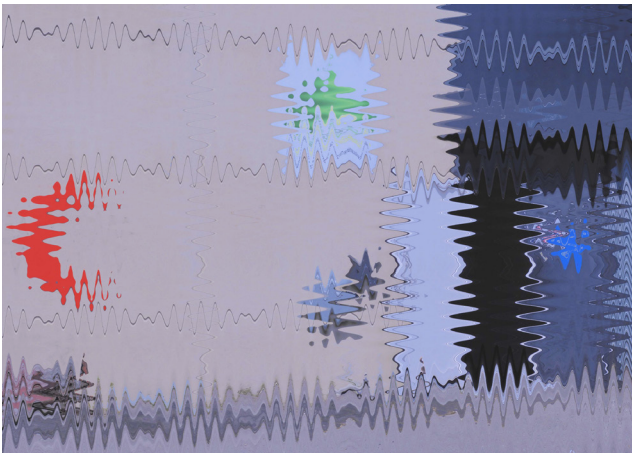


Democracy and Identity

An Empirical Study on Attitudes of German Turks
in the Global Society and its Implications for Learning

Emmer Demorel



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of Bamberg
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To Martin

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Bamberg, 12.02.2024

Abstract

This study examines the world-society orientations of immigrants of Turkish origin living in Germany and how they position themselves regarding their political participation.

A reconstructive-qualitative and, thus, hypothesis-generating approach was chosen to address the research question. Twenty-two interviews were conducted with immigrants of Turkish origin living in Bavaria, Germany. The interviews were analyzed using the documentary method, and the results were condensed by inductive typification and generalized towards a cosmopolitan education theory.

The interviews provided numerous insights into the world-society-oriented habitus of migrants from Turkey. It was possible to reconstruct a basic typology (“sociality-related self-efficacy expectation”) against the background of which different types in the perception of and dealings with the world emerge. Thus, various forms of how self-efficacy is attained through social mechanisms become visible. Six different comparison horizons could be reconstructed: (1) cultural orientation, (2) spatial orientation, (3) participation and involvement, (4) perception of the change of time and learning, (5) validity of knowledge, and (6) social self-positioning.

These comparative horizons led to a sense-genetic typing, which is dimensioned along four ideal types of how self-efficacy is attained via social mechanisms:

- as authoritarian allegiance in the mode of mono-perspectival power
- as bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue
- as dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging and recognition, and
- as social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity.

A wealth of insights was generated with this typing. The basic typology refers to the importance of recognition already described in the scientific discourse. At the same time, the description of the comparative horizons and the different ideal types makes clear what the neuralgic points for social recognition are. At the same time, this also reveals the complexity of pedagogical interventions.

The results clarify the role of the perception of cultural pluralism, also in the country of origin, in avoiding mono-perspectival essentialization of cultural orientations. The findings show that democracy-related aspects of cosmopolitanism (e.g., experience of pluralism, attribution of meaning to human rights) are associated in both societies with experiences of pluralism or, in the case of majority experiences about Turkey, with their rejection. The observed seeking of harmony and the importance of discourse is a phenomenon that affects not only personal life but all areas of life. On the one hand, the cosmopolitanism experience is related to a sense of social recognition. On the other hand, most cosmopolitan experiences are primarily limited to purely close-up experiences. This leads to a lack of abstract social reflection and problems for democracy recognition. The results also point to the limited impact of learning experiences in moderating openness to the world society and democratic participation.

The study also points to the limited impact of schools in moderating openness to the world-society and democratic participation. Against this background, theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

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List of abbreviations

- AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (Justice and Development Party)
- Bündnis 90/Die Grünen: Alliance90/The Greens Party
- CDU: Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands (Christian Democratic Union of Germany)
- CHP: Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi (Republican People's Party)
- CSU: Christlich-Soziale Union in Bayern (Christian Social Union in Bavaria)
- Destatis: German Federal Statistical Office
- Die Linke: The Left Party
- DİTİB: Diyanet İşleri Türk İslam Birliği - DİTİB (Turkish-Islamic Union for Religious Affairs)
- EU: European Union
- HDP: Halkların Demokrasi Partisi (Peoples' Democratic Party)
- RAM: Repräsentativuntersuchung Ausgewählte Migrantengruppen (in Deutschland)
- SPD: Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands (Social Democratic Party of Germany)
- SVR: Sachverständigenrat für Integration und Migration (The Expert Council on Integration and Migration)
- TAZ: Die Tageszeitung (Daily German Newspaper)
- USA: United States of America
- YTB: Yurtdışı Türkler ve Akraba Topluluklar Başkanlığı (Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities)

1 Introduction¹

This study examines the world-society orientation of German Turks² and how they position themselves concerning spaces of political participation. Mainly, it focuses on reviewing German Turks' guiding orientations and participation tendencies regarding world society and global education. Many studies have been conducted on the political preferences of German Turks in Germany and Turkish migrants living in other European countries. In the last decade, after Turks living abroad were allowed to vote in their countries, the participation rate to Turkish elections increased, and the preferences of the Turkish-origin group living in Germany aroused interest and curiosity. It will be helpful to understand how the political preferences of this group, which mostly socialized and received their education in Germany and want to continue to live in Germany, formed. The results of the study as well as point to which learning experiences moderate world-society openness and democratic participation. In this regard, this study focuses on the relatively young German Turks³ eligible to vote. In the first section of this first chapter of the present work, the context of the study (1.1) was conceptualized. Then, in section (1.2), the general position of German Turks living in this country for more than 60 years is summarized. The concepts of "world society" and global education are positioned in section (1.3). Section (1.4) focuses on the research

¹ In this introduction and in the following chapters of the study, some of the thoughts and formulations are used from the application text and final report for the "For Democracy" project conducted by The Bavarian Research Association (ForDemocracy), which this study is based on. Mentioned texts and reports were written in German by the author and Prof. Dr. Annette Scheunpflug, together.

² In the research "German Turks" used as a shorthand for people who came to Germany as 'guestworkers', their children or grand children (i.e. with and without German citizenship as well as with different migration experiences) regardless of their ethnic background, from Turkey. This shorthand does not mean to neglect the ethnic, cultural or religious differences between immigrants from Turkey, but preferred as to facilitate identification and categorization easier. In the research, "German Turks" is a colloquial term whose ancestors lived in Turkey.

³ German Turks between the ages of 24-56 were examined in this study.

desideratum and research question. The methodological approach followed in the research is explained in section (1.5), and finally, the structure of this work is described in section (1.6).

1.1 Context of the study

New economic, political, and cultural lifestyles have emerged with the economic migration movements experienced after the Second World War⁴ and the accompanying globalization. In today's world, where the borders are getting thinner, debates focused on ethnicity, historical experiences, class, culture, and religion have led to diverse cultural norms, values, and practices. Thus, new challenges have emerged that have not been experienced before. Developments, conflicts, and disagreements that occur beyond a country's borders but which also concern that country in terms of their consequences have led to new searches for their solution. Differences in culture, worldview, and religion among the affected countries further complicate resolving emerging problems. While the efforts to understand local cultural norms that do not ignore universal values continue, the need to reveal how these values and norms interact has arisen.

This study focuses on a politically influential target group to put the future of democracy in Germany⁵ on a more solid foundation. Immigrants from Turkey represent the largest immigrant group in Germany. The aim is to take a closer look at the orientations that guide the actions of this group and to analyze them from the perspective of the formation of theories of a global society.

⁴ Since the focus of the study was the German Turks, the reference point was after the Second World War, because the migration of Turks to Germany started with the need for labor due to the economic miracle after the war.

⁵ This study is a part of a wider umbrella project under 'ForDemocracy' supported by The Bavarian Research Association.

The constitutional amendment referendum held in Turkey on April 16, 2017,⁶ revealed that a significant part of the people with Turkish immigrant backgrounds, especially in Germany and in Europe, support populist policies and stay away from taking critical positions on issues that are problematic in terms of universal democratic principles. In this vote, the majority of German Turks voted to support the changes that dismantled the democratic structures in Turkey. While 51.4 percent of the voters in Turkey voted “yes”, 63 percent of German Turks approved the constitutional amendments (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018a; Özkan, 2017). This considerable difference was met with surprise and astonishment in the German public (Akçali, 2017); the result⁷ revealed not only the lack of acceptance and support for democratic principles among German Turks but also the paradoxical situation of German Turks restricting freedoms towards Turkey, despite their desire to expand their freedom in the country they live in (Adar, 2020).

This and similar contradictions, which became evident once again with the voting preferences of the German Turks in the 2017 referendum, are explained by the phenomenon of globalization in political theory (Friedman, 2004; Robertson, 1992). Developing communication opportunities has facilitated access to all media tools while enabling propaganda activities to extend beyond borders. Thus, while ensuring the simultaneity of national allegiances, facilitating voting processes outside the country also provides the opportunity to use their preferences without being directly affected by the effects of such a choice. The participation and preferences of those who participate in the elections while living abroad and using their citizenship rights and those who will be directly affected by a possible change while actually living in the country differ. This presents a

⁶ On April 16, 2017, 18 constitutional amendments were put to public vote in Turkey. The parliamentary government system and the prime ministership were abolished with the referendum, which was approved with more ‘yes’ votes. The former was replaced by a management system to be established under the administration of the presidency.

⁷ Underlining the antidemocratic developments and increasing populist policies in Turkey in the ‘call paper’ of the ForDemocracy project has been a source of inspiration for the emergence of this research.

paradigmatic situation in terms of the social dimensions of globalization. While both are involved in participation, it is the separation of those who are directly affected and those who contribute to change (Koopmans & Zürn, 2019), which is also related to the characteristic of the development of world society (Luhmann, 1998).

This relationship relates to “worldwide expectation structures” (Stichweh, 1994, 2000) that unexpectedly combine what is seen as paradoxical due to economic, media, and technological advances, as well as the practicality of cultural practices (Appadurai, 1990, 1996, 2008), social risks (Beck, 1996, 1997, 2015) and social networks (Castells, 2001) are also not free from these relationships. This contradictory and controversial situation creates new challenges regarding political participation and the development of democratic orientations.

It is expected that immigrants will be able to classify and assign different cultural and political areas, as they directly experience the global social dimension of today’s economic and political developments and experience the change of cultural areas due to the change of locations. This experience – as the results of the referendum mentioned above show – cannot always lead to a pro-democracy and cosmopolitan attitude but simultaneously to nationalism and political fundamentalism. In the emergence of these trends, completely different migration experiences of the people, the attitude of the migrated country towards immigrants, the recognition and integration experiences, and educational success may be compelling. At the same time, all of these factors drive the political experiences of immigrants and thus lead to specific forms of world-social and democracy-related orientation.

This study investigates which global social orientations include German Turks, how they position themselves according to the areas of political participation, and which learning experiences lead to a moderation in experiences related to openness to society and democratic participation. The research has paid particular attention to human rights concepts as well as the role of Islam.

1.2 Turks in Germany

Turks living in Germany have been at the center of discussions since the 1960s. Sometimes, there was a fear that a Turk would become the prime minister in Germany, and sometimes, there was fear of a country where the German language could no longer be heard in the streets⁸ (Spiegel, 1973). As of today, none of these expected or feared scenarios have come true after 62 years of migration⁹. Contrary to the fears, the children of “Gastarbeiter¹⁰” who have immigrated from Turkey present bills in the German parliament, score goals in the German national football team, and lead the discovery of a vaccine that plays a vital role in ending one of the most frightening epidemics in world history. After 62 years of migration, the debates on integration or assimilation, the arguments or prejudices that this immigrant group does not speak enough German continue. This is one side of the coin looking at Germany. Another aspect is the influence of German Turks, which has not been on the agenda of the German public for many years, on politics in Turkey and the role they play in the developments there. With 1.5 million Turkish voters, Germany has enough population and influence to be Turkey’s fourth largest electoral district after the İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir electoral districts (Söylemez, 2021). After making it easier for voters living abroad to vote in the Turkish elections, the election results turned to understanding the reasons for the political orientation of this group.

The number of people of Turkish origin living in Germany today is around 2.8 million (Destatis, 2022). It is also a fact that the criteria for determining immigrant backgrounds of German statistical institutions go back two generations and that there are many German Turks who are not

⁸ On the cover of the July 29, 1973 issue of Spiegel, the article “Gettos in Deutschland: Eine Million Türken” (Gettos in Germany: One Million Turks) was written in a way that created fear that Germans would be minority in Germany in the future.

⁹ The Turkey-Germany Labor Agreement was signed between West Germany and Turkey on October 30, 1961. It aimed to provide the work force Germany needed after the Second World War.

¹⁰ Germany named the workers as “gastarbeiter” (guest workers) because the expectations was that the workforce from Turkey and other countries to be temporary in Germany.

included in the statistics due to marriages with Germans. German Turks, the largest immigrant group in the country with these numbers, are also the immigrant group about which the most debates about integration are experienced. Its ethnic, cultural, and religious heterogeneous nature has been overlooked for years. Wrong policy choices in the first years of immigration resulted in falling behind in education, especially in language learning (Abadan-Unat, 2005). Factors such as the fact that workers from Turkey have lower education levels than their counterparts and that they come from underdeveloped regions of Turkey also play a role in this backwardness (Stanat, Rauch, & Segeritz, 2010). Unlike other immigrant groups in labor migration, educational disparities cannot be explained by controlling for social background and language skills alone (Kristen & Dollmann, 2010; Schotte, Stanat, & Edele, 2018; Stanat et al., 2010). Even if significant educational gains have been recorded between the migration generations, there are still young people in the second and third generations with little knowledge of the German language (Stanat et al., 2010)

The studies by Pollack et al. (Pollack, Müller, Rosta, & Dieler, 2016) show that despite a general sense of well-being, there is a feeling of lack of social recognition among this population group, which leads to a more offensive and self-confident approach to the cultural identity of origin, especially among the second and third generation of migrants. The defense of religion under attack leads to “tendencies toward cultural and religious self-assertion.” Goerres et al. (2018b, p.19) were able to show that 25 percent of German Turks of origin feel disadvantaged in Germany. Thus, the feeling of disadvantage roughly corresponds to that of the German majority population (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018a) even more (Erdoğan, 2015).

Since Turks represent the largest immigrant group in Germany and because of their many unique social, cultural, and educational challenges and religious differences, they are a politically influential target group for the future of democracy in Germany.

1.3 Concept of world society and challenges

A set of global relations embedded in a world-level cultural context frames and shapes social actors' identities, structures, and behavior (J. W. Meyer, Boli, Thomas, & Ramirez, 1997). These relationships reveal the influence and importance of global institutions and culture in the choices that individuals, structures, and states in different parts of the world make in shaping their behavior (McNeely, 2012). These behaviors also show transnational interactions and global social changes. In this context, the people of Turkish origin living in Germany, numbering between 3-4 million, while they exist with their ties with Turkey on the one hand and their ongoing relations with Germany on the other, are primarily a part of the 'world society', in addition to the many definitions that can be made for them.

While Niklas Luhmann's system theory defines 'autopoiesis' as systems that can reproduce themselves, it describes the world as a world society in the background of global and cross-border communication possibilities (Luhmann, 1998, 2021). Therefore, neither the economy, politics, nor education can sit within clear regional boundaries nor be compressed into a framework. This complex and intricate relationship, along with the increase in migration movements, has affected the policies of countries, economies, science, arts, music, fashion, and many other areas. In short, Luhman has shown that the effects of globalization are far beyond what is thought and predicted. The contribution of learning and education processes to understanding, measuring, and keeping these effects at a predictable level is also an essential topic of discussion.

As modern society has transformed into a global society, the challenges for pedagogical practice have increased exponentially. Teachers and schools, and the education system more generally, are trying, on the one hand, to provide students with the necessary skills to survive in an increasingly globalized world and, on the other hand, to convey the processes of a globalized world and society to the students. The term "world society" is not a numerical or dimensional description of the totality of people living in the world but should be defined, in Luhmann's words, as "the entire horizon of all meaningful experience" (Luhmann, 1998,

p.157). Accordingly, in the world society, there is no longer the possibility of observing society from a place that can be defined as outside; on the contrary, observers have different world designs according to the points from which they view events. From this point of view, a single-world society and a collection of societies make up this society (Luhmann, 1998). In addition, the perceived differences between societies are seen as forms of order rather than differences. Therefore, in modern societies, unexpected situations, new circumstances, and situations that have not been experienced before lead to complexity. This is the point where education comes in. Education is one of the most important means of overcoming the global problems that make their impact felt worldwide with globalization. Research on global social learning (Asbrand, 2009c; Krogull, 2018; Rau, 2018; Sander & Scheunpflug, 2011; Taube, 2022; Wagener, 2018) has shown that global experiences do not always automatically lead to global social understanding, reflective thinking, and political action, contrary to expectations, there are difficulties in dealing with the international social dimension of the knowledge of politics and its embedding in fundamental democratic beliefs (Bourn, 2020; Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016; Werron, 2011). It has even been found that the impact of global experiences on migrant communities may lead to isolationist tendencies on the one hand and produce patriarchy or nationalism on the other (Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016).

The studies have consistently shown that special reflexive efforts are needed to understand the abstractness of global social policy requirements. Reflexive learning processes must moderate experiences to lead to an understanding of abstract sociality beyond nationalism. World-social understanding is thus conveyed through participation experiences, in which political learning or political experiences can be reflected. It is necessary to understand what kind of learning and global experiences do or do not lead to a global social understanding of groups with international experiences, such as German Turks. Ultimately, the main goal is to get students (and, more generally, the whole society) used to living in a globalized world and an increasingly globalized society. Education systems enable individuals from different values, cultures, and systems to recognize

other values and cultures. Beyond recognition, they teach people to respect and rethink these values.

According to Destatis, at least 2.7 million German Turks live in Germany. 1.5 million of these German Turks hold only Turkish passports, and at least 1.2 million are German citizens (Destatis, 2022). On the other hand, at least 530 thousand “dual citizens” have Turkish and German citizenship (Sydow, 2016). Although the main point of the research is not the voting preferences of German Turks, the data on this issue will be an essential opportunity to understand their global worldviews. In this context, looking at how Turks living in Germany voted in the constitutional amendment referendum held in Turkey in 2017 would be helpful. 1.43 million people had the right to vote in the 2017 referendum, as a significant portion of Turks living in Germany preferred to retain their Turkish citizenship (YSK, 2017). Although they live entirely in Germany, their votes within the framework of their citizenship rights affected those living in Turkey more than themselves. This case can be considered a case study that fits any definition of globalization, just as described above. This research will help to understand how the world-society orientations of Turkish Germans are mediated through participatory experiences in which political learning or political experiences can be reflected. In this context, determining the action-guiding orientations of German Turks in the global society will also give an idea about how efficient global education and learning should be for similar immigrant groups, especially this group.

1.4 Research desideratum and research question

After the Second World War, many European countries started recruitment programs to support their developing industries. In this regard, Germany planned to invite workers to work temporarily and then ask them to return home, but this system did not work (see details in chapter 2). In the seventies, 15 years after the first workers arrived in Germany, 1 million people migrated to Germany from Turkey alone (Soysal, 2009). After it became clear that these people would eventually

become permanent, Germany moved away from the “guest worker” approach. It started to take steps for the adaptation and integration of migrants. As immigrants acquired citizenship rights through various means during these processes, one of the most critical issues of interest was understanding how immigrants adapted to the German political system and how their political preferences developed. Numerous studies have been conducted in this field (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Acar, 2012; Erdoğan, 2015; Aksel, 2019; Goerres et al., 2018b; (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016). A new development for immigrants of Turkish origin took place in 2014. At that time, it was made more accessible for Turkish citizens living abroad to vote. Thus, they started to vote for elections and referendums held in Turkey in their countries of residence, mainly Germany (see details in chapter 2). The results of the presidential election in 2014 and the referendum on constitutional amendments in 2017 were met with surprise by the German public. With this process, a new period of searching and understanding began. It has been understood that there is a lack of research on the preferences and voting tendencies of groups with migrant backgrounds in the elections of origin countries even after becoming citizens of Germany. Since 2015, there has been an increase in research on the voting preferences of Turks living in Germany, Europe, and elsewhere in the world in the elections in Turkey. In this context, participation in the home state citizenship relationship (Ataman, Sener, Noack, & Born, 2017), cross-border structures and orientations (Halm & Sauer, 2022), voting tendencies (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2020), political attitudes (Adar, 2020), the relationship between home states and homeland politics (Aksel, 2019) and the recently increasing decline of dual identity (Bayad, 2021) can be counted.

However, beyond which parties Turks in Germany vote for and why, there are not enough studies on the tendencies and orientations that shape their preferences in general, not only political preferences but all areas of life. On the other hand, there is also a lack of studies in the scientific literature that address the participation possibilities and learning opportunities of German Turks, who represent the largest immigrant group in Germany and are a politically important target group

for the future of democracy, concerning the development of the world society orientation. There is a lack of data on how German Turks position themselves regarding world society orientation and political participation and which learning experiences impact openness to the world society and democratic participation. Moreover, given that the worldviews of German Turks and people in general are often very implicit, and people are often unable to express their worldviews openly, the necessity of conducting research(s) in this field becomes even more evident.

These facts demonstrate the importance of global learning. Global learning is an educational concept that is based on the fact that people today live in a globalized world and interact with each other more and more every day. In an increasingly globalized world, migrants are an essential element of global learning because they should have the opportunity to reflect on their own ideas and roles in an interconnected society. This education can also help migrants to understand the complex relationships between social, political, and economic issues. It helps and encourages migrants to develop a discourse on these issues both in their home countries and in the countries they are living in. In this regard, global learning is an understanding that increases people's awareness and understanding of the different realities of both the country they live in and the world at large. It offers them a more just and egalitarian interpretation of the world and helps them take a human rights-for-all approach. (Da Silva, 2012)

In this context, identifying the orientations that guide the actions of German Turks and understanding their worldviews is a great necessity.

In this regard, this study investigates the world-society orientations of migrants from Turkey and how they situate themselves concerning spaces of participation.

The study aimed to contribute to a world-society theory of education and develop an educational offer for this target group of migrants.

1.5 Methodological approach

A reconstructive-qualitative and, thus, hypothesis-generating approach was chosen to address the research question. The interviews were analyzed using the documentary method, and the results were condensed by inductive typification and generalized towards a cosmopolitan theory of education.

With the chosen reconstructive approach, it is possible not only to survey the knowledge stocks reflexively available to the persons but also to reconstruct their implicit, action-guiding orientations and thus to trace their world-society-oriented habitus. In this way, the values that determine people's actions can be elaborated (Asbrand, 2009a, 2009c; Scheunflug, Krogull, & Franz, 2016).

Sampling: the sample was composed according to the theoretical sampling of Glaser and Strauss (Glaser & Strauss, 2010; Strübing, 2011). The research process was iterative. Sampling and interpretation were closely linked, and interviewees were sought according to previous interviews. Sampling criteria were gender, educational background, occupation, political and social participation experience, and migration generation. Twenty-two interviews were conducted with immigrants of Turkish origin living in Bavaria, Germany.

Interviewed German Turks are diverse, having migrated from geographically different regions of Turkey, reflecting Turkey's ethnic diversity, having different religious affiliations and political preferences. Among them are those who are active in different non-governmental organizations in Germany and some who are members of political parties.

Collected data was analyzed using the documentary method (Bohnsack, 2001, 2010, 2013, 2014; Nohl, 2010) based on Mannheim's methodological explanations (Mannheim, 1964, 1980). The data were collected in a rule-guided manner with the help of formulating and reflecting interpretations. The findings were consensually validated with an interpretation group according to the standards of qualitative social research. The data were condensed and generalized through a process of abductive epistemological approach (Bohnsack, 2001, 2010; Bohnsack, Nentwig-

Gesemann, & Nohl, 2013; M. Meyer, 2009; Nentwig-Gesemann, 2013; Nohl, 2010; Reichertz, 2011, 2013). This enabled a (sense-genetic) type formation through a case-external and case-internal comparative analysis, in which several ideal types constitute this sense-genetic type formation. Common to these ideal types is a tertium comparationis (see chapters 3 and 4). The sample of this study was enriched with further interviews until the empirical material could be condensed through abstraction and specification, ideal types could be generated, and no additional new findings appeared.

1.6 Structure of the work

This work is divided into six parts. In the following chapter two, the state of the research will be presented. First, a general structure of immigrants of Turkish origin living in Germany will be pictured, and a framework will be drawn about the numbers and quantities. Then, research conducted in Germany and internationally on this community's political orientation and voting behavior, social integration, and educational status will be examined, respectively. In addition, a detailed examination of global society and democratic learning, which is one of the main focal points of the research, will be made.

The third chapter will be devoted to a detailed description of the methodological approach on which the research is based. The reconstruction of the interviews (Bohnsack, 2010) using the documentary method will be discussed. The subject of sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 2010) will also be detailed in this section.

The fourth chapter will be devoted to the empirical results of the study. This section is going to begin with a brief portrait of the interviewees. Then, information will be given about the determined comparative horizons. Then, the orientation typology of German Turks developed in the context of the global society will be presented.

In the fifth chapter, the results of the research will be discussed. In this section, after the results obtained are presented as a summary, the types of reconstructed orientations determined by the empirical material

will be discussed in detail. At the end of this section, the identified hypotheses will be presented.

In the sixth and last chapter, in light of the results obtained, what kind of new research can be done using these data and the possibilities of evaluating the results in practice will be considered.

2 Literature review

Migration is a global phenomenon. According to the 2022 report of the United Nations' International Organization for Migration (IOM, 2021), there are approximately 281 million migrants, about 3.6 percent of the world's population. While the percentage may seem small, the impact of immigration and immigrants is much more significant than the 3.6 percent. Migration is an accelerating, diversifying, and politicizing force (Castells, 1998) for the states and people. Migration is not a new phenomenon; people have been migrating from one place to another for centuries for different reasons. They established "imagined communities" (B. Anderson, 2006) in the new places they visited, creating an impact that changed the international balance. While there are many reasons for migration, the main reasons are improving living conditions, sometimes eliminating natural disasters, and escaping political, ethnic, or religious pressures (Friedman, 2004).

Immigrants with multiple identities (Burke, 2009) can simultaneously accommodate the sociocultural elements of both the host and source countries (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010). Especially in recent years, the spatial mobility of people and societies has increased due to the development of technology and the increase and cheapening of transportation and communication opportunities (Friedman, 2004). This mobility has led to cultural, political, economic, and emotional changes in receiving and sending populations. Due to the migration movement, the economic, political, cultural, religious, and linguistic interactions of people and societies with others and with each other increased. Beyond the nation-state, a new social system has emerged, focused on sharing a common geography and shaped by mutual interaction in areas such as shared beliefs, thoughts, and lifestyles (Cappai, 2016).

Throughout history, Europe has been both a migrant-sending and receiving continent. There have also been intra-continental migrations from different regions and countries of the continent. In today's Europe, immigration debates have again come to the agenda, with the migration move-

ment in 2015 and the migration flow from Ukraine in 2022. In 2015, millions of Syrians left the region due to the civil war, and hundreds of thousands of people from Iraq, Afghanistan, and many other countries fled the civil war (Scipioni, 2018). Ukrainians were forced to leave their countries after the Russian invasion in 2022 (Garicano, Rohner, & Weder, 2022).

2.1 Turkish migration to Germany

The most notable immigrants who came to Germany and continue to exist today are undoubtedly the immigrants from Turkey. 2021 was the 60th anniversary of Germany's acceptance of guest workers from Turkey (Yanasmayan, 2022). Therefore, various events were organized both in Germany and in Turkey on the occasion of the anniversary. Scientific meetings and politicians' speeches emphasized how much Turkish workers have contributed to the development of Germany in the last 60 years. The Federal Republic of Germany rapidly strengthened its industry after the Second World War, which was called "Wirtschaftswunder" (economic miracle). In this period, the workforce was recruited from Italy, Spain, Greece, former Yugoslavia, and Turkey to meet the emerging needs. The mostly undereducated male workforce from different parts of Turkey (Gatch, Hitz, & Overman, 2020) started coming to Germany under the agreement between the two countries. The first recruitment of guest workers from Turkey began in 1961 (Abadan-Unat, 2005). The agreement was for temporary workers for two years, and that is why they were called guest workers. These workers, who would work for two years on a limited basis, were then required to return to their homes. In the process, they would be replaced by new workers, and other groups had to start working in place of the firstcomers. The primary purpose of Germany's limited time plan, among other reasons, was to prevent the guest workers who were brought to work mainly in mines, factories, and service sectors from becoming "immigrants" or, in other words, permanent. Turkey also expected that the workers it sent would stay in Germany temporarily, learn a job in industry, gain experience, and then return to Turkey to support

the country's industrial drive (KAS, 2011). Therefore, workers were initially not allowed to bring their families with them. The predominantly male workers left their families in their homeland to stay in workers' hostels in Germany (L. Soysal, 2009). However, this plan did not work for several reasons. The main reason was the dissatisfaction of the employers. The workers had to be trained for some time. The ones they taught the job had to leave when they started to work fully productively, which caused job losses. At the same time, new worker training brought extra costs, so after extensive discussions, they were allowed to stay longer (Nathans, 2004). After the 1973 oil crisis, Germany stopped accepting workers from Turkey, but Turks continued to come mostly because of family unifications allowed after 1974 (Findley, 2005; Gerdes, 2014). After the guest workers' generation, another main factor for migration from Turkey to Germany was the 1980 military coup in Turkey. After the coup, a second movement started consisting mainly of political activists, artists, intellectuals, and Kurds looking for asylum because of the violent conflict in the southeastern part of Turkey (Findley, 2005). For the first movement, the main driving factor was economic, while for the second, it was political (Abadan-Unat, 2011).

With the labor migration that started in the 1960s, a new labor market-oriented class consisting of immigrants was formed in Germany. The common aspect of this class, which is comprised of people from different countries, ethnicities, and origins, has one point in common: legal status. They are all defined and called "with a migration background" (in German: mit Migrationshintergrund) under German laws and regulations (Castles, 2011). Thanks to the immigration that has been going on since the 1960s, a very heterogeneous Turkish community has emerged in Germany, which has moved from the initial migration motives to different socio-economic and ethnic reasons (Uslucan, 2017).

According to the German Federal Statistical Office (Destatis) micro census results in 2021, 22.3 million people had a migrant background, representing 27.2% of the population in Germany (Destatis, 2022). Destatis defines people with a migration background who "migrated to Germany after 1950, were born in Germany as a foreigner and at least one

parent who immigrated to Germany after 1950 or was born in Germany as a foreigner”. According to this definition, after 60 years of migration to Germany, at least 2.7 million German Turks, half of whom were born in Germany, live in Germany. Judged by the total population – 84.1 million – this is equivalent to 3.2 % of all residents of Germany. 1.5 million of these German Turks hold only Turkish passports. This 2.7 million number does not include the German Turks who had their parents born in Germany and do not hold a Turkish passport. (Destatis, 2022). Since the high numbers of naturalization of Turks and German Turks, many younger generations are not called “migration background” and are no longer considered inside the migration background citizen category. Audretsch and Lehmann claim this number is “up to four million” (Audretsch & Lehmann, 2016). German Turks are a relatively young community; 48 percent of the group is between 20 and 40 (Destatis, 2022).

After 60 years of immigration, while Germany has become a permanent residence of the children and grandchildren of former Turkish guest workers, who were previously thought of as temporary guests to fill the gaps in the job market, German Turks are now no longer just workers – as initially planned – but they exist almost in every segment of life and society, from doctors to politicians, artists to judges, football players to mayors (Inda, 2008; Ünver, 2022). Football players Mesut Özil, İlkay Gündoğan, and Emre Can, who were born and raised in Germany, played or are playing in the German national football team (Wallrodt, 2018), while Nuri Şahin, Hakan Çalhanoğlu, and Hamit Altıntop, who were also born in Germany, chose the Turkish national team. German Turkish scientists Özlem Türeci and Uğur Şahin developed the vaccine against the disease of Covid 19 epidemic, which marked the world agenda between the years 2020-2022 (Gelles, 2020). In the government established in 2021 under Chancellor Olaf Scholz, a German Turk politician from Bündnis 90/Die Grünen (Alliance 90/The Greens Party), Cem Özdemir serves as the minister of Food and Agriculture (Darida, 2022). These developments are clear evidence that Turkish immigrants have become active participants in German society. Meanwhile, their contribution to society and their visibility in society are increasing day by day. These developments have not

reduced or prevented them from being interested in, participating in, and/or engaging in Turkish social life and politics. Such connections have emerged as German Turks gather in different cities of Germany from time to time to support the developments in Turkey (DW, 2018) and, from time to time, to protest the events happening in Turkey (RBB, 2022).

Earlier studies examining immigrants and their citizenship rights have focused on how immigrants acquire citizenship and its legal methods (Bauböck, 1994; Benhabib, 1999). However, on the one hand, it is often ignored that obtaining citizenship is more than receiving an identity card or passport (Çelik, 2015; Ehrkamp, 2006). Acquiring citizenship does not need to break the ties with the country of origin. On the other hand, citizenship is more than just obtaining a passport and gaining the right to vote. Citizenship should also have social aspects, such as joining activities related to the state, being involved in non-governmental organizations, and having enough information to take a position on the developments in the country (Benhabib, 1999).

For many years, the governments of Germany accepted the principle of “*jus sanguinis*”, that is, the principle of citizenship through blood ties, and defended the motto of “*Wir sind kein Einwanderungsland*” (We are not a country of immigration) and rejected the principle of “*jus soli*”, which gives citizenship through birthplace (Bauböck, 1994). Beyond an economic and demographic objection, cultural and political reasons exist behind this rejection (Ehrkamp & Leitner, 2003). In the 1990s, the first citizenship law was relaxed, allowing workers to apply for citizenship after living in Germany for eight years, and then “*jus soli*” principle was also adopted as an option, which has been accepted by countries such as the USA and Canada that have declared that they are immigrant countries from the beginning (Brubaker, 2002). After the Second World War, while many European countries met the labor force they needed with immigration, over time, most of them accepted that they were an immigration country. However, Germany is among the last countries in Europe to officially recognize itself as a country of immigration (Klusmeyer & Papadēmētriu, 2009).

In the light of these definitions, in today's Germany, it is possible to divide the people of Turkish origin living in Germany into three main groups:

- “German citizens” who have only German citizenship, and their number is at least 1.2 million (Destatis, 2022)
- “Turkish citizens” who have only Turkish citizenship, and their number is around 1.5 million (Destatis, 2022)
- “Dual citizens” who have both Turkish and German citizenship at the same time are at least half a million (Sydow, 2016).

According to ‘Türkeistämmige Personen in Deutschland’ report (Persons of Turkish descent in Germany - also called RAM 2016) (Schürer, 2016) research, the main reasons why German Turks do not prefer German citizenship are “would like to keep my old (Turkish) citizenship” by 47.1 percent and “doesn’t bring me any benefit” by 39.4 percent. The number of Turkish nationals has fallen recently due to naturalization (Hanrath, 2011). In this study, interviews are made with members of all three mentioned categories. Another classification that defines German Turks besides their citizenship status is related to their generations. The first generations were the so-called “Gastarbeiter” or guest workers. Their children (regardless of their birthplace, Germany or Turkey) are defined as second, and the grandchildren (if not all but mostly) born in Germany are the third (BAMF, 2018).

There are differences between the arrival times of the members of the Turkish community in Germany and the reasons for their migration. The reasons for migration, which initially started purely for economic reasons, changed over time due to reasons such as school, family reunification, and political asylum for ethnic or religious persecution (Sirkeci, Cohen, & Yazgan, 2014). While 80-85 percent of German Turks define themselves as Muslims, a significant portion of the rest describe themselves as Alevi (8-9 percent), Christians (1 percent) or not belonging to any religion (3-4 percent) (Halm, Sauer, Schmidt, & Stichs, 2012; Schürer, 2016).

For these reasons, for lack of a better term, “German Turks” is used as a shorthand for people who came to Germany as guest workers, their children or grandchildren (i.e., with and without German citizenship as

well as with or without their own migration experience) regardless of their ethnic background, from Turkey. This shorthand does not mean neglecting the ethnic, cultural, or religious plurality between immigrants from Turkey but is preferred to facilitate identification and categorization more easily. In the research, “German Turks” is a colloquial term whose ancestors lived in Turkey.

Turkish migration, which has been going on for 60 years, has brought along discussions on integration, inclusion, language, vocational education, and participation while a migrant not only changes their country but also maintains relations with the country they came from in many ways (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007). On the one hand, they carry motifs from their homeland to the country they move to; on the other hand, they take the values of their country to their homeland. The phenomenon of transnationalism that emerged in this context has brought a new dimension to the issue of migration. These people with transnational identities can simultaneously accommodate the socio-cultural elements of the host country and the country of origin (Avci, 2005). This shows that immigrants’ existence in their country should not be seen in a one-dimensional sphere.

The constitutional amendment referendum held in 2017 led to discussions about the future of democracy not only in Turkey but also in Germany and some other countries. German newspaper TAZ calls the referendum “either for or against the preservation of democracy” (Schick, 2017). On the other hand, Gümüş calls the referendum “to use democracy to end its democracy” (Gümüş, 2017). A Brookings Institute report summarizes the changes as “the president becoming stronger, the parliament losing power” (Ekim & Kirişçi, 2017). Western democracies see the changes as the continuation of the authoritarian ruling style of Erdoğan, and “Turks in Germany who support him are regarded as undemocratic, and therefore not in line with German values” (Becker-Bertau, 2020).

After the results of the constitutional amendment referendum held in Turkey on April 16, the multidimensional debates on immigration and integration emerged again (Adar, 2020). The majority of people with a Turkish immigrant background living in many European countries and Germany approved the changes in the referendum that will facilitate the

damage or even the abolition of the democratic structures that have been tried to be established in Turkey for many years. These changes include articles such as the abolition of the parliament’s authority to oversee the ministers and the government, the abolition of the prime minister’s office, and the abolition of the president’s impartiality status. One of the most striking issues in the aftermath of this referendum was not only the participation rates but also the fact that Turkish citizens living abroad, especially in Germany, voted “yes” at a rate higher than the average rate in Turkey (see table 1).

Table 1: 2017 Referendum for constitutional changes voter turnout and approval rates

	Voter Turnout %	Yes %	No %
Turkey	85.43	51.41	48.59
Germany	46.1	63.07	36.93
Overall abroad votes	44.8	59.46	40.54

Source: Turkish Supreme Election Council (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu)

In the 2017 referendum, 3 million people of Turkish origin living abroad, 1.43 million in Germany, had the right to vote, and 660 thousand German Turks cast their votes. The rate of participation in the elections among those German Turks was 46.1 percent. 51.4 percent of the voters across Turkey voted “yes” for the amendments; this approval rate was 63 percent among German Turks. The “yes” rate among Turks living abroad was 59 percent. While the overall “yes” vote rate was 51.2 percent, it increased to 51.4% when foreign votes were added (Goerres, Mayer, & Spies, 2018a; Özkan, 2017; YSK, 2017). As shown in Table 1, the percentage of “yes” votes in Germany is higher than overall abroad votes and Turkey in general.

After the emergence of these rates, discussion arose in many places, especially in the media and among politicians. The main point of those discussions was that Turks living in Germany did not internalize the universal democratic principles; these were not accepted, and these values were not supported (Adar, 2020). Another significant issue is the paradox that while German Turks exercise their democratic freedoms to the fullest in Germany, they restrict freedoms towards Turkey (Akçalı, 2017). As Adar highlights, “the popularity of the AKP and President Erdoğan in Germany among migrants from Turkey and their children are often explained by “loyalty to Turkey” and lack of democratic culture.” (Adar, 2020, p. 6)

This contradiction, which manifests itself in political action, has long been described in political theory as a phenomenon of globalization. When describing globalization, Anthony Giddens points to the world’s interconnectedness as “the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa” (Giddens, 1995, p. 64). The expansion of media or communication space on a new scale allows for the (mental) simultaneity of national affiliations and, often, the exercise of a related electoral law without being directly affected by the effects of such a choice (Castells, 2008). Thus, the globalization of social references is a space of political concern.

Research on trans nationality has shown that affiliations of migrants and/or dual citizenship holders are not necessarily mutually exclusive but often coexist (Levitt & La Dehesa, 2003). Migrants associate the countries they left with and the states they live in different areas, but studies on how the political attitudes and behaviors in the countries they come from and settle in are not sufficient to understand this relationship and interact (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018a). “For citizens of immigrant origin, political trust and interest are often related to feelings of loyalty to the political system in the country of residence.” (Mügge, Kranendonk, Vermeulen, & Aydemir, 2021, p. 404) and “Migrants bring with them both what they can carry and what and whom they know—they embody both physical and intellectual capital” (Leblang & Peters, 2022, p. 380) includ-

ing political preferences. Participation in political processes results in different preferences in the country where the person lives and in another country where they participate in the election decisions, and these results have implications for the people in the country where they do not live. This situation is paradigmatic for social dimensions of globalization, which Michael Zürn (Zürn, 1998) - admittedly by other examples - has called the disintegration of affected and regulatory spaces and which can be seen as characteristic of the development of world society (Luhmann, 1998). This concerns those “worldwide structures of expectation” (Stichweh, 1994, p. 89) which, due to economic, media and technological development, are paradoxical structures of, on the one hand, unification and, on the other hand, the expediency of cultural practices (Appadurai, 1990, 2008), social risks (Beck, 1996, 2015) and social networks (Castells, 2003), and pose various challenges concerning the development of political participation and democratic orientations. Another dimension of the relationship between globalization and immigrants is that people with a migrant background experience the change of cultural spaces and thus directly experience the global social dimension of today’s economic and political developments. In today’s world, which McLuhan summarized as a “global village” (McLuhan, 1995), where the world is becoming increasingly interdependent through media and technology, these relations have affected countries’ democracy.

