of young Muslims is to find their own way between Turkish family and individuation in German society without losing their own pride or falling prey to seductive radicalism.

5. Limitations of the Study

Above all, the selection of our subjects represents a major limitation of the study. Despite our efforts to establish social stratification, almost three quarters of the participants were students. These difficulties for the sample studied are considered typical [47]. Therefore, our results are limited to a group of young, educated migrants, most of whom come from classically triadic family structures. Another limitation is that the subjects are exclusively binary heterosexual. Persons with other gender identities as well as with a third, diverse gender were not examined in our study. There is certainly a need for further research in this area, for example in the context of queer psychoanalysis dealing with migration issues.

6. Conclusion

The young Muslims in our interviews report considerable psychological challenges resulting from integration tasks between Western secular and Islamic culture. The ambiguity that already exists in contemporary Turkey (e.g., between Kemalism and Islamism, between Western secularism and Eastern religiosity, between feminist emancipation and traditional "gender justice") occurs in an intensified way for young Turkish-German Muslims and can trigger curious creativity as well as guilt, disorientation, and anxiety [37]. The main difference between young Muslim women and men, our findings suggest, is that the women report conflictual intra-family situations and correspondingly fragile relationships of recognition, but in the outside world they are more likely to experience recognition as emancipated women. Their task is to find a response to an identification with their mothers who are less qualified on the outside, e.g., professionally or linguistically, and thus to develop an identity as a modern woman that allows her to be emancipated in her (also sexual) wholeness as well as a mother. Men, on the other hand, are more likely to experience a blatant devaluation and deidealization in the social outside. The resulting tension often leads to disorientation and a retreat into narcissistically secured structures - in comparison to women. An alternative is the path to crime, especially if a retreat into a safe or intact family environment is not possible. Both, in the present sample heterosexual and binary genders, on the threshold of adulthood, are thus faced with major integrative tasks in order to successfully find and shape their identity as German-Turkish Muslims.

³ We could imagine that in this case the hatred of the father is initially held in the family, namely between the brothers, and only then, due to the collective structure of the family, is diverted to the outside world. Gérard Haddad (2021) explains why pairs of brothers are noticeably often involved in attacks [29]. It is possible that this brotherly conflict, which could have its origin in the Oedipus complex, is fundamentally contributing to violence in societies and/or wars (also in occidental culture).

Appendix

Table 3. Codebook.

Structural Codes (in alphabetical order)

Cultural Identity

Definition

Cultural identity is reported. Cultural identity arises from the feeling of belonging to an individual to a collective regarding e.g., language, religion, rituals. Cultural identity arises from the construction of what is “one's own”, which is brought about by the opposition to an “other”. The individual is integrated into the cultural identity through the process of socialization [25].

Example 1

“I love this particular language and religion.”

Example 2

“My boyfriend also always says that I have this Turkish temperament within me. Well, I don't think you can take it off, even if you have a German passport or something. It is definitely there, this mentality- it is our temperament.”

Ethnic Identity

Definition

Ethnic identity is reported. An ethnic group is a definable group that is recognized by a common identity due to its sense of community. This ethnicity can be based on a common ancestry, history or a connection to a particular area. Belonging to several ethnic groups is possible ([18, 19]).

Example 1

“I am Turkish.”

Example 2

“There was no support from the father's side. Because, I was the Kurdish child. Marriage was not advocated.”

Social Identity

Definition

Social identity is reported. Social identity is composed of the membership of one or different social groups as well as the evaluation of these. The evaluation of the group membership results from the comparison (not exclusively the devaluation) of this group with other relevant groups [38].

Example 1

“I love to sit with other people at my family's table in Turkey.”

Example 2

“I spend a lot of time with my family, we all grew up very close.”

Image of Men

Definition

Specific characteristics of a male image are reported. This creates a specific impression or a specific idea of the male role. The specific setting for this role is not recorded with this code.

Example 1

“I don't know why, but then I would, well, I would rather have the ... man role. I don't know if that's old-fashioned now, but it just feels like that.”

Example 2

“There is a gender difference, so I can tell you, my father doesn't touch the house, neither does he do any vacuuming or cleaning. I report this to you very openly and honestly. But my ideas are not like that. My ideas are, I think you can make a fair distribution ... you can, so to speak, help your love or you should definitely do it.”

Image of Women

Definition

Specific characteristics of an image of women are reported. This creates a specific impression or a specific idea of the female role. The specific setting for this role is not recorded with this code.

Example 1

“For me it is simply about the fact that as a woman I have something in my hand, that I have achieved something that makes me feel independent.”

Example 2

“If there are children, the woman should take care of the children. She shouldn't have to work.”

Open Codes (in alphabetical order)

Ambivalence

Definition

Ambivalence is reported. Ambivalence is described as a feeling of conflict between two aspects. This creates either a state of tension or an acceptance of the ambivalence.

Example 1

“It was always a back and forth with me. I really never felt German, at no point in my youth or childhood, not at all! I've never felt really Turkish either. So I felt Turkish, but not like the Turks in Turkey, that's a big difference.”

Example 2

“Sometimes I stay calm and sometimes I'm quick-tempered, it varies a lot.”