Interestingly, however, this experience often, though not always, leads to a pro-democratic and cosmopolitan attitude but – as the results of the referendum cited above show – also to nationalism and political fundamentalism. The reasons for migration, migration experiences, the position of the target country, the recognition and integration policies encountered there, the educational success of the younger generations, and the political experiences in the origin country and political education experiences in the target country lie behind these preferences (Koopmans, Michalowski, & Waibel, 2012).

In this framework, which global social orientations include German Turks, how they position themselves in terms of political participation, and which learning experiences lead to moderate experiences in openness

to society and democratic participation will be explored. Therefore, it is necessary to take a further look at the state of the debate on the following points:

Chapter 2.2 will focus on “Research on the political orientation and voting behavior of German Turks in Germany and Turkey”. To understand the global social orientations of German Turks, it is first necessary to know where this group positions itself politically. There are studies and data on the preferences and voting tendencies of German Turks, who vote in elections in Germany after gaining or obtaining German citizenship. These provide information on the political preferences of German Turks in Germany. In addition, with the amendment made to the Turkish Election Law, Turkish citizens outside Turkey can now vote in the countries where they live. Thus, Turkish citizens living in Germany could also show their preferences by casting their votes in the ballot boxes set up in Germany. The results of the elections or referendums have provided essential data on German Turks’ political preferences and tendencies toward Turkish politics. These data provided sufficient information to determine the motivations of German Turks when voting, to understand what determines their preferences, and to interpret them.

Chapter 2.3 will be about “Research on the social integration of people of Turkish origin in Germany”. After the beginning of immigration, with the realization that the immigrants are permanent, the German authorities have focused on issues related to the adaptation and integration of the country’s newcomers. Numerous studies have been initiated on language learning for immigrants, extending vocational training to all age groups and genders, learning the legal norms and social conditions of Germany, and other similar issues. Local and federal governments, non-governmental organizations, universities and educational institutions of different scales have supported these studies. As a result of these initiatives, studies, and efforts, it is necessary to understand the position of the German Turkish community in terms of social integration from past to present to understand how German Turks position themselves.

Chapter 2.4 is about “Research on the educational status of people of Turkish origin in Germany”. Numerous studies have been conducted on

the educational status of Turkish people who migrated to Germany and, subsequently, on their children's education. These studies provide essential data to understand how the Turkish-German community is going through a change process. In this framework, the educational status and educational preferences of the German Turkish community in general and their comparison with other similar immigrant groups will provide sufficient data to understand the trends of this group.

Finally, chapter 2.5 will look for the "Research on global social and democratic learning". In this part, there is a review of studies on global social and democratic learning, which is one of the significant points of the study. Studies and research explaining how German Turks position themselves will also reveal in which field this study will progress and demonstrate the deficiencies in existing studies.

A review of studies under these headings will shed light on how German Turks position themselves, what plays a role in forming their tendencies, preferences, and orientations, and the role and impact of education in these processes.

2.2 Research on the political orientation and voting behavior of German Turks in Germany and Turkey

With the workforce immigration to northern Europe, movements that started in the early 1960s, integration and adaptation discussions in host countries were also triggered. The cultural and economic adaptation of immigrants to the countries they come from, their integration into social areas, and their access to education have been frequently examined by scientists (Ersanilli, 2012; Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Koopmans, 2013; van Tubergen, 2006). Over time, immigrants' citizenship rights in host countries and their involvement in the political arena have been added to the integration debates. As this multi-lingual, multi-passport, and multi-identity population that emerged over time began to reach numbers that would affect the elections, the voting dynamics and party preferences of this society drew attention in terms of host countries (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018b; Klok, van Tilburg, Suanet, Fokkema, & Huisman, 2017).

Beyond that, this multi-passport community's political ties and relations with the countries of origin began to be discussed over time.

After 60 years of immigration, 21.9 million people - 26.7 percent of Germany's population - have a migrant background, of whom around 7.9 million are eligible to vote in elections at all levels in the country. This figure corresponds to approximately 13 percent of the general electorate, based on the polls in 2021 (Destatis, 2022). At least 1.5 million of the 2.7 million people of Turkish origin in Germany have the right to vote in the elections held in Germany (Destatis, 2022), either as only German citizens or as dual citizens. Also, 1.4 million people can vote in Turkey's general elections or referendums (YSK, 2017).

Studies conducted within this framework have revealed that different motives play a role in the party preferences of this immigrant-origin mass. Among these factors, the length of stay of immigrants in the country, reasons for immigration, countries' attitudes towards immigrants, ethnic identity and discrimination experiences can be counted (Goerres, Elis, Mayer, & Spies, 2021).

In this context, 2017 has become a politically important turning point for the German-Turkish community due to the constitutional amendment referendum held in Turkey in April and the general elections held in Germany in September. With the referendum held in 2017, some articles of the Turkish constitution were amended. Following these changes, which increased the democratic decline in the country, Turkey regressed from "partly free" to "not free" in the Freedom House Index of Global Freedom rankings (Freedom House, 2018). The German Turkish community living in Germany became highly politicized due to both the coup attempt in 2016 and the facilitation of voting for the constitutional referendum held in 2017. After the referendum, the referendum approval rates of the German Turkish community started the debates in Germany, which was a significant point

Until 2014, Turkish citizens over 18 living outside Turkey had to travel to Turkey and cast their votes for any elections only at the ballot boxes stationed at the Turkish border gates. All Turkish citizens living abroad, including German Turks, who go to Turkey by road or air could

show their political preferences by voting here. However, since this method was complex, laborious, and expensive, the voter turnout rate of Turkish nationals living abroad and qualified to vote was below 1 percent. With the legal amendment made in 2014, Turkish citizens living abroad were allowed to vote in their countries of residence. The registered voters from abroad had to get an appointment to vote at embassies or consulates. Since voting was made more accessible compared to the previous system, the turnout of Turkish citizens living in Germany in the 2014 presidential elections exceeded 8 percent (YSK, 2014). Because of the complaints and difficulties about this system, this system changed once again for the next elections. With the last voting system, whoever is living abroad – even outside their country of residence– who wants to vote can cast their votes without an appointment at any consulate. With this new system, the turnout rate in Germany reached 40 percent in the general elections held in November 2015 (YSK, 2015). In the constitutional amendment referendum in 2017, the turnout exceeded 45 percent (YSK, 2017).

Table 2: Voter turnout in Germany in general elections and referendums held in Turkey after the implementation of voting facilitation

Elections	Voter turnout in Germany %
2014 Presidential elections	18.93
2015-June Parliamentary elections	33.40
2015-November Parliamentary elections	39.80
2017 Constitutional referendum	45.84
2018 Presidential and parliamentary Elections	45.70

Source: Turkish Supreme Election Council (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu)

After facilitating easy voting abroad and reducing bureaucratic procedures, the voter turnout rate, which was less than 1 percent, exceeded 45

percent in Germany (see Table 2). This facilitation started a new phase of postmodern democratic politics, showing that national territories are decreasingly crucial for national politics and election campaigns. Western European immigration countries hosting large numbers of Turkish populations were critical of the Turkish government's involvement with 'their' citizens (Mügge, 2012a).

How Turks in Germany used their preferences for the elections in Turkey was not known until the legal amendment in 2014. In the 2014 presidential elections, 68 percent of the 112 thousand voters who cast their votes in Germany chose Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the candidate of the ruling Justice and Development Party (AKP), and 23 percent Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu, the candidate of the main opposition Republican People's Party (CHP), and 7 percent for the pro-Kurdish Peoples' Democratic Party (HDP) candidate Selahattin Demirtaş.

In the presidential and general elections held together in 2018, 64 percent of the 660 thousand voters who cast their votes in Germany chose the candidate of the ruling AKP, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, 21 percent to Muharrem İnce, the candidate of the main opposition party CHP, and 9 percent voted for Selahattin Demirtaş, the candidate of the pro-Kurdish HDP. While two prominent candidates in both elections were the same, their vote rates were more or less the same (see Table 3).

Table 3: Vote preferences of German Turks in the 2014 and 2018 Turkish presidential elections

Election	AKP	CHP	HDP
2014 presidential election	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan 68%	Ekmeleddin İhsanoğlu 23%	Selahattin Demirtaş 7%
2018 presidential election	Recep Tayyip Erdoğan 64%	Muharrem İnce 21%	Selahattin Demirtaş 9%

Source: Turkish Supreme Election Council (Yüksek Seçim Kurulu)

In 2018, votes were cast not only for presidential candidates but also for parties for general elections. Of the 660,000 voters in Germany, 55 percent

chose the ruling AKP, 15 percent chose the CHP, 14 percent chose the pro-Kurdish HDP, 8 percent chose the nationalist MHP, and the remaining 8 percent voted for the other parties.

Earlier research shows that the voting behavior of German Turks was “influenced by their labor status, migration history, individual socio-demographic factors and current political content and candidates” (Acar, 2012; Wüst, 2002, 2003). Acar conducted 500 hundred face-to-face interviews in Hamburg to understand what influenced the voting behavior of German Turks in 2011, and home-connectedness and cultural identity are important factors for voting in the Turkish elections (Acar, 2012). Twelve percent of the participants have no interest in Turkish elections, and 14 have little interest. On the other hand, 43 have medium, and 30 percent have strong interest.

Analyzes of the presidential elections 2014 showed (Abadan-Unat et al., 2017) that Turks of the third and fourth generation are more politically oriented toward Germany. Voters of the CHP and those of the MHP of German Turks see themselves more as “Turks”; MHP voters emphasize their Muslim identity and understand “Turkish” as ethnic, while CHP voters prefer a secular identity. On the other hand, AKP voters consider their Muslim identity more important than the Turkish one. A study by Goerres, Spieß & Meyer has shown that support for President Erdoğan and the referendum on Turkish citizens with dual citizenship is significantly lower (21%) than for those who have only Turkish citizenship (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018b). Most people of Turkish origin have a favorable view of the simultaneity of different cultural identities (Erdoğan, 2015).

The fact that Germany is the fourth largest constituency after İstanbul, Ankara, and İzmir, with the number of voters approaching 1.5 million, has created a constituency that Turkish politicians cannot neglect. After the changes to implementation, imposed to facilitate external voting, Turkish politicians added cities in Germany where Turks live heavily to their election campaigns. They gave speeches to the Turks who gathered in areas such as the sports arenas. President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan’s election speeches in various German cities intensely reflected the German

public. In 2015, Erdoğan attended a meeting in Karlsruhe DM Arena and addressed four thousand people asking for their votes in the upcoming Turkish elections (Özay, 2015). Many German Turks who have a solid emotional bond with Turkey assume that losing Turkish citizenship also means losing Turkish identity. President Erdoğan, who is aware of the tendencies of German Turks, is using this rhetoric and nostalgia in his speeches to the German Turkish voters. He tells the stories of the guest worker generation and makes highly emotional speeches (Özvatan, 2020).

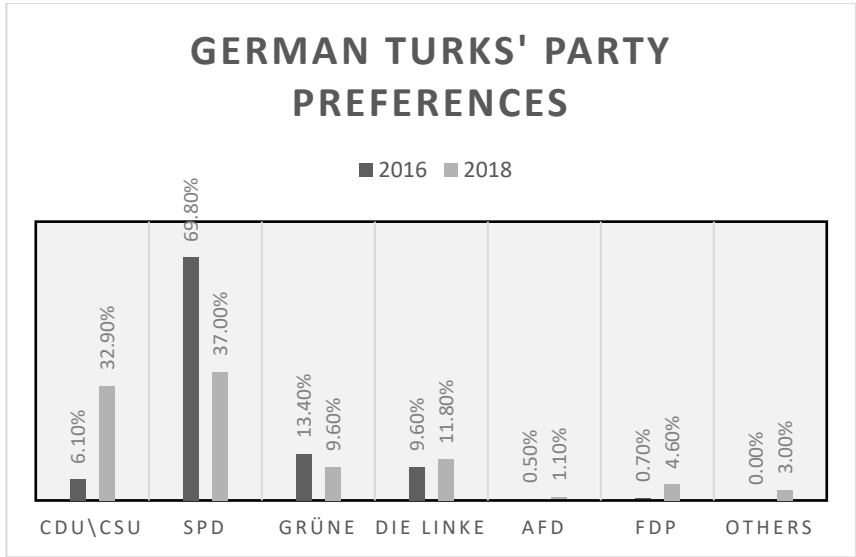
Adar (Adar, 2020) (Adar, 2020) underlines that the support of German Turks to Erdoğan “should be rethought outside of the frameworks of ‘loyalty’ and ‘democratic culture’” while “social policy, political discourse, media representations, economic benefits, and geopolitics combined, but also separately, affect voter preferences” (p. 26). She also notes that “socio-economic changes and perceived improvements in the quality of services at various Turkish state institutions” (p. 20) are seen as a performance of Erdoğan, which makes German Turks support him. On the other hand, “a strong sense of pride sustained by the rhetoric of a ‘strong Turkey’ which is perceived to be represented in the charismatic persona of President Erdoğan” (p.20) is another main point for voting for his direction. Adar also notes, “religiosity is not the primary motivation to vote in favor of the AKP” (p. 20).

While the facilitation of voting abroad for Turkish elections and thus increased participation in the elections have provided a clearer understanding of the political preferences of German Turks living in Germany, on the other hand, for the naturalized German Turks, there are also various researches about their choices. Integration Barometer 2016 (SVR 2016) research finds that the SPD is the most popular party among German Turks, with 69.8 percent. Bündnis 90/Die Grünen and Die Linke follow it with 13.4 and 9.6, respectively. The CDU/CSU has 6.1 percent support among the community (Litta & Wittlif, 2016). In a 2011 Hamburg-specific survey, support for the SPD was 47 percent, for the Greens 28 percent, for Die Linke 11 percent, and for the CDU 6.1 percent (Acar, 2012).

A study conducted in 2016 reveals the relationship between German Turks' voting tendencies and their level of education. The support for SPD is up to 75 percent among low-educated German Turks, and this support decreases to 50 percent as the level of education increases. On the other hand, while the rate of those who prefer the CDU/CSU was 6.1 percent among those with low education, this figure increases to 8.1 percent among those with higher education. The opposite is found for the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen and Die Linke. As the level of education increases, the support for these two parties also increases: From 10 to 26 percent for the Bündnis 90/Die Grünen and from 7 to 16 percent for Die Linke (Litta & Wittlif, 2016). German Turks prefer SPD and Bündnis 90/Die Grünen, which are traditionally open to migrants (Karakayalı, 2017).

While the support for the SPD among the younger generations decreases, the votes of the CDU/CSU increase. While CDU/CSU is more prevalent among other immigrant groups (e.g., those from former the Soviet Union), the SPD is often the first choice for Turkish Germans. However, the decrease in support for the SPD is visible. The Immigrant German Election Study, conducted during the 2017 election year, determined that German Turks support the SPD at 39 percent, while Russian Germans support 30 percent (Goerres et al., 2020). On the other hand, for young German Turks, some of whom are in the third generation, the importance of passport, citizenship, and identity has decreased. Therefore, this group's support for the CDU/CSU has increased (Wüst, 2011). Other than age and generation, education is another factor in choosing the parties.

Table 4: German Turks' party preferences in Germany in 2016 and 2018



Source: SVR Integrationsbarometer 2016, 2018 (graphic by author)

According to the KAS research (Neu, 2021), among the preferences of the general population of immigrants in Germany, the CDU/CSU ranked first with 40 percent support, while the SPD's support was 15 percent. The SVR 2018 survey also determined similar rates. With 43 percent of the votes of the CDU/CSU, among those with a migrant background, the SPD dropped 15 percent from the previous SVR survey in 2016 to 25 percent. These rates also show that German Turks differ significantly from immigrants other than themselves in their voting preferences (Litta & Wittlif, 2016, 2018).

“Leitkultur debate, which the CDU/CSU, in particular, has conducted at various times, and the overwhelming rejection of the dual passport” may have been the main reasons for low support percentages for union parties (Litta & Wittlif, 2016). Union parties like the guest worker generation are unpopular in older groups.

Studies have also revealed that in addition to German Turks, other immigrant German groups traditionally voting for the SPD have decreased in recent years. In contrast, the support of immigrants to the Union Parties, which they have been away from for many years, has increased (Litta & Wittlif, 2018).

The EuroTurks Survey (Kaya & Kentel, 2005) conducted with immigrants of Turkish origin living in Germany and France revealed the role of religion and ethnic identity, as well as gender, status achieved in the host country, the reasons for migration, and the duration of stay, are adequate for the orientation of this group to Turkey. It reveals that European Turks closely monitor not only the economic, social, and political developments in Turkey but also in the host country. According to the research, 42 percent of German Turks are not at all interested in the political developments in Turkey. While the total number of those who follow political developments in Germany is 40.8 percent, the number of those who are not curious about Germany is 37.1 percent.

In sum, it can be said that German Turks closely follow political developments in Germany and Turkey. The voting preferences of German Turks who have acquired German citizenship have changed over time, and it has been observed that the preferences of the SPD, which was previously seen as the representative of the working class, and then the Greens, known for their warm approach towards immigrants, have shifted towards the CDU over time. In the elections in Turkey, the voting preferences of German Turks, who mostly prefer to remain Turkish citizens, were generally directed towards right-conservative parties, and it was observed that the voting rates for these parties in Germany were in parallel with the general preference in Turkey and sometimes exceeded the rates in Turkey. Culture and identity debates are the most prominent topics in voting preferences in Germany and Turkey. Although it may seem contradictory that they vote for left-wing parties in Germany and right-wing parties in Turkey, the fact that their priorities and expectations are different in both countries can be considered an essential point among many other reasons for the difference in their preferences.

2.3 Research on the social integration of people of Turkish origin in Germany

After political integration, another issue that needs to be emphasized for immigrant groups is social integration. How quickly immigrant groups in Germany adapt to the country or what kind of difficulties they experience has always attracted the attention of the authorities and researchers. It has been observed that while immigrants try to learn and understand the values and norms of the country they moved to, they also try to maintain their ties with their home country's culture, language, and history. In this framework, like all immigrant groups, topics – among many others – such as how German Turks develop their identity, their priorities in learning Turkish and German, and the effects of the fact that the majority of German Turks belong to a religion different from the dominant religion in Germany are essential for revealing their implicit world orientations.

Stuart Hall (1992) defines national identity based on the nation-state structure. National identity emerges both because the state is a political entity and because it is a cultural identity that makes sense of cultural representation. He argues that:

“National cultures are composed not only of cultural institutions, but of symbols and representations. A national culture is a discourse, a way of constructing meanings which influences and organizes both our actions and our conception of ourselves. National cultures construct identities by producing meanings about ‘the nation’ with which we can identify; these are contained in the stories which are told about it, memories which connect its present with its past, and images which are constructed of it.” (Hall, 1992, pp. 292–293)

Therefore, national identity cannot be defined and limited only by membership or citizenship but also relates to a sense of identity and belonging (B. Anderson, 2006). According to the social identity approach (Tajfel & Turner, 1979), social categorizations, including ethnicity, are “cognitive

tools which are used to systematically rank the social environment into in-group and out-group” and refer to immigrants’ participation in social and civic networks established or self-created within the host societies, and also how social identity is shaped by group belonging. Although the determination of identity cannot be limited to only citizenship, today, who is meant by “we” or implied by “they” is primarily determined by national boundaries. These definitions include who stays “in” and who is “out”. (Yuval-Davis, 2011).

In this framework, social integration considers not only integration into the social fabric of the host country or the majority population but also relations with one’s ethnic, cultural, or religious group. Membership in ethnic or cultural clubs or associations often leads to long-term integration with the majority community, not isolation, as many argue (Worbs, 2007). Thus, social integration has a “balancing effect on personality” (Worbs, 2007, p. 16).

Immigrants go through a “hybridization” (Bhabha, 2004) process under the influence of the new cultural environment with the cultural, social, and societal influence of the place they live in the country where they have established their new lives, and they may carry more than one identity. How immigrants position and define themselves and how others position and define them is one of the most debated topics in migration studies. Conflicts may arise between the perception of “constructed” identity in the host society on the one hand and what immigrants feel and perceive on the other (Giddens, 1995; Hall, 1992). Economic migrants identify more with the country of origin because they are temporary in the country where they work. Smith uses the expressions “shared memories, symbols, myths, traditions, values and links to a homeland” (Smith, 1991, p. 14) among its members while defining a nation. The identities that people have can be national or individual – there are also political, cultural, social, and ethnic identities – occur with the definition of others, and it “is dynamic, fluid, and syncretic, and should not be prescribed” (Kaya & Kayaoğlu, 2012, p. 116). National identity defines “not only who is a member of the national community but also, and perhaps more importantly, who is not, who is an ‘other’, a foreigner” (Triandafyllidou, 2022). While

defining belonging, Nira Yuval-Davis underlines “feeling at home and safe”. Even if control cannot be achieved during this security expectation, the rules and behaviors are expected to be predictable (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 197).

Regarding groups like German Turks who migrated for economic reasons at the beginning, although they feel safe regarding their physical conditions, the fact that Germany has not been “home” for a long time is mainly related to emotions due to being seen as “guests”. Turkish workers have generally been called in the official German language as ‘Gastarbeiter’ (guestworker) or ‘Ausländer’ (foreigner), which underline their ‘otherness’ (Kaya, 2001). Being described as a “guest” from the day they arrive is a warning to Turkish people that they belong to Turkey and that they are different. Koopmans defines this as “differentialism” (Koopmans & Statham, 2000). Tazzioli refers to this as “some people are labeled and governed as ‘migrants’” (Tazzioli, 2020, p. 2); once a migrant, it always stays as a migrant in the eyes of host states and host societies.

Over time, the German Turks’ desire to be permanent and Germany’s acceptance that the newcomers would be permanent perspectives began on their integration. Esser defines integration as “the homogenization of a population and the abandonment of cultural, religious and ethnic identities” (Esser, 2009a, p. 7), which is based on the fact that immigrants should make a definite choice between the country they come from and the host country. Germany’s official policies were positioned within this framework (Triadafilopoulos & Schönwälder, 2006); more than one identity and belonging or, in general, hybridity was impossible for a long time. One of the crucial reasons economic immigrants have difficulties adapting to Germany (Sam & Berry, 2016) is that this understanding has been taken as a basis for many years, and expectations have been in this direction.

After Turkish workers realized that they were no longer temporary but permanent, they started to bring their families, and they also began to establish commercial, cultural, and religious institutions all around Germany. Newspapers and magazines were published in Turkish, and daily newspapers published in Turkey started their German editions printed in

Germany. Thus, even though they lived in Germany, they continued to be informed about the developments in Turkey quickly and continuously (Hafez, 2002).

For many years after the start of immigration in Germany, integration was reduced to language ability and contact with Germans. In this context, the activities and dialogues of immigrant groups within themselves were seen as activities that undermine integration. However, balanced relations with both the members of the host country society and those coming from the country of origin at the exact time yield productive results. Intra-ethnic contacts do not necessarily isolate immigrants from the host society but are also an essential resource for balancing the two worlds (Weiss & Strodl, 2007).

The integration of groups different from the majority society does not depend only on the will and demand of the minority. At the same time, the willingness and openness of the majority society to accept the immigrant group, providing them with opportunities for integration, and legal and legal processes depend on creating the appropriate ground for this integration (Sauer, 2016).

German Turks are by far the largest group with an immigrant background in Germany and are associated with numerous immigration and integration problems (Hanrath, 2011). Although it is commonly referred to as 'Turkish', it consists of several ethnic and religious groups. Kurds (see 2.1 for naming), who have migrated from Turkey, make up about 10 percent of the German-Turkish population in Germany (Ammann, 2005). There are also Armenians, who are predominantly Orthodox, and Yazidis (Pollack et al., 2016).

Religion is by "itself a marker of group belonging and identification" (Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007, p. 1449). In this context, it is helpful to recall once again the distribution of belonging and the perception of religion, which is one of the defining identities of German Turks. According to the RAM 2015 survey (Schürer, 2016), 83.9 percent of German Turks who have only Turkish citizenship define themselves as Muslims and 8.3 percent as Alevis. While 4.2 percent state that they do not believe in any religion, the proportion of Christians is around 1 percent. On the other hand,

69.9 percent of naturalized German Turks, or those with dual citizenship, identify themselves as Muslims, 10.5 percent as Alevis, and 11.1 percent as those who do not believe in any religion. Those who said they were Christians accounted for 5.5 percent.

According to a report by the University of Duisburg (Pollack et al., 2016) gathered from Kantar EMNID data in 2016, 45 percent of German Turks pray regularly, and 28 percent periodically visit a mosque. Thirty-six percent believe that only Islam can solve the problems of our time. Seventy-seven percent of German Turks who participated in the SVR 2018 Integrations Barometer survey (Schürer, 2018) answered the question, “A Muslim employee of a public authority, e.g., in the residents’ registration office, should be allowed to wear a headscarf at work” answered “yes” and 22 percent answered “no to this question. Two-thirds of the general population considers themselves to be in the religious and very religious group. German Turks differ from other immigrant groups (Halm et al., 2012).

In the early years of migration from Turkey to Germany, immigrants came mainly from the “low and middle ranks of both the rural and urban workforce” (Paine, 1974, p. 79). This group, which could meet the conditions required by Germany then, was more educated than the average working population in Turkey (Krane, 1979). The proportion of those coming from urban areas was also high, with one-third of what could be described as “skilled”, but immigrants coming from Turkey after the guest worker program ended in 1973 were less skilled and less educated than their predecessors (Abadan-Unat, 2011). In this group of immigrants, the proportion of those coming from rural areas was relatively high (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Kaya & Kentel, 2005). Claus Mueller points out that “Most German Turks want economic integration and access to employment, housing, and other social services, and the desire for cultural and social integration is the least of these concerns” (Mueller, 2007, p. 423). In the RAM 2016 research (Schürer, 2016), 36 percent of German Turks stated that they are members of at least one club, association, or organization. Twenty-five percent of the participants preferred a German one, and 18 percent chose a Turkish association or club.

Studies examining the life and habits of Muslims in Germany (Halm et al., 2012; Haug, Müssig, & Stichs, 2009) revealed that immigrants in the studied group mostly felt close to Germany, not to the country they came from. The rate of those who feel themselves close to the country they came from instead of Germany remained at 9 percent.

In the German Islam Conference (2006 to 2017) context, several studies were conducted on Muslim life in Germany (Fülling, 2019; Halm et al., 2012; Haug et al., 2009; Henkel, 2008). Concerning its ties to Germany or the country of origin, the Haug et al study (Haug et al., 2009) sums up that a majority of the persons in the examined groups feel connected to Germany. Nine percent (almost) not at all, but the Muslim group has a stronger attachment to their home country or country of origin (Fülling, 2019; Pollack et al., 2016). The studies by Pollack et al. (Pollack et al., 2016) show that despite general well-being among this population group, there is a feeling of lack of social recognition, which leads to a more open and self-confident approach to the cultural origin, especially among the second and third migrant generation (Bozay, 2005). Defending an attacked religion leads to “tendencies of cultural and religious self-assertion” (Pollack et al., 2016, p. 17). and half of the respondents agree with the sentence, “There is only one true religion” (Pollack et al., 2016, p. 14). Forty-seven percent consider the observance of the commandments of Islam more important than the German laws (Pollack et al., 2016, p. 14). Thirty-six percent are convinced that only Islam can solve the problems of the time, but this is declining between the first and third generation of people with a Turkish migrant background. (Pollack et al., 2016). The “SVR integration barometer” shows that the influence of religion is not among the significant factors for non-integration (Pusch, 2013; Schürer, 2018). Concerning basic attitudes of Muslims to the existing legal system, Rohe has developed a typology: According to this, the largest group is probably that of the “everyday pragmatists”; “opponents of Islam”, “Islamists”, “traditionalists” and “native Muslims” are other groups that Rohe describes in respect to Muslims living in Germany (Rohe, 2011, p. 383).

Goerres et al. (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018b) showed that 25 percent of German Turks feel disadvantaged in Germany. Thus, the level of disadvantage corresponds approximately to that of the majority German population (Goerres, Spies, & Mayer, 2018b), whereas Erdoğan reports an above-average level of discrimination (Erdoğan, 2015). In an experiment, Weichselbaumer examined the answers to the applications of some randomly selected companies looking for employees in Germany (Weichselbaumer, 2016). In the first place, an application with a photograph was sent on behalf of a woman with a German name. In the second phase, the application was made on behalf of someone with a Turkish name and the same photograph. In the third stage, an application was made on behalf of a woman with a headscarf with a Turkish name. German companies gave more positive answers to the applicant with the German name than to the applicant named Turkish, who had the same qualifications as the second. The headscarf-wearing candidate was rarely invited to a job interview. Weichselbaumer evaluated the study's results, which showed that women with headscarves perceive discrimination more than those without.

It is also noteworthy that German Turks maintain Turkish citizenship at a high rate despite their long history in Germany (Faist, 2007; Sam, 2016). Under this preference, abandoning citizenship is seen as leaving Turkishness (Hartmann, 2016). Turkey's activities towards its citizens are also effective. Turkey is one of the leading countries that strive to maintain the loyalty of its citizens who go abroad (Danış & Parla, 2009). These efforts increased in the early 2000s, and in this framework, the Presidency for Turks Abroad and Related Communities (YTB) was established in 2010 with the primary task "to function as a reference point for emigrant-related affairs" (Mencütek & Başer, 2018, p. 8) of Turkey. YTB is in charge of the Turkish citizens living abroad and defines its primary duties as "protection of our foreign citizens' belonging to the homeland, preserving their mother tongue, culture, and identities in the countries they live in, strengthening their social status in the countries they reside, protecting their family structure and socio-cultural values" (YTB, 2022). Since the establishment of this institution, relations between the Turkish government and Turkish citizens living in the

diaspora have become increasingly extensive. Although European countries, where Turkish citizens live in large numbers, are uncomfortable with these attempts because these efforts hinder integration (Mügge, 2012b), and although political crises occur from time to time between countries, the Turkish state's efforts in this direction continue in different fields.

For this regard, the Turkish Ministry of National Education also assigns teachers outside of Turkey "to protect and strengthen the cultural ties of our citizens and compatriots abroad, to enlighten them on religious issues and to teach the Turkish language" (MEB, 2003). In this context, MEB appointed 1683 teachers in 27 countries in the 2015-2016 academic year, and 508 served in Germany (Avcı, 2016). The Directorate of Religious Affairs, responsible for providing religious services in Turkey, provides services abroad with approximately 2 thousand people (Karakaş, 2021). Imams from Turkey work in most of the around 900 mosques affiliated with DITIB in Germany (Karakaş, 2021).

Television stands out as the primary source of news for Turkish Germans. Mainly used for entertainment, television enables German Turks to maintain their emotional and cultural ties with Turkey. It is also the most essential source of news (Worbs, 2010).

Multilingual people can follow the media not only of the country they live in but also of the country they come from. However, although the press of the country of origin stands out as the most important source of news, it is not the only source (Simon & Kloppenburg, 2007). For German Turks, although the rate of following German media outlets is higher than that of Turkish media outlets, they are ahead of other immigrant groups regarding media viewing in their mother tongue (Worbs, 2010). Among the immigrants, there is a prevailing opinion that political publications, especially about the country of origin and/or other Muslim countries, are one-sided (Trebbe & Weiß, 2007). In addition, the increase in the use of Turkish media reduces and slows the integration. When German Turks' only news source is Turkish media for information about Germany and current political developments, this can cause problems in absorbing and understanding the political values of Germany sufficiently (Hafez, 2002).

On the other hand, for citizens of migrant origin, “political trust and interest are often related to feelings of loyalty to the political system in the country of residence” (Mügge et al., 2021, p. 404). While 84 percent of German Turks expressed their satisfaction with democracy in Germany, this rate was 73 percent among Germans (Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 2001, p. 8). While 87 percent of German Turks agree with the assessment that “democracy is the best form among the social and political systems”, acceptance of social order in Germany is 38 percent, while this is 33 percent for the German society. In the Integrations Barometer (RAM 2016) research, the first three reasons for the stay of German Turks in Germany are listed as follows: “Here is my home” 69.3 percent, “partner, family lives here” 63.9 percent and “political situation in Turkey” 12.9 percent (Schürer, 2016).

Research examining migration issues and migrant behavior shows that engaging in transnational practices does not exclude integration but occurs together (Bauböck & Faist, 2010). Research on Turkish immigrants living in Europe has demonstrated that this group, who can speak Turkish in addition to the language of their country, provides access to two different cultures. Since speaking Turkish is considered a sign of cultural belonging and learning the religion, families ensure that future generations understand the language (Bingöl, 2013; Livingstone, Manstead, Spears, & Bowen, 2011).

Although the new generation of Turkish immigrants born and raised in Germany learn the language and cultural elements from their families, they also face an “identity crisis”, especially in their teenage years, and try to distance themselves from their Turkish identity (Çelik, 2015; Fleischmann & Verkuyten, 2016; Tallman, 2011). Other than this, an understanding of neither being accepted as full members of German nor Turkish society is visible, too (Martiny et al., 2017).

It has been observed that the adoption of a ‘dual identification’ approach by immigrants and their families and their children has more positive results in terms of their mental health and provides more productive results in school education (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris, 2002), and creates a more vital political awareness (Kranendonk et al., 2018). In

addition, it has been determined that immigrants who accept that they have dual identities act as a bridge not only between their own groups and citizens of the host country but also between those who have differences in many different fields (Wiley et al., 2019). Beyond single and double identities, many immigrants “have internalized more than one culture” (Benet-Martínez & Haritatos, 2005, p. 1019) as part of their identity. The difference in norms and values between the source and host countries is among the significant factors affecting the relationship between their national and dual identities (Verkuyten & Martinovic, 2012; Verkuyten & Yildiz, 2007).

The greater the distance and the difference between these assumed or perceived values, the greater the likelihood that immigrant individuals will experience a social identity conflict in their country of residence (Faas, 2009). Engaging not only with those of their own origin and background but also with members of the host community helps migrants better understand their identity in terms of source and home country (Bozay, 2005). It accelerates integration into the host country (Ersanilli & Koopmans, 2010; Esser, 2006) and increases their sense of home (Kirisci & Erzan, 2013).

It would not be wrong to define cultural security, among the essential issues for immigrants, as protection of values such as tradition, language, religion, customs, etc., and characteristics of a society against existing conditions and potential threats (Tardif, 2002). Wimmer argues that a “sense of belonging based on the belief in shared culture and common ancestry” (Wimmer, 2008, p. 973). Immigrants also try to protect themselves against the threats they think they face in the country they have just started to live in. They try to maintain their values, especially language and religion, in the country they come from. Research shows that both adolescent Turkish-origin immigrants and students in Germany show higher levels of Turkish identity than dual identity, as well as higher levels of dual identity than German identity. However, as their relations and contacts with the host country and society increase, their sense of ‘at home’ also increases, and their dual and German identity feelings also grow (Martiny

et al., 2017). EuroTurks Survey (Kaya & Kentel, 2005) revealed that European Turks closely monitor not only the economic, social, and political developments in Turkey but also the developments in the host country. The answers given to the question of how the participants of the research define themselves are listed as follows: Turkish 46.5, Muslim 32.7, Muslim Turk 39.8, German 6.9, German Turk 7.2, World citizen 5.3.

First-generation Turkish immigrants faced tough challenges for multiple reasons: an unfamiliar environment, harsh working conditions, difficulties in standing on their own feet, the challenges of being away from family, protecting their Islamic religious identity in a foreign country, fear of identity erosion, and fear of losing the mother tongue (Hellström et al., 2020).

While EuroTurks survey finds that more than 40 percent of EuroTurks (living in Germany and France) “are equally affiliated with both homeland and host country and young generations with cosmopolitan and syncretic cultural identities” (Kaya & Kentel, 2005, p. 69), who construct a “dynamic transnational space between/beyond Turkey and Germany” (Kaya & Kentel, 2005, p. 26) fall into this “bridging’ category” (Kaya & Kentel, 2005, p. 69). At the same time, studies have also shown conflicts between the ethnic identity of second and next-generation immigrants from their families and the national identity of the country they live in (Bozay, 2005). While in the second generation, there is a departure from ethnic identity from time to time, a return to the home country’s traditional cultural and sometimes religious values is visible in the third generation. In this regard, there is a “back to the Turkish roots” phenomenon (Bozay, 2005). Among the factors that affect immigrants’ ties to host countries, fundamental rights, security of status, equal opportunities, gaps between integration discourse and processes, the discrepancy between policy discourses and policy practices, the efficacy gap, and the implementation gap stand out (Huddleston & Scholten, 2022).

With these concerns, Turkish immigrants prefer to live in the regions where Turks live in the first place, but this situation led to the formation of Turkish ghettos. Another reason for the formation of ghettos is the problem of immigrants finding a home where Germans live. The most

frequent contact of the German Turkish community with Germans is usually through their neighbors where they live. While more than 50 percent of those of Turkish origin live in neighborhoods where primarily foreigners live, the rate of those living in neighborhoods with a high concentration of German citizens is around 30 percent. While attachment to Germany is higher than the attachment to Turkey, German identity seems to play a more significant role for the second generation than for the first. Identifying with Germany is robust among those born in Germany (Schürer, 2016).

After drawing a general framework of the social aspect of the German Turkish community, which exhibits a multilayered social structure in the context of integration, adaptation, religious values, belonging, ethnic identity, and cultural values, it will be useful to understand the educational status of this group in order to understand their world-society orientations and perceptions.

2.4 Research on the educational status of people of Turkish origin in Germany

Understanding the educational status of the German Turkish community, which exhibits a socially multi-layered structure, both at the time they immigrated to Germany and today and how it changed, is necessary in order to understand their understanding of the world society. How does the relationship between education and the social changes and differences (if any) between the generations receiving education in Germany affect their worldviews?

Turks who came to Germany during the labor shortage in the 1960s were defined as “guest workers” from the beginning. Since both German politicians and German society believed that Turks would eventually –or one day– return to their homeland, Turkey, no integration attempts were made, especially in language education. As a result, when the Turks, who were expected to leave, chose to stay, they did not learn enough German,

the most important factor limiting their education and economic participation options and hindering their opportunity to connect with German society (DW, 2016).

Data on the educational status of immigrants coming to Germany show that immigrants from Turkey are more likely to come from less educated classes than other immigrant groups (Abadan-Unat, 2011; Stanat et al., 2010). It is noteworthy that, unlike Russian or Spanish, Italian, or Greek immigrants, labor migration among young people of Turkish origin cannot be explained solely by the control of social background and language proficiency (Kristen & Dollmann, 2010; Schotte et al., 2018; Stanat et al., 2010). Over time, significant gains were made in education among generations of immigrants; however, there are still young people in the second and third generations who always have problems with their knowledge of the German language (Stanat et al., 2010). Secondary education disparities are observed frequently for students with migration experience because, with equal performance, they are less likely to be sent to secondary education by teachers and their parents (Gomolla & Radtke, 2007; Kristen & Dollmann, 2010). Behind this justification, sometimes parents' insufficient knowledge about the education system, the expectation of the family from young people to make a quick economic contribution, and the teachers' view of immigrant children also play a role.

Studies have determined that German teachers carry cultural stereotypes towards students from Turkey, even if their ethnic origins are different, while they have a 'marked tendency' to describe and define them. They have a tendency to neglect their cultural backgrounds (Fernandez-Kelly & Güllüpinar, 2012). Inadequate financial, cultural, and social resources of the family affect the parental support that children need. These inadequacies have adverse effects on childhood conditions. In this context, parents' education is necessary for children's school success and/or their children's future lives (Kristen et al., 2019). The differences in the educational and social background of the families are an essential factor in the failure of children (Heath et al., 2008).

Insufficient representation in terms of higher education and vocational education among young German Turks is also due to the inadequacy of parents' education levels and language inadequacies. Even among the second and third-generation Turks, substantial numbers are inadequate in their knowledge of German compared to their peers. "The effect of parenting education on success is greatest in Germany", so Germany lags behind other EU countries regarding the education of future generations and, consequently, social class change (Below, 2007). Empirical evidence of the results of labor market integration studies of second-generation immigrants in Europe shows that most ethnic groups transition from the lower class to the middle class over time with the contribution of education. Second-generation youth have made significant progress later in life compared to their parents' generation despite having many labor market disadvantages.

On the other hand, second-generation Turks were seen as the most disadvantaged group in the studies (Heath et al., 2008). Second-generation Turkish immigrants across Europe have less access to more salaried positions and higher unemployment rates and risks than immigrants from other countries. The labor market disadvantages were found to be most particularly severe in Germany, the country with the second-generation Turkish population in Europe. Second-generation Turks in Germany have difficulties finding a job and earning less than people from similar immigrant groups (Algan et al., 2010; Kalter, 2006; Kalter & Granato, 2002). While many of these studies attribute labor market disadvantages to low educational qualifications, low labor market achievements were also attributed to poor language skills and host country-specific social capital (Kristen & Granato, 2007). German-Turkish families also have lower incomes than their peers. Although they have lived in Germany long, "past research has indicated that Turks are Germany's most poorly housed national group" (Fernandez-Kelly & Güllüpinar, 2012, p. 97).

Proficiency in the language of instruction is among the most important factors for learning at school, and this is one of the most critical disadvantages expected for immigrant children (Esser, 2006; Müller &

Stanat, 2006). Language insufficiency results in lower speaking and reading skills (Dustmann et al., 2012), which causes lower transition rates to the elite Gymnasium schools and lower chances of completing the Abitur (Kristen & Granato, 2007). German Turkish students face significant challenges in terms of test scores in primary and secondary school (Kristen et al., 2008; Mueller, 2007), facing pronounced disadvantages (Kristen et al., 2019).

Another central point of the educational difficulties of German Turks is the selectivity of the German education system, which they have difficulty in getting used to and learning since the beginning. In the German education system, secondary education after primary school is characterized by three tracks: University entrance qualification (Abitur) is acquired at a grammar school (Gymnasium). The lowest track certificate (Hauptschule) is obtained after nine or ten years of education, which is not the most favorable certificate for vocational training (Solga, 2008). "Hauptschule is regarded as the 'school for the rest', namely socially disadvantaged children and migrant students" (Fernandez-Kelly & Güllüpinar, 2012, p. 98). In between, there is the Realschule certificate, which ensures better prospects for vocational training (Solga, 2008).

A significant part of German-Turkish children have insufficient language knowledge for reasons such as not attending kindergarten or learning from the family. This causes disruptions in primary education and failure or little success in primary school makes them be directed to Hauptschule or Realschule. Other than insufficient knowledge of the families, it is also seen that the teachers direct German Turks to lower levels, assuming that the families also do not care for the academic studies, which can be interpreted as individual and/or institutional discrimination (Gomolla & Radtke, 2007). Teachers' social stratification and discriminatory assessment are issues to consider when analyzing the success or failure of second and third-generation youth (Abadan-Unat, 2011). In this regard, "it is safe to argue that current school practices institutionally discriminate against children of non-German origin" (Fernandez-Kelly & Güllüpinar, 2012, p. 96). The German education system has been criticized for not adequately implementing equal opportunities for wider

groups, especially for disadvantaged groups and migrants (Gomolla & Radtke, 2007).

On the other hand, intercultural learning principles in mainstream education (Gogolin, 2013) are not sufficient. In the end, German Turks leap to the eye by its high share of high school dropouts (Riphahn, Sander, & Wunder, 2013), and especially, failure at school causes an increase in essentialism in Turkish culture (Bozay, 2005; Özdemir, 2007; Polat, 2000). Another opinion on the German Turks' falling behind in education argues that "the characteristics of the migrant and their alleged "cultural distance" to the receiving society" (Worbs, 2003, p. 1024).

Table 5: Distribution of students (15 years old) in the German education system in 2000, their background and school types

Background	Hauptschule	Realschule	Gesamtschule	Gymnasium
None (Germans)	16.6	38.6	11.6	33.2
All migrants	31.8	29.7	14.0	24.6
From Turkey	48.3	22.1	17.0	12.5
From other guest worker countries	30.0	31.4	13.6	25.1

Source: Bildungsberichterstattung, 2006

As can be seen in Table 5, the rate of German Turks attending Hauptschule is much higher than that of all groups. Almost half of the German Turkish children (48.3 percent) go to Hauptschule, while this rate is much higher than both other guest workers' national origins (30 percent) and all migrant groups (31.8 percent). The opposite situation is observed for Gymnasium schools, which allow direct access to university education and entry to Abitur exams. While 12.5 percent of German Turks

attend these schools, this rate is double that of German Turks (24.6 percent and 25.1 percent) in all immigrant groups and other guest workers sending county origins (Bildungsberichterstattung, 2006). While 26 percent of German students can get Abitur, this rate is less than 10 percent among immigrants (Schierup, 2006), and since German Turks have the lowest percentage among all the migrant groups, their share can be predicted to be less than 5 percent.

In a study conducted in the city of Berlin, where German Turks traditionally live most densely, while 30 percent of the students attending the Gymnasium in Berlin were German in 2006, the rate of German Turks was 9.4 percent. In the same year, 2006, the rate of German Turks among the students who graduated from Gymnasium in Berlin was less than 1.5 percent (Jungius, 2007). According to 2019 data, approximately 100 thousand German Turks live in the city, and German Turks are the largest immigrant group in the town (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg, 2020). Although German Turkish students show lower levels of achievement than native and other immigrant groups, families and students have higher educational goals, inspirations, and high motivation (Kristen & Dollmann, 2010). Those of Turkish origin who immigrated to Germany for economic reasons see getting a good education as the key to socio-economic recovery and a more prosperous life (Salikutluk, 2016). Therefore, Turkish-German parents desire their children to have better opportunities with higher education, so they tend to have higher educational expectations for their children. This expectation can trigger a high level of reading motivation in children.

While the proportion of immigrant children in German kindergartens is 36 percent, this proportion decreases as the level of education rises: 32.4 percent in the 5th grade, 28.9 percent in the 9th grade, and 19.2 percent in college. The same rates are for German Turks: Kindergarten: 23.1 percent, 5th grade: 25.9 percent, 9th grade: 18.3, university: 13.1 percent (Olczyk et al., 2016). Compared to their peers, German children are four or five times more likely to receive education in Gymnasiums, which opens higher education opportunities, than their Turkish counterparts.

According to the studies, while 45 percent of German children were enrolled in the Gymnasium, the rate of enrollment in the Gymnasium for students of similar age remained at 13 percent (Pott, 2001). Among the reasons for this decrease is the failure of students with a migrant background in the previous education stage, and accordingly, they have to choose a vocational education-oriented future instead of an academic-oriented future (Kristen & Dollmann, 2010). While the place of German Turks in the education system is lower than that of other immigrant groups and native Germans, it is observed that the change in the third generation is slower than expected. This is because Turkish immigrants coming to Germany have a lower education level than their peers – for example, immigrants from Russia (Olczyk et al., 2016). On the other hand, second-generation migrants have lower chances of receiving vocational training than other migrant groups (Diehl, Friedrich, & Hall, 2009).

The German education establishment ignored the language problem of the German Turks until after the publication of the “infamous PISA” study (Niemann, Martens, & Teltemann, 2017, p. 177; Baumert, 2001). Germany has been the worst-performing country among similarly immigration-centered European countries for the education of immigrant children. This data, combined with other factors described above, resulted in the underrepresentation of Turkish students in the university system (Pott, 2001).

Education is one of the main points of increasing the life standards of the individual and society in general and living a more peaceful and productive life. Education was also considered to be the main point of increasing productivity for German Turks who came to Germany mainly to work. For this reason, steps have been taken to provide training in both vocational and other fields to immigrants with low education according to German standards. Thus, the certificates obtained were aimed at increasing the qualifications of German Turks, and the opportunity to respond to the expectations of German society at a higher level was created (Hartmann, 2016).

Research on the first generation of ‘Gastarbeiter’ German Turks, the second generation of their children, and the third generation, who were

mostly born and raised in Germany, show that they are educationally and linguistically inferior to similar immigrant groups. The data on the educational situation of German Turks shows that early migrants from Turkey – the Gastarbeiter generation – more often come from educationally disadvantaged backgrounds than other immigrant groups (see Stanat et al. 2010). Although this disadvantageous situation has a vital role in developing the world view of German Turks, unlike other immigrant groups in labor migration, it is not enough to explain the inequalities that German Turks face in education only because of their different social backgrounds or insufficient language skills. In this context, it is necessary to understand the interests and relations of German Turks with global society and democracy, how they learned democracy, and what is effective in learning democracy.

2.5 Research on global society and democratic learning

After drawing a general framework about their past in Germany, the political tendencies, social and economic structures, and educational status of the German Turkish community who live in Germany and have connections with Turkey in their recent past, it is now time to examine their relationship to global society and democracy, which is one of the main research questions of this study.

Although globalization is a word that has been on the agenda since the 1990s, there is no agreed definition. It was frequently associated with the economy and defined in economic terms for a long time. In this framework, it has been described as the movement of goods and services around the world, the free movement of people providing these services and the spread of technology in this process (Friedman, 2004). However, such a definition is incomplete when globalization's effects are considered. To this economic and financial definition, it is necessary to add not only the movement of tangible goods but also the movement of world views, ideas, and culture to other parts of the world, bringing them closer to others (Albrow & King, 1990). However, most of the proposed definitions have in common the increase in communication around the

world, the intensification of relations between people, cultures, and states, and the acceleration of this communication day by day with the development of technology (Osterhammel, Geyer, & Petersson, 2021). The essence of the research calls for a definition of globalization that does not ignore culture and education as well as economic definitions. As described above, centuries of trade have brought religions, languages, and cultures to other parts of the world, and the people who have carried them have changed their places of residence, sometimes temporarily and sometimes permanently (Habich, 2017). In this process, people have taken their language, religion, culture, and traditions with them. Therefore, it would not be wrong to define globalization as “a process of local transformation, the packing in of global events, products, and frameworks into the local” (Friedman, 2004, p. 67).

At the same time, this is “a concept that refers both to the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole” (Robertson, 1992, p. 8). In the information age, especially with the advancement of technology and advances in computers and communications, cultures, languages, art, and education have also become interconnected as much as individuals, firms, and countries. In this regard, the framework of cultural globalization includes the formation of common value judgments, similar thoughts, tastes, and knowledge with which people associate their individual or shared common cultural identities (Jensen, Arnett, & McKenzie, 2011).

Migration and migrants are among the most important actors of globalization in the increasing interdependence of world economies, cultures, and populations. “Migration blurs boundaries between spaces, which leads to cultural and religious plurality and an increase in heterogeneity” (Asbrand & Scheunpflug, 2005, p. 268). Since at least 27 percent of people living in Germany have a migration background, either their parents or grandparents have a migration experience in different forms (Destatis, 2022). Still, for a third of these people, migration is no longer a personal experience (Foroutan, 2010). For some of them, migration background is only or maybe a difference in name or clothing.

While immigrants become an indistinguishable part of the society they live in after a certain period, the need for coexistence and mutual understanding also develops in this process. The situation is developing similarly, not only within countries or societies but throughout the world. People living in countries or cities take certain obligations and establish a relationship with written rules and agreements or unwritten social and cultural norms. On the other hand, world society is not structured as an organization or a state due to its structure and nature “but consists of the sum of social, political and cultural diversity and its interdependence” (Scheunpflug, 2021, p. 4). For this reason, the coexistence of different countries and people with varying understandings around the world can only be possible with mutual understanding and acceptance of each other, which makes the need for coexistence and a global understanding of the world inevitable. In this framework, everyone living in the world has certain obligations and duties in order for this structure of which they are a part to continue without problems. Otherwise, conflicts, disagreements, and problems are inevitable. However, the many issues currently being experienced in the world are evidence that this reality and need is not sufficiently understood, as “world social learning setting does not naturally lead to a perspective of joint work on the outstanding problems of this world, but that there is a danger that structures or ascriptions of supposed superiority or inferiority are determined, and possibly cultivated and not worked on” (Scheunpflug, 2021, p. 9).

Global learning is a topic that has started to be discussed more with the increasing migration movements after the Second World War and post-colonialism. The American Association of Colleges and Universities (AACU) defines global learning as “a critical analysis of an engagement with complex, independent global systems and legacies and their implications for people’s lives and earth’s sustainability” (NAFSA, 2014). After this learning process, people should “become informed, open-minded, and responsible people who are attentive to diversity across the spectrum of differences, seek to understand how their actions affect both local and global communities, and address the world’s most pressing and enduring issues collaboratively and equitably” (NAFSA, 2014). On the other hand,

in the 2002 Maastricht Global Education Congress Declaration global education defined as, “that opens people’s eyes and minds to the realities of the world, and awakens them to bring about a world of greater justice, equity, and human rights for all” (The Maastricht Global Education Declaration, 2002, p. 2). As a summary, while global learning is a pedagogical reaction to the development of the globalization, it is also “an approach to learning that necessitates both reflection and critical thinking” (Bourn, 2015, p. 6). This also can be interpreted as, in other words, a pedagogical response to the effects of what globalization brought to the world (Scheunpflug, 1996, 2003). The need for global education has emerged as people today live in an increasingly globalized world and interact more and more with people in different parts of the world. This education seeks to allow students to reflect on and thus share their perspectives and roles in today’s global and increasingly interconnected society. At the same time, they are given the opportunity to understand and discuss the complex interrelationships of humanity on common social, ecological, political, and economic issues (Drerup, 2020; Goren & Yemini, 2017). Although there is a growing momentum of work and activity in this direction, research on global learning suggests that global experiences – in everyday life or pedagogically produced contexts – do not explicitly automatically lead to an understanding of a global society, as is often intended, nor do they lead to reflexive thinking and political action (Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016). At the same time, there are difficulties in recognizing the global dimension of these emerging political preferences and understanding and integrating them with core democratic beliefs (Culp & Drerup, 2021).

Contrary to expectations, global experiences often lead to isolationist tendencies on the one hand and paternalism or nationalism on the other. The studies available so far have been able to show that special reflexive efforts are needed to understand the abstractness of world-societal political demands for the German-speaking countries, for example (Asbrand, 2009b; Bourn, 2015; Krogull, 2018; Sander & Scheunpflug, 2011); for English speaking countries (Bourn, 2015); for the USA (Werron, 2011); for Europe (Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016). Obviously, experiences must be moderated by reflexive learning processes to lead to an understanding of

abstract sociality beyond nationalism. Global society understanding is thus mediated through participatory experiences in which political learning or political experiences can be reflected. Hartmeyer & Wegimont (2016) clearly point out the research desideratum that so far, there are no studies worldwide on the global orientations of migrants (Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016).

On the one hand, globalization creates countless opportunities. It opens up new perspectives for people and countries. Still, on the other hand, it also increases inequality between and/or within different regions, countries, and societies of the world, boosts the “nationalism, racism, xenophobia and fear of the other” (Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016, p. 23). While global education may provide an opportunity to address these inequalities at the national, local, and international levels, it does not guarantee achieving the expected goals, the spread of human rights, or universal peace. People, societies, or countries can become more prosperous by recognizing the need and taking steps to address it (Culp & Drerup, 2021). Global education is affected by parents’ socio-economic status and education level, parents’ interest and support for their children’s education, student’s interest in education and motivation for learning, the language spoken at home, and the family’s migration background and history. In students’ peer groups, “learning is, in fact, facilitated by encounters” (Scheunpflug, 1997, p. 109), and extracurricular activities also influence this process (Scheunpflug & Mehren, 2016).

School learning is strongly influenced by student’s prior knowledge, attitudes, and prejudices about the content. The findings show that the media – along with parents and peers – play a central role in acquiring and processing information in a globalized world society (Hartmeyer & Wegimont, 2016). While globalization facilitates transportation and communication, it also increases possibilities, efforts, and opportunities that lead people to seek better living and working opportunities in distant lands (Beck, 2015; Triandafyllidou, 2018).

The developments in technology and the increasing digitalization of communication are at the forefront of the developments that have affected and fundamentally changed immigrants’ lifestyles in recent years. On the

one hand, it has become easier for them to communicate with their loved ones in their hometown. On the other hand, this has made them a migrant who, while on the move or when they reach their destination, do not hesitate to contact or even form alliances with those outside their group but do not break their ties with the social networks where they came from and maintains their longstanding relations (Diminescu, 2008). Communication and transportation possibilities “play a crucial role in forming and maintaining diasporic identity among transnational communities” (Kaya & Kentel, 2005, p. 12), allowing German Turks to maintain their ties with Turkey easily and without breaking them. “By far the most important means of communication, however, was physically traveling to Turkey on their *Heimaturlaube*, or vacations in the home country” (Kahn, 2020, p. 58).

While international migration, by its nature, requires people to move beyond borders, thanks to technological developments, the travel of social, political, and cultural resources, ideas, culture, and artifacts has become much easier to spread without requiring physical movement (Triandafylidou, 2022). Thus, the relationship of immigrants with both the country and the host country has become more permeable and even more critical with the opportunities provided by globalization processes (Castles & Miller, 1998).

With T.H. Marshall’s definition, three main issues come to the fore in the concept of “national citizenship”: civil, political, and social rights (Marshall, 1950, 1977). As the guest worker program reveals, job opportunities in different parts of the world have increased the mobility of people, and the definition of “national citizenship” has gained different dimensions due to migration. Over time, temporary migrations became permanent, which caused changes in the immigrants’ sense of belonging and loyalty, enabling them to communicate with their homeland and other countries. In this way, both the views and expectations of the immigrants from their homeland and homeland have changed. In economic matters, it is observed that immigrants are more liberal in belonging and loyalty, and they evaluate the opportunities presented to them with their personal preferences within the framework of their interests.

On the contrary, politics and politicians in the homeland continue to influence their choices on political and cultural issues. Transnational bonds are particularly prominent in their voting in elections in their homeland (Kubisch & Störkle, 2016). As Pries points out, the term transnationalism expresses “social relations and groups” that transcend “the borders of nation-states” (Pries, 2022, p. 233). The fact that Turkey provides some services with the state means for its citizens living abroad – such as the appointment of imams for religious services and teachers for Turkish education – can be evaluated within this framework.

Ostergaard-Nielsen’s (2016) study shows that Turkish organizations operating in Germany focus on political participation and lobbying in favor of Turkey rather than working for the welfare of the German Turkish community in Germany. These preferences of the organizations appear as a model of their practices that show how transnational immigration politics, homeland politics, diaspora politics, and trans-local politics are intertwined and also, at the same time, how they are separated from each other (Østergaard-Nielsen, 2016). The states’ ineffectiveness in solving some complex social problems due to the lack of opportunities and job descriptions increases the importance of non-governmental organizations (Kubisch & Störkle, 2016). On the other hand, the fact that Turkish non-governmental organizations, which can not operate for the Turkish society in Europe, establish an organic relationship with the Turkish state at different scales has led to increased suspicions about them (Okyay, 2015). The relations of German Turks with migrant associations in Germany and/or with Turkey are seen as hindering and delaying the expected and desired adaptation of the Turks to German society and as damaging their adaptation process. However, many years have passed since their coming (Amelina & Faist, 2008).

Koopmans and Statham argue that the integration regime in Germany has a strong impact on the political activities of migrants (Koopmans & Statham, 2014). For a long time, Germany called the migrants a ‘foreign body,’ which forced migrant groups to form migrant communities or parallel societies. By the nature of their citizenship status and transnational formation, German Turks maintained their political,

cultural, economic, and educational contacts in Turkey while creating new contacts in Germany (Amelina & Faist, 2008). On the one hand, Germany expects loyalty from the new residents of the country; on the other hand, Turkey mobilizes every opportunity to prevent becoming distant from its citizens and maintain their ties with Turkey. Both countries avoid accepting the idea that it is possible to adapt to Germany, benefiting from Germany's social, cultural, economic, and political environment and maintaining transnational links (Joppke & Morawska, 2014) with Turkey. Because of the host country's practices, "guest workers in postwar Europe have become integrated, not as citizens but as persons" (Y. Soysal, 1994, p. 3). At the same time, the pressure of 'belonging' that Germany has asked immigrants and the constant testing of this belonging has shaped their social and political practices outside of Germany and led to the continuation of their transnational ties with Turkey.

Immigrants may have multiple and sometimes even conflicting identities concerning their former and new residence, ethnic and religious affiliation, and nations (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006). This creates a unique position that cannot be understood by grading them with only national boundaries. Even though, on the one hand, Germany frequently questions Turks' belonging. On the other hand, Turkey mobilizes its resources to maintain its citizens' ties, "most migrants in Germany did not perceive a conflict of loyalty in being members of two national political communities, and were willing and able to participate in and commit to both societies" (Leitner & Ehrkamp, 2006).

The feeling of in-betweenness experienced by immigrants in general, and German Turks in particular, and the feeling of belonging to two places simultaneously, on the one hand, make them a part of the global society. On the other hand, being stuck between global experiences, contrary to expectations, sometimes leads immigrants to turn to isolationist tendencies, paternalism, or nationalism. This context shows that special reflexive efforts are needed to understand the abstractness of world-social political demands.

2.6 Summary of chapter 2

In this chapter, first of all, the process that the German Turks, the research subject, went through from the day they started to immigrate to Germany is summarized (2.1). A general portrait of the German Turkish community has been presented by summarizing their transition to permanent status after coming to Germany as temporary workers and the developments and changes observed in both the Turkish-German community and the German society in this process. Then, the political tendencies of this community and how these dispositions manifest, which are the main points of the study, are summarized (2.2). The voting preferences of the German Turkish community in the general elections in Germany, how they developed, and their preferences in the general elections in Turkey are displayed. Their tendencies and preference trends are also revealed. Following the changes in the law that made it possible for foreigners to acquire citizenship in Germany, it is presented how the political preferences of the largest immigrant group in the country evolved over time and the reasons for these changes. 2.3 focuses on the integration and adaptation issues that started with the migration of German Turks. In this section, which begins with identity discussions, the effects of feelings of belonging on the integration of the community are examined. Although it has a multi-layered structure, the influence of religion on the lives of Turkish Germans, the majority of whom are Muslims, is reviewed, and the general socio-cultural and economic structure of the community is emphasized. One of the main points of the study is how German Turks understand and perceive the world society and how their tendencies towards democracy have developed, which has been examined within the framework of global education (2.5). Thus, it has been observed that there is not enough work to understand the central question of the research, which is the world-society orientation of immigrants from Turkey and how they position themselves according to their areas of political participation. The need for research that goes beyond which parties Turks in Germany vote for and why has emerged. There is a need to understand not only how the political preferences of German Turks appear but also

what tendencies and orientations shape their preferences in all areas of life in general. It has been understood that German Turks, who represent the largest immigrant group in Germany, are a politically influential target group for the future of democracy. In this context, the lack of studies addressing German Turks' participation opportunities and learning opportunities in relation to the development of world community orientation has revealed the necessity of research.

The research will reveal how German Turks position themselves regarding world society orientation and political participation and which learning experiences impact openness to the world society and democratic participation. Considering that people's worldviews are often very implicit, the necessity of this study becomes clearer.

In the next chapter (chapter 3), the research methodology and methods on which the study will be based will be examined in detail.

3 Research methodology and methods

In this study, the guiding orientations of German Turks in the global society, their positioning, and their embeddedness in learning processes are reconstructed through a reconstructive-qualitative and, thus, hypothesis-generating approach using the documentary method. The documentary method is a method of qualitative social research developed by Ralf Bohnsack (Bohnsack, 2010, 2011, 2013), following Karl Mannheim (Mannheim, 1980). The preferred reconstructive approach is chosen in order to make use not only of the reflexive attitudes and explicit knowledge available to people but also to trace their implicit orientations that guide their actions. This makes it possible to identify the values that determine people's actions (cf. on ideas of globalization (Asbrand, 2009b; Scheunpflug et al., 2016)).

With the election results following the change in Turkish electoral law in 2012, which allowed Turkish citizens living abroad to vote in the countries where they live, curiosity has been aroused about the political orientation of German Turks towards the world community. Since this topic has not yet been researched (see chapter 2), this study adopted a hypothesis-generating approach to understand the orientations of this largest immigrant group living in Germany. The study aims to develop a theory for the emergence of political orientations among German Turks and its implications for global learning. This method will provide an opportunity to reconstruct German Turks' often implicit worldviews and trace those that guide their actions.

A qualitative data analysis technique, the documentary method (chapter 3.2), is used in this study. This method can provide a vision of how human attitudes, approaches, perceptions, and actions influence the action-guiding attitudes of a specific group of migrants, their self-understanding, and their choices regarding democracy and politics. The project was conducted as a hypothesis-generating (Glaser & Strauss, 2010) exploratory study (chapter 3.1). Data were collected through narrative interviews with German Turks of different ages, generations, professions, and educational backgrounds, all living in the state of Bavaria, Germany (chapter

3.4), and analyzed using the documentary method (Bohnsack, 2010, 2011; Bohnsack, Pfaff, & Weller, 2010).

This chapter explains the methodological approach and procedure of the research. Both the data collection and the analysis method will be examined in detail. The research process, which consists of data collection with interviews (3.4), data analysis with the documentary method (3.5), and characterization of the samples (3.6), will be described in detail. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the sampling strategy, the collection of the samples, and the analysis of the interviews studied in the research context. The data collected, their analysis in the context of the research, the validation of the interpretations, and the typing are essential aspects for controlling the researcher's position and the intersubjective verification of the results.

3.1 Location of the study in the theory-generating qualitative reconstructive research

The starting point of the present research is to investigate which global social orientations German Turks exhibit, how they locate themselves regarding spaces of political participation, and which learning experiences lead to a moderation of experiences regarding openness and democratic participation in society. The aim is to investigate the motivations for the emergence of the political orientations among German Turks, to establish connections between the paths of emergence, and to implement the insights and findings in a theory of global learning and world-society awareness.

Against a constructivist understanding of learning and reality, the main part of the research is based on the German Turks who have been living in Germany for several years. The research focuses on the practices, encounters, experiences, points of view, and perspectives of the persons under investigation.

For this purpose, qualitative research focuses on investigating the meaning of the chosen words and depends on the assumption that truth is developed and constructed through human interaction (Daher et al.,

2017). Learning through qualitative research is associated with studying things in their natural environment and with individuals trying to interpret, translate, or decipher them to understand their implications (Silverman, 2016). Qualitative research is essentially exploratory research. It is used to elicit underlying reasons, opinions, assumptions, and inspirations. It opens up pieces of knowledge on the subject and creates thoughts or hypotheses (Byrne, 2016). It is carried out through systematic data collection, organization of collected data, interpretation, and interpretation of information through observation (Crossman & Bordia, 2021).

“The idea of acquiring an ‘inside’ understanding the actors’ definition of the situation is a powerful central concept for understanding the purpose of the qualitative inquiry” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 192). Qualitative research looks for an internal and in-depth understanding of social phenomena inside their regular setting. It centers around the “why” and how as opposed to the “what” of social improvement and depends on the immediate encounters of people as meaning-making agents in their regular daily lives (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000) with “an analysis of language approaches” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 192). These prompts reveal inclines in thought and feelings, allowing to plunge further into the issue. With this method, it is possible to create rich, detailed data and information that leave the participants’ viewpoints flawless and give numerous settings for understanding the phenomenon under study (C. Anderson, 2010).

Qualitative research is a tool for learning about people’s feelings, thoughts, and experiences (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 2). Also, it refrains from constructing a frame drawn with strict rules and formulating hypotheses at the beginning of the study with the purpose of testing them (Gibbs, 2018, p. xiii). Qualitative researchers are interested in accessing experiences, interactions, and documents in their given context (Gibbs, 2018, p. xiii).

‘Qualitative’ is not a definition of the quality of the research or the researcher. The main feature of qualitative research is to objectively identify the inseparable characteristics of a social sphere and make them visible. In addition, qualitative research aims to perform a complex analysis of the area of interest to be identified (Bohnsack, Pfaff, & Weller, 2010).

Therefore, the area must be accessible and open to be reached. In qualitative research strategies, the concepts of pre-planned theory are not put in the relevant field, nor do they aim to control some pre-formulated hypotheses, such as quantitative research. A researcher wants to generalize and build models in the light of the data obtained from actual experiences in the field of research. The research process is carried out by means of a decided method, determined questions and theoretical methods. The data obtained during the process enables the determination of a road map and also helps to produce a result at the end of the research (Krüger, 2010).

While quantitative research methods are based on verification and falsification, based on statistical work, questionnaires, and experiments that seek statistical generalization, qualitative research targets words chosen during speaking and their meanings. Methods preferred and utilized for qualitative research include, but are not limited to, interviews, observations, documentary analysis, and discourse analysis (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Flick, 2008; Silverman, 2016).

These research techniques thoroughly analyze particular issues while paying close attention to details, contexts, and nuances (Flick, 2005). Researchers care about the individual's perspective, whether they conduct qualitative or occasionally quantitative research. However, qualitative researchers contend that in-depth interviews with the intended subject might help them capture the actor's perspective; observation of the interviewees is a crucial component of this argument (Denzin, 1998).

The idea of achieving an "inside understanding and the actors' definition" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 192) of the circumstances is the core concept for acquiring the aim and target of qualitative research. Thereby, it is possible to access human action and the "system of meanings to which it belongs" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 191) and to identify 'types' or patterns of meaning to determine actors' explicit and implicit interpretations of their inner worlds (Bohnsack, 2010).

For this research, the German Turks were interviewed in their 'natural' environment (mainly at their homes, work environment, or the places they choose) and are expected to be ready to reveal their feelings towards

the global developments related to their identity. By using the documentary method, the interviews can be interpreted which make their inner feelings visible and tangible.

3.2 Documentary method

The documentary method helps to make the imminent meanings visible. Karl Mannheim first introduced this method in the 1920s in the context of his work on the interpretation of worldviews. He proposes to distinguish between the discourse background as “immanent meaning” and “documentary meaning” to reveal the social structure of thoughts, experiences, and beliefs. Immanent meaning encompasses the straightforward meaning that is clearly understood in a text describing an action that everyone can immediately understand (Mannheim, 1980). Mannheim underlines that the same act or narrative also has a “documentary meaning”. Documentary meaning includes underlying actions or narratives that show implied knowledge but cannot be clearly articulated in words. While Mannheim (Mannheim, 1980) calls this “atheoretical knowledge”, Polanyi (Polanyi, 2009) prefers the term “implicit knowledge”.

The documentary method was developed by Ralf Bohnsack (Bohnsack, 1989) to carry out research about the change and transformation of biographies in youth cultures in Germany. He substantiates the “interview” procedure and the system of the documentary method in Karl Mannheim’s “Sociology of Knowledge”(Bohnsack, 2011). The documentary method interprets the whole course of the talk, including the researcher’s statements. In this way, it fulfills the case to unequivocally incorporate the communication of the researcher into the research object by the interpretation process (Schröck, 2009). “Mannheim’s sociology of knowledge opens up an observer perspective, although this is due to the difference of the sense structure of the observed action of the subjective meaning of the actors, but the knowledge of the actors themselves as the empirical basis of the analysis” (Bohnsack et al., 2013, p. 11).

Mannheim and Polanyi assume that there is an underlying mental structure in choice actions, and Bohnsack provides a method for integrating these two levels of knowledge by emphasizing relevance, delving into participant meaning, and offering a process for methodically creating generalized types in a systematic way (Bohnsack, 2010). This is especially relevant to the study. The documentary method presents an opportunity to reconstruct tacit knowledge or atheoretical knowledge (Bohnsack et al., 2013). This data can then be generalized to other contexts and used as part of grounded theory methodologies to identify people's action-guiding orientations (Nohl, 2010)

Documentary meaning refers to how the action is performed and transmitted. In order to reveal the documentary meaning, it is necessary to examine how an issue or text is handled in an act or narrative, into which frame, and into which direction (Bohnsack, 2011). The documentary meaning of an action can only be understood by observing the action itself or by referring to the narrative of the person who is performing the action. Although one can explain what they are doing, they cannot usually speak of how they do it; that is, implicit or atheoretical knowledge that forms the basis of their activity. The documentary method achieves the target by chain analysis of words and expressions. An action or expression derives its meaning through actions or expressions that follow the respective action or expression. This is like a handshake. As Güvercin explains, if a person's hand remains in the air, there is no handshake, and it has a meaning, for example, hostility. Therefore, it is inadequate to make a comment on just one's extending hand. It should then be observed whether the other person has also extended his hand. When the handshake happens, this has another meaning, such as friendship (Güvercin, 2014). In an interview, the way a subject is handled is best interpreted by comparing the same subject with the way in which orientation frameworks with different order of action address it. Therefore, in the documentary method, "chain analysis" is performed comparatively (Bohnsack, 2001). Then, the typification process is reached by the data obtained after formulating and reflecting interpretations.

For the whole research, semi-structured narrative interviews are preferred and used. Fritz Schütze developed this method in the 1970s during a research project on municipal merging. Schütze noticed the “chains of incidences” during the interviews, and he started reconstructing the interviews with a specific method as “process structures of the life course” (Schütze, 1983). Schütze’s main objective is to interpret the narratively structured portions of the interview in order to make the process structures of each person’s life course visible (Schütze, 1983).

The documentary method is one of the techniques for the interpretation of narrative interviews. Narrative interviews imply the improvisation of subjects, without any preparation, to report about some sections of their daily life within the researcher’s field of interest. The documentary method “encourages people to describe the way they prefer and their world in their own words” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 2) and produces information from interviews; it expects to gather data from an open correspondence, which offers chances to people to describe their regular daily activities and practices, their perspectives, experiences, and observations in a structured manner (Nohl, 2012).

Since a narrative-based qualitative research method was chosen, semi-structured interviews were used to collect data interviews were chosen for this purpose (Witzel & Reiter, 2012). This type of interview begins with an initial question that the actor feels comfortable with and allows them to speak uninhibitedly, a pulse that encourages the interviewee to start talking about the research topic, including certain experiences. It continues with additional questions that encourage and allow the interviewee to record their experiences from their own perspective. Thus, it aims to reveal the interviewee’s narrative within the framework of the interview guidelines. This enables the interviewer to follow the actor’s focus and narrative. Their answers might vary concerning identity, understanding of democracy, education, and training.

3.3 The connection between the method and the research question

In the research project presented here, the political guiding orientations and ways of preferred thinking of German Turks towards world society through interviews are worked out. The question raised by this study is an exploratory research interest for which it is hardly possible to refer back to existing research results. For this reason alone, a hypothesis-generating procedure is chosen (Flick, 2005; Glaser & Holton, 2004) with a perspective on the examination object of social correspondence; a technique was picked that expressly comprehends itself as a reconstructive method.

The present research is not only to translate subsequently “what” the people say but also to “how” the participants handle the subjects important to them and which learning experiences control their activity in connection to the global society. This chosen style does not quantify the interviewees on the truth accuracy or even reality criteria. Yet, instead, it centers on how the demonstrated truth is delivered practically in real life. This model fits the focus of studies and research on the global understanding of democracy because people often do not dare to talk about their implicit normativity. However, they can talk about their implicit values, not their implicit ones. People generally do not like to talk about political issues or how they understand the world because these are “hot” topics, and they fear getting backlash or being misunderstood. Sometimes, they may even speak against their opinions because they say what is expected of them, not what they want to say. For these reasons, the documentary method is a way to overcome these problems in research.

The phenomenon of dealing with one’s very own orientation emerges in every qualitative and reconstructive research work primarily in the context of the global democracy understanding of a particular group (Wagener, 2018). Practitioners of this method do not assume that they know more than the actors, but rather that the actors themselves do not know what they know, and thus have implicit knowledge that is not readily accessible to them (Bohnsack et al., 2013).

It also shows a perfect strategy for managing one’s own position with implicit normativity of the research topic (Asbrand, 2009a). In this study,

which aims to unearth the answers to which attitudes are politically relevant in the world of globalization and which respective actions become relevant for German Turks, the evaluation and interpretation of the interviews do not aim to judge their attitudes. On the contrary, the aim is to reconstruct the orientation frame of the attitude they put forward rather than the point where the people are standing and the background of how their understanding developed.

In order to offer space for people to express their thoughts and, beliefs, political ideas without fear or pressure, not the group discussion method was the documentary method, but the individual interview technique was preferred. Thus, they can frankly share the ideas, criticism, and assumptions that they fear others will hear. Particular attention will be paid to experiences gained from the learning, which are characterized as unique forms of learning and reflexive processes (Bohnsack, 2010). For this reason, individual interviews were carried out. At the beginning of the interview, narrative-generating impulses were set, which allowed the interviewees to find something about themselves and their background (Nohl, 2010, 2012).

3.4 Data collection

Interviews, observations, documentary analysis, and discourse analysis are some of the methods used in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Flick, 2014; Silverman, 2016). Interviewing is a popular method of data collection in social sciences and fits very well for learning the action-guiding orientation of interviewees. Therefore, the documentary method offers an opportunity to collect the information and evaluate the data systematically. For a reliable qualitative analysis of the material, all interviews are recorded and transcribed in the language they were conducted. Transcription after the interviews is an action of “reproducing spoken words, such as those from an audiotaped interview, into the written text” (Halcomb & Davidson, 2006, p. 38).

For this study, 22 interviews were conducted with German Turks. The ages of the participants ranged from 23 to 56 years, with an average of 41

years. Some interviewees were born in Germany, and some in Turkey, but all of them have been living in Germany for at least 23 years. 9 of them spent all their lives in Germany, and the average living time in Germany is 35 years. They include first, second, and third generations and are from different Bavarian cities. The participants were selected first as convenient sampling, meaning people around the environment who are easy to find and access. New people were added in line with the Theoretical Sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) strategy, which allows for both purposive sampling and is based on a comparative process in selecting samples (for further details, see chapter 3.6). As the interviews continued, an intense theoretical sampling emerged, and more appropriate data for the purpose began to be collected. The interview process continued until no further action-guiding orientation or empirically acquired comparative horizon emerged in the empirical material within the comparative analysis framework within the framework of minimum and maximum contrast, which ultimately proved that the sampling process was theoretically saturated (Strübing, 2011). Sampling for interviews aimed to identify 'key informants', and the goal is finding a wide array of ideas but not only representativeness. The research tried to avoid a concentration on gender or educational background, and it continued until the determination of theoretical saturation.

In the following section, how the interviewees were selected and how the interviews were conducted is described (3.4.1). The language of the interview, its duration, the places where it was held, and how the people filled out the questionnaires containing their socio-biographical information will be explained. At the end of the section, how the recorded interviews were transcribed within the framework of the documentary method rules will be given in a table of rules, and the Turkish and German originals of the interviews and their English translations will be presented comparatively. In this regard, how the interviews are evaluated and interpreted according to the documentary method is explained in 3.5. After explaining the interpretation steps according to the method, formulating interpretation (3.5.1), reflecting interpretation (3.5.2), how the types are determined will be exhibited (3.5.3). At the end of this section, how the

samples were selected will be explained within the framework of Theoretical Sampling.

3.4.1 The interview procedure

Interview is one of the most used methods for qualitative research in social science disciplines (Ryan, Scapens, & Theobald, 2002). Narrative interviews are called “narrative” to emphasize the narrative character of the activity and are generally conducted in three ways: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured. In structured interviews, the researcher asks the interviewees all the questions previously determined. Thus, the aim is to obtain comparable information from the participants.

In unstructured interviews, no pre-determined and standardized questions are asked of the participants. It gives the researcher the opportunity to start with a vague, general question that aims to obtain information about the subject they are investigating and provides flexibility. The interview also continues with questions that have not been previously determined (Given, 2008; Ryan et al., 2002).

Semi-structured interviews are a combination of these two forms. In this form, a list of questions is prepared before the interview, but sufficient flexibility is allowed to the interviewer during the interviews. All the interviews in this research were semi-structured with “a target question centered” (Witzel & Reiter, 2012). A narrative interview begins with a pulse, encouraging the interviewee to discuss the research topic, including specific experiences. It continues with additional questions that encourage and allow the interviewee to record their experiences from their own perspective. An interview guide provides a “conversational structure that helps to uncover the actual perspectives of individuals on a particular problem [or issue] in a systematic and dialogical way.” (Witzel & Reiter, 2012).

Since semi-structured interviews do not define sharp boundaries, they provide flexibility both during the interviews and throughout the whole interview process. Thanks to the open-ended questions, a wide range of inquiry opportunities are provided. This flexibility allows for an

in-depth examination of the target topic (Patton, 2015). This preference also allows for the clarification of new perspectives and approaches that have emerged during the interview and the systematic monitoring of the respondents' responses (Ryan et al., 2002).

In this study, some interviews were in German, and some were in Turkish. Some preferred to talk in German instead of Turkish because their Turkish is not at the level of abstract talking but is only enough for daily conversation and vice versa. All of the interviews were translated into English, the research language. Before starting the interviews, an interview guide was prepared on how to create the impulses for the data collection (see appendix 4). Although largely loyal to the guide during the research, the wording was sometimes altered linguistically or changed slightly to develop a better narrative-generating effect with the awareness of not creating fundamental content differences but the aim of clarifying the questions. Some of these changes and offers came during the interpretation group meetings -which consisted of the researcher and four other academics who had long experience with the method- after the interpretation of some particular interviews. The guide served the researcher as a quick reminder during the interview to cover all the investigated topics and not miss the points.

All interviews are recorded and transcribed into written text for a safe qualitative analysis of the interviews. The reconstruction of implicit knowledge is done through this material, in the meaning of democracy understandings of German Turks. The narrative interviews allow the participants to retell their encounters and experiences; they also offer space to express their characters and identities in narratives freely (Bressler & Rotter, 2016) about being a Turkish migrant in Germany, how their political orientations created as a migrant background and their global learning structures. "The narrative is what the person believes happened" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 24). The interviews are based on the interview guide that Nohl (Nohl, 2017) described as guided interviews and narrative biographical interviews (Schütze, 1983) describes.

Using a guide allows to touch the same general areas of narrative to be gathered from the interviewees. The guide (see appendix 4) is used

flexibly during the conversations to make the talk flow and let the person talk. Sometimes, the order of the questions and the wording of the impulses are modified slightly. In guided interviews, it is essential to wait until the participants describe everything that comes to their minds about the topic before asking a follow-up question or a question on a different topic. In interviews, the answers are not just the opinions of the participant but also the assessments, theories of everyday life, and statements by respondents (Schröck, 2009). The questions are thematically limited to the researcher's interest, and the guideline is used to compare the different interview texts with the expectation of finding fruitful topics for future relevance from the point of view of the examined area (Nohl, 2017). "During this action, the interviewer also learns from the actor because understanding is a participative, conversational, and dialogic process. It is produced during and in that conversation, and it is not something *reproduced* by an interpreter" (Schwandt, 2000, p. 195). Semi-structured interviews start with the same kind of pulse. After the pulses, it is advised to give a more extended silence and wait to ensure the respondent tells everything. They are welcome to speak whatever they want because the first stories are closest to articulating theoretical knowledge after the entry pulse (Bohnsack, 2010; Polanyi, 2009). If the respondent asks for clarification, the impulse is given with different words to be more comprehensible.

The documentary method of analysis requires data that is as little structured as possible by the interviewer so that interviewees can reveal their orientation. Speakers should face open-ended prompts and questions with as few interruptions as possible (Nohl, 2017). As a first impulse, the study offers the following to the participants: "There are 3-4 million Turks or people of Turkish origin living in Germany. You are one of them. Could you please tell me what is being a 'Turkish' in Germany?" (See appendix 4) With this open-ended question, participants are given the opportunity to open up and share their feelings.

Starting with the same questions allows to see the different reactions given to the same impulse. After the initial impulse, the participant is given time to collect their thoughts and speak as they like. Once the person begins to speak, their expressions, words, and gestures are closely

monitored, supplemented with occasional neutral “mhm” impulses to encourage them to continue speaking. During the interview, commenting, expressing positive or negative words, or mimicking the opinions persistently avoided to avoid blocking or influencing the responses. Commenting on views, saying positive or negative words, or interacting with facial expressions during the interview is persistently avoided. The interviewers’ role is to consistently show their sincerity, as the focal point is to understand the feelings and experiences of the respondent.