Appreciation

Definition

Appreciation is reported. Appreciation can be used to describe a positive evaluation of another person [48], regardless of a performance (in contrast to recognition). The feeling of appreciation can arise in relation to an individual, a property or an object.

Example 1

“My father is also a very strong person, definitely very self-confident in what he does and what he doesn't.”

Example 2

“It's actually a very nice feeling. Because I just have the feeling that I have something that others don't.”

Collectivistic Structure*Definition*

There are reports of collectivistic structures. Collectivism is understood to be a system of values and norms in which the welfare of the collective has the highest priority. The interests of the individual are subordinated to the specific motives of the group.

Example 1

“With friends, what comes to mind right now is that when I was younger I sometimes just didn't give my opinion so that there would be no argument.”

Example 2

“What is still so important to me that I stay at home for the next few years, spend a lot of time with my family, spend a lot of time with my friends.”

Disappointment*Definition*

Disappointment is reported. The feeling of disappointment arises from the non-fulfillment of an expectation, usually accompanied by dissatisfaction.

Example 1

„But I am very dissatisfied with one thing: even if you speak the German language, even if you have a German passport, even if you were born here, as a foreigner. I find that sad because I think I pay my taxes in the same way or I add my part in the same way as any other German.”

Example 2

“I would of course disappoint my parents. That is also very sad.”

Family*Definition*

The family is reported. The family comprises all parent-child pairs of various types, consisting of at least two generations in one household.

Example 1

“I believe that family is the most important thing to me because no matter what happens, family can always get someone going. So family comes first for me. Cohesion in any case. Cohesion should always prevail in the family. That's why I start this interview with family. That is something given.”

Example 2

“I am now fully in professional life. As I said, I now have my own family ... of course I have to take care of them now.”

Father*Definition*

It is reported of a father and / or paternal traits.

Example 1

“My father is a very happy person, he loves to work. He always takes off twice a week, when he's off he either falls asleep at home from boredom or he always wants to go out with my brother and do something. So he is a man who always likes to move.”

Example 2

“With my father, this pride thing is more in the foreground. No, I think Dad's love was a little lacking. He was very strict, so when I was doing nonsense, there was a lot of violence.”

Interpersonal Conflict*Definition*

It describes the clash of conflicting views or positions between people that can lead to a rift.

Example 1

“And that's painful, that's, I'll say, very exhausting, very grueling. Very often there have been moments when I thought I couldn't do it anymore, when I was in tears, I really burst into tears and thought to myself: I can no longer do this, I can no longer argue. But then you get up again and say ok, I don't want to live like that, then I have to go on. Then you just fight your way through life.”

Example 2

“I don't want the headscarf, I would also like to make my hair beautiful, I also want to make myself more beautiful. At some point I burst and said, I don't want that anymore. Whereby, of course, mom said: no, you won't stop that.”

Mother*Definition*

It is reported of a mother and / or maternal characteristics.

Example 1

“During childhood my relationship was always good with my parents, with both of them, both with mom and dad, although I always had a stronger relationship with mom.”

Example 2

“My mother is also an obstacle. I think she's putting too much, too much pressure on me. Pressure is always bad in itself. Sometimes it's good. But she just does it too much.”

Professional Achievement*Definition*

Work or professional achievement (e.g. with regard to studying) is reported. A performance is usually described as a laborious act that draws its value from the commitment invested in it.

Example 1

“For example, it was very important to my parents that I get very far in school, that I make progress, even with average grades. So education was also very important to us, it still is.”

Example 2

“I would say that I am a very determined woman, one, I would say.”

Religion*Definition*

Religion is reported. In this present work especially in relation to the so-called book religions (Judaism, Christianity, Islam). Religion can shape values, human behavior, actions, thoughts and feelings and in this context might fulfill different functions. Universal elements of religion can be seen in the individual desires for meaning, moral orientation and the striving for the reunification of this worldly existence with its otherworldly origin [45],

Example 1

“I have my believes.”

Example 2

“The Turkish- I can't distinguish the religion from the Turkish culture very well.”

Stigma

Definition

Stigma has been reported. Stigmatization is described as a process of “classification of persons by the majority society that is difficult to reverse”.

Stigmatization is subject to social changes, but as a phenomenon it remains mostly an inevitable normal case.

Example 1

“But there is also this feeling of isolation, these are very small, subtle things ... when someone sits down on the train, when I'm being looked at in a strange way on the street, or when I'm spoken to in a strange way, things like that.”

Example 2

“When it comes to winning, you do it together, but when you lose, you somehow look for the weakest link, which somehow also happens to be a German-Turk. Integration should happen, but ... it's just so difficult.”

Triangulation

Definition

Triangulation is reported. This is understood as the formation of a relationship triangle consisting of three individuals or a symbolic third party (here e.g. the work that brings a new topic into a dyadic structure).

Example 1

“My friend is also studying Islamic religion to become a teacher, on a scientific level we talk a lot about God ... so I do a lot with him, but hardly really with my parents.”

Example 2

“Only in soccer, it's different, I'm a different person in a competition condition.”

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