Listening carefully during the interview and showing respect for the listener’s words helps participants relax and express themselves more clearly (Bohnsack, 2011). An environment where the interviewees can be comfortable is preferred, and external factors are prevented from disturbing or obstructing the meetings. All interviews are recorded one-on-one, without anyone being allowed to listen or watch during the interview. In this way, all kinds of effects and influences are prevented. In cases where the participant has difficulty in continuing, expressions such as “mhm” or “yes” pave the way for them to continue to express themselves, and “the researcher encourages the interviewees to reflect, in detail, on events they have experienced.” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 2).

During the interview, when the respondent does not touch on some points or leave them vague, sometimes the same question is asked in a different way to clarify the issue, but in some cases, no questions are asked to disturb the continuity. In these cases, to reach the answer to the question sought, in the later stages of the interview, the same question is asked in a different way to get the answer. The interviewees are encouraged to talk about the issues they have experienced in their own lives and to convey their personal experiences. From time to time, it is preferred not to interfere with the interviewee’s long transfers that were irrelevant to the subject and not to damage their confidence. In this case, after the speaker completes his words, it was preferred to move away from the subject with different questions to return to the focus point. During the interviews, the parts showing the happiness or discomfort of the person were noted and evaluated separately.

After the interviews, all the recorded material is transcribed and transferred into a written text. These textual materials become the primary data for the analysis of the study. The transcriptions of the interviews are between 10 and 26 pages. The participants were codenamed with the states of the USA without any geographical implication and had no content related to the topic. To ensure anonymity, the names or places mentioned during the interviews have been replaced with other names or places. In addition, prominent details of the participants, such as the dates of personal events and the names of organizations, have been intentionally changed to maintain anonymity. During the transcription, the male participants are coded with a letter from the alphabet plus 'm', and female participants are coded with a letter from the alphabet plus 'f'. Participation in the interviews is voluntary and open to any German Turk, and most of the interviewees accepted the request with pleasure. In all interviews, after initial contact with the interviewee, one or two further correspondence by phone or email were required before the interview could take place. During this process, the meeting location and time of the interview were decided. A brief information was given to the contacts to let them know about the topic. These statements and explanations are all done under the guidelines of German Research Rules (see appendices 2,3). The respondents are assured of anonymity and briefed that no specific preparation is needed for the interview. It is also clarified that the interview recording is for collecting the data, not for recognizing people's identities. The researcher conducted all the Turkish interviews, as well as other members of the team¹¹ who have detailed information and knowledge about the research and have long experience in documentary method. Interviews performed with different researchers from the same team both prevented blindness of sensitivity and gave an opportunity to choose interviewers based on the age and location of the interviewee. This also provides "observer triangulation", which ensures the "study, two or more observers mean that the interviewer data analyzer is in the process of collecting and

¹¹ Dr. Martin Affolderbach, Dr. Nicholas Schröck and Dr. Caroline Rau contributed to the study by doing interviews, other than the researcher.

analyzing the data of the research” (Denzin, 2009). When selecting participants, the researcher expects them to have a relationship with specific research areas.

The interviews were conducted in quiet, peaceful, and preferred places where participants felt comfortable. Unofficial places have been preferred for the meeting to create a friendly environment. Three interviews were conducted by telephone, partly to avoid personal contact due to the Corona restriction. The meeting places have been chosen to ensure unlimited and free talk without a sense of a corporate meeting. The content of the interview was provided at the first contact, and details were conveyed before the interview. If the interviewees had questions, they were answered, anonymity concerns were addressed, and the necessary assurances were given. Before the interviews, some more information about the research was given, and anonymity was assured once again. No third-party members other than the researcher and the participant were allowed to be present in the meeting place during the interview to prevent outside intervention and to eliminate the risk of the interviewee changing the ideas and the content of the narration. After the interviews, the participants were asked to fill out a short questionnaire for the socio-biographical data collection, which is crucial for understanding the sample saturation process. This also allowed the researchers to see the missing samples of age groups, genders, or educational backgrounds. The questionnaire is attached at the end of the research. (see appendix 1). The recorded material was transcribed by the researcher or by research assistants according to the documentary method rules and translated into English by the research team. The researcher made all the Turkish transcriptions, and German transcriptions were made by the research assistants. As Bailey points out, for the written language to be understandable and readable, audible talk needs to be reduced, interpreted and represented (Bailey, 2008). During the transcription, no passages or parts were omitted, but in telephone interviews, the answers to the questionnaire were also recorded and transcribed but not added to working material. Tran-

scription rules and examples from the interviews listed below, transcription in German, and in Turkish as well an English translation of an interview. The study was based on English texts.

Table 6: Transcription rules

Transcription rules*:	
⌊	Beginning of an overlap of two speakers or direct connection in the case of a speaker change
Migrationshint-	abort a phrase, unspoken word
(.)	short break, short withdrawal
(3)	Break, Specification of the duration in seconds
@(.)@	short laugh
@(natürlich)@	Speaking with a smile or laugh
<u>natürlich</u>	Emphasized speaking
natürlich	loud speaking
°natürlich°	quietly speaking
()	Statements are not to be understood on the recording
(Identität)	difficult to understand statement, the correctness of the transcription is not certain, but probably
mhm	encouraging „mhm”
[räuspert sich]	Comments on paraphrased, non-verbal or external events
Case-sensitive (minuscule or capital)	
Names are capitalized. The sentences starts with capital letters.	

* The rules are adapted from the Die Transkriptionsregeln from Bohnsack 2017, S. 235

Table 7: Interview transcription sample in German

Interview example in German	
Interview Colorado, Lines 748-784	
I:	Gab es da ich sag mal so ein herausragendes Ereignis, Erlebnis, dass sie da erzählen möchten?
Zf:	Man hat den Konflikt sehr gespürt, gerade Israel-Palästina-Konflikt und da ist gar nicht so einfach- also es ist nicht einfach zu lösen; weil beide Seiten auch sehr verwurzelt und verletzt auch sind. Würde ich sagen. Also das hat man schon gespürt. Wir, als Muslima , wir haben- weil ich mit Kopftuch ja sichtbar bin wieder, wurde schon im israelischen Teil sehr angeguckt, also vor allem so in TelAviv oder so, am Anfang als ich am Flughafen angekommen bin dacht ich mir auch, okay, gewissermaßen, aber es gab genau welche die uns umarmt haben, geküsst haben, gesagt haben genau das suchen wir, dass drei Weltreligionen so miteinander umgehen können; und dann hat man eben auch wieder die große Verletztheit auf palästinensischer Sicht auch gespürt, und wir durften teilweise zum Beispiel nicht durch palästinensisches Gebiet fahren, weil wir ein palästinensischen Reiseführer hatten, der aber nicht durch gewisse israelische Bereiche durchfahren durfte; er hatte nicht die <u>Erlaubnis</u> , das heißt wir mussten dann zwei drei Stunden außen rum fahren, weil unser Reiseführer nicht durch diese Stadt fahren durfte. Solche Erlebnisse hatten wir dann. Oder dass wir teilweise <u>nicht bedient wurden</u> , weil wir eben Kopftuch getragen haben und Muslima waren, wurden wir nicht bedient und umgekehrt genauso- genau so wieder- ich hab wirklich alle beide also sehr krasse rassistische Merkmale gesehen, wie aber auch sehr gastfreundschaftliche, wo ich mir dachte wow das suchen wir ja. Beide Seiten, aber auf voller Ebene aber. In beiden-
I:	Was macht das mit Ihnen solche Erlebnisse?
Zf:	Das war halt schwierig einzuordnen ; weil ich wusste dass viele für eine Versöhnung da sind, viele, und für andere kommt das irgendwie nicht in Frage, weil sie auf beiden Seiten so verletzt sind und auch sehen- den Konflikt zu lösen, da- ich hab es mir leichter vorgestellt, aber als ich dort unten war wusste ich dass es nicht so einfach ist zu lösen

(See Table 8 for the English translation of this text)

Table 8: English translation of the German interview sample

English translation	
Interview Colorado, Lines 686-719	
I:	Was there, let's say, such an outstanding event, experience that you want to tell?
Zf:	One has felt the conflict very much, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and this is not so easy- so it is not easy to solve; because both sides are also very rooted and hurt, I would say. So you already felt that. We, as (female) Muslim , we have- because I'm visible with headscarf, yes, was already in the Israeli part very much looked at, so especially in Tel Aviv or so, at the beginning when I arrived at the airport, I thought just, okay, so to speak, but there were those who hugged us, kissed us, said: exactly, that's what we're looking for, that three world religions can handle each other like that; and then, again, we also felt the great hurt in the Palestinian perspective, and we were, for example, not allowed to drive partly through Palestinian territory because we had a Palestinian guide who was not allowed to pass through certain Israeli areas; he did not have <u>the permission</u> , that means, we had to drive outside for two, three hours because our guide was not allowed to drive through this city. We had such experiences then. Or that we were partly <u>not being served</u> , because we were just wearing a headscarf and were (female) Muslims, we were not served and vice versa exactly- as well again- I really have seen both very strange racist features, but also very hospitable ones, where I thought by myself: wow, that we are looking for, yes. Both sides, but at full level. In both-
I:	What does that do with you, such experiences?
Zf:	That was difficult to classify ; because I knew that many there stand for a reconciliation, many, and for others it's out of question, because they are so hurt on both sides and also see- to solve the conflict there- I thought it would be easier, but when I was down there, I knew that is not so easy to solve.

(See Table 7 for the German original)

Table 9: Interview transcription sample in Turkish

Interview example in Turkish	
Interview Rhode Island, Lines 20-55	
Sm:	Annem mesela tesettürlü arada bir böyle laf aa söyleniyor Hanım birazcık esmer tenli @()@ hep aynı sorular soruluyor işte Hep dini hakkında hep aynı şeyler daha hala o beyinde duvarlar aşılmamış hala
I:	Neler soruluyor mesela
Sm:	İşte mesela yakında Ramazan geliyor Niye oruç tutuyorsun Bir soruyu ben her sene sormam artık Ben de iiiii ben bu şu felsefeyi ben kendim geliştirdim hanımla beraber <u>artık cevaplayan bir toplum değil</u> soru soran toplum olacağız Biz biz hanımla öyleyiz mesela diyoruz biz soruları cevapladık yıllarca niye ramazan var niye oruç tutuyorsun mesela ben de artık mesela paskalya tatili vardı Ben de sorduğumda <u>niye paskalya</u> tatili kutluyorsunuz cevap veremediler Ben dedim ben size yıllarca soruyu cevapladım işte inandığım şeye doğru ama siz bana cevap veremiyorsunuz ama bilmiyoruz İşte biz yıllardan beri öyle yaptık yani ben artık yani şöyle söyleyim tabiri caizce soru cevaplamaktan vesaire bıktım yani çünkü artık biz burada toplumun bir parçasıyız Ben burada sendikaya üyeyim Hanımın da aynı şekilde iş hayatında <u>çalışıyoruz</u> vesaire ama hala topluma kendinizi kabul ettiremiyorsunuz Size diyor ki Alman değil Türk diyor hala Alman kimliğine sahip olmanıza rağmen
I:	Evet siz kendinizi ne görüyorsunuz
Sm:	Ben kendimi Alman olarak görüyorum çünkü benim Türkiye'yle bir bağlantım yok yani Türkiye'den sadece şöyle bir akrabalarım var nenem var dedem var vesaire ama ben kendimi bir Alman olarak görüyorum Burada yaşayan bir Alman vatandaşı olarak Almanya'da vergi veriyorum vesaire İlerleyen zamanda Allah nasip ederse emekli olunca buradan emeklilik emekli maaşımı falan alacağım Ben kendimi Alman olarak görüyorum Sadece bir Türk kökenim var bu benim bir avantajım yani Türkçe dilim olmam vesaire Belki de <u>kıskanıyorlar</u> Almanlar onu bilemiyorum yani benim kafadan iki dilim var İngilizceyi öğreniyorum latincem de var İspanyolca da gördüm az çok lisede iiiii ama kendimi Alman olarak görüyorum

(See Table 10 for the English translation of this text)

Table 10: English translation of the Turkish interview sample

English translation	
Interview Rhode Island, Lines 20-54	
Sm:	My mother, for instance, she is veiled sometimes they say words My wife is a little bit dark skinned @ () @ Always the same questions are asked like always the same things about religion Still the walls in their brains are there still not passed over
I:	What kind of questions are asked for example
Sm:	See for example Ramadan is coming Why do you fast I don't ask a question every year I myself iiii I developed a philosophy myself and my wife I together <u>no longer</u> a <u>community answering</u> but we will be a community asking the questions We are like this with my wife for example we say we answered the questions for years such as why Ramadan exists why are you fasting I ask them <u>why</u> you celebrate <u>Easter</u> holiday They could not answer I said I have answered your questions for years the things what I believe in but you can not answer me but we do not know You see we have faced so many years the same things so I say so now I'm so tired of answering the question and so on I am sick of it answering questions because now we are a part of the society Here I am a member of a union My wife here in the same way <u>We are working</u> in the business life and so on but you still can not be accepted by the society They says you are not a German but Turk even though you have a German passport
I:	Yes how do you see yourself
Sm:	I see myself as a German because I do not have a connection with Turkey over there only some relatives only my grandfather my grandma live and so on I see myself as a German a German citizen living in Germany I pay tax in Germany so on if God allows I will be retired here I have only a Turkish origin that is my advantage to have a Turkish language so maybe they are <u>jealous of me</u> the Germans I have two languages from the beginning I'm learning English I learned Latin in high school also Spanish a little bit iii but I see myself as German

(See Table 9 for the Turkish original)

3.5 Interpretation of interviews according to the documentary method

The purpose of the documentary method is to reconstruct the orientation by analyzing and contrasting the material that enables the formation of types and associated abstraction. The formative of documentary method is the underlying methodological guiding difference between communicative-generalizing or immanent meaning and conjunctive or documen-

tary meaning (Schröck, 2009). “The idea of achieving an ‘inside’ understanding, the interviewee’s definition of the conditions and circumstances, what happened according to him is a powerful central concept for understanding the purpose of the interviews.” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 192) For this purpose, the research practice takes place in two major interpretation steps. The aim of this two-stage interpretation process is, to make the differences of communicative and subjective knowledge to become visible. This change and the methodological differentiation of communicative and conjunctive knowledge can be found in practical research in the distinction of formulating and reflecting (documentary) interpretation (Bohnsack, 2010). In the formulating interpretation process, a summary of the issues expressed at the level of immanent meaning during the interview is made visible and underlined WHAT is told. The formulating interpretation is a thematic separation process according to the topics of the narrative. This step is about what is said (literally), in other words what is dealt with thematically.

In the reflecting interpretation, it is analyzed comparatively HOW these issues are told in the direction of documentary meaning (Nohl, 2010). The reflective interpretation also includes the comparative analysis, a topic, or subject-based comparison with the other participants. The transition from the formulating to the reflecting interpretation shows the change from the “What” is said to “How” is said (Bohnsack, 2013). In the last stage, type formation is made through meaning-constructive and social-constructive type formation (Bohnsack, 2010). Type formation means that the resulting orientation framework is abstracted from a single case and highlights the commonalities presented in different cases. It is important to discuss the interpretations with other researchers in groups or workshops at every stage of the interpretation process when using the documentary method. In the end, types are formed based on the similarities of the cases, which include similar experiences or contrasts in handling the issues.

3.5.1 Formulating interpretation

Basically, 'formulating interpretation' intends to summarize the interview passages according to thematic relevance by using the words of the interviewee by the researcher. Although the interpretation of only the relevant parts of the interview is a common practice, all the interviews recorded in the research have been evaluated in full, thus avoiding the deterioration of the integrity of the interview. This choice has also been facilitated to gain control over the overall interview. This step still remains in the area of 'immanent' meaning (Bohnsack, 2010) without commenting on the true meaning of the expressions. While reflective interpretations look at the documentary meanings of research-oriented returns or what they really mean (Bohnsack, 2010), the formulating interpretation is revealed within the framework of meanings and/or essential communication. In this step, the main goal is to thematically classify "what" participants said to understand about the world society learning and its impact on their perception of democracy. At this stage, the researcher summarizes and paraphrases what the German Turks described as conceptual. To intensify the text, topics of interest were decided prior to the research, and the topics the interviewees talked about in detail passionately and/or metaphorically specified (Bohnsack, 2010). This allows the interviewees' expressions of the discussions to be placed in a particular structure with subsections of the main topics and the subthemes. So the researcher can classify the parts other than the researcher's basic questions in the long-narrated interview. In addition to determining the basic focus issues, whether these narratives have been developed spontaneously or told as a response to the researcher's question is noted. A consequence of this step is "what" is being handled thematically and what "formulation of the topical structure of a text" (Bohnsack, Pfaff, & Weller, 2010, p. 111) is revealed. The formulating interpretation also aims to provide an overview of the entire interview and to ensure that no aspects are overlooked in the interpretation (Schröck, 2009).

The following is an example of an illustration of the formulating interpretation steps:

Table 11: Formulating interpretation example

Interview: Colorado
Lines between English: 677-719, German: 739-784 MT: Understanding both and reconciliation
Lines between English: 677-685 German: 739-747 ST: Opportunities provided by volunteering
Colorado explains that she had the opportunity to work and establish relationships with people from different segments of German society, thanks to the Cultural Center where she worked as a volunteer. She states that without her work at the center, there was no chance she would have met people from the German Army or anyone of Jewish origin. In this context, she had the opportunity to go to Israel with a group of 12-13 people consisting of Jews, Christians and Muslims, and she describes this trip as very interesting.
Lines between English: 688-691, German: 750-754 ST: Difficulties of solving deeply rooted conflicts
When Colorado was asked to explain in detail what she found interesting during the trip, she said that she felt the Israeli-Palestinian conflict very well with the trip. The difficulty of resolving this conflict is explained by the fact that both parties are deeply rooted there and both parties are very hurt. She says that this situation is felt very clearly.
Lines between English: 691-698, German: 750-761 ST: Experiences as a Muslim woman in Israel
Colorado then shares her experiences in Israel as a headscarved Muslim woman. She explains that she attracted a lot of attention at the airport and then in Israel because of her headscarf which states her Muslim identity visibly, and that others were always looking at her. She tells that the Jews who hosted the group greeted her with hugs and kisses, in response to the stares of others. Her hosts tell her that this is exactly what they want, that the three religions should interact with each other.
Lines between English: 699-709, German: 750-772 SST: Feeling the experiences of Palestinians
She then explains that she felt the suffering there from the Palestinians' perspective. She says that they cannot pass to some parts of Palestine because the Palestinian guide with them does not have permission to enter some parts of the region. Since the guide does not have permission, in order to travel between the two cities, they must use a route that will take 2-3 hours longer. This experience gives her the opportunity to understand what Palestinians are going through. Colorado also shares her experiences as a Muslim in Israel. She sees that they were not served because she wears a headscarf and is a Muslim.
Lines between English: 709-712, German: 772-776 ST: Experiencing positive and negative experiences at the same time

During her trip to Israel, Colorado encounters obvious racist treatment as well as the hospitality from her hosts. She witnesses both negative and positive behavior at the same time. Stating that this is exactly what they are looking for, Colorado tells that she has similar wishes for both parties.

Lines between English: 714-719, German: 778-784

ST: Call for understanding the suffering of both sides and reconciliation

When asked what kind of impact this experience had on him, Colorado answers, "It was difficult to categorize." Underlining that she knows that many people in the region are in favor of compromise, Colorado states that for many people, such a situation is not even possible. She indicates that both parties are very hurt. She imagined that resolving the conflict between the parties would be much easier before going there, but Colorado realizes that resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is not that easy after her trip to Israel.

3.5.2 Reflecting interpretation

The second step is the "reflecting interpretation" which is an essential part of the documentary method interpretation. While in the formulating interpretation step, a summary is made of "what" the interviewed person said, the researcher focuses on "how" these expressions are specified in the reflecting interpretation. This contains also what the participants were dealing with by documenting the collective orientations of the joint practices of the participants identified. Therefore, the analysis not only included an explanatory representation of how German Turks' understanding of democracy developed but also made it possible to reconstruct the practice of action and the habitual and action-oriented orientations established on this group's thoughts with regard to global citizenship.

In this context, it is determined which of the statements mentioned in the interview contain narratives, descriptions, argumentations, and evaluations (Bohnsack, 2010). In a narrative and description, the interviewee narrates "actions and events", which have "a beginning and an end" which descriptions explain actions or facts (Nohl, 2010, p. 205). These statements contain little information about the action-guiding orientations of the respective person but gives hints to their choices. The main point here is to analyze the action-guiding reasons of participants (Bohnsack, Przyborski, & Schäffer, 2010) by locating the argumentations

and evaluations that make the real orientations visible. Each part was analyzed based on the discourse analysis, and if a suggestion or expression is used in different ways in detailing when bringing a new thematic dimension, then this is included in another orientation. Finally, “conclusions are found at the end of a topic ... of an orientation content” (Przyborski, 2004, p. 69) or represent some kind of result disclosures in which a change in subject arises. Thus, they are based on the joint existential background and shared experience of collective orientation (Bohnsack, 2010). The documentary method makes a distinction between evaluation and argumentation on the one hand and narration and description on the other (Nohl, 2010). “It is always about not just opinions, assessments, theories of everyday life and statements by respondents to ask, but *narratives* to their personal, in their practice of action to elicit well-founded experiences” (Nohl, 2017, p. 16). The reflecting interpretation makes visible in which framework the respondents treat a topic, and “this orientation framework [...] is the central object of documentary interpretation” (Bohnsack et al., 2013, p. 16).

“It is possible to objectively understand the subjective meaning of the action” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 193) by reconstructing what participants say. “What the interpreter restructures is considered to be the original meaning of the actor’s action because interpreters should find a method that excludes themselves from the interview” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 193). Documentary method gives this opportunity by excluding the interpreter from the participant and reconstructing the identity by identifying the orientations. The main target of the data analysis is “to organize the interviews to present a narrative that explains what happened to provide a description of the norms and values that underlie cultural behavior” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 229). Finally, how the participant discusses and elaborates on topics during interviews documents people’s action-guided orientations, habits, and experiences that lead them to actions is possible to be seen. While the formulating interpretation is the thematic reconstruction of the structure of the discourse, the reflective interpretation shows according to which orientation pattern the framework in which the theme is addressed is made. Thus, the orientation framework of the discourse is revealed, the

way the subject is handled is restructured and the thought behind the discourse is exhibited (Bohnsack, 2001).

The following is an example of an illustration of the formulating interpretation steps:

Table 12: Reflecting transcription example

Interview: Colorado
Lines between English: 677-719, German:739-784 Understanding both and reconciliation
Lines between English: 677-685 German: 739-747
In this part, personal relationships are once again valued and the homologous pattern reproduces itself. Through her volunteer work at the Cultural Center, Colorado has the opportunity to interact with different segments of society. The personal contact with people from professions that she would not have the opportunity to meet easily in normal life, such as members of the military, not only puts her in a different and higher position than her peers, but also gives her the opportunity to understand different segments of society. This Cultural Center environment is seen as an opportunity to increase personal relationships.
Lines between English: 688-691 German: 750-754
Her views on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict changes dramatically with a visit to Israel. Colorado presents her position with “feeling” the conflict. The designation of “feeling” the conflict indicates that she was already aware the conflict but she “felt” it when she visited Israel. Since the Israel-Palestine conflict is visible and a very well known conflict, it can be assumed that she has to see it personally how gross it is. Knowing the conflict is different but feeling is much more meaningful than knowing it.
Lines between English: 691-698 German: 750-761
In her subsequent elaboration, Colorado connect how she “felt” about the conflict with the solution. Here, once again, the influence and importance of personal observations in understanding and interpreting events is noted. Even in one of the world’s most deeply rooted conflicts, such as the Middle East conflict, personal observation and experience are necessary to make the assessment that the roots of the solution run deep and that both sides have suffered a lot. In the following proposition, Colorado relates the difficulties faced by Muslims in Palestine through her own experiences as a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf. She felt the different views towards her because of her headscarf as soon as she landed at the airport; therefore, women in Israel who are known to be Muslim because of their headscarf face difficulties. The existence of this difficulty is detailed through personal experiences.
Lines between English: 699-709 German: 750-772

The warm welcome of her Israeli hosts despite the coldness Colorado felt as a Muslim woman at the airport again points to the importance attached to personal experiences. In contrast to the cold demeanor for others and the implication that she is undesirable, the warm approach of those with whom she has personal contact shows that - unlike those at the airport - she is in fact the desired person. If those at the airport had the opportunity to get to know Colorado better, they would realize how understanding he is.

In his elaboration, Colorado marks herself through events she has personally observed. Seeing the Palestinian driver's difficulties first hand helped her to understand what other Palestinians go through. When they are not served in a restaurant because of the headscarf, again the identification through personal experience comes to the fore.

Even though Colorado is familiar with the conflict in the region, he confirms the difficulties faced by both sides by seeing it in person and experiencing it herself.

3.5.3 Case comparisons and type formation

One of the steps that cannot be positioned at a certain stage in the research process and, therefore, continues continuously is comparative analysis. The aim of the research is not to evaluate any individual by single interview in detail but to determine the basic orientation framework based on all interviews. Thus, the reconstructed orientation frame can be compared with other orientation frames. For this reason, the evaluation was carried out as a comparative analysis which is a basic principle of documentary interpretation that is based on Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This process is applied during the entire interview, not during a specific part of the interview or a limited period. The main purpose of the evaluation with the documentary method, as explained in the previous sections, is to reveal the distinction between immanent and documentary meaning according to Mannheim (Mannheim, 1964). In other words, what the participant said and told should be separated from the meaning revealed, so that the implicit should be possible to be seen. Thus, the orientation of the participants is revealed. This comparison process also provides validation of interpretations by a communicative validation with an interpretation group.

After specifying the distinct orientations related to the research with the help of the 'reflecting interpretation', a summary of orientations was written for every participant to make their orientations visible. This summary also includes comparisons with the other participants about the

same topics. At this point, the most important categories are briefly characterized and then summarized in a table. The categories for discourse analysis focus on the sequence of statements. Through this sequential analysis of the interviews, the different contributions are brought into relation to each other, followed by the reconstruction of orientation content. If there are similarities and/or differences, they are made distinctive to show the discrepancies and similarities. This step interprets and compares how different people handle the same issues. This allows “the transition from the imminent to the documentary meaning” and “the reconstruction of the framework of orientation, of the habitus” (Bohnsack, Pfaff, & Weller, 2010, p. 111). “The underlying pattern collected from the interviews is interpreted on the basis of ‘what is known’ about the underlying pattern” (Garfinkel & Harold, 1967, p. 78), which allows each interview can base a form to interpret the other interviews. Despite the fact that all interviews are independent of each other, they include a large number of similar perspectives appearing or occurring in the narratives. This “allows us to share the world of others to find out what is going on, why people do what they do, and how they understand their worlds. With such knowledge, you can help solve a variety of problems” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995, p. 5). The basis for the comparative comparison is the “contrast in common” (Bohnsack, 2010) that is, how the same titles are handled differently. This allows “to understand a particular social action the inquirer must grasp the meanings that constitute that action” (Schwandt, 2000, p. 191).

Type Formation

The aim of this study is to determine the guiding orientation of German Turks in the global society and how they position themselves through empirically obtained data. In order to achieve this goal, it is necessary to formulate the findings in a generalizable manner, that is, to form types over common points after the interpretation of individual cases. For this, the individual case is abstracted from the general, and thus the generalizability of the results to be obtained should be ensured. In this context, in order to access a type formation, first of all, central orientation patterns are

formed, and case abstractions are made by making both ‘internal’ comparisons with in the same interview and external comparisons with different interviews. Thus, a categorically determined typology is obtained that does not represent a list of different states but overlaps with them. These detected patterns may take place in different interviews. However, they may also be found in the same interview as the same situation is repeated with different variations.

The typology presented as the results of the study is based on finding a way to reconstruct the relevant parts of the interviews systematically. In this context, quotations from the interviews are intended to provide a better understanding of the findings. Therefore, the available data were not interpreted sequentially; previously analyzed texts are used to understand people’s orientations. Repetitive findings make existing findings even more valuable. This evaluation and compression process continues until no new findings can be detected, eventually stopping once the sampling reaches theoretical saturation (Strübing, 2011). Similarities or contrasts between various orientation frames crystallize more clearly when projected onto opposing horizons. Thus, the resulting methodologically controllable “comparative horizons” become the reference point. Because the methodological steps of the documentary method are interrelated, this process takes place in a successive circular cycle, which is an iterative process that focuses on the theoretically saturated, methodically controlled understanding of the German Turks interviewed. Thus, the statements of the participants become the basis of the comparative analysis within the framework of reflective interpretations on the one hand, and on the other hand, they refer to the orientation framework. Now, the abstracted orientation framework or the type functions as *Tertium Comparationis*. As Nentwig-Gesemann summarizes this process, “on the level of the type, it is about internal homogeneity - minimal contrast - on the level of the typology, it is about external heterogeneity, that is, about maximal difference” (Nentwig-Gesemann, 2013, p. 316). The various orientation frameworks of German Turks who have been living in Germany have thus been condensed into different modes of dealing with the issues in their lives, which are transferred into four genetic types (see chapter 4 for details). In

these ideal types, German Turks' action-guiding orientations regarding democracy and global society are condensed. As Weber explains, these ideal types do not describe empirically observed reality but represent a scientific condensation.

The research focuses on various frameworks of the orientation of German Turks living in Germany. In line with the data obtained, four different genetic types of German Turks were determined in the global societal orientation. In these four ideal types, the action-directing orientations of the German Turks regarding democracy and global society are condensed. As Weber explains, these ideal types do not describe empirically observed historical reality but represent a mental image of the scientific concentration (Weber, 1949). Thus, the differences and similarities between the real empirical cases and the ideally constructed ideal type can be revealed (Nentwig-Gesemann, 2013).

During the research process of this study, the data collection, interpretation, and abduction phases were always accompanied by a group¹². There was constant cooperation with the project's practice partners during the data collection phase, which both maintained and observed the transparency of the research. This process provided communicative and consensus-based validation of the hypotheses put forward and kept the researchers' own positions in check. The interviews are conducted at a considerable length and always classified as a whole, even if the parts are irrelevant to the research subject or do not contribute to the problem sought in the study. These unnecessary parts of the interviews are also transcribed, but not all are interpreted. Especially for the reflecting interpretations, the most relevant parts are chosen during the interpretation group meetings.

3.6 Selecting the sample

In chapter 3.4, the data collection process was explained. In this chapter the sample selection process will be described, and the interview process

¹² Other than the researcher, the interpretation group included Prof. Dr. Annette Scheunpflug, Dr. Caroline Rau, Dr. Susanne Timm and Dr. Martin Affolderbach.

will be explained. For the empirical analysis of the orientations of German Turks, 14 male and eight female participants (22 in total) from various generations living in different cities of Bavaria were interviewed. When selecting these individuals, gender, age, generation, educational background, and experiences of political and social participation were taken into account, and data was collected to contrast cases until the sample had been saturated. A special focus was given to the younger age group to understand their perspectives.

In line with the theory-generating orientation of the study, the selection of interviewees was based on the principle of theoretical sampling, according to Glaser and Strauss (1967). This sampling is a procedure for collecting data and selecting cases for evaluation in the field of non-standardized research. This procedure is not a method by which the people to be interviewed are preselected (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), but it is based on the principle of searching for samples that will complement the selected selection criteria as the interviews are conducted “in favor of a step-by-step development of the sample, oriented on the theory iteratively developed in the research process” (Strübing, 2011, p.155). As research progresses and the stages of comparison horizons become clearer, theoretical sampling becomes more focused. The need to focus on a group with more distinct features emerges at this stage. Sometimes, finding participants with the most suitable characteristics to explore missing or emerging concepts in the data is difficult. At this point, the aim is to reach a point where new discussion horizons do not appear, that is, data saturation.

Saturation determines how long theoretical sampling should continue. Even though most of the people approached accepted the interview offers, some refused the request because they did not have time and were not interested in the subject. Apart from this, one of the main reasons for rejection was that the research topic was “political”. They were reluctant to talk about political issues with a stranger. Within the framework of the main objective of the research interest of the study, the primary selection criterion of the people to be interviewed in this study is that they or their families are of Turkish origin, that is, at least one of the participant’s parents or grandparents was born in Turkey. In this regard, first-, second-,

and third-generation participants were selected for the research. Different generations allow a comparison perspective to see time and practice changes. Participants committed to political, social, economic, or societal concerns worldwide, such as human rights, environment, climate, or education at different levels. The interviews were conducted in three phases. The first round of sampling criteria had been combinations of gender, generation of migration, and educational background. For the second round, different forms of engagement (religion, politics, and associations) were added to the first criteria. After the first two rounds (19 interviews), it was observed that there was a lack of people who had nationalist tendencies. In this context, there were difficulties in reaching “quality” interviewees, and most of the people responded negatively to interview requests. However, after intensive research, contacts were made with people suitable for the purpose, and interviews were conducted. The Theoretical Sampling process continued as long as new features were added to the comparison horizons. When new features do not emerge in comparative horizons, it becomes clear that the sample has reached saturation, and the interview process is terminated. After the last interview, it was determined that saturation was reached, while it was observed that new categories did not develop in line with the theoretical sampling. The search for new interview participants was concluded with the approval and the consensus of the interpretation group since the sample was saturated (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, Strübing, 2011). It should be noted that the Theoretical Sample is not related to the German-Turkish population being researched, and increasing the number of participants will not serve the purpose of the research (Charmaz, 2006).

Another point that needs to be mentioned in the research process is the Corona restrictions that developed after the interviews started. 19 of 22 interviews were done face to face, and three of them were conducted by telephone due to the Corona limitations. The first three interviews were done between August and November 2018. Sixteen interviews were recorded intensively between March and May 2019. The last three interviews were done in August-October 2020, as mentioned above on the phone.

The average time of the interviews is 40 minutes, with the shortest interview being 13 minutes and the longest being 71 minutes. Four of them were conducted in Turkish with their preference – even though they were fluent or at least able to communicate in German – and 18 were done in German. The sociodemographic details can be seen in table 13.

Table 13: Sociodemographic details of the sample in alphabetical order

Name	Age/years in Germany	Gender	Born in	Generation	Education	Engagement
Alaska	53/53	M	Germany	second	university	no
Arizona	28/26	F	Turkey	second	university	no
Colorado	25/25	F	Germany	third	university student	political party, cultural association
Delaware	47/39	F	Turkey	second	vocational training	religious association
Florida	25/25	F	Germany	third	university student	sports club
Hawaii	44/35	M	Germany	second	university	no
Idaho	51/40	M	Turkey	second	vocational training	religious association
Illinois	34/34	F	Turkey	third	primary	no
Kansas	23/23	M	Germany	third	university student	no
Maine	44/44	M	Germany	second	vocational training	cultural association
Maryland	50/43	M	Turkey	second	vocational training	no
Milwaukee	50/25	M	Turkey	first	Primary	no
Minnesota	24/24	F	Germany	third	university student	cultural association

Montana	49/30	F	Turkey	second	vocational training	sports club
Nevada	53/46	M	Turkey	second	vocational training	no
North Dakota	56/46	M	Turkey	second	vocational training	religious association
Ohio	29/29	M	Germany	third	university student	political party
Oregon	55/50	M	Turkey	second	university	cultural association
Rhode Island	33/33	M	Germany	third	university	political party religious assc.
South Dakota	49/45	M	Turkey	second	primary school	cultural association
Texas	44/38	M	Turkey	second	university	no
Vermont	55/29	F	Turkey	second	vocational training	cultural association

3.7 Summary of chapter 3

In the third chapter, the research methodology of this study, which examines the orientations of Turks in the global society, how they position themselves, and their embeddedness in learning processes, is analyzed.

Chapter 3.1 describes the starting point of this study, which aims to investigate which global social orientations German Turks exhibit, how they position themselves concerning areas of political participation, and which learning experiences lead to a moderation of experiences of openness and democratic participation in society. In line with the purpose of the study, it is explained why a reconstructive-qualitative and hypothesis-generating approach was chosen to identify German 'Turks' insights and their awareness of the world society.

Chapter 3.2 introduces the documentary methodology used in the study and describes how it was used to interpret the interviews. 3.3 ex-

plains the relationship and connection between the preferred documentary method and the research topic. Thus, the suitability of the documentary method for determining which global social orientations German Turks exhibit and for understanding their tacit knowledge is demonstrated. The relevance of this method for understanding the global society orientations of people who are often reluctant to talk about their tacit normativity is explained. Chapter 3.4 provides information on how the data was collected and the interviews conducted. The relevance of the data obtained is demonstrated by describing the pre-interviews and the interview process (3.4.1).

In chapter 3.5, how the orientations were reconstructed with the collected data is discussed with a focus on the documentary method. The stages of the documentary method are described with case studies of formulating interpretation (3.5.1) and reflecting interpretation (3.5.2). Chapter 3.5.3 describes how the data from all the interviews were compared and how the horizons of comparison were determined through similarities and contrasts. After presenting how the ideal types were identified, the selection of the samples is presented in chapter 3.6. In selecting the samples and determining the horizons of comparison, how Theoretical Sampling was used to reach saturation was explained. This chapter concludes with a summary of the socio-biographical information of the samples.

4 Findings

This chapter is about the empirical results of the reconstruction, which represents the main part of the research about the guiding orientations of German Turks in the global society and how they position themselves. These are implicit forms of knowledge that appear in democracy-related practice. It will be shown which individual action-guiding orientations German Turks possess concerning their democracy-centered global societal orientations and their consequences for political education using the comparative documentary analysis of interviews. This method has been preferred for the interpretation of data and the creation of meaningful genetic types.

In this chapter, first, all the portraits of the interviewed persons are given with details in a standardized way so that the reader gets an overview of them (4.1). By the characterization of the composition of the sample, a representation of the methodological approach will be presented, thus creating an environment for the transition to the result section. In chapter 4.2, the four types are presented. The chapter ends with a summary of the empirical reconstructions at 4.3. This section shows how the German-Turkish reconstructed understanding of democracy is intensified against the background of methodological principles.

4.1 Brief portraits of the German Turks in sample

In this section, 22 people who make up the sample of this study are presented in detail. By the characterization of the composition of the sample, a representation of the methodological approach will be given. In addition to anonymizing the names of the interviewees, the current places, people, and events mentioned in the interviews have been anonymized to avoid revealing the identity of the people. While these changes in the narrative are being made, it is aimed to make them without being felt and to preserve the integrity of the meaning intact. Such a method has been preferred for the interpretation of data and the creation of meaningful genetic types.

Their age groups, professions, backgrounds in Germany, family history (if any) in Germany, professional experiences (if any), interest levels, and perspectives towards Turkey and Turkish will be revealed. In addition, topics such as which language they are more comfortable expressing themselves in and where they feel at home will be exhibited. All data is based on the information provided by the interviewees. The mentioned personal characteristics indicate that all the interviewed people have specific backgrounds in Germany. The duration of the interview and the language in which it is conducted will also be shown in the short portraits of the cases. In addition, the thematic emphasis, contrasts, and dominant points of the interview in the draft will also be exhibited (see appendix 5 for detailed sampling).

Participants are listed in alphabetical order.

Mr. Alaska

Alaska (52) is a second-generation person born and raised in Germany. His “Gastarbeiter” parents came to Germany as one of the firsts of that generation. He has a university degree and works as a teacher. He is married with two kids and visits Turkey regularly every summer. He sometimes speaks Turkish but expresses himself better in German and thinks knowing Turkish is a vital asset. He sees Germany as his new “Heimat” and wants his “hyphenated identity” to be recognized. He emphasizes that Muslims should live their religious lives following German values. He says that he has no plans for Turkey and that all his future plans are for living in Germany. He is not a member of any associations in Germany and has no political party membership. The interview lasted more than 50 minutes and was held and recorded on the phone due to Corona restrictions. The interview language was German.

Ms. Arizona

Ms. Arizona (32) is a married woman who came to Germany at age four and lived in Germany for the rest of her life. Arizona is second-generation; her “Gastarbeiter” parents moved back to Turkey after retirement, but all her siblings are still living in Germany. As a second-generation, she had a university degree, but at the time of the interview, she was not working because of maternal leave. Arizona speaks Turkish within the family and

with her Turkish friends, but she says she can express herself better in German. She defines herself as a devout Muslim, wearing a headscarf and calling Germany “my homeland”. She sees the entire future of herself, her family, and her children in Germany. She volunteers at a social center to contribute to society and regularly reads books to children. She is also a volunteer guide for integrating “non-Turkish” immigrant families who have just arrived in Germany. Ms. Arizona is a member of a German political party and has participated in its activities in the past, but at the moment, she is not active because of her newborn baby, who was 11 months old at the time of the interview. The interview took about 15 minutes because of unexpected external interruptions. It was made in Arizona’s house. The interview language was Turkish, but she is fluent in German.

Ms. Colorado

Colorado (25) is a third-generation university student. She was born and raised in Germany. Her father is Turkish, and her mother is German. She visits Turkey at least two times a year and prefers to stay there for a more extended period of time, even longer than the holiday times. She finds speaking Turkish very important and sometimes speaks Turkish with family and friends. She is active in an intercultural and interreligious association and is a member of a political party in Germany. She defines herself as “half-German and half-Turkish”. For her, Germany is the country where she lives, Turkey is the gap-filler of what is missing in Germany, and that missing part is the warmth of the relations. She is “German” in school and working life but “Turkish” and a proud Muslim in her social life. She is a devout Muslim and wears a headscarf. She is a volunteer at a cultural center that organizes intercultural and interreligious events. The interview took place at the house of Colorado, where she lives with her family, and lasted 50 minutes. The interview language was German.

Ms. Delaware

Delaware (47) is a trained kindergarten teacher (Erzieherin) but has been running her own business in a different subject for almost ten years in a small Bavarian city. She is a second-generation who came to Germany at the age of 8. She has three children who visit Turkey every year to keep the remaining family connections alive. She sometimes speaks Turkish

with the family and does not prefer speaking it. She finds Turkish necessary and feels at home in both Germany and Turkey. She wants her children to be citizens of the world rather than Turkish or German. She is a member of a Turkish cultural association. She shows no interest in politics nor has a membership in a political party in Germany or Turkey. The interview was conducted at her business place and lasted about 20 minutes. The interview language was German.

Ms. Florida

Florida (25) is a third-generation university student. She was born and raised in Germany and spent her whole life there. She is married and visits Turkey regularly once a year. She always speaks Turkish with family members and finds knowing and speaking Turkish very important. She feels more at home in Germany. She is a member of a sports association but not a member of a political party in Germany and Turkey. She is the first university student in her extended family, and there are big expectations from her family. She offers more teaching about Christianity to Muslim students and Islam to German students at schools. She says that German democracy understanding encourages her to accept people with their ideas, but the Turkish way is to convince and persuade others to make them enlightened. The interview took place at the university he has been studying at and lasted 45 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. Hawaii

Hawaii (44) is a second-generation teacher in a big Bavarian city. He was born in Germany as a child of a “Gastarbeiter” family. When he was 13 years old, his family moved back to Turkey. After living 13 years in Turkey and graduating from a Turkish university, he returned to Germany. He completed his studies in Germany and became a teacher. He is married with two kids and visits Turkey every year regularly. He finds learning Turkish essential for the younger generations and speaks Turkish only with his family and friends. He expresses himself well in Turkish and German and finds both countries home. He calls himself a “German citizen with Turkish identity,” and he sees this identity as superior to being solely “Turkish” or “German”. He is worried about the rising

nationalism in both countries and wants more education on this subject to prevent hatred. He is a member of a mosque association and has no membership in any party, neither in Turkey nor Germany. The interview was carried out in his working environment and lasted about 50 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. Idaho

Idaho (51) is a second-generation person who has been living in Germany for 40 years; his father was a guest worker. He is a worker at a factory and has an “Ausbildung” for that profession. He regularly visits Turkey every year and always speaks Turkish with his family and friends. He speaks German fluently but prefers to talk in Turkish, so the interview was done in Turkish. He feels at home both in Germany and Turkey. He is a member of a mosque association and defines himself as a devout Muslim. He says that life in Germany is “perfect as our religion, Islam”, and describes the life of the Turks here as “insufficient like the religion of the Germans”. He calls himself culturally very much attached to Turkey and is proud of it. He is doing his best to make his children culturally attached to Turkey. Mr. Idaho wants them to know Turkish culture. When he openly states that he is a supporter of Turkish President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. His German colleagues condemn him because of this choice, and he finds this attitude contrary to the spirit of democracy. He says that Germans, in general, have negative thoughts about German Turks. The interview took place at a café of a mosque association and lasted half an hour. The interview language was Turkish.

Ms. Illinois

Illinois (34) is a third-generation woman running the family business with her husband in a Bavarian city. She was born in Turkey, came to Germany at age one, and spent all her life in Germany. She graduated from elementary school, and her middle school education was interrupted by economic means. She works at her husband’s shop, currently only half-time, but does additional bookkeeping for this business. She is married and has a 12-year-old son. She speaks Turkish regularly and accent-free German. She feels more Turkish and considers cultivating the Turkish language essential. She visits Turkey once a year, with most of her relatives on the

Black Sea coast and her husband's relatives with Kurdish backgrounds. She feels more at home in Germany. She is very focused on the family, the education of the son, and their house, which means a lot of work for her. She is not a member of any club or party. The 30-minute interview was conducted in the presence of her son in a café near to their shop. The interview language was German.

Mr. Kansas

Kansas (23) is a third-generation man who is studying at a university to become a teacher. He was born and raised in Germany and visits Turkey two times a year. He speaks Turkish only with the family and finds speaking Turkish very important. He is from Arab-Alawite, and he defines himself and his family as "a minority in Turkey, a minority in Germany". He feels at home in Germany and will marry an Arab-Alawite girl living in Turkey at the time of the interview. He spent most of his childhood in a tiny Bavarian town; at the interview, he lived in a big city. He has no membership in a club, an association, or a political party in Germany or Turkey. The interview was conducted at the university he was a student and lasted about 30 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. Maine

Maine (44) is a second-generation person born and raised in Germany. He spent all his life in Germany and has a minimal connection to Turkey. He has a high school education and works in a company as a salesperson. He is married with a kid and rarely visits Turkey, once in 3-4 years. He sometimes speaks Turkish inside the family and with friends when needed and finds his Turkish speaking ability necessary. He expresses himself better in German and feels in Germany at home. He doesn't want to be seen and called "Turkish" by his colleagues and friends. He wants to be seen as a regular "ordinary German" with "Turkish roots" as he is cultured in Germany. He is a member of a sports club and a cultural association. Maine says that when people are voting for a party, there should be a reason for this. He is not a member of a political party either in Turkey or in Germany. The interview was conducted in a café chosen by Maine and lasted about 45 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. Maryland

Maryland (55) is a businessman born in Turkey and came to Germany at the age of 7. He has a high school degree and has been running his business for a long time. He is married with three children and never visited Turkey in the last 12 years. During his childhood, he used to visit Turkey every summer with his parents, but now he has nobody left to visit in Turkey. He sometimes speaks Turkish with some friends and sees this capacity as very important as a foreign language in Germany. Mr. Maryland can express himself well both in German and Turkish languages. He feels in Germany at home and says he has “no German friends”. He says he knows many people from the business circles and the neighborhood in which he lives, but none of them are his “friends”. He explains that he has been excluded in his life many times by Germans. He is a member of a cultural association in Germany and is very interested in Turkish culture and history. He doesn't have any membership in a political party in either of the two countries. The interview was recorded at the office of the cultural association he is a member of and lasted 45 minutes. The interview language is German.

Mr. Milwaukee

Milwaukee (51) is a first-generation Turkish-Kurdish businessman who came to Germany at the age of 27. In Turkey, he was a farmer. He moved to Germany because of difficulties in doing his job due to the terror problems in the region where he lived. After working as a worker for 15 years, he set up his own business and has been running his store for almost ten years. At the time of the interview, he was running the business with his family. He has a primary school education and is married with four children. He visits Turkey more than two times a year due to his business connections. He better express himself in German. He feels at home in Turkey but finds speaking Turkish not so important. Turkey is a special place in Milwaukee's life only because his relatives still live there. He complains that voicing mistakes in Turkey is useless in correcting them. He underlines that the most significant difference between Germany and Turkey is equality and justice, and he complains about injustice and lawlessness in Turkey. He states that the people living in Turkey should have

the right to live just like ordinary Germans. When he worked as a worker in Germany, he did voluntary work, as he had enough time, but after opening his own business, he did not have time for such activities. The interview was conducted in Turkish at Milwaukee's workplace and lasted almost 30 minutes. The interview language is Turkish, and he can also communicate in German.

Ms. Minnesota

Minnesota (24) is a third-generation university student. She was born and raised in Germany. Her father is Turkish, and her mother is German. She visits Turkey 2 times a year. She is active in an intercultural and interreligious dialogue association. Speaking Turkish is very important for her; she feels at home in Turkey and Germany. She does not have any political affiliation in either Turkey or Germany. Turkish culture is essential to her. She rarely mentions German culture. She creates a third identity, other than only Turkish or only German, but "half German-half Turk" because of his Turkish father and German mother. She is a devout Muslim and wears a headscarf. For Minnesota, the headscarf issue is not a conflict or a discriminating situation. She doesn't see it as a hurdle. She doesn't see herself as a foreigner in Germany. She has no interest in politics and does not follow political events. She expresses being a "practicing Muslim" and talks about the practice explicitly. The interview language was German.

Ms. Montana

Montana (49) is a second-generation woman working at a Kindergarten as an educator (Erzieherin). She came to Germany at the age of 19 and spent the rest of her life in Germany. She is married to a Turkish man who is now a German citizen, but Montana keeps her Turkish citizenship with the claim that "German citizenship provides nothing other than a passport". She visits Turkey at least two times a year and finds Turkish speaking very important. She feels very comfortable speaking both Turkish and German. Montana feels at home in Germany. She is a sports club member and represents German Turks at an 'Integration Association' in the big Bavarian city where she currently lives. She is also an active member of a German political party. Even though she is not a German citizen, she would like to vote in Germany, at least in the local elections, since she

has been living there for a long time. The interview was conducted at the workplace in Montana and lasted about 45 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. Nevada

Mr. Nevada (54) is a second-generation person who came to Germany with his “Gastarbeiter” father at the age of 11 and lived the rest of his life in Germany. As his “Gastarbeiter” father is dead, he spends part of the summer holidays in Turkey because his mother is now living there. Nevada is an Alevi and married a German-Catholic woman. Their three kids are raised as Catholics. He speaks Turkish with the Turkish part of the family; inside the core family, the communication is only German. He better expresses himself in German, and he feels at home in Germany. Nevada’s whole life has been full of efforts to adapt to German culture and way of living. Mr. Nevada says that one can be either German or Turkish. He believes it is almost impossible to carry two identities simultaneously. He has received a middle school-level education and *ausbildung* but he is a self-learner and improves himself by reading as much as possible. He also closely covers the news about Germany, Turkey, and the world. The interview took place on the university grounds and lasted almost 50 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. North Dakota

North Dakota (55) is a second-generation who came to Germany at 9. He is the son of a guest worker’s family and works at a factory. He has vocational training for his job and is married with four kids. He regularly visits Turkey every summer and finds knowing Turkish important. He prefers a mixed language with family members, including German words and expressions in Turkish, and mostly speaks Turkish with his Turkish friends. He defines both Turkey and Germany as his home countries; the first is in his heart as a virtual home, and the second is the physical home where he lives. He feels comfortable in both languages when he wants to explain something, but he says that his German level is not “academic” enough to talk to his counterparts. He feels at home in both countries, and his plan after retirement is to continue to live in Germany. He is active in a mosque association and works as a volunteer prison care worker.

He is involved in intercultural activities between Turkish and German societies because of his mosque affiliation and also in interreligious dialogue activities between other faiths. Mr. North Dakota has no membership in a political party. The interview, which was around 40 minutes, was held and recorded on the phone due to Corona restrictions. The interview language was German.

Mr. Ohio

Mr. Ohio (29) is a third-generation man studying at a university to become a teacher. He was born and raised in Germany. He is married to a German woman and took over the German last name of his wife, not to be seen and perceived as Turkish anymore. He has never visited Turkey in the previous five years and speaks almost no Turkish in his daily life, only with his parents. He feels at home in Germany and expresses himself better in German, but he finds being able to talk in Turkish to be important. He is not happy “still” to be seen and called a “Turk”. He locates himself as a German and sees himself as German regarding his virtues and value orientations, but Germans do not want to see and accept him as a full German. The interview took place at the university he is studying at and lasted 45 minutes. The interview language was German.

Mr. Oregon

Oregon (55) is a second-generation person born in Turkey and came to Germany at age 5. He spent the rest of his life in Germany. He has a university degree and married a German woman. He is a businessman and visits Turkey more than two times every year because of his business connections. He considers the economy to be the most powerful link between nations and cultures, and for this reason, he offers business relations between Germany and Turkey to be enhanced for the sake of both countries. He sometimes speaks primarily Turkish with family members. He feels good in both languages expressing himself and sees Turkish knowing ability as important. He feels at home both in Germany and Turkey. He is a member of an intercultural association in the city where he lives, and he exchanges information and facts about Islam and Turkish culture with church groups, city officials, and some other parts of German society. He defines himself as a “German Muslim” and is very active in

peace-building activities by finding commonalities between religious people. He has no party membership in any of the countries. The interview was recorded at the house of Oregon and lasted more than 70 minutes, the longest interview. Mr. Oregon is the father of Ms. Minnesota and Ms. Colorado. The interview language was German.

Mr. Rhode Island

Mr. Rhode Island (33) is a third-generation who was born and raised in Germany. He is an engineer and married to a third-generation Turkish-German woman. Rhode Island visited Turkey 3 times during the last five years. He speaks Turkish with his parents and mixed with his wife, and German with his friends. He expresses himself better in German but prefers to make the interview in Turkish. He feels at home in Germany and sees his future there. He is a member of a mosque association and a sports club. He is also a member of a political party and active at a workers union (Gewerkschaft) in Germany, but he has no membership links in Turkey. He expects Germans to know more about the German Turks, especially Islam. The interview took place at the university and lasted about half an hour. The interview language was Turkish. He is fluent in German.

Mr. South Dakota

South Dakota (49) is a second-generation person who came to Germany at age 4. He has a primary school education and works at his own business. He is married with a son and sees Turkish as necessary. He only speaks Turkish within the family and his Turkish friends. He feels better in Turkish and visits Turkey regularly every year. He is sensitive to the new generations' need to learn and not forget Turkish. He says that being able to speak the "mother tongue" will keep the Turkish culture alive. He wants to keep his Turkish citizenship and feels at home in Germany. He is a sports club member and active in a Turkish cultural association. He says that German Turks often argue and even fight when discussing politics because of the lack of a culture of debate. Therefore, he and many others avoid speaking about politics. The interview lasted around 35 minutes and was held and recorded on the phone due to Corona restrictions. The interview language was German.

Mr. Texas

Mr. Texas (40) is a second-generation person who came to Germany at 2 with his guest worker father and is now working as a teacher. He does not visit Turkey often and feels at home in Germany. He sometimes speaks Turkish within the family and with friends and finds knowing Turkish important. He says that he inherited some cultural codes about Turkey from his family and calls himself both Turkish and German. He likens his background to an amalgamated metal. He defines a new identity that is neither Turkish nor German but a brand-new identity with traces of both. He complains that third-generation German Turks still cannot break old prejudices of the society because of not working hard. Mr. Texas believes that “fanatic Germans” have always existed and their harsh and negative attitude towards Turks or immigrants, in general, is an obstacle to integration. Turkey exists in his life only because of historical family roots; contrary to that, Germany is the focal point of his life. The interview took place at Mr. Texas’s workplace and lasted around 40 minutes. The interview language was German.

Ms. Vermont

Vermont (55) is a second-generation person who spent 29 years in Germany. She is a teacher and divorced from her Turkish (former) husband. She still has connections to her former husband’s family because she wants their children to keep the family ties. She regularly visits Turkey during the summer holidays and speaks Turkish with family members and friends when needed. She finds learning Turkish very important and expresses herself better in Turkish. She sees Turkish knowledge as an extra asset for her. She came to Germany from a big city in Turkey with a university degree and tells that she feels in Germany at home. She says that she is happy to live in Germany because of the stable rules and conditions. Freedom and self-expression are other vital points for her preference for Germany. She tells that the success of the Turkish integration of Turks in Germany is an example for newcomers like Syrians. She is a member of a cultural association in Germany and has no political membership in both countries. The interview was recorded in a café she preferred and lasted around an hour. The interview language was German.

4.2 A reconstructive study of German Turks' global society orientations – the abduction process

In this section, the empirical results of the study are presented. Thus, it will be revealed what global social orientations the German Turks have, how they position themselves concerning spaces of political participation, and which learning experiences lead to moderate experiences in openness and democratic participation in society. The importance of subjectively perceived social inclusion and exclusion processes and how socially involved Turkish immigrants see their experiences in Germany will also be reflected. In the following section, to reconstruct and concentrate the results on meaning-genetic type formation the abduction process will be described.

For sense-genetic typing, the first significant orientation patterns are worked out, and the common points and themes of the interviews are analyzed to identify a homologous pattern on one of the topics searched for. Then, identified patterns in the passages of the interviews are abstracted and determined by in-state and out-state comparisons. This homologous pattern becomes a benchmark throughout the entire interview(s). These focusing metaphors provide convenient material for identifying the general orientation pattern within the framework of the person's habitus. Once these passages are identified, it becomes possible to access the central orientation patterns. Thus, the tacit knowledge of the research subjects can often be found in concrete and detailed descriptions of practical action. In this way, the structure of the orientations underlying practical action, i.e., the habitualized and internalized *modus operandi* can be identified (Bohnsack, 2014, p. 68).

The results are on the level of a typology, and for this purpose, they should be understood as an abstract extract of reconstructions that are made for different cases. Therefore, the representation is based on typical orientation patterns, not on cases. Although these patterns occur separately, different forms of orientation can also be found within a case (Bohnsack, Pfaff, & Weller, 2010). The subjective information was grouped under categories to systematize the case descriptions and make

them comparable with each other (e.g., concerning cultural orientation, spatial orientation, participation, change in time, the validity of knowledge, and self-positioning).

In the reconstructed orientations of the German Turks, it has been shown that the issues in which social contexts, human interaction, and social relations are defined are relevant. For the formation of the meaning-genetic ideal type, these common themes functioned as the *tertium comparationis* (see chapter 3.4).

In this study, cultural issues are one of the main topics, as the participants always focus on their Turkish identity. This immediately appears as an apparent thematic commonality of all cases. By elaborating a homologous model of all empirical material, a basic typology can be produced for all cases. The basic typology for this study emerged as “self-efficacy expectation about society”. The basic typology was verified by within-case comparisons on different aspects of the cases, and then comparisons were made between cases and within cases. At this point, the focus was the contrasts rather than the similarities and *tertium comparationis* is no longer a fitting subject. Still, the detailed basic type, in this case, the ‘self-efficacy expectation’ should be paid attention to. Using case contrasts, quite different characteristics can be generated for the homologous basic type. Individual cases have been brought back into focus to validate the types specified in detail. Proceed by checking whether abstracted type patterns are of practical importance only for specific situations or whether they can be generalized.

German Turks’ interviews reveal the abstraction of the topics discussed by the researcher to comparative horizons and their perceptions and experiences of democracy. Thus, the following six comparative horizons have emerged with the help of the empirical material revealed by the study.

Cultural orientation

For this comparative point, it is examined what cultural traces the German Turks have, what effects these traces have on their life choices, and how

these effects play a role in their understanding of democracy and evaluation of global developments. It has been shown how the German Turks have given meaning to cultural issues, how they have played out in their lives, and how they have affected their preferences. It also explains how similar experiences shared by different people who grew up in similar environments lead to further evaluations and interpretations. In this way, the effects of their lifelong cultural experiences on their lives in Germany and their global evaluations were made visible. The empirical material shows that the interviewed German Turks have different cultural orientations. They differentiate between Turkish and German culture, build bridges between them, and sometimes hover in between.

Spatial orientation

With spatial orientation, it is possible to understand how the participants position themselves in relation to the subjects in their complex environment or the environment in which they live in their daily lives. It has been seen how they position themselves, how they see the world and their position and relationship to the global society. In order to understand how people achieve their goals, it is necessary to know their spatial orientations. Thus, it is understood how their spatial orientations are created and how they use their position to evaluate their relationship to others as domination, respect, or addition of individual proximity areas. With this identification, it is possible to see what motivates them to make choices in different situations and the reasons that lead to these actions.

Participation

Participation or choosing is a process that usually involves two or more parties influencing each other's decisions (Claeys & Criel, 2009). Participation, which is one of the most fundamental and indispensable values of open and democratic societies, is the unconditional and unhindered right of all individuals, regardless of gender, origin, or religion. In decision-making, each individual or member has the power to determine the outcome of decisions. From this comparative point, it is possible to see how people get involved in social and political participation processes and institutions. Through participation, their capacities and values were recognized, how much they contribute to society, as well as how they developed

their potential. How is choosing to engage and be included in an experience, an event, or a social encounter made visible for this specific group? How do they manage meaningful participation? How are they able to participate, express their voices, and be heard? Participation can range from more nominal forms of engagement to empowering and transformative ones.

Change in time

Research shows that there has been a visible change in the working classes of Turkish migrants since the start of the migration. Since earlier migrants were poor in German and low in educational and vocational degrees, further generations have advanced from lower worker classes to middle and upper classes, which is a visible sign of language proficiency, education improvement, and better vocational skills (Herwig & Konietzka, 2012) compared with their parents or grandparents, which also leads to a change in their whole life. The empirical data also confirmed this change in different ways, even though each participant's understanding and perception of change differed. How they perceive 'change in time' differs from education to living conditions, language proficiency to perspective on life, and cultural knowledge. Education, social interaction, and socialization are the leading factors that affect the change of individuals over time. While education is one of the most critical ways of social change, it also creates approach differences between generations. Interaction in social environments outside of school is also an important source of change. Traditions, customs, or heritage may transfer in this way. While people are learning in social environments, they also explain themselves to others, and in a sense, they become teachers. What is told in these social environments maybe people's own thoughts, inner feelings, conscious choices, preferences, or traditions. These social gatherings and meetings allow people to add new experiences to their culture. Change can also be observed as a result of people's own evaluations depending on their education, observations, and experiences. The education they receive can lead them to develop a decision-making mechanism that leads and guides them to universal values, preferences, and tendencies that emerge due to the experiences they have gained in their social environment.

Validity of knowledge

Knowledge is the fact or condition of knowing something with familiarity gained through experience or association, the fact or condition of being aware of something (Merriam-Webster, 2022), which needs to be a genuine belief and justification. To be considered knowledge, a belief has to be accurate and based on good reasons for it (Truncellito, 2022). In light of this, the research shows how German Turks validate knowledge and what evidence in these cases is. This justification and validation are sometimes given through a system of authority or accepted as a given fact or by traditions. What is the knowledge of validity based on, and what is the source of the reasoning for these validations? How do they use the information to make inferences to obtain new information, and how do they reason these inferences are shown. It is also revealed if they question the source of their information and whether they investigate whether these sources are valid.

Self-positioning

In this comparative research, how do the German Turks position themselves, and the reasons, justifications, and motivations for this positioning are determined. Self-positioning shows how people define the orientation of their actions and how they make their choices. The role of morality, values, traditions, religion, and identity is shown in their decisions, and preferences. The background to the evaluations of universal values is revealed. and their assessment of human rights and plurality are disclosed. Thus, how German Turks understand democracy, how they deal with it, and their place in their lives are determined.

All cases discuss the global social orientation of German Turks regarding social participation. Through comparative perspectives, the common or different points of the interviewees and the ideal type, as well as the level of commonalities or differences that arise, are shown. After the empirical material is interpreted, it is validated based on the comparative perspectives that emerge from the commonly shared orientation patterns of the interviewees. These were determined by comparative analyses made in both individual interviews and other interviews. The typologies are based on the systematic, repeated analysis of the relevant sections

from the interviews of the sample according to the principle of comparative analysis. Thus, it was possible to detect contrasts in comparing ideal types and homologies within the same case as well as between cases of the same type. In conclusion, the research process also made it clear that the interviewed German Turks chose different paths regarding social participation, globalization, and democracy. Four sense-genetic ideal types related to globalization and democracy were reconstructed. These are,

- Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power
- Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue
- Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging
- Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursiveness

The four types identified in the ideal type framework are based on repetitive structure and comparative evaluations. Thus, German Turks' "sociality-related self-efficacy expectation" is revealed. They will be presented in the following chapter. Table 12 shows the comparison horizons and types identified by abduction.

Table 14: Overview of the sense-genetic typology

	Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power	Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue	Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation	Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity
Cultural Orientation				
Spatial Orientation				
Participation and Involvement				
Change in Time/Learning				
Validity of Knowledge				
Self Positioning				
Basic type: Sociality-related self-efficacy expectation				

4.3 Types in detail

In this section, in which types of participants are assigned within the framework of the comparative horizons determined above in the orientation pattern will be explained in detail with sample cases. In addition to the documentary meaning of the content, the immanent-level views of the participants will be displayed so that the saturated types are exemplified.

The empirical material for this study is the narratives of German Turks. The participants talked about their daily practices. They explained what it means to them to be a person of Turkish origin living in Germany and the impact of this past, if any, on their daily lives, which they inherited from their families. They revealed their experiences throughout their lives and their feelings toward these events. As explained in detail in the method section (see chapter 3), it became possible to reconstruct orientation frames and the patterns that produce these frames. With the comparative analysis, the similarities, differences, or contrasts with other cases within the framework of comparison horizons were empirically verified in the individual cases, as well as the characteristics of these cases. As a result of a comparative analysis of the material, the differentiated action-guiding orientations worked out for each of the types and were condensed as ideal types.

4.3.1 Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power

Characteristics of the ideal type of '*authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power*' is that it denies pluralism and believes in uniformity. People living in different parts and countries of the world are always thought to be one type. This type is represented by traces of interviews in Maryland, Ohio, and Idaho. This type will be described in the following according to the criteria of comparison explained in chapter 4.2.

4.3.1.1 First comparative horizon: Cultural orientation – mono-perspectival essentialism

Type 1 participants are characterized by one-perspective condensation on cultural issues: this means that they gravitate towards a single perspective on cultural issues. It is argued that specific characteristics belonging to a particular group are generalized to the whole group and that they exist universally and independently of any context. It is believed that identity should be considered independent of social, historical, and spatial rela-

tional developments. All individuals and groups different from themselves are perceived as members of a diverse group. It is assumed that it is possible to specify the other people who are members of a different group or class with precise and definite lines. It is argued that the social world is a fixed and unchanging value judgment. Nationalist sensitivities are relatively high related to denying or ignoring the existence of differences. People prefer to orientate themselves on a single reference system, and in this regard, single or very few reference points are used when defining people, ignoring the assumption that people can have multiple identities. People or their ancestors who come from a specific country should have certain characteristics. There is an understanding that all Germans follow the rules and are always on time. Exceptions are very few and even do not exist.

In this regard, even though Turks living in Germany have lived in this country for many years, they are Turks and will always remain Turks. There is an endless longing for the successes of the Turkish states in the past. The reason why the success of the past is not repeated today is that the Turks moved away from their essence and especially from Islam. For example, Maryland puts it this way:

Maryland interview lines between 62-80¹³: Sources of the German virtues

- Qm: Yes, I am (.) Hm (.), I can not say that just now I mean, of course, there are hmm (2) some German positive virtues that one has then acquired,
 I: L ° Mhm °
 Qm: Yes Clear Hm, which actually (.) was not just strange to us as Turks. We've just lost that in the last few centuries (.) That's why it's good that we can learn that from the Germans again @ (.) @ Yes
 I: And what virtues do you mean or you simply said virtues?
 Qm: Virtues Perfection, punctuality, precision Yes, (.) keeping your word, this, that, those are just things that are actually also (.) very Islamic virtues (ah) (.) And in the Ottoman Empire that was in the population, yes, very common; then one have just lost this reference to the whole history of religion (.) and oriented so far to the West that one has then gave off the wrong

¹³The line numbers given for interview excerpts are the numbers in the original text. Due to the font and font size used in the book, the line numbers in the original text may not match the line numbers stated in the book. During the editing of the book, the number of the lines were changed.

things. (.) ° That was forgotten °. (.) And hm (.), bad things have been brought in and good things were given up

In these lines, Maryland talks about the characteristics of Germans and Turks. He tells that well-known German values are actually values of the people of the Ottoman Empire. The characteristics and features of the Germans, which are known as good and beautiful today, are actually the features that the Turks had in the past. For this reason, Turks are not far from these positive characteristics of the Germans. When they came to Germany, they saw and remembered the characteristics they had had for many years, and they started to learn once again what they had forgotten. The features such as ‘perfection, punctuality and precision’, which he counts as good values belonging to today’s Germans, are actually Islamic values. Germans took these values from Turks and/or Muslims. They did not invent these values themselves. On the contrary, Germans had successfully applied them for years, which initially belonged to Muslims and Muslim Turks. Already in the period of the Ottoman Empire, these values were the behavior patterns possessed by a large part of Turkish society. When the Ottomans and Turks lost and forgot these positive traits and embraced Western values, they failed. Turks and/or Muslims took the wrong and erroneous parts and practices of the West but abandoned and “*forgotten*” their positive behaviors. Here, the backwardness of Turks and/or Muslims in today’s world is attributed to their departure from their actual Islamic values. As in the old times, if the Turks continued to live their values, they would continue to be very successful today. However, they fell behind after taking the West’s “bad” and “wrong” parts.

On the other hand, today, the Germans have achieved their present success by embracing the Islamic values that the Turks had for years. It is concluded that Turks or Muslims also have a share in Germany’s current position. At the same time, there is a recall to the condition of the Turks of losing their former characteristics. Maryland finds the period of the Ottoman Empire successful and longs for those days. If today’s Turks want to be as successful as they were in the old days, they should remember the values they used to have as in the old days.

Using the reference case of Idaho as an example, it is demonstrated that today's positive values are actually the values Turks have had for many years, as seen in the following lines.

Idaho interview lines between 105-109: Sources of the German virtues

Cm: ...Germans do iiii they do the things we should do as Mehmet Akif [the poet of the Turkish national anthem] has said when he came to Berlin 120 or (2) 130 years ago Their work is like our religion **our doing** is like their religion iiii as they really do their work in a robust way

In this passage quoted above, Idaho talks about the characteristics of Germans. Besides his longing for the past, he also refers to a quote by Mehmet Akif Ersoy, the author of the Turkish National Anthem, about German works and characteristics. Ersoy visited Berlin 120-130 years ago and was very impressed by what he saw around that time: clean and organized streets and hardworking and honest people. He summarized his experiences with the words "Germans' work is like our religion (excellent), and their religion is like our business". Referring to Ersoy, who is known for his religious and nationalistic references in his poems, Idaho's essentialism is towards the Turkish culture and past and claims to imitate the Germans in a similar way to Maryland. Returning to the old behavior is essential to being successful and influential once again. The source of that behavior is Islam. If Islamic values and rules are followed accordingly, success will come automatically. Likewise, in the opposite case, failure comes because the reason for today's failures is the alienation from the Islamic way of life. Just as the Turks abandoned their Islamic behaviors and turned to other harmful behaviors, the Germans did the opposite. They have achieved success with behaviors that are based on Islam. The source of these behavior patterns can only be Islam. This source can't be other religions, understandings, or universal moral values. Being good, hardworking, successful, and having good morals can only come from religion (Islam).

Since Maryland and Idaho's essentialism is toward Turkish and Islamic values, on the other hand, Ohio shows a different path. Contrary to them, this essentialism is towards being German.

Ohio interview lines between 334-357: Being a Turk or a German

Gm: (2) Because (.) I mean, I always notice that, I mean, I'm always a first to be addressed, if anything is wrong with Turkey, then always everyone asks me those (.) Turkey specific things, where I have to say first of all, yes okay, I'm sorry, I am not really familiar with those issues. (.) "Yes, but you're a Turk!" (.) Then I felt- in the beginning it did not bother me so much, but in retrospect I thought, I am actually relatively (.) German in regard to my virtues or value orientations. (2) And then I sometime started to feel insulted because I did not react Turkish in a certain sense (.) And that they just **do not want** me really as a German, nor as a German with a migration background, but they stamped me just directly as a Turk.

I: ^{L°Mhm°}
Gm: That annoyed me then sometime (.) And I think, if you do not even have these value orientations, and then still get stamped like this, then you realize, okay, there is somewhere a door closed and I soon orient myself into the (.) next (.) more open region

In these lines, Ohio talks about how his colleagues and friends "label" him. He complains that because his name is Turkish and he is known as a Turk around him, he is always expected to comment on issues related to Turkey. Ohio, a third-generation German Turk, is not happy with this situation. He complains that even his parents were born and raised in Germany, and even though he only goes to Turkey from time to time for vacation, the Germans still see him as "*Turkish*". Even being a Turk does not and should not mean that he knows everything about Turkey. He also lives in Germany as a German, as do those who asked him the questions, and he does not know the subjects mentioned any more than ordinary Germans. He sees himself as an ordinary German and emphasizes that his ties with Turkey are only because of his origin. His "*virtues*" and "*value orientations*" are all German and formed in Germany. Therefore, he evaluates what is happening in Turkey from a German perspective and does not think the way Turks think, as Germans assume.

Ohio's complaint is that even though he feels completely German, the Germans still see him as a Turk, just a Turk. There is resentment over the fact that Germans do not even use the term "German" or "German of immigrant background" when describing German Turks. In this case, Ohio sees himself as German feels German, thinks he has German values, and expects others to accept this situation and act accordingly. Despite his efforts, German society still stamps him as a "Turk", only as a

“Turk”, not even as a “German with a migration background”, which causes him great disappointment.

Instead of accepting the negatives or failures of the past and trying to belittle their opponents for the wrongdoings of the past, type 1 representatives try to exonerate themselves by citing examples from German history. Instead of admitting mistakes made in the past, it is better to blame others for these problems. In addition, pluralism is not accepted; it is assumed that the rights granted to minorities are due to the tolerance of the majority. If the majority does not want it, they think that those who are different do not have the right to live. In the following lines from the Maryland interview, there is an implicit call to the Holocaust in order to glorify Turkish history.

Maryland interview lines between 457-472: Using history for the glorification

Qm: Yes Well- because we have sects in Turkey, you have never ever heard of them in your lives They have existed with us for 2000 years If we wanted to wipe them out, or if we had anything against them, they would have been gone long ago They would not have lived in Europe a single day (.) Well, the last (.) Holocaust was 70 years ago That means we have minorities that we have always protected, (.) which have always lived very, very well with us We have Yazidis, we have (.) Assyrians, we have Nusairites, we have so many sects whose name you have certainly never heard before There are sects that have 200 members (.) And they have been living with us since the year 1000 or even longer

In this passage, Maryland talks about the rights of the religious minorities living in Turkey. He tells that there are so many minorities living in Turkey, and because the number of the members is so few, many people are not even aware of their existence. These groups have been living with Turks for over 2000 years, and this has only been possible because the Turks have allowed them to live. If the Turks had not given permission and allowed them to stay and live as they were, these minorities would have perished long ago. Despite this tolerant and permissive attitude of Turks towards minorities or those who are different, wrong and opposite attitudes have been seen in Europe. The “*Holocaust*” took place in Europe only 70 years ago. Unlike in Turkey, the different ones do not have a

chance to live in Germany. The so-called others have been destroyed and exterminated in Germany but not in Turkey. Even with only 200 members in total in Turkey, the existence of groups is the most significant indicator of how tolerant Turks are towards others. Turks have not Turkified them and given them the chance and opportunity to live as they were. The existence of “*the sects*” is the very proof of the tolerance of the Turks while they are still living in Turkey, and they were not Turkified in those long years. Their existence is not because of the pluralism understanding of Turks but because they tolerate their existence. Therefore, it is observed that the understanding of pluralism is not developed in these ideal types.

Other than the mentioned interview passages, similar orientations are visible in the Maryland interview lines 25-32, 310-335, 358-367, 416-424, and 622-632.

4.3.1.2 Second comparison horizon: Spatial orientation – as a space for the enforcement of domination

Type 1 beliefs are characterized by the fact that they see the space as for domination and authority, which mainly occurs within the hierarchy, even in relation to the global society. Authority is used as a legitimate power, implying the rules to dominate others. In this regard, leaders can choose different power tools at various times to establish authority. Domination relies primarily on material capabilities and money or power in general. People create and select their spatial orientation in order to plan how to accomplish their goals and how they see the world. When referring to the empirical material, the action-guiding orientations of this understanding would like to be proven in the context of domination.

In the reference case, Oregon can be reconstructed based on economic domination.

Oregon interview lines between 325-332: Economy is the real power

Xm: from my point of view the balance of power is not played out in politics but in the economy, in the arms industry, pharmaceutical industry, construction industry, if we would have a Green Chancellor, they would certainly continue the armaments business with Saudi Arabia like everyone else. These are

In this part of the interview, Kansas talks about his social interactions and says that he has almost no German friends; the only German woman he is in contact with is the wife of a Turkish friend. He looks at life and events from a narrow perspective. His relationship and interaction with German society are limited. He conducts his social relations in a little circle and does not attempt to establish social relations with Germans. The absence of German friends stands out as a choice and preference. The world is evaluated only through the relations established with Turkish friends. Approaches to events and discussions on social issues are limited to the narrow circle of friends who are almost all Turkish and contain practically no Germans. Due to this little circle of friends, events, and phenomena are viewed from a narrow and limited framework.

4.3.1.3 Third comparison horizon: Participation – allegiance and loyalty

People tend towards the most suitable for them while choosing their preferences. Still, sometimes, they make preferences within the framework of the ideas or formations they are attached to or to the people they like and follow their ideas. While those who prioritize their interests make preferences open to change, those who support die-hard do not move away from the framework to which they are attached.

Regarding participation, Kansas evaluates the eating habits of the Turks around him. The metaphor of eating habits used in the interview describes the openness to change of German Turks.

Kansas interview lines between 253-276: Allegiance

Fm: Hmm as for the eating habits (2) there is actually something new that I noticed, which I noticed only now in Munich*, so me actually come from Ingolstadt*, a smaller town (.) And here are the Turks a bit more open-minded, I say, there are many who start to eat pork, for example hm (2) that just does not exist in Ingolstadt*, yes (.) that's a smaller town again, (.) everyone has an eye on everyone there I can repeat,

I: L^{oh} yes

Fm: yes, (.) that's yet another pressure and (.) yes, here it is just different. So pork meat (.) or gelatin- so I do not eat pork, for example, but gelatin so (.) - does not actually make so much sense, but @ (.) @.

I: L^o Mhm^o

Fm: Yes, that's the way of eating habits, exactly (3) Yes. (2)

Kansas discusses his social contacts and relations in this part of the interview. According to Kansas, German Turks living in small towns avoid eating pork or gelatin due to the social pressure of the people around them who know them. German Turks, most of whom are Muslims, do not want to eat pork following their religion. For Kansas, this preference in Germany is also formed by the influence of social pressure and religious belief. Turks living in small cities do not eat pork, fearing the reaction of the people around them, and they are afraid of being blamed for this choice. Therefore, peer pressure plays an important role as much as their beliefs in the preferences and choices of German Turks living in small cities. They believe that such a situation will cause exclusion.

On the other hand, Turks living in big cities do not have such concerns. What the people around them say, criticize, or condemn them has become irrelevant. Fear of exclusion in small cities loses its effect on the cosmopolitan life of big cities, and German Turks can easily make different choices. It is revealed that allegiance to eating pork or gelatin that may contain pork is linked to social pressure and belief. People can make more comfortable choices in open environments with few similarities. Those who come out of closed environments may abandon the ideas and thoughts they are attached to and not feel prejudiced against different lifestyles. However, when choosing behaviors others condemn or do not approve of, personal preferences and interests become essential. Despite moving from a small city to a big city, Kansas still does not eat pork but is not as strict on using gelatin. Therefore, Kansas does not use the comfort of living in the big city to consume pork. He does not have a sharp attitude about gelatin and considers his comfort and pleasure while making his choice.

While Kansas talks about the social pressures of ghettoization, he also explains the reasons and benefits of ghettoization of Turks living in big cities; it's the possibility for people to meet all their needs in the environment they live in. They can live without knowing enough language, and this creates an allegiance to the place where they live.

Kansas interview lines between 433-444: Parallel society

Fm: (.)Yes in any case, I have noticed that here in Munich* too. (.) I really do not really need to speak German (.) I have my stores where I can speak Turkish, I have my doctor who is Turk (.) (.)so I would not need to learn German at all, except for a lot of (.) bureaucracy stuff, but mostly the children took that over. @(.).@ (.)Yes.

I: ° Mhm ° (.) So that you mean now, that there is also a Turkish infrastructure
Fm: Exactly, that is- So-
so almost a (.) parallel society, so that it develops like this(.) Yes

In this part of the interview, Kansas continues to compare the lifestyles of small and big cities. There are reasons for the ghettoization of immigrant communities. As a university student who moved from a small town to a big city, Kansas shares an observation about the parallel society creation. The number of German Turks in the big cities is very high, contrary to the many small towns. Due to the large number of businesses run by Turks, a German Turk can continue his life without knowing enough, even no German in a big city. Every workplace employs someone who speaks Turkish. This convenience reduces the need for German Turks living in big cities to learn German.

On the other hand, knowing the language is a greater need in small cities. This comfort in big cities led to the formation of parallel societies there. At the same time, due to this convenience, German Turks do not stay away from these circles. Meeting the needs of German Turks without knowing a sufficient language was an essential point in their choice of settlement, which created an attachment to the environment where, likewise, people lived.

For this type of people, the sources that are trusted for the news and information obtained, heard, and learned are not the media. That information needs to be verified by someone they know and trust. There is loyalty to the people they know but no trust in the news agencies, even the German local sources.

Kansas interview lines between 687-700: Personal contacts are more valuable media

I: Mhm (.) There are (.) philosophers or people who say (.) that the world has become a global village, (.) Everything is

- Fm: LYes, yes,
 I: Lmuch more grown together, you would see it
 that way.
 Fm Mhm (.) **Act Actually** not this way. Especially if you just refer to such (.) in-
ternal media or (.) to the local media, that's not so-so important to me as
 first-hand sources so if you have relatives there to whom you
 can talk about it, **then then**-it will be revealed, so what's true and what's not,
 (.) That's why I'd say, (...) not really, not a global village (.)
 I: L ° not a global village °
 Fm: or based on false-wrong knowledge.

In this part of the interview, Kansan talks about his news sources. The most reliable sources of information for Kansas are those he knows personally. There is also a distrust towards the news that is heard, read, or listened to by the media.

The press reports about Turkey are incredible and unreliable. Information about Turkey becomes a reality only after it is confirmed by relatives or acquaintances in Turkey. In this context, the information in the media is not a valid and correct source of information for those of this type. Since the press cannot be a reliable source of information, it is always necessary to approach the news in the media with suspicion. Key sources of information are the ones that are known personally, and the information heard from others needs to be verified by them. The idea that the world has become a global village is also not agreed upon; this inference is based on "*false-wrong knowledge*". In general, there is a distrust of others and a trust towards only familiar people in a narrow circle. The preference not to make German friends and the choice to maintain social relations with a limited number of people, as mentioned in the previous section, are also evaluated within this framework.

4.3.1.4 Fourth comparison horizon: Change in time – restoration, tradition succession

In the interviews, German Turks show the changes they had experienced throughout their life in Germany. These changes have many sources, and according to empirical data, formal education given at schools is one of the leading means of change in time. Education is an essential agency of

change and learning values. Therefore, educational institutions have a vital role in the social change of individuals. The data shows that, as the young generation's opportunity to receive education and the level of education increase, the gap between them and their parents grows. For German Turks, information obtained from relatives, elders, and the environment is as important as formal education, sometimes even more important than formal education according to this ideal type. Kansas compares the preferences of Turkish and German female students regarding education and marriage.

Kansas interview lines between 120-160: Comparison of Turkish and German female students

Fm: Actually, but then only a female friend, a Turkish female friend, (.) who says- who says now (.) respectively already at that time, when I graduated from high school, I want to study, I want to achieve that, (.) family will be my final option (.) But that's really one single friend among my whole, yes @ (.) @.

I: but the others, you say, (...) the women are already more focused on the role of family (.)

Fm: ^LJust, exactly Exactly, that's less the female students, well- (.) They're doing a lot of training and then (.) they look forward in their minds after the studies: I want to marry

I: Mhm. (.) And then not at all into a job (.), getting on themselves?

Fm: Ehm (.) That's just then-

I: Or-or keep that as a supply?

Fm: (.) Just like that. Well they will marry, (.) that's their plans, so to speak, that they go working, and later, going part-time, underneath (.)

I: Aha. (.) Ehm, you perceive this as a (.) specific Turkish behavior or would you say that (.) is not actually Turkish, but- (.)

Fm: And yet I'd say that's typically Turkish Yes (.) Well, now what about my (.) female friends who are studying now, well the German ones, (.) that sounds always stupid if you say the Germans @ (.) @ They're - (.) We had talked about them lately (.) - she's already married (.) But now she does not want to have kids, she's now facing the 30 (.) is already a bit older (.) But she really now says, (.) no, she wants to do her traineeship, she wants to go to work then, (.) children, she does not know, (.) someday (.) if she thinks then (.) she is ready for it so to say (2) And that's just not the case with the Turks they are really going - they are doing their studies, saying: after the studies I'll marry (.) Almost always at 23, 24 depending on (.) when they also graduated. (2) Yes, with the idea to found a new family (.)

In this part of the interview, Kansas, who is studying at a university to become a teacher, makes comparisons between Turkish and German women regarding their work and life career plans. Most German Turkish high school girls avoid continuing their education after high school to escape from the difficulties of university education. The basis of this preference lies in the choice to have a more comfortable life during the difficult education process at the university. Even though they know that getting a higher education and going to university are essential conditions for success, the number of female students who want to study in this direction is very few, and he personally knows only one female student who wants to study during high school times. Very few female students make plans to have a university degree in the first place, and most of the others want to get married and start a family. For very few of them, getting married is seen as a final option.

On the other hand, the first goal of most Turkish female students is to get married and start a family immediately. The girls who prefer to go to school and receive an education eventually get married and continue working only part-time. Despite receiving so much education, some of them stay away from working life because they have to take care of their family, and family matters are always a priority. Preferring marriage at an early age instead of higher education is typical Turkish behavior, whereas German female high school students choose a different path. Germans prioritize education and delay marriage and childbearing until post-career. A married German female student in her 30s from the school where Kansas also attended states that she doesn't want to have children because she wants to complete her studies and internship first. While Turkish students plan to get married as soon as they finish high school, German students want to get married after university education. Even if they get married, they don't want to have children before they reach a certain point in their careers. These are the main differences in the preferences of a German Turkish and a German female student concerning learning and education.

For type 1 German Turks, informal or even accidental learning is more important than formal learning through school. Those in this group

even look at the information in school books suspiciously and do not believe in their accuracy. They find the information given by their acquaintances or relatives more reliable.

Maryland interview lines between 203 – 207: Informal, accidental learning

Qm: I partly read things, well such an anecdote (.) 100 years ago. Or I've heard things from my grandmother, which she has heard from her grandmother.
(.) And I compare that with the current situations. So, I do not have to have studied history. And that's all obvious.

In this part of the interview, Maryland compares the “history” he read from books and the “history” he learned from his grandparents, underlining the differences between these two. He has doubts about what he learned about the killings during the last years of the Ottoman Empire, particularly about Armenian genocide discussions. He questions the accuracy of some of the information in the school textbooks. What he heard from his grandmother contradicts the texts in the school books; she told a different version of the same issue. The information in schoolbooks may not be correct, but whatever the grandmother says is, without any doubt, accurate. The words “*I do not have studied history*” state that he does not know the subject and has no education in history, but that everything his grandmother said about the “topic” is true. These basic types believe that the informal information they accidentally learn is superior to formal education. They see it as more accurate and valuable than what is taught in school or history books, especially if the textbook version hurts national pride and honor. The orientation shows that to cover up some events that happened in the past, it is assumed that they did not occur, they are treated as if they did not exist. Other narratives that ignore those claims are valued more than the textbooks.

4.3.1.5 Fifth comparison horizon: Validity of knowledge – authority gives the knowledge

For type 1, knowledge is, besides following the rules, following what authorities say or dictate. It is already there, already given to be followed. There are no principles, but there are only rules to be followed and beliefs

to be believed. If there are principles, they also should be given by the authorities, and then this information becomes knowledge, so the validity comes from the authority and should be approved by the authority. Many presuppositions, prejudices, and biases are seen as pure, correct, and only knowledge. For example, when there is a historical debate, and Ottomans are a part of this event, Ottomans should be the proper and correct part. Even if there is no information about that specific discussion topic, but only related to Ottomans, Ottomans can be defended to the end, as they can make no mistakes. Not the principles being supported but the subject of the event.

This orientation is visible in the lines of Maryland below. The reasons why some Turks immigrated to Germany are discussed in these lines. It is told that the justifications of those who declare that they are oppressed because they are a minority in Turkey are not correct.

Maryland interview lines between 452-462: The state is right, not the people

Qm: they (.) migrate for other reasons, yes. It's mostly an economical (.) thing why the emigrate. Other reasons are alleged. This will be alleged to obtain asylum (.); it is alleged to claim a certain (.) pity.

I: L ° Mhm °

Qm: Yes. Well- because we have sects in Turkey, you have never ever heard of them in your lives. They have existed with us for 2000 years. If we wanted to wipe them out, or if we had anything against them, they would have been gone long ago. They would not have lived in Europe a single day. (.) Well, the last (.) Holocaust was 70 years ago

In these lines, the reasons for the arrival of some Turks in Germany are discussed. It is argued that those who claim that they are oppressed on the grounds of being a minority in Turkey are not telling the truth. The main argument that renders the claim invalid and groundless is the fact that many different minorities living in Turkey for centuries can still exist. The existence of these minorities completely refuted the claim that they are oppressed. It is unlikely that even one in those groups ever faced difficulties. There is a categorical denial of what people claim. It is impossible to experience such pressure in Turkey, even if there is no exception. Those who make such a claim make such false claims to live in Germany

and obtain a residence permit. Even if no one here tells Maryland to defend Turkey, even if there are people who have been persecuted among those making these allegations, Maryland will continue to object. Because his objection is based on a preconception, not knowledge, that presumption requires accusing those who say things he does not like of lying, even if he has no idea about the personal claims.

A similar discussion takes place later in the same interview. Here, it is stated that he has carried out research on the claims, and the results of his investigation are shared.

Maryland interview lines between 501-506: Personal experience as proof

Qm: I (.) hm heard that in other conversations in previous years, but- hm, when I asked or investigated – there was really (.), there was never any (.) de facto proof or a person, where one can say that this person was somehow disadvantaged because of his religion in Turkey I do not know that. (.)

In this part of the interview, evaluations continue regarding the allegation in the previous section that some people coming from Turkey to Germany have been oppressed are completely baseless. This time, the participant conducts personal research on the claims that he categorically denied before, and as a result, it is concluded that the claims are untrue, once again. Since no person claiming to have been oppressed in Turkey has been found, there is no coercion against members of other religions in Turkey. The fact that the person has no experience of oppression and cannot communicate personally with a person who has experienced persecution is considered sufficient to invalidate the allegations. Personal experiences are presented as evidence for the authenticity and validity of knowledge. At the same time, it is implicitly stated that the state can never make a mistake as claimed. Neither the current state nor the previous (Ottomans) state has made a wrong move, as claimed, and it cannot be possible. Once again, it is visible that no proof on which knowledge should be based is presented, only that any claim against it (the state) is (should be) false, within the framework of the allegedly believed “the state never make mistakes” thesis.

In the Idaho interview quoted below, only one’s own thesis is defended against the claim made. Without resorting to the opinions of the

other party, only one's own ideas are sufficient to prove the accuracy of the information.

Idaho interview lines between 281-288: One-sided assessment

Cm: as all we know applied to Europe for fifty years not accepted yet that in things like from the freedom of the press to the human rights that we would like to have gone further in these areas iiii when we look at aren't we less than Romania or Bulgaria we are even more better than them our economies we have power so on but we are still waiting we have to these things actually iii we have to consider I think

In this part of the interview, the participant shares his views on Turkey's failure to become a member of the European Union even after 50 years after its application. Among the reasons for the frozen negotiations with the European Union are such as "freedom of the press, human rights". It is accepted that Turkey has deficiencies in these issues with the words "*we would like to have gone further*", but unfortunately, it didn't happen. However, the counter-argument presented is not that Turkey fails to meet European expectations on these issues, it is the membership of countries such as "Romania and Bulgaria" that have deficiencies like Turkey. Rather than eliminating the desired deficiencies, Turkey is not among the member states despite its deficiencies, even though it is economically more powerful than those two countries. Here, a one-sided evaluation is made, and own mistakes are ignored. By focusing on the faults of others, one's own shortcomings are normalized.

In another interview, one's own evaluations are presented as the only truth, and different scenarios are not accepted.

Kansas interview lines between 32-44: My interpretation is the truth

Fm: (.)Ehm (.) Now, for example, in regard to the way to school, that we always have another sort of education, an untypical course of education

I: L ° Mhm °

Fm: course of educational,

I: L ° Mhm °

Fm: that we started at the Hauptschule, for example, and then worked our way up, so to speak.

I: L ° Mhm °

Fm: and (.) yes, with my German friends, I would say now, there it is always obvious (.) It's always quite clear. falls on. They were at the elementary school

and then quite normal in Gymnasium. (.) Yes. (.) This educational course simply.

In this part of the interview, Kansas mentions that German Turks do not have an educational background like Germans. Germans go through a regular and ordinary education process, usually attending the gymnasium after primary school. In contrast, most German Turks are directed to the Hauptschule, which provides lower education than the gymnasium. Therefore, German Turks have a different educational background and history than the Germans. With these expressions, it is implicitly explained that the Germans go through a more straightforward education process by going directly to the gymnasium, but that the German Turks, who had to continue their education with the Hauptschule, are able to reach the university after a more complicated process. Here, these processes are generalized to all Germans and all German Turks. It is not stated that there may be Germans or German Turks with a story other than the alleged one. One's own assessments are asserted as the only correct knowledge.

4.3.1.6 Sixth comparison horizon: Self-positioning – self-elevation through orthopraxy

The efficacy expectation of the type of authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power guides the action of German Turks so that they have a self-elevation through orthopraxy. Derived from the Greek words *orthos* (right) and *praxis* (to do, practice), *orthopraxis* means “correct practice” or “correct behavior” and is mainly used in religious literature to represent the format of how a believer acts or performs, besides how they believe (Oxford, 2022). Orthopraxy defines some rules of behavior in daily life based on the essential obligations of religion. Thus, it provides an understanding of the interpretation of life which is based on virtues and morals. In this context, they believe that the virtue and moral values they have originate thanks to the religion of Islam. These values are based on religion. The source of being true, virtuous, and righteous is the only religion (McKim, 2014).

Characteristics of German Turks of this type are that they give importance to morals and values, which leads to self-assignment to an authoritarian system. This can be seen in the further empirical examples of Maryland.

Maryland interview lines between 244-253: Authenticity and own practice

Qm: I neither did love history (.) nor have I ever read history, (.) history books in my life But one (.), one reads indeed between the lines, when you read a novel or something else or if you still have these stories of the old people (.) I am just- (.), so, I came here at 7 years old, (.) and grew up with Grandpa and Grandma and I know a lot of their stories (mhm) (.) and I know that they-, (.) I've also experienced it to a small extend

In this part of the Maryland interview, the participant talks about the sources of information, knowledge, and reality. He tells that he does not like history, doesn't read history books and has never read a history book in his life, but he can read "between the lines" of the historical events, which is not told and mentioned in the history books. For this type, facts are based only on their own experience. Therefore, something it has not experienced has no authenticity, reality, or credibility. The value of something rises thanks to what it is known. It is worthless and invalid when it is not known. At the same time, what is known is used as a means of increasing one's own value, one's own experience glorifies the person, and what others know has no value. With this orientation, Maryland, who lived with his grandparents in Turkey until the age of 7 due to her parents' coming to Germany as "Gastarbeiter", learned all the realities of history from them at the age of 7. In his eyes, whatever he heard or realized after that time was not valid and had no credibility; the teaching of the grandparents was superior to what was written in the books. It is documented that the experiences of family members are outstanding and more realistic than the facts and knowledge taught in schools and registered in books. There are doubts about the reality of things not experienced firsthand or seen. In another part of the interview, Maryland continues to say that his own experiences are more valuable and superior to those of others.

the whole history of religion (.) and oriented so far to the West that one has then gave off the wrong things. (.)

In this part of the interview, Maryland talks about the characteristic behaviors of Germans that lead this society to success. The issue underlined here is that certain values are of great importance in the success of societies. *“Perfection, punctuality, precision”* is at the forefront of the prominent and core *“virtues”* of Germany or the Germans. *“Keeping one’s word”* and staying loyal to it is another well-known German virtue, too. All of these features are valuable, and the participant considers them important. Maryland also believes that the source of these values, which are very common in German society, is the religion, referring to Islam. These values are the behaviors recommended by Islam, and their source is based on the religion of Islam. There are examples of this in Turkish history as well. In the past, during the Ottoman Empire times, Turks had these values just like the Germans, but over time they *“lost this reference to the whole history of origin”*. He then states that the Turks are *“oriented to the West,”* and they get the wrong values from the West, which makes them underdeveloped. The source of good and beautiful things is Islam, but over time, Muslims have moved away from these nice traits as they have moved away from their religion. The source of morality can only be derived from religion, Islam, and it cannot be expected from another religion or belief system to recommend morality.

Idaho interview lines between 16-29: Self-positioning dilemma

Cm: we truly sometimes iiii are in a contradiction so I am here iiii **what am I** iiii who am I how long more I want to stay here or I have to stay iiii truly so people sometimes iiii (2) such as (4) how should I say what word I should use (4) you are I mean you are in a dilemma in a way iiii you are stuck between two culture on the one side we have our own traditions there your own iiii your religion your language your past things there iiii things I mean the life style that came to from the past next to that in a different society different beliefs different life conditions it is different I mean (3) in a way truly diff sometimes you have difficulty you also feel the things the challenges

In this part of the quoted interview, Idaho draws attention to the dilemma that arises from the conflict between Turkish and Muslim values and the different values he encounters in Germany. On the one hand, it is emphasized that he has different preferences, and the thought of fulfilling the requirements arising from that difference is seen. On the other hand, he is aware of the difficulties of staying away from the realities of the country in which he lives. An “in-betweenness” is observed at the points that cause conflicts between the two cultures. In the meantime, being stuck in-between causes difficulties in positioning oneself. There is both a desire to preserve the values of their country of origin (Turkey) and to continue keeping them as they are and the difficulty of staying away from the values and realities of the country of residence (Germany), two desires that seem to contradict each other.

In contrast to the feeling of being in-between in the Idaho interview, in the South Dakota interview quoted below, the difference is persistently underlined and emphasized.

South Dakota interview lines between 212-219: Seem similar but different

Vm: Well, food; maybe food; (1) ((air expulsion / sigh)) well the generation; this, this, culture is just; well, is a completely different culture; this is the Arab culture (); (.) One thinks, it is the same culture as the Turkish culture but it is not; they have just the same religion, but we think very differently than an Arab, even if they are (mixed)

In this quoted part of the interview, South Dakota talks about the similarities and differences between Turks and Arabs. Contrary to what many think, Turks and Arabs are different, although their food culture is similar, and they belong to the same religion. There is discomfort when the Turks are compared to the Arabs. On the contrary, there is a visible open desire to be separated from them. The Turks positioned in a different place from the Arabs.

4.3.1.7 Summary

In this chapter, the reconstructed orientations are illustrated based on the six comparative dimensions and described in the ideal-typical condensa-

tion and relation to each other as type 1 “Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power”. The main characteristic of type 1 is the weak perception of cultural pluralism. The role of mono-perspective essentialist cultural orientations is high in the country of origin. This tendency also includes the country’s history and relations with Germany. The results show the rejection of experiences of pluralism, particularly those associated with Turkish society, concerning issues such as the experience of pluralism, including the democratic aspects of cosmopolitanism, and little attribution of meaning to human rights. It is accepted that all people within the same country exhibit a homogeneous structure and cannot differ in any way. This ideal type believes that people living in Turkey and/or Germany are almost all same-minded, have the same roots, and hold the same ideas. If anyone goes out of the accepted line, these people have lost their essence and self-identity. In this context, it is impossible for Turks who have lived in Germany for many years to be influenced by the Germans.

On the other hand, the Germans took or learned many of their positive characteristics from the Turks and/or from the Muslims. The source of these virtues is Islam and former Turkish habits. There is a deep nostalgia and longing for the past. The basis of success (of the Turks) in former times was the living of Islamic values. Today, the main reason why the Turks are unsuccessful and ineffective in the world is the loss, forgetting, and not living enough of the values they had in the past. Many positive characteristics that Turks or Muslims, in general, had in the Ottoman Empire period are represented by the Germans today. The basis of today’s economic and social development of the Germans, or more generally of the Western world, is that they now have the characteristics of the Muslims in the past. There is an unending longing for the past. They live with the memories of the past and dream of returning to the old happy and successful days.

For this ideal type of person, it is accepted that the Germans think Turks will never be like them. Essentialism is to Turkey and Turkish culture and sometimes to Germany and German culture. Even though their mother and/or father are Turkish, they think that they should be German

because they live in Germany. They do not want to be seen as Turkish around them or to be described as 'Turkish' or 'Turkish origin' by others. They prefer to live as German as possible with their 'German' understanding.

Representatives of this ideal type have reflexively developed a point of view. In response to any negative examples to be set about themselves, their country, their background, their history, or their culture, they cite past negative examples from Germany or Europe in general. They try to make logical explanations for the misbehaving instead of accepting the mistakes, wrongdoings, and deficiencies that have been made in the past or are still being made today. In terms of participation, they are highly committed to the structure they are in and are closed to change. They have a self-assignment to an authoritarian system regarding virtue and morality. When considering social issues, they attach special importance to 'power' and 'strength'. Achieving subjects such as cultural success, economic development, and a good education is related to being strong and powerful, and the strong ones are successful. To be successful, you have to be strong.

Knowledge is learned through the transmission of rules, and it is preferred and desired that this comes from an authority. A tendency for self-assignment to an authoritarian system is visible. Discussions and debates between people are generally not considered favorable, especially on topics such as politics and history, but not limited to these. Any kind of discussion has a negative connotation. There is a high degree of commitment and loyalty to defended ideas and values. Even contrary examples and important reasons cannot harm this loyalty. There is a tendency to use the space as an opportunity to exercise domination. Formal education is assumed to be valuable. However, informal accidental learning emerges as an essential and indispensable value of life.

The generational differences, which emerge over time for reasons such as different educational opportunities, social rights, or financial improvements, create an alienation between generations. While paying attention to the importance of virtue and morality, these values are used for self-elevation.

Table 15: Ideal-typical condensed action-guiding orientations of type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power

	Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power	Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue	Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation	Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity
Cultural Orientation	Mono-perspectival essentialism			
Spatial Orientation	Space as a form of dominance			
Participation and Involvement	Allegiance			
Change in Time/ Learning	Tradition succession and alienation			
Validity of Knowledge	Authority gives the knowledge			
Self Positioning	Self-elevation through orthopraxis			
Basic type: Sociality-related self-efficacy expectation				

4.3.2 Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue

Type 2 of “*bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue*” is more oriented towards a plurality of cultures and societies than type 1. While type 1 shows a mono-perspectival essentialism orientation, type 2 attempts to act as a bridge between duality, which leads them to dualistic essentialism. This effort, which is undertaken without rejecting the other identity, aims to increase the relationship between societies and groups. This type is represented by traces of interviews in Oregon, Montana, Maine, Idaho, South Dakota, Delaware, and North Dakota.

4.3.2.1 First comparison horizon: Cultural orientation–dual essentialism

At the point of understanding the cultural orientation of type 2, the sources of their dual essentialism are revealed: This duality consists of positive and negative positions. The positives are a bridge-builder between Turkish and German societies, cultures, and traditions. This bridging is sometimes aimed at German religious institutions and individuals, often through religious associations. Negative ones feel stuck between two seats. They do not want to choose one of the two seats but find themselves standing because they cannot sit on both seats simultaneously. This standing is based on the assumption that the two seats cannot be put together. They wish to sit in two seats simultaneously and not prefer one over the other. Although they think they can sit in two seats simultaneously, the people around them claim that this is not possible. In these situations, they feel that they are not accepted as they are. Examples are given in the interview sections below.

Oregon interview lines between 72-79: As a bridge builder

Xm: and you know each other there, (2) I was also a bit active in the Islamic community and I also tried to build bridges a bit, between Christian and Muslim communities; so that a regular exchange took place, visits (.) We were always invited to the Thanksgiving Festival as a Muslim community, we have a meeting center in Hof²⁸ where we worked very hard for the exchange of religions, for the understanding of religions

Oregon, a businessman, voluntarily contributes to a religious-cultural association. He talks about the intercultural activities he is a part of through the center he is an active member of. He uses the association and its facilities to “*build bridges between Christian and Muslim communities*”. The capacity to liaise with church representatives, which emerges through the association, is used as an opportunity to open a dialogue with them. In this way, mutual visits can be made. With these visits not only Christians visit them, but Muslims also go to Christians’ places and exchange views, ideas, and prayers with them. This seems to have turned into a regular exchange over time. Giving invitations to Christians and/or different societies on their special days and/or attending to the invitations of other religions’ important days are an indication of the value given to each other, showing respect to each other and the level of friendship between those. While they attach importance to their values, they expect others to value them. There is an effort to unite Turkish and German societies through common points and understandings of Islam and Christianity. With this effort, an exchange opportunity is offered between the followers of religions. It is for the benefit of both Muslim Turks living in Germany and Christian Germans to understand each other and give the appearance of accepting the other with the meetings held. The dual essentialism seen here arises for the benefit of both communities.

Dual essentialism emerges in terms of language and looking for religious commonalities. German Turks speak among themselves by mixing the two languages, Turkish and German. Sometimes, Turkish words enter German sentences or German words into Turkish sentences. Only German Turks can understand all these speeches, and only they can identify that the speakers are Turkish. The following sections of the Montana interview show the dual essentialism of the language mentioned.

Montana interview lines between 129-143: Dualism in language

- Ef: in the circle of friends I notice again and again, (.) that when they speak Turkish then there becomes always a **mixture** of languages, (.) even with adults I observe it like that, and with regard to the **youngsters** very, very often (.) that they- (.)
- I: that they then sprinkle words from one’s own language into the other °

Ef: So, then, if they are entertaining in Turkish, then come often- you can identify German words when they are among themselves they change at once to Turkish and then back to **German**, (.) so if they are then (.) maybe in the bus or somehow on the way (.) and there are young people around (.) I notice this immediately @ (.) @.@

In this passage, Montana talks about German Turks, especially the youngsters mixing Turkish and German while speaking together. Doing so revealed another dual essentialism pattern of action: While talking in Turkish and mixing German words, they do not know the Turkish equivalent. German Turks often use German words between Turkish sentences while speaking Turkish among themselves. This is especially common among younger generations born and raised in Germany. The fact that they use a few words in German in the middle of speaking Turkish and return to Turkish indicates their command of the two languages and not knowing some expressions in Turkish. Unlike their parents or previous generations, the younger generation of German Turks learned Turkish only by hearing and did not receive a formal education. For this reason, some words are not found in Turkish in their vocabulary, and they replace the Turkish words they do not know with the German equivalents they know very well and continue to speak. It is clear from this passage that for German Turks, mixing the languages for better communication is action-guiding and a sign of dualism in language.

Type 2 struggles to be one of the two, either Turkish or German. This battle sometimes comes from inside the person, but it can be an outside call or pressure. People define their identity mainly through the groups to which they belong or feel that they belong. Migrants have incorporated multiple cultures and can identify within two or more cultural groups. Even though they identify themselves as one or two, society does not always accept or welcome the choices or preferences of these people. Below Maine's lines, it is seen that Maine is resisting the pressure from his peers to choose either the German or the Turkish identity.

Maine interview lines between 262-288: Resisting mono-perspectival essentialism calls

Pm: I mean, they watch me closely (.) They say to me You have to belong to here or to there I cannot deny this, that's my root I cannot deny that, that's also my root, both are my roots if you say to me, deny Germany I cannot If you say to me deny Turkey, I cannot either It is like that I-I can do that- I cannot do that I am not a robot, I am a human being I have both in me and I'm glad to have both in me It's a profit, it's a profit in me

I: When you also talk about the different shares where would you see the differences? So, would you- or would you say that is a similar culture, or-

Pm: ^LThe mentality is already different, in Turkey is it much looser @ (.) @ all much looser, they have- that's what you know-that's really true (.) How should I say that In Turkey, they put more value on people, here more on time If you have an appointment here you have to take the appointment serious, to be - (3) punctual on the day That's also important Turkey, however, if you say I will come, would like to visit you but then you meet someone who comes to visit you, then you cannot send him @ away @, I say to him (would like to); but if I- then you say- then you do not give the feeling that it bothers you give not that feeling (2) as long as he is there, he is there

In the preceding passage, the participant talks about feelings about how to be a German Turkish in Germany. It is documented that Maine is facing pressure to choose his side, either to be German or Turkish. People around him, co-workers, or others who knew his background pressured Maine to choose his side, telling him, “*You have to belong here or there*”. People think that one person can be either only be Turkish or only German. However, Maine opposes this suggestion and pressure. Underlining that his roots come from Turkey, he says, “*I cannot deny this*”. With these statements, it is revealed that as a person living in Germany, German Turks are aware of their Turkish origin with an expectation that others should know this and respect it. Nobody can reject their roots and deny the parents' background; at the same time, this does not mean that a person cannot integrate and adapt to the values and characteristics of the place where they live. People who ask him to choose one side have no right to do that. Maine finds this ‘unhuman’: “*I cannot do that I am not a robot, I am a human being I have both in me*”. Any human being who is not a robot and has normal feelings can neither deny their roots nor reject

the country in which they live. A person can be perfectly content with having both cultures in them, the one where they live and the one they inherited from their parents. This points out that others must accept “the reality” that some people have more than one belonging, background, culture, and identity. These multicultural people see their position, being both Turkish and German, as an excellent profit for themselves. While describing the happiness of carrying two cultures simultaneously, they are also aware of the mentality differences between the two, and they see this as proof of how much they internalize the two cultures. Turks act more loosely than Germans on some issues and give priority to “people”. By contrast, “time and appointment” are the most important values for Germans. For Germans, being punctual for appointments is very important. In Turkey, however, no one is told ‘you must go now’, even if the time is up. While satisfaction and happiness are shown with being multicultural, there are also comparisons made between the two, which reveals how well it has command of both cultures and their sensitivities. With this passage, Maine documents multicultural essentialism.

In the previous passage, Maine explains that by accepting both identities, one cannot reject the other. In the following excerpt from the transcript, he talks about which culture he is closer to while not denying the other.

Maine interview lines between 796-813: Being close to one side despite having dual cultures and identities

Pm: I am the German, it's like that. I am also different, I also talk differently, @I also speak German with them. @ Then they say: You are different I say: Yes, I know That's where the German comes through (.) It is like that It's also me and they say to me: yes, you are different Yes I know, that's me. As I have said, that's why I cannot live there- they feel, I'm different I also know that I am different there when I am in Turkey for two, three weeks, I want to go back to Germany, quite honestly, I @ do miss then Germany @

I: And what is different? If you say: It is different?

Pm: I'm German, I'm on time, I'm just about the time, tak-tak, I have a next appointment, like appointment You have to stay now I still want to visit somebody, that will not work You have to stay now; I have to go now They do not understand that

Maine is talking about how he feels inside the family and shares his orientation values. While discussing the differences between the two cultures, he also describes that he has German and Turkish senses. In this part, he underlines that although he is Turkish, he is the “*different*” on the Turkish side of the family, and he is called and defined as the “*different*”. He is also aware that he is “*different*” than his Turkish members of the family’s peers and other Turks around him because of his values. This shows the orientation of choosing one deliberately or being close to one of the two naturally. When identities of this type feel their differences due to their experience in Germany after living many years, if not their whole lives, they miss Germany after 2-3 weeks, even when they go on holiday to Turkey. Without denying their roots and their bicultural background, they feel one is closer to them. In Maine’s case, it is the German belonging and culture. Therefore, Maine openly says, “*I am German*”. Having the fundamental virtues of a German differs such a person from the other family members. In Maine’s case, “being punctual, taking care of his work in order, keeping his appointments, promises, and hours” distinguishes him from the Turks or some other German Turks. Although this type has Turkish roots, they are cultured in Germany. The roots, specifically Turkish, are important, but they have learned the traditions and lifestyle of Germany by living and experiencing this country for a long time. That is the reason they are involved more in Germany and German culture. There is no problem calling themselves “*German*” being aware of their Turkish origin. They can say “*I am German*”. This definition does not exclude Turkishness or assume that being German is superior to being Turkish. Both have different aspects, and German Turks are aware of these differences. The reasons for the differences are understood well and clearly.

While Maine expresses the difference between the two cultures as “*different*”, Rhode Island evaluates the differences in terms of superiority over each other. Being better or superior does not mean rejecting one another, but it is a definition and a fact for him.

Rhode Island interview lines between 102-113: Topics on which Turks and Germans differ or are superior to each other

Sm: iii in general lets say Germany actually we have to avoid saying Europe because Germany is different @(I also went other European countries)@ in general there is an industrialization difference between Germany and Turkey there is technology difference Germany is more advanced also iii its universities may be some people can be here but generally in terms of society Turkey better than here They are more warm-blooded unfortunately Germans are cold-blooded They look everything in such a critical manner eeee I went to Spain @(the people there)@ more friendly and they embrace you with their arms like the Italians like our Turks the Germans are closed and turn in on themselves

In this part of the interview, the participant discusses the differences between Turkish and German people. While Rhode Island is demonstrating dual essentialism, he makes comparisons between Turkish and German cultures and conveys what he thinks is superior to each other as well as which one is different. Regarding industrialization and technology, the difference between Germany and Turkey favors Germany and is superior to Turkey. Similarly, Germany is ahead of Turkey in terms of universities. When making these comparisons, Rhode Island tries to be unbiased. It clearly shows Germany's superior points.

On the other hand, the issue where Turkey is "*better*" is that people in Turkey are "*more warm-blooded*". By contrast, the Germans are colder and show distance in social environments. As a German Turkish, he benefits from German superiority in technological and educational fields, having the advantage of getting an education in Germany. He is happy to be with the Turks, with whom he has a warm-blooded relationship. The fact that people living in Spain and Italy are similar to Turks and that they show warmer manners also indicates that he can make evaluations between different cultures. The orientation offers that in addition to the fact that both cultures are different, there are areas where they are superior.

In the Colorado interview, she tells how she sees the "homeland" and essentializes cultural understanding. She talks about Germany in the context of 'belonging'.

Colorado interview lines between 9-34: Turkey, the gap filler

Zf: Mhm, that's a good question, (.) because I just think so, well, in my case it's like that, I'm- I do not have such a strong immigrant background, because I'm half German half Turkish; that's why there has always been the difficulty for me to find a sense of belonging, so what always means to me home, homeland means where I feel closer, that's what I think that was - and that's still the topic, sometimes it's just masked out, sometimes I say okay: that's part of both and just full stop. I think, I am now @approaching@ the end. But I often, I think, I've always wrestled with myself, where I thought, okay where do I belong, because one are socialized here, here one has tried actually to build up ones future, but from the roots and the feeling it pulls one always somehow in the other direction; so I do not know, that's always, I'd say for me Turkey was always the gap filler of what Germany did not have. That's why you always jumped back and forth. For quite a long time I've always said: I'm Turkish, meanwhile I say I'm @German, so @ that also changes quite a lot and sometimes I say I'm just both and I think that's so the focal point that you cannot exactly identify with where-where I belong and I'm really meant by this, because even in Germany it is often made clear that one is somehow not German and that you somehow have to justify that again means, that you do not belong, and that has been so often the topic in my topic, which I could now differentiate from others.

This passage answers the first interview question, how she feels about being a German Turk living in Germany. To answer the question, she first speaks about herself. Her family roots, a German mother and a Turkish father, make her “not to have such a strong immigrant background,” which creates a problem in identifying her belonging. In this passage, Minnesota shows how she sees “homeland,” and she clarifies that she essentializes cultural understanding. The most crucial point talking about Germany is ‘belonging’. Belonging is not seen internally but is constructed externally by the definitions and expectations of others. There is no sense of belonging to Germany, but this belonging is documented by other people’s sayings, although not felt. This leads to her choices of belonging.

Expressing belonging this way by others leads to a preference for belonging to a place. At various points, it is desirable to fulfill the expectations of others and to listen to them. Still, such a choice does not come from within the person because, even in Germany, it is uncomfortable to

be told that one is not German in some way. The main discomfort issue is not whether or not someone wants to be German, nor is it internal. It is that she has been forced to fulfill the expectations of others and feels compelled to follow their wishes. The orientation shows that she tries to fill in what others are saying and expecting from her. She is fulfilling the external expectations instead of the inner feelings that shape her belonging. In this context, the desire to adapt is greater. Whether she wants to be German or not, these are not her internal feelings, but she tries to fill in the expectations of others and is bothered by having to follow their expectations. She tries to fulfill what others are saying and expecting from her. External expectations but not her internal feelings shape her belonging. In this regard, she has more wishes to harmonize.

A similar orientation is observed in the interviews of Maryland lines 25-32, Montana lines 51-59, Nevada lines 38-47, and South Dakota lines 212-225.

4.3.2.2 Second comparison horizon: Spatial spaces – as two separate worlds

Milwaukee talks about how technological changes have made it easier to access information. While showing this change, he expresses with examples that information has become easily accessible from people's desks to their laps and then to their pockets, thanks to computers, laptops, and mobile phones, which connect him and all people to the world.

Milwaukee interview lines between 312-322: Connected through technology

Om: eee after that thing it became a laptop The laptop is aaa on your knees, so you could sit wherever you want you could sit anywhere you want on the sofa if you want you could look wherever you want you could sit you could open it with you and look at it on your laptop **After that**, the phones came out The world is **always** in your pocket, anytime in your pocket, every moment The world is in your pocket You carry the world in your pocket **And at that moment at that minute**, you are aware of everything that happened It became a village for this reason So it became a village

In this part of the interview, Milwaukee talks about the technical developments and their effects on people's lives. This part answers a question regarding the "global village". He agrees with the term the world is becoming a "*global village*" and tells how the world became a village with the "computer and cell phone metaphor". People are connected to the world with new gadgets, first computers and then cell phones. Thanks to the developing technology, "*every time the world is always in your pocket*", it is now possible to get information quickly on the global level and communicate with others more accessible than before in the means of possibilities. Technological developments have opened easy access to the world and interpreted information to address social and economic problems. Accessibility of information helps the development of democracy and enables people to follow developments in different parts of the world. In this passage, Milwaukee shows how the world is connected by technology. This shows the orientation of reaching information and linking to the world through technological devices, types of equipment, and programs.

In the later parts of the interview, Milwaukee emphasizes that more accessibility to information, thanks to developing technology, has increased his hopes for change because technology has created possibilities and opportunities for anything to happen at any moment. In this way, there is reason to be hopeful, but at the same time, these possibilities also bring some ambiguities.

Milwaukee interview lines between 372-379: Technology brings hope for change

Om: eeee I'm always hopeful. I am always hopeful, but how much those hopes can be, as we said just now, the world has become a village, so technology has entered the pocket, so anything can happen at any moment. That is, something that is not clear what will happen. What will happen, unknown, Anything can happen at any time but I am hopeful of **everything**. I am hopeful of **everything**. Whatever I had started so far, I could do it, so I could.

In this passage, Milwaukee talks about the future of the German Turks in Germany. This answer is connected to technological changes and the global village answer. Advancing technology has made it easier to access information and brought the world into people's pockets while increasing

hopes simultaneously. The easy dissemination of knowledge has raised hopes for change and renewal. While this brings hope, it also creates skepticism about how far his hopes can come true in real life. There is also the possibility that this change will be negative, contrary to the hopes and expectations. Despite this concern, there are many reasons to be hopeful. Technological developments give people hope for new horizons. The orientation shows technology brings hope for change and some uncertainty, but positive expectations are always more than obscurity.

Identity is one of the basic building blocks of ethnicity. Identity construction occurs in the countries where individuals or groups live, not only by themselves but also by the influence of their environment. In addition, ethnicity is a dynamic and constantly evolving feature of both individual identity and a general group. In the interview below, while Delaware defines her identity, she explains that she is constructing a different identity from her parents by respecting the place where she lives without forgetting her origins.

Delaware interview lines between 73-85: Identity and ethnicity

Lf: Identity is always like that for me every human should (.) not forget his origin, because then you're lost (.) That's for me so, (.) if that once maybe, I don't know- if this once- you mean, that's not such (.) culture or (.) believer-faith but, (.) how do you call it? (.) hm (2), there are certain things, for example, of course, my parents did it differently than I do it, well (...) but they are not so important, (.) I think (2) Because to me it is important that well (2)- (.), how shall I say it, do not forget your own country as well as your believe? Otherwise you have no affiliation, (2) I think now (.) @ (.) @

In the previous passage, it is documented that Delaware describes how identity construction occurs. In this part of the interview, she talks about what it means to her to be a German Turk living in Germany. In describing identity, it is emphasized that *“every human should not forget their origins”*, or they will be lost. In this part, it is documented that a person's *“origins”* are a trait that should not be forgotten and should always be kept in mind. Identity is not something learned, acquired, chosen, or changed later, like culture or religion. As soon as a person is born, they are accepted

as a member of ethnicity, an unchangeable phenomenon. Delaware emphasizes that her views on this matter differ from her parents' and stresses that a person who forgets the country where her or his roots come from will have no ties to any place. There is neither reference to Turkey, where the participant's roots are coming from, nor to Germany, where she spent almost all her life. Roots are essential, but nationality, talking about ethnicity, and belonging was the only answer to the asked question. Other than the question, Turkish background is never mentioned. The talk about being Turkish is only at a semantic level. Other than that, being Turkish is not essential in general. This way, it is emphasized that roots can belong to any country. The most crucial part is adapting to where you live. In this case, by chance, it is Germany; it could be another country, and at that moment, that person would adapt to that country, too. The vital thing is to bring together the country where your origins are from and where you live. Here, it is documented that two different worlds are brought together respectfully by not forgetting their roots and adapting to the country where they live.

Although type 2 follows closely and sometimes loosely what is happening in Turkey, their main focus and attention are on what is happening in Germany. Developments concerning their own lives in their country are more important for type 2, unlike type 1. Political or economic changes in Germany that concern their own lives and their future are more critical for them, without staying away from knowing what is happening in Turkey. Rhode Island formulated an interest in German politics in his circle in the following part of the interview.

Rhode Island interview lines between 242-267: Interest focused on the neighborhood, own experience, and life

Sm: I usually love to talk about German politics because as a person living here I really don't care about the politics in Turkey recently there were municipal elections [referring to the 31 March 2019 local elections in Turkey]
I also have Turkish TV channels at my house

I: L Mhm

Sm: LI follow it I'm under the impression that people voted like this so the current government lost a little bit votes and so I record this I also

do my own research about the reasons so on and that's it For me **here in** Germany **political** issues **the laws** are more interesting because for example if I have worked for **45** years now I will give an example for retirement 45 years I've worked **full** pension I'm going to retire pension only 50 percent of the time If I paid a thousand euros I'm going to receive a pension of just 500 euro **how this can happen** this is more interesting to me

I: L Mhm

Sm: L so this cannot be **possible** a person works all his life and during his retirement he has to apply to government help again stating that I can't manage this shouldn't be like this such issues like environment things environmental issues for me for Germany are attracting more interest in my circles **of friends** they are also as I said before 80 percent about Germany 20 percent Turkey politics let's say it like this

In this passage, Rhode Island talks about his political interests. The important thing is to be aware of what is happening where one lives and of developments in areas of interest. The political life in a place where a person does not live, even where the roots come from, is beyond interest. In general, type 2 are aware of what is going on in the places where their roots come from. On the other hand, the main focus is on the country where they live. In this passage, Rhode Island demonstrates that he is briefly aware of Turkey's significant political and economic developments. Still, the main focus is always on the country where he lives, with his words, *"80 percent about Germany, 20 percent Turkey politics"*. Since he lives in Germany, his interest is naturally in German politics and what is happening around it. The primary attention is paid to the country of residence, but not staying away from the country where the parents have roots. As a 33-year-old third-generation German Turk, the salary he will receive when he retires is much more important to him than the local elections in Turkey, even though significant political changes are occurring there. The complaints and the comments about the future low pensions and environmental problems in Germany show that the primary orientation is towards Germany. It is documented that paying attention to the developments in the parents' origin country is because of the roots. The main focus is the residence country, which concerns him more than elsewhere. Type 2 focuses on their interests and their close circles more than the country of their roots.

Type 2 is aware of the differences between the residence and origin countries and does not hesitate to compare them. Unlike type 1, type 2 does not quickly talk about the origin country's issues. They do not have a blind attachment to their country of origin. While type 1 participants show a more blind devotion to their country of origin, type 2 participants do not hesitate to openly express their criticisms while displaying positive attitudes towards Turkey. They know that the country of residence and the country of origin are different, and it is natural and expected to have differences between them. However, it saddens them that one country's positive aspects are not found in another. In the following passage, Arizona makes a comparison by pointing out that the requirements of democracy are more fulfilled in Germany than in Turkey, which shows her sadness and disappointment.

Arizona interview lines between 60-65: Expect and hope the same for all

Df: mmm there are very **big** differences mmm usually in Germany you know iiii (5) with reforms you know the works are done here by the rules but in Turkey eee frankly there is a dictatorial management at the end I mean it is (.) meaningless to talk about **democracy** @ (about) @ Turkey so unfortunately things does not go good in democratic sense

Along these lines, Arizona compares the two countries, focusing on how “reforms” (in social areas) and changes are made. There are great differences between the two countries, and the most striking of these differences becomes evident in how laws and regulations are made. A single person in Turkey makes decisions, and contrary to that in Germany, a conclusion is reached as a result of the common mind where democratic institutions run well. With these lines, Arizona reveals the difference between the two countries and shows she is closer to the German style. In autocratic administrations under the rule of a single person, that person makes the decisions that affect the entire population, and the people have no role or influence in these choices and preferences.

On the other hand, in countries such as Germany, where democratic rules are more prominent and kept alive, making changes in any subject is subject to public discussions and consensus. When comparing the forms of government in the two countries, Arizona shows her orientation

that she hopes that the democratic governing style in Germany will also come to Turkey one day. She openly calls the Turkish government “*dictatorial*” even though the votes of the people have elected it. In this regard, being elected does not mean being democratic, but a government’s practice and implementation should also be democratic. With her comparison, she reveals her hope, and this comparison shows that she values democratic rules. It also indicates that the value of democratic practices becomes more evident when they are lost (as in Turkey).

In the part of the Arizona interview quoted above, the connecting point was hope for both countries. North Dakota uses this connection to determine his identity, belonging, and who he is. North Dakota defines the “*home*” in two different ways when telling how he describes himself in the section quoted below.

North Dakota interview lines between 65-75: Two separate worlds connected by respect and love

Um: yes? Hm, where I was born, that’s my heart’s home.

I: Lmhm

Um: I said and where I am living- hm hm where I am, where I live is my home country.

I: Lmhm

Um: Well, where I live. So I have two homes, that means once the (2) home of the heart, this virtual (2)

I: Lmhm

Um: and once also this home, where I myself live physically alive.

In this passage, North Dakota talks about what Turkey and Germany mean to him. Home is where a person lives and feels the most comfortable and safest. North Dakota says that Turkey, where he was born, is the “*home*” in his heart. Turkey is a beloved home with an essential place in the heart, but it is a “*virtual*” one, even though it has a vital place in the heart because he does not live there. On the other hand, North Dakota’s definition of home is his “*living place*”, Germany, the country where he lives physically, and that is also his real “*home*”. Turkey, where the roots come from, is defined as a “*virtual*” home. On the other hand, Germany, where most of life is spent, is also “*home*”, and this one is the “*physical*”

be visited once a year during the summer holiday. Technological changes and developments have reduced longings and allowed people to meet face-to-face as if on vacation at any given time. Thus, North Dakota connects the two countries thanks to technology, namely WhatsApp video. This shows North Dakota's orientation of fulfilling his longing for Turkey through technology and that he brings the two spaces together thanks to the developments in communication and transportation.

In previous examples, how the participants connected the two worlds emerged within the framework of technology and respect. South Dakota, on the other hand, positions himself in the space of not belonging to any of the defined two worlds. He indicates that German Turks are seen as outsiders or aliens both in Germany and Turkey. In the part of his interview quoted below, South Dakota describes how both worlds exclude German Turks and form a sense of belonging to them.

South Dakota interview lines between 73-84: A space defined by others

Vm: uh, I'm even more feeling as a foreigner in Turkey than I am here now; so at least that's how I feel; right? Uh (.) I mean: okay, (we) as hm living outside, living in Germany, we are just as foreigners as the Turks in Turkey as well as here; well, we are foreigners everywhere, I would say, @. @

I: L @. @

Vm: we have, yes=yes that's like this; we foreigners, we are also foreigners in Turkey, hm these German Turks, they always say: well, these Germans have come, they always say to us; yes, so; @ (2) @ well, there is such a thing, hm; so (.), we are foreigners everywhere, let's just say;

While describing the subject of belonging, South Dakota states that he feels like a foreigner in Turkey, where his fathers came from, and where he was born. He feels more alien there than in Germany, where he has lived and has been socialized for many years. This determination is not limited to his feelings only. At the same time, those living in Turkey describe them as "foreigners", "German Turks," or even "Germans". The formation of the feelings and defined identity is revealed by how others characterize German Turks beyond their own choice. While it is natural for them to be seen as foreigners in Germany, they have now accepted that they are seen as foreigners in Turkey, too. This shows the orientation of taking an identity created and imposed on them by others, leaving them

without belonging. They are forced to construct their identities while growing up between two worlds. How they are identified is chosen by others.

A similar orientation is also visible in the Rhode Island interview lines between 190 and 201.

4.3.2.3 Third comparison horizon: Participation – consensual participation in closed entities

Type 2 convictions are characterized by showing a harmonious consensus by participating in Turkish associations for explicit dialogue spaces as safe places. In addition, religion and religious institutions are also a resource for participation. Other than this, dissent and being opposite disturb harmony. It is thought that being easy-going and coherent is expected behavior. Being different and acting against the current order is negative behavior. Referring to the empirical material, the action-guiding orientations show that participation is for teaching, recognizing, and being harmonious. Using the reference case of Oregon, it can be reconstructed based on the search for a harmonious consensus.

Type 2 avoids expressing their ideas so as not to disturb the peace in the environment. Especially when talking to people with different backgrounds, they prefer to remain silent so harmony is not lost

Arizona interview lines between 53-58: Restricting yourself when talking to friends of a different opinion

Df: obviously we can't talk, so it used to be maybe, but, frankly, we cannot I mean (.) may be in the former times there were but now oooov because of this tense environment we cannot talk openly so we have friends with different opinions, with them, so we prefer to stay silent with them about these topics frankly speaking

Arizona shares her stance on her relationship with the people around her in this quoted passage. She states that she used to be able to express her thoughts (on political issues) freely, but this is no longer possible due to the current and tense political environment (in Turkey). It is thought that expressing different ideas in a place will disturb the peace of the environment, hurt friends, and cause relations to deteriorate. With these

thoughts, the expression of real ideas is avoided. When there is a dislike or disagreement, keeping silent and choosing not to object is preferred. In situations where they are in a minority position, they do not want to be seen as different. Attracting attention is also avoided in order not to be labeled as the other. These types do not declare attitudes, beliefs, and ideas that are not accepted by the majority in order not to be isolated and excluded. They hold back from their minority opinions and remain silent for fear of social isolation. In this context, the individual's silence also encourages similar ones to stay quiet, making the majority express their ideas more visible. Thus, while those who oppose and defend contradictory ideas are necessarily marginalized, the dominant view further consolidates its dominance.

Meanwhile, "harmony" is preserved even though both parties know that they do not share the same ideas. This orientation is also shown in a text passage from North Dakota. He states that they often choose conversations about social issues in their circle of friends but do not engage in direct political discussions because this usually results in unpleasant.

North Dakota interview lines between 387-399: Staying away from divisive topics which disturb the harmony

Um: Well, hm, politics is in the second line, right?

I: └mhm

Um: that means a lot of disputes arise through political hm views

I: └mhm

Um: also- maybe among family relationships, also among relatives

I: └mhm

Um: one keeps to the one, another sticks to the other; no and there are disputes or animosities

I: └mhm

Um: One wants to avoid that in that sense. Politics is always in second place

In this passage of the text, North Dakota talks about the topics they discuss when he meets with friends. He mentions that since political talks always bring disputes and quarrels between family members and relatives, many prefer to avoid political discussions. Talking about politics should be avoided for not to disturb harmony. It is based on the assumption that arguments will arise from the talks of people with different opinions.

Based on previous experiences, many prefer to stay away from conversations, especially on political issues, since it has been witnessed that similar conversations always bring disputes. The orientation shows that, even if there is a problem, it should not be mentioned in a talk and should be discussed so as not to disturb the peace in the environment. With this choice, it is not possible to make a rational determination of the problems and to take a step toward their correction. It is preferable to keep silent and not bring those topics and matters to the table. It is preferable to raise more mundane issues because of the divisive nature of politics. The empirical material shows that staying away from political talks and discussions has a clear orientation for harmonious consensus.

In addition, while staying away from political talks, social and general topics are preferred when they get together. This is exemplarily documented in North Dakota interviews and further passages.

North Dakota interview lines between 410-421: Choosing safe topics to talk about

Um: also in the community political views are forbidden, that means if everyone would bring their own opinion into it, it would a chaos, yes?

I: Lyes

Um: and we keep saying (:): hm keep your hm political views out! When you go out in front of the door now, you can talk to each other about politics here, but not in the community mmm, is a religious congregation, that's why there is only religious here or, also let's say, the way of life of people in this sense- the example unemployment, pension etc. in this sense also a lot of talk, yes?

In this passage, North Dakota continues to talk about the topics they prefer to talk about with friends. He argues that while avoiding political discussions disturbs the peace, it is also inappropriate to speak about political subjects because of the social and religious setting of the place where they meet. He recommends that people who meet on certain common denominators should not disrupt their harmony by bringing up political issues. Instead of politics, it is preferred to talk about matters of daily life that directly concern them, such as unemployment and retirement. Talking about general issues from life instead of politics is interpreted as another way of wishing and proposing to stay away from politics. Although it is

seen that issues such as unemployment and pensions are “safe areas”, they are also political but remain “safe” since these issues are related to Germany but not to Turkish politics, which serves a divisive role inside the community. On the other hand, it is “forbidden” to talk about the issues related to Turkey’s politics, even if he does not say it explicitly. The empirical material lays out the abstention from political discussion orientation so that harmony is not disrupted and there is no debate for the continuation of consensus.

Another orientation of type 2 is to have a dialogue with members of other religions at the center of religious issues. Communication with these groups, who accept themselves as they are, is a safe haven from which no change or compromise is expected from them.

Oregon interview lines between 92-101: Looking for dialog through interreligious activities

Xm: sharper And so, our work that we started at that time, that one not only lives side by side, not only talking one about the other, but with each other, that just people of different religions feel invited to conversations And- and we have very many projects in our Kulturelle Zentrum* A lot of school classes come to visit us and university groups, adult groups come, even police in training visit us So, we have become there meanwhile unofficial contact partner when it comes to the subject of Muslims, culture, religion

In this passage from Oregon, he talks about his social activities in the center where he is a volunteer, and the homologous pattern is documented that German Turks are looking for harmonious consensus through intercultural and interreligious associations with German society. In addition, the center they formed for cultural activities also plays an essential role in teaching their own culture and religion. It is seen that when Germans know more about the culture and religion of German Turks, they will be more friendly or at least less hostile towards them. Within the framework of the activities and projects carried out by the Cultural Center, they have seen positive results when they meet the expectations of the schools and universities to visit and receive information about religion and culture. Even police school students visit for consultation and learning. This is a straightforward consequence of the Cultural Center’s explicit dialog point

as a safe place. At the Cultural Center, the visiting groups, or in general non-Muslims, accept them as they are and do not come there to criticize or change them.

Contrary to this, they are accepted as they are in these places. In this regard, the Turkish cultural associations and interreligious centers are safe places for dialog-seeking German Turks since the visitors accept the members' identities. Using the Oregon reference case, it can be empirically proven that the orientation towards a harmonious consensus and participation by dialog is closely related to consensual participation. Documented next to the example already illustrated above, this is also reflected in another text excerpt from Oregon.

Oregon interview lines between 732-748: Teaching religion to the Muslims and the safety of the society

Xm: Well, less in the Kulturelle Zentrum*, but more- we're doing prison spiritual care, we're doing prison spiritual care now for three years We've been doing prison spiritual care for the Muslim prisoners, now in five prisons And there are, of course, detainees who tend towards radicalism, to Salafism With whom we have one-to-one conversations and then you can already feel the arguments they bring; yes, look at German politics; yes, look at the politics of America or Israel or this and that; they all hold together, according to the motto Yes, there will already use these arguments yes, to recruit here the members Yes, they have really little knowledge of Islam I would say that the people who are being recruited to the IS, they have more clue how to steal car than of religion They often do not even know the five pillars in Islam That's dramatic So, they really have no Islamic-based knowledge, only out of gut feeling Well, yes, right

In this passage, Oregon talks about the activities he is a member of at the Cultural Center. The concrete empirical example shows that the center and he, as one of the founding persons, play an essential role in teaching religion not only to non-Muslims, Germans, and students but also to the Muslims who are in jail with wrong ideas and beliefs about the religion. The homologous pattern of seeking harmonious consensus is observed here once again. In addition to telling others about his religion, this time, he conveys his message to the Muslims, like himself, but who are in need in the eyes of Oregon. The people who are in need this time are Muslims

who have been imprisoned for various reasons. He provides spiritual care services in prisons with the thought that they also need religious guidance. This service is also for the correct recognition of Islam, as there is a possibility that some Muslims staying in prisons may fall into radical movements. Spiritual care in prisons is aimed at protecting prisoners against this danger. Although the prisoners approached the issues politically, they preferred the way of explaining pure Islamic knowledge. It is a pity that the religious understanding of Muslim prisoners is insufficient and superficial. For this reason, it has started to give spiritual care to compensate for this deficiency. Using the Oregon case reference, the orientation to seek harmony in society, strive for the integration of other individuals for this purpose, and use religion as resource participation and contribute to society is closely related to an oriented practice.

This orientation is also shown in a text passage from Minnesota. The focus is building bridges between members of different faiths and exchanging ideas.

Minnesota interview lines between 555-569: Bridge building with the members of different religions

Yf: That's more like a meeting center, hm, there we do a lot of, hm, intercultural dialog, so rather on a religious basis now, referring to the religious track. Uhmh, I'm a member, and even in another club, which concerns also rather inter- Hm- intercultural dialogue, there we hmmm do a lot of dialog work. So we try to explain the Islamic, hmm, so in general the Islam a little bit. [Cell phone ringing] Sorry (3) I'll switch it off, briefly. Hm, there we're trying a bit to explain the Islamic perspective here in Germany. How do I see this as a

I: ^LMhm,

Yf: Muslim woman here in Germany, how do I see this here, what for hm events happen to me, what (.) hm what have others- well, it is a dialogue between Jews, Christians and Muslims very often, in general; (.) what then have for

In this part of the text, Minnesota talks about a place where she is volunteering for intercultural and intercultural activities for dialog.

A "dialogue" is a constructive and cooperative exchange of ideas between individuals with various religious, spiritual, or ethical convictions. The initiative strives to increase tolerance and acceptance for a more peaceful society by fostering understanding amongst multiple religions.

The power of religion is used as a significant force for learning about others, making connections with them, and teaching about Islam and Islamic perspectives on issues. Meeting with the members of the Abrahamic religions, which have common points, is an opportunity for them to explain themselves and Islam. The homologous pattern of harmonious consensus and using religion for participation are again visible and repeated.

Another empirical example of the Delaware reference case shows that following the rules gives the comfort of staying on the safe side, which also makes the person comfortable.

Delaware interview lines between 15-25: Stick to the rules

Lf: then went to school here, too, hm of course, I had at the beginning @ (difficulties) @, (.) with the language hm, my parents knew very little German (.) Hm yes, I have then (.) done here my normal degree and yes hm (2) **worked**. (.) What did I experience? Well, it is always so; I do not know, **I do not feel** like foreigners here Na. (.) I think that no matters where you always are, (.) if you stick to the rules (.) or hm you deal also with the culture (.) of the country where you live, hm (.) you get along quite well. Thank God, until now I have not had any bad experiences so far

Delaware talks about her early days in Germany and her difficulties in this passage. After telling the school and language problems, she underlines that “*I do not feel like foreigners here*”. This feeling is because “*no matter*” what happens, “*stick to the rules*”. When a person follows orders and obeys rules, that person should not have a problem because they did what was necessary. The basis of success, happiness, and satisfaction lies in following the rules. If someone who has been to a foreign country abides by the rules of that country, which they absolutely must, then they will not feel alien. That person will be happy and “*have not any bad experiences*”. In the empirical material, it is implicitly evident that it is essential to be consistent and to avoid differences.

In the following part of the Idaho interview, he talks about the importance of following the rules for better relations with other people.

Idaho interview lines between 201-213: Following what is happening for accomplishment

Cm: For example iiii () if I talk about the German news every day for example there is app for Süddeutsche I look at it a few times every day I read commentaar or things like that to look at Turkey the world Germany the country we live in already what is happening there what is happening here what are the developments of course I mean we are living here we need to get something of course from here from this regard iii

I am person who is trying to follow things

I: L_mhm

Cm: definitely I follow the course of events in Turkey I would say I'm a little something about it so @(I am one of those who follow the agenda)@ [very closely]

In this part of the interview, Idaho discusses his interest in and relations with Germany. As in the Delaware reference case, the orientation to fulfill the requirements of the country of residence is once again visible. Idaho regularly follows the events in Germany through various media. Although he monitors what is happening in Turkey and around the world, Germany is important because it is where he lives. It is necessary to be aware of what is happening in the country where people live. People need to know what is going on around them. Thanks to the news, the obligations of Germany, the things to be done, and the rules to be obeyed can be followed and learned. In this context, *"news and agenda follow-up"* is essential. Idaho does not hide his happiness and pride in fulfilling this task. Once again, the homologous pattern of following the rules and seeking harmony is repeated.

Similar homologous patterns are visible in the interviews of Illinois lines 216-225, Minnesota lines 627-640, Idaho lines 120-132, Idaho lines 213-240, and Rhode Island lines 211-217.

4.3.2.4 Fourth comparison horizon: Change-in-time – instruction and transmission of the own

For type 2, change-in-time is characterized by learning and teaching. Certain elements and themes are not innate to human experience but instead

learned and taught. In this regard, learning is passed on directly from parents to children, and sometimes, it can be transmitted from generation to generation in the form of tradition. In addition, peer learning can also occur, in which members of the same generation transfer knowledge to each other. The learning and teaching process are sometimes unintentional, informal, and indirect without a predetermined set of outcomes to achieve. On the other hand, during formal education at schools, teaching and learning are purposeful and goal-oriented. As a result of this direct or indirect learning, socialization and acculturation occur, and these processes continue throughout life. Referring to the empirical material, the action-guiding orientation is informing others by the teaching of personal tradition and culture. In the reference case, Oregon can be reconstructed based on teaching his values to others.

Oregon interview lines between 80-85: Teaching for understanding and it is needed

Xm: There is a meeting center it's called Kulturelle Zentrum* with an Oriental Museum meanwhile this center is visited by ten thousand people that's kind of my inner job I grew up in a country that I love very much and appreciate very much; but I see that in this country much understanding work is needed

In this passage from Oregon, he is talking about his activities at a social center. In this part, the homologous pattern is teaching the others for better understanding, and this is needed. Here, Oregon talks about working in a Cultural Center to serve the community where he has lived for many years. At the core of this work is serving the society and the country that he “grew up” and which he “loves and appreciates very much”. “Much understanding work is needed” in order to reduce the problems of the group he is a member of in the society he loves a lot. This will make German Turks’ lives more comfortable.

For this reason, something should be done to explain himself more and enable society to know him better. The goal here is to introduce and explain himself, or in general, Muslims because it is needed. The targeted result is that others get to know, learn, and respect them.

In later parts of the Oregon interview, a similar homologous pattern is repeated, this time making clear why self-explanation is needed. In Germany and Europe, where Christians are the majority, there is a need for more education and communication so that Muslims are not excluded by society.

Oregon interview lines between 215-222: Communication for not exclusion

Xm: eternal long topic, yes Is that really an obstacle, the religion, practically in the club Germany e.V. in, pardon, in the club Europe where all are Christian countries They do want not have an Islamic country among them Well it is still much more educational work to accomplish (.),communication work unfortunately, Muslims feel this exclusion on a daily basis an, unfortunately, more and more

In this passage, Oregon talks about how Europe sees Turkey. He touches on the discussions of whether it's fine for Muslims to live in Germany and Europe, where the majority are Christians. There is a belief that these countries are most uncomfortable with the existence of an Islamic society in them. Oregon indicates that he disagrees with this prediction by choosing the word "club" and that Muslims have a right to live there like the others. "Still much more educational work to accomplish communication" is needed to overthrow this thought and judgment. If Muslims can explain themselves better and communicate better with others (Christians), it is possible to reduce the anti-Islamic atmosphere in Europe. "Muslims feel this exclusion on a daily basis" and this exclusion is a fact. In this regard, it is up to Muslims to reduce prejudices and change their opinions. They should explain themselves and teach and inform those who do not know them. The orientation shows that change is needed and only possible with the people's will.

Oregon also tells why he took an active job in founding the Cultural Center: Explaining his traditions so that friendships can grow and understanding can disperse.

Oregon interview lines between 660-663: Introducing yourself brings friendship and understanding

Xm: and we have founded this Kulturelle Zentrum* so that even more friendships can grow, that more understanding can grow, both culturally and religiously

emerging ignorance about the lives of others. Therefore, mutually, the process of learning about each other is necessary. Mutual learning with building bridges between each other is recommended and needed. Crossings over the bridge are reciprocal and two-way. The relations to be established must be at the same level and parallel, and they must be open to mutual teaching and learning. The concrete empirical example shows that there is a need to know others.

Like Oregon, Arizona sets out to build a bridge. The difference to Oregon is not introducing herself but helping others with the experiences she had gained in the years she has lived in Germany. The bridges she builds include teaching and informing that do not have the purpose of being self-explanatory.

Arizona interview lines between 146-156 Teaching about the personal experiences

Df: in Germany yes I was a member of CDU almost three or four years aaaaa after then I thought about the thing to be active in the human rights association but I cannot do much because now my children are small aaaaa aaaaa also in a immmm voluntarily i do mentoring to a newly immigrated family iiiii let me say like this actually in reality I am trying to be a mentor to the kids you know the children you know iii from Poland they immigrated from a different country you know to be able to learn Germany to adapt to Germany or in terms of spending good time I am trying to help ?him?

Arizona is talking about the political and cultural activities she is a part of. In this regard, she is mentoring a Polish family who has just immigrated to Germany as a volunteer at an immigration center. She helps them learn the language better, adapt to the rules of Germany, and, above all, have a good time with them. Despite not being asked to do so, Arizona also strives to teach others what she knows and learned during her living in Germany as a migrant child. Even though she is a new mother and has a baby to care for, she has taken on such an obligation and responsibility. She believes it is necessary to transfer what she knows to someone in need and strives in this direction. Although the efforts are not in the direction of expressing and teaching own values, as in the cases of mentioned Oregon and North Dakota, there is a goal of being beneficial to the society by

sharing one's own knowledge and experience with others. Thus, the teaching and bridging orientations are observed once again, and the homologous pattern is repeated.

Change in time is also observed by the participants by comparing the parents, themselves, and their children. As a middle-aged second generation, South Dakota had the opportunity to observe both the first generation's experiences in his parents and the third generation in his children. He can point out his parents' mistakes and he tells them what to pass on to the third generation.

South Dakota interview lines between 179-198: Language is important for the younger generation

Vm: yes yes already; this is, we have to keep this; really, (.) hm; I'm always saying: (.) you must never forget your mother tongue; where ever you come from, the mother tongue remains; really that's what we fight for; yes, to keep that here with the second = third generation, okay; (.) we are now the second generation (.); and hm we have already experienced a lot (.), how hard our parents did here, at the time when they came, in the 60s

I: L Yes;

Vm: yes, in the sixties=seventies; we know exactly, being in the middle, we see the old generation, we see the new generation; right we have this advantage; well; (2) and we also see what our parents-parents couldn't do for us (.)because they didn't (.) know how to do it; yes, hm, let's pass it on to our children now; well, that is, because the culture, well, because the Turkish culture is a bit different culture than others,

In this part of the interview, South Dakota talks about his observations of the German-Turkish generation change in time. The new generation of German Turks should not forget their "mother tongue", Turkish. The mother tongue is important enough to "fight for". Second generations have observed what their parents from the '60s did and are aware of what they failed for the second generation. The main point is how to fix the failures and shortcomings of that generation without passing the experiences on to the younger generation. Experience comes into the scene so that the third generation does not experience what the second-generation German Turks, the intermediate generation, went through. Experiences have been observed, and this knowledge will now be passed on to new

generations. While the change over time is experienced personally, suggestions are also offered for new generations. With the importance given to the mother tongue, language education is underlined. Here, it is documented that the importance of language in the change over time is revealed.

This orientation is seen in a text passage from the Montana interview. Comparison of the different groups is also a learning way. The differences revealed by the comparisons also show how expectations change at the end of education.

Montana interview lines between 51-64: Learning between competing concepts of order

Ef: Well, many have from their home different values maybe (.) That you could say, that you might (.) or also(.) the eating culture

I: ^Lthe eating culture, too, yes (2)

Ef: and of course the habits or the, (2) how should I say it, the importance of the school, or I am working with schoolchildren (.) and hm (.) the parents demand from the children so a little more than they can possibly give them, (.) so, that's my impression now

I: The Turkish-the Turkish who want that the children achieve even more (.)

Ef: Yes and then-then then always- (.) become better than they themselves,

I: ^LOh Yes

In this part of the interview, Montana shares her observations about the differences between the children she sees at the Kindergarten where she works. At the beginning of this text passage, Montana underlines that “*many have from their home different values*” and discusses how learning environments change according to the values learned at home. As the passage continues it crystallizes the shared practice and shows that the habits of the families are essential to the learning and success of the children. While other families do not hold high expectations for their children to succeed, Turkish families’ expectations of their children are far above their capacities and realities. Because of these high expectations, children generally have a better education than their parents, and there is a significant educational gap between generations. Over time, it is observed that children receive a higher level and quality education than their families.

The homologous pattern is learning across different orders and thus increasing education.

Similar orientation is visible also in the Maine interview lines between 345-360 and Arizona interview lines between 75-81.

4.3.2.5 Fifth comparison horizon: Validity of knowledge–transmission

For type 2, if the knowledge of validity must be based on some reasoning, then it seems to be committed to the legitimacy of rules for validity. When information is learned from any source, if there is no experience from the past on the subject, other experiences come into play. Type 2 provides validity by attributing information to an authoritative, closed information system. When there is no knowing experience on a subject and no consequences in experience, validity are given through a system of given authority.

The section of the Delaware interview quoted below talks about the importance of following the rules of the authority. No matter what country one lives in, those who live there must abide by the rules. Whoever it is, if the person follows the rules, they do not feel like an outsider and eventually succeeds.

Delaware interview lines between 15-25: Authority has the power

Lf: then went to school here, too, hm of course, I had at the beginning @ (difficulties) @, (.) with the language hm, my parents knew very little German. (.) Hm yes, I have then (.) done here my normal degree and yes hm (2) **worked**. (.) What did I experience? Well, it is always so; I do not know, **I do not feel** like foreigners here. Na. (.) I think that no matters where you always are. (.) if you stick to the rules (.) or hm you deal also with the culture- (.) of the country where you live, hm (.) you get along quite well. Thank God, now I have not had any bad experiences so far.

In this part of the interview, Delaware is talking about her early days in Germany. She explains how she handled her difficulties after moving to Germany at an early age. The fundamental rule for overcoming the hurdles is sticking to the rules. When people stick to the rules of their country, especially immigrants, they do not feel like foreigners. The authority has

determined what people should and should not do. If these rules are followed, the person will not have any problems.

For this reason, the person does not need to produce information. Any information they need has already been declared in the form of rules. One has only to abide by these rules. Success comes if the rules are followed. Homologous patterns in the empirical reference case Delaware are given through a system of given authority. In the sections cited in the Delaware example above, the state is the authority for validity purposes. On the other hand, the following empirical excerpt from the Idaho reference case serves as empirical evidence that religion is the source of knowledge. Her validity and emergence from the virtues come from religion.

Idaho interview lines between 120-132: Religion is for knowledge

Cm: I do not want to be more something with other people (4) How can I say not be sincere things like that iii as long as I live my very personal life but because Turkey in that regard I mean a little poor in those terms and according to our culture our customs our traditions you can not have a true faith unless we ask the same for our neighbors As our prophet said the one who sleeps comfortably if a neighbor is hungry is not a part of us he says Neighborly relations though recently @ (started to disappear) @ but we still have things like this so neighborly relations based on kinship relations in this Anatolia iiii this west iiii in comparison to the western world it is still more stronger I think

In the quoted part of the Idaho interview, the interviewee talks about his relationship with his colleagues in his working environment. For Idaho, the source and validity of the knowledge are based on religion. When there is a need to help a neighbor in poor condition, the reason for help stems from the words of the prophet of Islam. The source of the right actions and preferences are religion, religious references, and the criteria set by the Islamic prophet. Muslims should act according to these criteria in their preferences and follow his suggestions and recommendations. Although some behaviors called by religion are not implemented as they should be by Muslims today, they are still visible in Anatolia as they were in the old days. In matters such as neighborhood relations and helping each other, Turkey is superior to the West, and the source of this superiority comes from religious values.

The following empirical excerpt from the South Dakota reference case serves as empirical evidence for rule-following and religion as the validity of regulations other than the given authority.

South Dakota interview lines between 278-292: Religion as additional regulations to the rules of authority

Vm: Exactly; well praying, I already value it; well, as I am already a Muslim, then I would also like to live like a Muslim, hm (.). **But** I also have to accept (2) this rule of what, which country I live in,

I: ↳ Mhm;

Vm: I've also done it so far, and hm I have to accept it too, either I have to accept it or must not, so; really, I'm here and like to do what I want, that doesn't work; really,

In this part of the interview, South Dakota is talking about the integration of German Turks into Germany. In this passage, other than the rules of the state and regulations, another point comes to the forefront: religion. Religion has an essential place in a person's life. While South Dakota declares that he is a Muslim and states that he wants to live like a Muslim, he also mentions the rules set by the state in the country where he lives are to be obeyed and followed in addition to the religious rules. As an authority, religion and the state emerge both together. While emphasizing the necessity of acting according to the orders of the religion one belongs to, the rules set by the country in which one lives should not be ignored. The limits set by the state are a measure for individuals and must be adhered to. No one can do what they want and not obey the rules. This kind of behavior is unacceptable. The homologous pattern is validity given through a system of given authority, and this authority is either declared by the state or religion. Both rules are to be followed and obeyed.

North Dakota interview lines between 44-61: Knowing the others deletes enmity

Um: So here we have hm (2) cultural exchange, also religious exchange and so on and further on (.), and then you get to know each other here, yes? and there is a saying of Caliph (.) Ali, hm (.): You are an enemy of what you don't know, he said. if you get closer to each other you get to know you best, and then hm, the prejudices are also dispelled, yes? that is the most important thing

above all that you know each other. the ignorance leads to enmity and somehow, hm, that one somehow doesn't trust each other, so there is no trust. But if you know each other better than you see: this man is very good (so) I can hm live with him

In this excerpted part of the interview, North Dakota talks about the activities and events he participates in with different religious, cultural, and ethnic segments of the society in which he lives. Interaction with those who are different from oneself brings about learning of different cultures and the recognition of other religions and their members. These recognitions and learning are seen as good and valuable. The source of this principle is based on the words of Caliph Ali, one of the leading names of the religion of Islam. In other words, meetings with others to get to know and learn from each other also have a religious basis. In a sense, the advice of the religious elders is also followed. Thus *"the prejudices are dispelled"* because *"the ignorance leads to enmity"* and these interactions eradicate the enmity.

4.3.2.6 Sixth comparison horizon: Self-positioning – identity rooted in dialogue

Type 2 gives importance to their religious identity while locating and positioning themselves, determining the orientation of their actions, and choosing their preferences. Morality, values, traditions, and religious identity play a significant role in their decisions, preferences, and choices. By revealing their religious parts, they create a safe space, and within this framework, they establish relationships with others. Like other types of identity, religious identity is a process in which religious and cultural meanings are reinterpreted and restructured according to previous times. It is also possible to experience changes in the light of constantly changing historical and social conditions. In this context, interfaith meetings have started. While it was uncommon for people from different religions to meet on common grounds in former times, it has become a common and frequent event today. Even in mono-religious countries where many people migrate due to economic migration and other reasons, such activities

are supported and appreciated to support pluralism. Awareness of religious pluralism has increased. This is welcomed by members of minority religions who need recognition and appreciation because they have limited resources, capacity, and even some legal rights. Although the main goal is to establish relationships with those considered “the other” and strengthen these ties, these processes do not progress easily and quickly. Muslims of Turkish origin living in Germany also establish dialog-based relations with their environment, focusing mainly on the common points in these relations. By focusing on similarities instead of differences, they work to create an environment that will help them in the country they live in and meet their own needs more easily. Thus they look for authenticity by belonging to a more extensive system and environment. This can be seen in the further empirical examples of the Oregon interview.

Oregon interview lines between 113-119: Solving together

Xm: that's why our communication work is very important that we are doing there in the Kulturelle Zentrum* And there I am active meanwhile There I see my task just (.) grown up in two cultures born in the one grown up in the other I appreciate both cultures and that's also (.) the future that we can solve the whole thing together

In this part of the interview, Oregon discusses the reasons for establishing a Cultural Center where he is an active member. Oregon states that the founders attach importance to communication in the Cultural Center. As a person of Turkish descent who has spent most of his life in Germany, he knows both cultures closely. In this way, he respects and likes both cultures simultaneously. This opportunity is used to communicate and relate to others because problems can only be solved “together” in the future. In this context, there is a search for authenticity and genuineness by belonging to a more extensive system with its own identity. As a part of society, he assigns himself a task on this issue and positions it as such. The homologous pattern of these types positions themselves in the mode of self-assignment to achieve authenticity for belonging to a bigger system.

In the section below that supports this pattern, the desire, demand, and wish to achieve authenticity as part of the bigger society becomes visible once again.

Oregon interview lines between 240-249: Part of the bigger German society

Xm: and also does not always mention the religion yes, I want to be a part here I am here the Muslim part of German society I have Jewish friends We have a lot of Jewish friends through our Kulturelle Zentrum* (.) One is a German with Jewish roots That is the Jewish part of the German society There are Christians and I am the Muslim part of German society (.) But that is not so on an equal footing but it needs still much, I don't know, that these segregations will not be mentioned

In this part of the interview, Oregon positions himself as a member and part of German society and underlines that he is not different from other segments of society. Just as Jews are “*German with Jewish roots*” and Christians are seen and accepted as Christians in Germany, Muslims are also “*the Muslim part of German society*”. The fact that one’s religious identity is different from others should not exclude a person from society. They are also a part of society, just like most members of historically established religions; newcomers also have a place in society. Thus, searches for authenticity by belonging to the bigger system are visible as a homologous pattern.

The way and method used when positioning themselves in society are the similarities and common points they share with the other parts of society. Although they have different beliefs, they have many common and similar points, and highlighting them is a response to those who see them differently. In the following passage, Oregon shows with whom and what they have in common while seeking and striving to establish new points of contact.

Oregon interview lines between 309-317: Self-assurance through the examination of other religions for increasing the contact points in Germany

Xm: or if they say (again), in any case we are in the same as the Jewish religion We want a burial only with linen cloth, of course, with exceptions in Germany if necessary, then Muslims will be buried here also in a coffin But the other option is still desired So I have, of course, many points of contact with

Turkey, by my parents who have been buried there, by my grandparents and many many relatives, which of course I like to see again and again

In this passage from the Oregon interview, he continues to point to the similarities Muslims have with the other parts of German society, namely the Jewish faith. Concerning burial rituals, Muslims have the same kind of procedures as Jews. Both religions advise wrapping the dead bodies in linens before burial. Since German laws do not permit a linen-covered body burial, but they should be buried in coffins because of health regulations, Muslims are sending the bodies of their loved ones to their home countries for burial. Even though Jews have the same burial rituals, this problem is not unique to Muslims. Many German Turks are living in Germany, and they want to visit their loved ones' graves. Because their bodies are in Turkey, they need to go to Turkey to see them, and this is a "point of contact" for them. Suppose their bodies are allowed to be buried in Germany, compatible with Islamic procedures. In that case, they can visit them whenever they want, and their "point of contact" will be in Germany. Allowing Islamic burial will increase the "point of contact" of German Turks in Germany. If German Turks have more contact points in Germany, their loyalty and allegiance will be more towards this country. This passage is preceded by more extended reflections on the coffin obligation of Germany and the question of how to live as a Muslim in Germany. The same homologous pattern about being part of the bigger society is again visible.

Oregon interview lines between 699-707: Importance of personal contact points

Xm: Well, on my personal rather less, because I have many German friends in the neighbourhood now makes the- if now a politician says „Islam does not belong to Germany“, then the neighbourhood does not say well, I will no longer come over to you now, or tell more about your faith The neighbourly relations are actually rather untouched We are further neighbours and friends In the Kulturelle Zentrum*, this is of course already a topic, (4) what- what is often discussed

Oregon discusses his relations with German society in this part of the interview. He states that as a Muslim, his relationship with the Germans

around him is excellent and well-established. Therefore, the words of someone who says that Islam does not belong to Germany will not affect the people around him. Because of this relationship, people who have known and trusted him for a long time will not change their decisions to the wrong word of a politician. The more people learn about ‘others’ and get to know them, the more prejudices they have against others are broken—mutual communication, recognition, and learning to increase personal contact points. The more unique points of contact established, the more Muslims would have introduced themselves to German society. In this sense, Muslims should meet as many people as possible and engage in dialogue while explaining themselves to their environment. He positions himself in German society as an individual who has no lack of contact and communication with them.

While type 2 positions itself in German society, it tries to find commonalities with non-Muslim elements of the society and build a common past with them. These common points are usually on religious references. In the passage below, North Dakota describes how he developed a fraternal relationship with his interlocutors.

North Dakota interview lines between 193-203: Abrahamic commonality

Um: because hm, we really stem from, I say it a bit religiously, yes? from Adam and Eve, that’s why I usually say to the others hm: brother and sisters

I: @ (1) @ @ (yes) @

Um: again and again, they ask why? because we descend from Adam and Eve () that makes people happy. this hm in the sense that they hm hm feel accepted in in the hm ()the same with me becoming firm friendship, firm brotherly, sisterly friendship

In the previous passage, North Dakota talks about how he establishes a relationship with the members of other religions. He builds fraternity with its interlocutors through common points found in Abrahamic faiths — the “why?” question appears when he says “*brother and sister*” to his interlocutors. The answer to this question is “*because we descend from Adam and Eve*” and there is a willingness to show that all people come from the same ancestor and are, in a sense, brother and sister. Thanks to the fraternal relationship he established in this way, he continues a firmer

same time is both an emphasis on Abrahamic heritage and shows that Muslims are now settled in these lands. It is proof of the acceptance of Muslims in German society. The religious holidays of other faiths are also known and valued. Living in Germany also requires understanding and learning about these special days. It is necessary to know and recognize their cultures, values, and religions for the sake of knowing and respecting them.

Other than these mentioned parts, similar orientations are visible in the interview of Oregon lines, 920-933, 942-951, 953-967 and lines 895-900.

4.3.2.7 Summary

Type 2s position themselves as strongly oriented to religion. In this regard, their religion, through the eyes of others, creates a consensus under the Abrahamic heritage to eradicate their foreignness. This effort proceeds through the similarities between Islam and Christianity (occasionally Judaism) within the framework of the Abrahamic religions. Religious dialogue is a safe place where they are accepted and agreed upon as they are. In an environment where they are called because of what they are, no one questions why they are different or prefers to be like that. In these circles, where their differences are valued, they feel precious and experience the happiness of being recognized. As Muslims, underlining the common points between Jews and Christians is a search for authenticity for belonging to a bigger system. These dialog-based types play the role of bridge-builders in favorable structuring. This dialogue effort is revealed by making the similarities visible and meeting on common points. Even though they know their differences from others, they try to stay away from underlining these differences so as not to destroy the harmony. Their strong orientation to religion is the main contrast to type 1. Engaging in cultural and religious associations established by Turks in Germany and establishing contacts with German society through these channels is a safe way to contact others. In this way, they inform others about themselves and their traditions. They also desire to teach while telling others

about their cultural and religious background. They are happy to learn and teach about their own and others' beliefs, customs, attitudes, and backgrounds.

This ideal type exhibits a structure that is stuck between two societies, between two chairs in a negative state. They cannot be separated from both, and they cannot be only one of the two at the same time. The in-between position leads to identity conflict. They complain that Germans see them as Turks in Germany, and Turks in Turkey see them as Germans. On the other hand, they see themselves as both but complain that they do not have enough recognition because they have both characteristics.

In this type, how they see the world is perceived as the coming together of two separate worlds within the framework of respect. This partnership can sometimes be in the areas of technology, occasionally religious values, and history. Accepting both structures is the addition of two entities, which occurs because the other is not excluded.

Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue ideal type consensual participation in closed entities is observed. These ideal types seek harmony and consensus because dissents disrupt harmony. They avoid discussions, especially political conversations, because they think the debate will increase and deepen the distinction between them and the other person. When a discussion is inevitable, they prefer to avoid the environment by claiming different reasons. Education is for learning, both to teach about themselves and to strive for others to learn. They want others to know about themselves and their lives. Validity of knowledge is provided by transmission. For these ideal types, validity is given through a system of authority and also validity through the attribution of knowledge to an authoritative knowledge order, to a closed knowledge system. They position themselves by identity rooted in dialogue and try to achieve authenticity by belonging to a more extensive system.

In addition, there is a preference to participate in activities in Turkish associations (sport, religious, cultural, etc.), which are seen as safe environments other than interreligious activities. These activities are evaluated within the framework of dualistic essentialism. This orientation sees

itself as a “bridge builder” function among different segments of society. However, this orientation may not always be viewed positively. It can also be seen as negative, such as when a person who cannot find a place to sit between two chairs finds himself standing. It is valuable to meet and get to know people from different segments of society instead of the cultural conservatism in type 1. However, as in type 1, the discussion is a negative move; contrary harmony and consensus-seeking tendencies are seen and expected. In this context, talking about political issues is especially avoided, as it leads to arguments and coldness among people. Like type 1, information is requested to be presented and supported by the authority. Following the rules is the best method to achieve success in this context.

Table 16: Ideal-typical condensed action-guiding orientations of type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue

	Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power	Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue	Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation	Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity
Cultural Orientation	Mono-perspectival essentialism	Dualistic essentialism		
Spatial Orientation	Space as a form of dominance	Spaces as distinct worlds		
Participation and Involvement	Allegiance	Consensual participation		
Change in Time/Learning	Tradition succession and alienation	Instruction and transmission of the own		
Validity of Knowledge	Authority gives the knowledge	Transmission		
Self Positioning	Self-elevation through orthopraxis	Identity rooted in dialogue		
Basic type: Sociality-related self-efficacy expectation				

4.3.3 Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging and affiliation

Characteristics of the ideal type of “dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation” is that looking for belonging is sometimes floating in between belongings and sometimes building bridges between them. This type explores the foundations of positive dialogue and understanding in religion, political views, and many other fields. This search for belonging sometimes becomes a structure that builds bridges between these different identities and belongings sometimes, it causes floating in-between identities. This type is represented by traces of interviews in Montana, Maine, Texas, Minnesota, North Dakota, Idaho, and Florida.

4.3.3.1 First comparative horizon: Cultural orientation – dissolving certainties and patchwork

In the understanding of cases of type 3, belonging is constituted by floating in between the different others and building new bridges between these bodies. The positive reception of this experience’s result is observed in the joy of patchwork. It is considered one of the colors that make up that colorfulness in a colorful patchwork that emerges from the coming together of the differences. A negative result is perceived as a lack of recognition. Despite the efforts to be a part of the whole, it is observed that others or society as a whole do not make enough effort to understand them and do not value them. In the following excerpt from the Montana interview transcript, she talks about choosing between German and Turkish citizenship. The next section of text marks the end of a passage that closes the mode of an actual conclusion of orientation. Montana has developed an action-guiding orientation that floats between belongings.

Montana interview lines between 244-254: Passport does not matter

Ef: Yes, I have already taken a decision, so I have decided for **non-citizens non-citizenship**

I: I see, you would like the Turkish-

Ef: Because (.) my husband is a German citizen, ° he has already his German citizenship, but (2) hm (.) has not yet **benefited** magnificently, I should

again and again, all- in a certain period, over and over again, hearing this sentence, you think: @ (.) @ @ Well, where is that? @

Yes, where is that? (2) I am familiar with that

I: LNo, I mean the home country, mhm, yes-

Pm: system here; I am well versed here. There I would be hopelessly lost. On vacation it is something else. But also you go on a holiday in another country and come back after three weeks. But- I can not live there.

In this passage, Maine talks about his relationship with Turkey and the people there. Without denying the ties to Turkey, where the “*roots*” come from, it is demonstrated that the belonging is for Germany. A clear choice has been used between two affiliations in the direction of Germany. It is openly stated that “*I cannot live in Turkey*”. Behind this statement lies a person who has been accustomed to the German way of life. In this regard, he identifies himself with life in Germany so much that he could no longer live in Turkey, no matter where his roots are from. The lifestyle of Germany and the education he got have now become the elements that determine his belonging, not the roots. There even is a longing for Germany during the short holiday visits, showing that the belonging is total to Germany and the German lifestyle. There is happiness with this choice and satisfaction with the results of this preference. This orientation also becomes apparent in the following sequence, in which Maine says that although he chooses where to live and where he belongs, he criticizes the calls of ‘others’ to choose one side. This selection should be left to the people’s choice.

Maine interview lines between 234-245: I am neither both

Pm: I could not live there either. The mentality is different; I have- you see, I have German mentality and also Turkish mentality. I am also glad that I have both. I am not German but also not Turkish. You can ask me what it is, I do not know. I cannot say: I am German, I also can neither say: I am Turkish. I am- I love both; I really love both. I cannot say: I do not like Germany or I like Turkey. I cannot say that; You cannot demand that from me either. For example the example of Mesut Özil. That was a blow into the face to all of us. You cannot demand from someone who has both here: You have to choose one. That means, I have to reject the other one. That will not work. (...)

In the section of the Maine interview quoted above, he explains in more detail the reasons for his choice of belonging. Thus, the reasons for the choice in the previously mentioned passage are once again demonstrated. There is a worry that if he is asked to leave Germany or go to Turkey, his life will end. The person is so accustomed to life in Germany that a departure from there will end his life. Whether the person used the preference for belonging to Germany or not, there is still something in favor of Turkey. Happiness is shown by the colorful content of the patchwork, which is formed by combining two belongings in this way. The people of this type are both of them, as well as neither of them. Although these words seem like contradictions, this makes evident that there is an oscillation between two belongings. There is an open reaction to the pressure of others for people with two belongings to choose one of them. While choosing one, there is an objection to the compulsion to reject the other. While certainties are sought to be eliminated, the colorful content of the patchwork is also praised. Yet another section of the Maine interview, quoted below, demonstrates why differences are beautiful. While stating that “*diversity is something nice*”, he reveals it with different metaphors.

Maine interview lines between 648-658: It's nice to try different

Pm: important. Yes, because that's diversity for me. Diversity is something nice I always say, somehow, imagine: There is the same food every day, someday-even though it's the best food in the world it will be boring, @ once you need something else. @ So for example, I love dumplings sometimes. @ I do not know why They taste like nothing but I love it @. I ate as a kid somehow. It was funny at the beginning but somehow I like dumplings. @ Sometimes I eat a dumpling I do not know why It @ tastes good to me, If you know it, either dumplings or döner kebab, that's nothing for me, that's nonsense to me

Maine interview lines between 665-676: The kitchen is the human

Pm: Pizza, the favourite meal from my son is Pizza. I also liked Pizza very much, Hamburger as well. Do you understand the kitchen? When you understand it, in the kitchen you understand the variety. (3) This is the same as with humans, the kitchen is the human. If we all have the same idea, then we can not discuss anything. Imagine, I always say: Yes, you are right. You are right. What do we want to talk about. There must be the other opinion so that we can discuss. That extends you as a human, that educates you as a human

further on. And thus this being colorful is beautiful. This colorfulness also develops me as a human being

In the two following parts quoted above, Maine once again demonstrates the joy of the coexistence of different belongings. The beauty of diversity is displayed, and value is given to the diversity with the metaphors of eating habits and the kitchen. It reveals how overwhelming it can be to eat the same thing every day, even if it is the best food in the world, and the pleasure and the joy of trying different foods. He also underlines that although Maine is of Turkish descent, he is happy to eat German meatballs, demonstrating the value placed on plurality and the values of others or his taste. Valuing diversity is not displayed by words but is shown by how it is practiced in real life. In this regard, the orientation is that the diversity of people is a value that enriches society. Maine shows this richness with the metaphor of the kitchen. Just as many foods or spices in a kitchen sweeten the food, different identities, belongings, and thoughts also color human life and educate people. The happiness of a patchwork belonging is once again observed. While in the quoted parts of the Maine interview joy and happiness is visible for the patchwork belonging, in the below-quoted passages of the North Dakota interview, belonging and choosing one is a challenge. He cannot make one superior to the other. Like Maine, North Dakota also uses eating habits to underline the belonging in the passage quoted below.

North Dakota interview lines between 295-301: Colorful tables are nicer

Um: the cultures can get closer; the one eats rice, the other eats Sauerkraut hm Sauerbraten

I: yes, yes

Um: and if you combine these, you have a colourful table, yes? that's very nice.
Others eat from my dish and I eat from others, yeah? and then you have a more colourful, better quality of life

In the passage of the interview with North Dakota quoted above, once again, the reference to belonging is made through eating habits. Just as Turks like to eat rice and many Germans like to eat Sauerkraut or Sauerbraten, a much more colorful table will emerge if the two are served to-

gether. The colored patchwork belonging seen in the previous quotes becomes particularly clear. It should be left to the preferences of the people to choose the different dishes placed on the table. A person can choose one or eat both. At a table where both rice and sauerkraut are served, eating from the other party's food is an indication of colorfulness and plurality. It is also pleasing to taste different flavors. The discourse on eating habits, which may differ significantly from others, shows an implicit expectation of respect towards the choices of belonging. The orientation towards dissolving certainties and creating a patchwork that brings joy are combined here.

Idaho interview lines between 10 – 29: Challenges of choosing one belonging

Cm: (3) iiii of course a difficult @question@ (3) I mean there is one thing now as you know our fathers previous generations came here we are also here to that occasion have come as a kid iiii here we came we went to schools then we started working then we also started a family like that here now ourselves we started to have now @our grandchildren@ to be Turkish in Germany I mean we truly sometimes iiii are in a contradiction so I am here iiii **what am I** iiii **who am I** how long more I want to stay here or I have to stay iiii truly so people sometimes iiii (2) such as (4) how should I say what word I should use (4) you are I mean you are in a dilemma in a way iiii you are stuck between two culture on the one side we have our own traditions there your own iiii your religion your language your past things there iiii things I mean the life style that came to from the past next to that in a different society different beliefs different life conditions it is different I mean (3) in a way truly diff sometimes you have difficulty you also feel the things the challenges

This quoted passage answers the first impulse, his feelings about being a German Turk living in Germany. The answer sets forth the internal debate about belonging and its rationale. In this way, the difficulties of making a choice are exhibited. People should not have to make a choice, or at least not have to reveal their preferences about belonging. Even if they have a choice, they should not be asked to display it. Because no matter which way one prefers, it will be painful for that person to explain the superiority of one over the other. Idaho does not want to see the superiority of one over the other, nor does he want to explain it. He has chosen

within himself and thinks that exhibiting it will harm him. The orientation shows that the tensions and debate in the inner world reveal how much of a struggle people have given and their challenges.

In the passage of the Texas interview quoted below, it is revealed that belonging should not be assigned by others from the outside. On the contrary, it ultimately depends only on the person.

Texas interview lines between 40-80: Amalgam formations

Km: Pff experienced- well what was maybe positive is ehm; (1) that you of course see something positive in each culture, yes; I'll say it now (.) what is typical is; what is typical German; what people like to address in other countries eh; °whatever° the Germans are diligent; always punctual and those things; we have it really; (.) internalized so what-what you could catch during your education or at school; you appreciate it very much for example; also if you are in a foreign country and you are looking for; °pff° a craftsman so eh; this is partly different in other countries, (.) but ehm; (1) what else; maybe eh a sort of enrichment is for example the food culture; eh that you are even familiar with both food cultures, ehm; (.) puh well; (.) and that you live it, (.) we have also dumplings the same way and-and what else eh; Turkish food; it is even (.) mixt, ehm; (.) that's eh pff; positive or that you are also; (.) ehm; when you reflect; that you can use both languages; that you can switch back and forth; ehm; (1)

I: L Mhm;

Km: what of course plays also a role indirectly; is; also the religion of course; I am not really very religious; but nevertheless; then one gets again another perspective by; the religion; and eh I grow up in Passau*; (.) an old- and a-a; small town; its influenced very Catholic; and there you can hear of course a lot; so because of this it is simply a mixture which one cannot distinguish; and which actually also as a; (.) how shall I say it; as-as what- as such a sort of element; we metal worker would say alloy element and this has been alloyed/amalgamated with each other; therefore one cannot really distinguish from outside eh and say this is now; this element and that is that element; they are for me so much connected with each other with eh positive and negative

I: L °Mhm;°

Km: things; ehm; as I said I don't know it otherwise; I know it actually only when I am confronted with this matter from outside if I say outside; how do you think actually do you think Turkish do you think German or like this then I say yes; I think as I do- I think

In this part of the interview, Texas talks about his feelings about living in Germany as a German Turk. For this, first, the typically apparent differences marked in belonging are listed, and then these differences are positively evaluated back and forth. It is revealed that the coexistence of differences gives richness. In the middle of the quoted section, religion is brought up as a contouring factor. At the end of the excerpt, the typical affiliations of the individual have disappeared and become unrecognizable, and then the beautiful image of the newly emerged amalgam is introduced. The “*amalgam*” metaphor refers to a brand-new formation obtained by mixing two different ingredients. This new structure is not like the old structures, but it also inherited some features of the old structures. This long passage ends with the idea that belonging may be recognized from the outside or assigned as such, but ultimately, it depends on the person. The mode of the search for belonging shows itself in these very different directions.

In the section quoted below from the Minnesota interview, patchwork belonging is constructed through ‘language’. Language stands out as both a unifying and a separating feature. While the discussion of belonging to Germany and German culture stood out in the previous examples, in this section quoted from the Minnesota interview, there is a search and discussion of belonging to Turks living in Germany and Turks in Turkey.

Minnesota interview lines between 60-111: Finding similar ones to cope together

Yf: experiences. Well, for me it has always been rather normal. As I said earlier, it has seen it more like that, you really never have felt as a part of it. Also, for example, because we grew up half-Turkish, half-German. My mother is German, my mother cannot speak fluent Turkish now, that’s why we are not raised in the Turkish language, so yes already. My aunt did care a lot to help us to learn the Turkish language. That’s why I am very very grateful to her, hm, but the Turkish language we never got so forwarded- forwarded by our mother, that’s why we have, for example, be send as a child a bit into the mosque and told, hm, learn to read Koran there and something like this and there was always- so, we went, of course, always to the Turkish mosque, because here in Hof², there is the Turkish mosque very- well, the Turkish community is very largely represented, hm and there it has then started a bit, because we know - because we did not speak the Turkish language as a child

- so well, then you also (.) felt a bit excluded from the Turks here in Germany; they, of course, have not excluded us
- I: L Mhm;
- Yf: but only already by this deficit- so through this linguistic barrier, hm, you've already felt a bit (.) more accepted by other people who are just like you. So that's something I can say, hm (.) you always, of course, look for the people who are (.) as similar as you, well (.) hm (.) you are always looking for people, where you then feel accepted, who understands you, who
- I: L ° Mhm; °
- Yf: experience the same (.) or who are in exactly the same situation as you are. For example, I have friends who are also half Turkish hm- also half German. These are my friends with whom I grew up, they have become like my siblings, so I'm still today very good friends with them. They are also half Turkish half German, the mother German the father Turk. They are just like us, and (.) with such people, of course, you feel comfortable then; and like to relax with such people, (.) you could say it like this. (.) But otherwise in Turkey, if I think so spontaneously (2) hm, (2) well, (3) as I said, you are there more "the German". But I could state that even those who are completely Turkish - so mother and father are Turkish, who also born in Germany and
- I: L Yes.
- Yf: grown up, that they also in Turkey nevertheless are still the Germans; even if they now - even if one parent German- would not be German, I can imagine
- I: L ° Mhm °
- Yf: that you are still there seen as the German- that is the [male] or the [female] German; because you simply come from Germany; or live there; that this can never be the same as the Turks in Turkey, which is not serious. (.) Yes.

In the part of the Minnesota interview quoted above, she tells how she learned Turkish and German as a person of a German mother and Turkish father and then reveals how these languages occupy a place in her search for belonging. She first learns German from her German mother, who does not speak Turkish well, and her aunt teaches Turkish. There is a feeling of exclusion because the Turkish children who met at the mosque speak better Turkish. Although there is not an open exclusion from others, there is a feeling of being incomplete because of insufficient Turkish. In this quest, there is a search for Turkish friends. The friendship and relationship with these similar friends increase so much that they almost call each other "sisters". Despite the passing of many years,

the continuing relationship with these friends shows the importance of the relationship established with similar people for a sense of belonging. It is also shown that the person copes with the deficiencies of her own knowledge in this way by finding similar ones. Being with people like her creates an ideal environment for her to relax and have fun. During the visits to Turkey, a different situation emerges regarding belonging. Relatives define identity not because the mother is German or the mother tongue is German but because the country of origin is Germany. She is seen as “German” in Turkey due to where she came from. She is made to feel that she cannot be Turkish because she comes from Germany, and this is clearly expressed from time to time. Minnesota’s discourse shows how others position her and how she positions herself regarding belonging. Being half German – half Turkish, and bilingual, Minnesota is floating and dissolving certainties between belongings. The type-specific patchwork mode can also be seen here concerning dealing with both bilingual and half German – half Turkish.

A similar orientation is also visible in Rhode Island interview lines 386-397, Arizona interview 37-40, Alaska interview lines 208-216, Alaska interview 231-244, Nevada interview 164-177

4.3.3.2 Second comparative horizon: Spatial orientation – space as a network of close social relationships

Type 3 beliefs are characterized by their position by social relations, interaction, and languages. The passage of the Maine interview quoted below reveals the influence of language on how he sees the world and the importance of social environment and relationships. On the one hand, social relations give directions to his action-guiding preference: They make visits to Turkey to pay respect to older family members and relatives. On the other hand, these visits are also crucial so as not to forget the language.

Maine interview lines between 682-694: Visiting Turkey for social relations

Pm: Of course! I also go somewhere else. Well, I was once in Hungary, I was; I’ve also been to Austria, in Czechoslovakia as well, I was; sometimes I drive, depending on the circumstances, but in some sense the relatives and the aunts are still alive. And of course, you want to say hello (.) yes, yes, just

because is also respect there, too. Just say: Hello! The aunts, cousins (3; just, (.)) and of course, it's a bit different; also sometimes the language. It is also-if you do not want to forget a language, you have to speak it from time to time. If you want to learn English, go to England or USA, so that you can just come back- ah, I'll get back into the language. That is also this advantage, of course you have this advantage.

In this part of the interview, Maine discusses his relationship with Turkey. While Maine states that during the holidays, he does not only go to Turkey but also some other countries, he reveals the importance of Turkey visits in the quoted section. The fact that the family's elders are still alive is one of the most important reasons for his visit to Turkey. Because, out of respect, it is necessary to visit the family's elders and at least say hello. On the other hand, just as people go to countries where that language is spoken to learn a language, it is necessary to visit Turkey, where Turkish is best spoken, so that Turkish, which is a part of belonging, is not forgotten. It is documented here that spatial orientation occurs both through social relations and that language is another crucial pillar of this orientation. In this passage, it becomes clear that the spatial orientation of the third type is oriented through social relations. Another part of the Maine interview quoted below highlights the importance of social relationships and establishing relationships and dialogue with everyone. The harms of constantly coming together with people who are similar to themselves are exhibited with the analogy of "parallel societies".

Maine interview lines between 741-750: Parallel societies

Pm: you have to talk to everyone so you can get to know them.

I: Okay, I understand, okay.

Pm: If I say now, I will not talk to you anymore, then I've already lost them, then I've already lost them. Then he will say: okay. Nobody talks with me and then he is in his own world; and that is not good. Then parallel societies come up. (.)) Then there are parallel societies when I stop talking to them. Even if they are totally against my opinion, that's the beautiful thing.

In this part of the interview, Maine is talking about his social interactions. This section once again emphasizes the importance of social relationships in establishing spatial orientation. The drawbacks and disadvantages of

people talking only to people with similar thoughts are mentioned. If contact is broken with someone with a different opinion, others will also end their relationship with them for similar reasons. As a result, the person will be trapped in his own dead room and will not be able to see the world with different eyes. Having continuously similar relationships also emerges in parallel societies.

On the contrary, he is talking to people with different opinions that will enrich him. In another part of the Maine interview quoted below, the addition of individual proximity areas emerges as spatial orientation. Maine reveals that he relies more on his own observations and experiences than on information sources when making decisions.

Maine interview lines between 830-839: First-hand experience

Pm: When you see something; that's why I always think: before you talk about anything, you have to see it first, you have to go to the country; then you can get a better picture. If you only know something from television then you have the wrong picture. That's why because I've noticed that myself. I never want to pass a judgment on a country until I'm in this country; then I can say: Wait a moment! I was there, I saw that and that; I did not see that. So, do not take everything one-to-one.

Maine talks about his information sources in this quoted portion of the interview. He says that he wants to see the world only through his own eyes and not through the eyes of others. There is no trust in the information seen on television or received from another source. The information or the news should be confirmed and verified with own experience. Otherwise, the information is not accepted as correct. To be able to believe some information, it should be validated personally. In understanding type 3, information should be personally confirmed in the individual proximity areas. Otherwise, that information is not accepted. A similar orientation is also observed in the part of the Oregon interview quoted below. For Oregon, the integrity of any source should be doubted, and there is a need for this information to be verified by other sources.

Oregon interview lines between 787-792: First hand testimonies

Xm: you have to compare, if you so want to see the truth, then you have to watch (.) also other channels that are from a different angle (.) Yes and a lot; but most of the information I get from talking to people when I'm in Turkey myself. They live in this country. They experience it in a different way than it is shown here

In this part of the interview, Oregon discusses his news sources. It is stated that it is necessary to consult multiple sources to find the truth. In this way, opinions from different perspectives will be learned, and the person will find the truth with their own evaluation. However, the primary source should be people the person knows personally, not experts on the subject. He states that on a subject especially related to Turkey, he refers to the testimonies of the people living there, not to what he sees on television. The opinions of those local people are superior to those who present the television news because the people living in that country personally experience that country. Clearly, these people's statements are more valuable than experts' comments on a country from afar. Once again, a similar orientation is observed through social relations in the neighborhood.

When Idaho defines himself, he references Turkey, the country of its birth. Although he spent a short time in Turkey as a child, this period has an essential place in his view of the world.

Idaho interview lines between 81 – 87: Longing for Turkey

Cm: (4) Now, of course, I spent my my the childhood until the age of eleven in Turkey **Turkey** is the country where I was born and raised in the places I opened my eyes to the world played even if it was in a village over there but I still miss those places that is also a homeland but in here iiiiii (4) the place we have come a place where we are continuing our lives Turkey is still a **part** of us,

In the part of the Idaho interview quoted above, he talks about his relationship with Turkey. He tells that Turkey has an essential place in his life. He still yearns for those days since he lived in Turkey until 11 and spent some of his childhood there. Turkey is an important place besides being a homeland due to the relationships it established there during childhood and the memories from that time. The individual closeness established with Turkey has a significance that shapes the outlook on life.

Despite living in Germany for many years, there is a look at the world in the light of childhood experiences and memories. His longing for Turkey and time spent there, even after living in Germany for more than 40 years, shows that social relations from childhood have a vital role in shaping spatial orientation.

North Dakota's positioning of himself is also relationship-oriented and the addition of individual proximity areas. North Dakota emphasizes the importance of the personal relationships he establishes through some political committees, not the committees of which he is a member.

North Dakota interview lines between 242-259:

Um: () that you don't lock up yourself somehow in hm your home you don't; you have to be among the people, that means in () to be part of committees. I'm serving here at the Migrant Integration Advisory Board, yes?

I: └yes, yes

Um: I am good with the city of Regensburg*, and the Lord Mayor is a good person, Frau. Maltz-Schwarzfischer* you get a real person here and with all - many commissions. by getting closer to the people here, this situation changes

I: └I see, yes

Um: this strangeness ends. the stranger becomes a friend. It turned out that way.

In this excerpted part of the interview, North Dakota talks about his relationship with the other people in the city he is living in. He mentions that he is a member of some of the committees in the town. The importance of being a member of these committees is shown in a detailed explanation. Being part of these committees gives an opportunity to meet influential people there. The emphasis is on speaking to the critical people in those commissions and committees, not the importance of participating in the discussions or guiding those discussions with ideas, but being there and being represented is the most critical point. One has to join different committees and commissions to be among people. It is more important that "a person" appears there than that their ideas are represented there. As a result, the person will introduce themselves to the people in the commissions, and the strangeness will end.

Similarly, one will establish a friendship relationship by getting to know the people there. In the quoted part, the reference is the social relations through the committees, but not, for example, the topics discussed over there. His orientation is to establish individual relationships, advance these relationships, and create opportunities for new relationships by adding particular proximity areas.

Similar orientations are visible in the interviews of Rhode Island lines between 358 – 372, Delaware between the lines of 15-24, and Minnesota interview between the lines of 114-136.

4.3.3.3 Third comparison horizon: Participation – search for participation in an attending mode

The cases of this type 3 are characterized by the fact that they look for participation through attendance at an ethnic association, cultural and/or religious, or some other associations related to migrants. This means eliminating the deficiencies and providing improvements that meet the needs of the group to which they belong. This is exemplified by a passage by Idaho, who orients himself toward the attendance of a council of Turkish parents. In the following section, he discusses his participation in civic society organizations.

Idaho interview lines between 308 – 311: For current interests

Cm: Once there was the Turkish Union of Parents it was called like that now it was terminated we were over a little bit active then after some time iiii terminated after interest dwindled something called the Turkish Union of Parents

In this part of the interview, Idaho discusses his civil society engagements. He tells about a parent's council he once was active. This council consisted of the Turkish parents in his town, and later, it was dissolved for some internal reasons. The involvement of a parent's council refers to action in a neighborhood or a close-circle environment. His presence and attendance in the formation here are due to the interests of the group he is a member of rather than being generally target-oriented. The target audience is limited. For example, it is a union where the parents of German children can't participate. It's more for the current interest than a lofty

aim. Later, after this union was dissolved due to conflicts within itself, Idaho did not continue to work in another association or for a similar purpose. In particular, the attending mode is visible, and as explained above, the orientation was only toward an interest-based union. In this context, attending a union for Turkish parents and involving in the activities of this union, and discontinuing those kinds of activities shows that the involvement purposes of these types are only “for participation purposes”. In the following interview, Arizona shows a self-understanding that people have to deal with their environment.

Arizona interview lines between 86 – 100: Deal with your environment

Df: I obviously do not see very bright future (2) as a Turk in Germany you know If you live in **Germany** you know you have deal with the news related here but with Turkey Most people are doing the other way dealing with other kinds that are dealing with Turkey with **Turkish politics** If I look at generally Turkish people are not interested in German politics generally interested mostly in the **Turkish politics** Frankly in former times I am not used to showing interest in German politics (3) but when people really ages further you start thinking about different concerns because of this Germany interests me eventually It has to interest us the Turks living here at the end we spend most our time lives here Most of us generally go to Turkey only for the holiday (2) The people who live here have to **adapt** here? They have learned the conditions the rules of here?

In this part of the interview, Arizona tells her views on the future visions of German Turks. The fact that German Turks are interested in what is happening in Turkey rather than the events in Germany is presented as not being able to break away from where their roots come from and not being able to adapt to the place where they live. The interest in Turkish politics among German Turks, including Arizona, is reflected as a deficit. In addition, Arizona has concluded that this orientation is not correct as she gets older and gains life experience. Now, she believes that she should be concerned about the developments in Germany, and the dominant orientation of German Turks should change in this direction as she did. People should be interested in the issues related to where they live and spend their lives, deal with the problems of their places, and learn about the political issues there. For German Turks, the point of interest and focus should be Turkey, where they only go for a vacation during the summer

holidays, and Germany, where they continue their lives. This is also a requirement of adaptation. The descriptions document a self-understanding that people have to deal with their environment, and her descriptions document experiential knowledge based on her personal experiences and observations. Differences between her former life and today are constructed on her everyday experiences in Germany.

Another orientation for type 3 about participation is the emergence of the perception of discrimination as a result of participation and the strengthening of this feeling. In the section of the Maine interview quoted below, the participant talks about the feeling of discrimination against him in the football teams he has been involved with for years.

Maine interview lines between 201-210: An example of discrimination

Pm: You notice, you realize that, and then you ask yourself what did I do wrong, as a child; (3) you try a lot but (.) I've been playing football for years, for twenty thirty years, playing football for over thirty years, in every- I was in the youth department, everything; but nevertheless I also noticed again and again (.) if anything was, the ignorance also; people with whom I've been playing for years. (.) These are feelings. That, what I am telling you now, are feelings, not facts, but feelings. You want to understand what's going on within us.

In this section, quoted above from the Maine interview, the participant talks about how, since childhood, he has tried his best to adapt to his environment and be accepted. One's own acceptance difficulties are associated with perceptions of discrimination. A certain reproach becomes apparent in formulating "What did I do wrong as a child". The difficulty of being accepted, even when trying to be part of the team, indicates a feeling of disappointment and discrimination. Although it was a long-term acquaintance, even though playing together on the same team for many years, the experiences caused a sense of discrimination. It is reported that the underlying reason for this discrimination is a lack of education.

While the parts of the Maine interview reveal the feeling of exclusion despite acquaintance, North Dakota points out that people who meet can no longer be strangers. However, only the unknown person is a stranger, and the basis of this proposition is the values of the religion of Islam.

North-Dakota interview lines between 44-60: Only those you do not know are strangers

Um: So here we have hm (2) cultural exchange, also religious exchange and so on and further on (.), and then you get to know each other here, yes? and there is a saying of Caliph (.) Ali, hm (.): You are an enemy of what you don't know, he said if you get closer to each other you get to know you best, and then hm, the prejudices are also dispelled, yes? that is the most important thing above all that you know each other.

I: └yes

Um: the ignorance leads to enmity and somehow, hm, that one somehow doesn't trust each other, so there is no trust. But if you know each other better than you see: this man is very good (so) I can hm live with him.

In this part of the interview, North Dakota discusses his social contacts in Germany. The quoted section details the importance of the meeting, establishing and maintaining relationships with others. This provides a cultural and religious exchange opportunity for someone of Turkish origin to meet with a German or a member of another religion. Thanks to this opportunity, people get to know each other better, and acquaintance destroys the barriers and hostilities. "You are an enemy of what you don't know." This proposition is a saying of Ali, the fourth caliph of Islam. Meeting others and developing friendships is also a religious necessity and a virtue supported by religion. In this way, the enmity between people decreases or even disappears. The resulting convergence removes biases. Because of these benefits, people should get to know each other closely. The orientation is that the person you don't know is a stranger. As long as people remain strangers and do not know each other, ignorance increases, distrust occurs, and even hostilities arise. On the other hand, acquaintance removes and erases these negativities. The orientation displayed here is that people know each other through participation, and thus friendships are formed.

The parts from the Minnesota interview showcase the harms of talking politics when meeting with friends and family members. She prefers to refrain from talking politics with her close friends and associates, as political conversations often lead to arguments and conflicts.

Minnesota interview lines between 175-226: Talking politics causes harm

- I: Many people discuss politics with friends or family. How is that with you?
- Yf: Well, I have to say honestly, I talk with friends rather seldom about po- about politics, (.) hm (2) well, on the one hand, of course, it's an area that's very interesting. But politics is always an area where there are a lot of different opinions, and where it can lead hm also a bit to disputes or debates, I'd rather say now, not disputes, hm, where it can lead more likely to clashes, and that's why I am a person who prefers to avoid such discussions.
- I: L ° Mm, °
- Yf: hm hmm (.) Well, I've got also it in the family, I would say that; there is an aunt of mine very strong; ah, she represents a political opinion that I do not represent, for example, and then, if you talk somehow about such a topic, then she insists very much on her opinion, and cannot at all understand my views; I can do her (.), well, this topic in general. In order that there are fewer disputes, I am more a person who rather avoids this topic; and among friends, you also know that there are many different attitudes; those who have the same attitudes as me, with them I really like to discuss, because I know they have the same opinions. Hm, but those who now are rather little of my opinion, with those, I have to say honestly (.), I leave the topic actually completely. ° Or try it. °
- I: L Would you like to tell what the topic is or the controversy you are discussing with your aunt?
- Yf: L-Hm, well, it's mostly with my aunt- so, of course, it's about Turkey; about the Turkish politics (.) mostly; with the Turkish aunt- not the Germans.
- I: L @ yes, yes, @
- Yf: @ (.) @ Well, yes, it could also be the German.
- I: Yes;
- Yf: Well, hmm with the Turkish aunt it's so that she is rather hmm (.) Atatürk, well, I do not know how- I can tell you certainly-
- I: L Yes, yes.
- Yf: L Tell you what, yes;
- I: Yes, tells me what?
- Yf: Yes, that's what she is; (.) she rather represents the opinion of Atatürk and I rather less because Atatürk is not so Islamic for me; so I'm rather- so I (.) hm I see that more from the Islamic perspective because Atatürk has also abolished the headscarf, such those things and also the Qur'an- I'm honest, I'm politically not very strong. So I do not know things very well; but in any case, I know what Ataturk has definitely abolished is the prayer call, well, in the Arabic language, and that's such things. My aunt is very strong for Atatürk and I rather less and (.) she can not understand the opinion then and then I rather leave the topic.

In this passage from the Minnesota interview, the participant explains why she avoids political issues when meeting with friends and relatives. While she does not have the habit of talking about politics with her friends, she prefers to deliberately avoid talking about political issues with her close family members. It is natural for everyone to have a different opinion on political matters, and people want to express their views to the other person. Meanwhile, the debate escalates and creates unwanted tensions. Since the participant avoids such discussions, she prefers to avoid political issues, especially at family gatherings. The thought that the other person does not understand herself establishes a barricade against political talks. Not wanting to have tensions with others prevents any political discussion. If political issues arise because of the desire to avoid tension, they are either greeted with silence or avoided by changing the subject. Here, the participant shows shyness even when explaining the issues that cause tension. Even talking about controversial topics disturbs the participant. Among the problems the participant avoids discussing, there are also issues related to the relationship between religion and the state. It is described as not respecting their opinions and demands respect for Islamic values. Worrying about not getting this respect causes her to avoid getting into an argument. It is documented that controversial discussions per se are not seen as profitable. Negotiating and dealing with differences together, which sometimes causes conflict, is not seen as positive. Such situations are disturbing above all because one can take this as an opportunity to refer to the superiority of one's own.

Similar orientations are visible in Nevada interview lines 352 – 362 and Nevada interview lines 398 – 412.

4.3.3.4 Fourth comparison horizon: Change-in-time – additive cultural experiential learning

For type 3, change in time is visible as socializing effects in the succession of generations. With the impact of living in Germany for a long time, the new generations learn more about the country and get away from the

problems of their grandparents. The tendency to communicate and establish contact with different cultural environments increases. This gives them the opportunity to learn new things. Learning is always related.

In the passage of the Maine interview quoted below, the participant demonstrates that he needs to do something so that similar experiences in his childhood do not happen to his child. This can be reconstructed in many places, including the following excerpt.

Maine interview lines between 615-622: Socializing effects in the succession of generations

Pm: As a child I had to fight against many prejudices and racism; as a child. I do not want my son to experience the same thing. That's why I said: I have to do something so that I can reduce fears and prejudices. So I have to do something. My parents could not because of the language barrier and so, because they did not (.) want; so did not think so far. They also thought they would go back sometime; that was their thinking, they thought that way.

In this part of the interview, Maine talks about his vision for the future of German Turks. The participant points out the discrimination, prejudices, and racism he faced in his childhood. He rolls up his sleeves so that his own child does not experience similar ones. He can now do what his parents could not provide for him. The first generation had a language problem and always had a desire and plan to return to Turkey. But over time, the second generation differed from their parents. They no longer have a language problem and have also decided to settle in Germany forever. This change will become more evident in the next generation, i.e., their children. As the barriers, especially the language barrier, decrease, socialization will increase, and as a result, the success of the new generations will increase.

Similarly, a specific action-guiding orientation is also shown by the following passage, which comes again from the Maine interview. His effort to provide for his children, which his own family could not do, comes to the fore.

Maine interview lines between 849-853: Contribution to and for future generations

Pm: Because we had-, the parents were not to blame; therefore I have to do something to make it easier for my child, the next generation. That they together better harmonize- can build up this state because it- (.) I also cannot imagine that my son can live anywhere other than in Germany.

In this part of the interview, Maine discusses the main differences between his generation and his children's generation. It is not the fault of the first generation because they had some deficiencies, and they should not be blamed for the shortcomings experienced because there were some problems they faced and the existence of those deficiencies can be understood due to some reasons. On the other hand, it is now possible to have the opportunities that the first generation could not provide to their children, and the second generation has opportunities to be more beneficial to future generations. Thus, the third generation will be more harmonized in Germany and can make a different contribution to the country. The phrase "*my son can live anywhere other than in Germany*" at the end of the quote documents that there are no more shortcomings of the first generation, socialization is complete, and participation in German society is by all means.

Contrary to the first generation's constant desire to return, the second generation has firmly settled in Germany. Moreover, the third generation has become so accustomed and adapted to Germany that there is no longer any possibility of living in another country other than Germany. Germany has become almost their only living space.

In this part of the Maine interview quoted below, the participant demonstrates the effort and desire to provide the conditions for his children that his family could not provide for him. He expresses his expectation that opportunities that he could not catch will become normal for his child.

Maine interview lines between 885-89: The desire of the new generation to change

Pm: I just want that my child can live as a child- Do you understand? Exactly, to develop as a personality, the way he is, the way he wants to be- that he himself says , that's important to me, not that you're told him from above, you have to be like that, otherwise you will not belong to us. Do you understand that? As a child, the pressure

In this part of the interview, Maine talks about his future vision for German Turks. The statement makes it appear there is an expectation of a different lifestyle for the children, a life they could not find a chance to live and experience. Children should do what they want and have the opportunity to be what they want to be. Children should not be dictated to what they should be by someone else. They should make their own free choices and be able to organize their lives as they wish. Change should happen not by the will and pressure of others but by the children's own will.

In the part of the Florida interview quoted below, it is explained that, on the one hand, the effort to adapt to life in Germany continues, and on the other hand, the work for future generations to preserve the traditions and culture.

Florida interview lines between 760-771: Additive cultural experiential learning

Hf: We are always trying to keep up. That we really, for example, that on the first day or on the Bayram, then, when this festival takes place, then we all meet with my eldest uncle. And yes hm (.) or normally we go to the mosque -every evening there is such a prayer, depending on whether I always have time for this, because of my time with the university I try to always arrange. But (.) according to my impression people try to keep up the traditions even more here in Germany than in Turkey, that's how I feel - no idea if that's really the case.

I: Lah yes

Hf: People try to hand a bit over to the next generation.

In this part of the interview, Florida talks about her connection to Turkey and Turkish culture. The excerpted part of the interview describes the days of Ramadan, which lasts a month of fasting, and the celebration,

called “*Bayram*” in Turkish, which follows a month of fasting. An effort to keep the traditions of Ramadan and Bayram alive, as long as Germany’s living and working conditions allow, is visible. In this context, special worship programs (called Tarawih) in mosques are attended in the evenings during Ramadan. Although work and school conditions in Germany make it difficult to participate in such activities, it seems that a remarkable effort has been made to be able to participate or not miss them. Then, the visit of family elders during Bayram is continued in Germany as a classical Turkish Bayram tradition. The fact that some traditions are applied even more carefully in Germany than in Turkey indicates the change in the German Turkish society in Germany. The adverse effects of staying away from Turkey and close relatives are tried to be eliminated by protecting cultural values more strictly. The most significant effort here is to transfer the traditions and cultural values learned from the previous generation to the next generation. An additive cultural experiential learning orientation is visible, and a homologous pattern is repeated during the other parts of the interview.

This orientation can also be reconstructed in another part of the Florida interview. This time, additive cultural elements are more visible.

Florida interview lines between 805 – 817: Participate in different practices

Hf: Actually not much with us, (.) We enjoy @ (time we have, the free days) @ definitely. We are also very happy that these holidays exist @, but we have, of course, as small children, we have always had our Bayram as Christmas. And I always used to ask my parents: “Hi hallo! Why do we not celebrate Christmas?” And they told me that it’s something ° Christian °. But (.) we’re celebrating Bayram, that’s our comparable holiday. But then sometime we started even with my sister to exchange presents even at Christmas. That has somehow become a small tradition. And among ((girl))friends, among Turkish ((girl))friends we have even „gewichtelt” for years,

In this part of the interview, Florida discusses whether they celebrate Christian holidays, like the Muslim festivals. Florida shares her childhood memories of preserving and living the values of Turkish and Islamic culture. Although families do not favor the celebration of Christmas because it is a Christian tradition, her sister adopted the gift-giving tradition of Christmas, and this gift-giving ring expanded over time. A narrative of

dealing with different special days is followed by a reflexive reflection that grasps the narrated practice as a phenomenon. At the same time, this distance from one's own practice makes it possible to participate in different practices. Celebrating Christmas in the sense of gift-giving, even if not in a religious sense, is an orientation for adding a cultural addition to the current tradition.

In this part of the Texas interview below, an observation from current times is shared. It is about the third generation of people who are now adults. After the adaptation and integration period of the first two generations, a regression is observed in the third generation in terms of the mentioned topics.

Texas interview lines between 398-417: Generational success and ties to Turkey

Km: I believe that this is only an interphase; so this (.) step backwards at the moment, again back to the roots, I rather believe the fourth fifth generation they will again do (.) the steps forward; and ähm; because

I: L °Mhm;°

Km: of different reasons partly of course also eh; that they here in Germany will have more chances/possibilities maybe now in terms of language; maybe now eh support by-by the parents home; we in the second generation we haven't got any support at all; by the parents; ehm; and eh the third; have had some support but I think; the fourth generation this will then in any case, (.) they don't want it any more but I think they are already more or less assimilated somewhere, well; (.) because they will ask then- (.) then the question; (.) what sort of relationship do I have then °ne° to Turkey and this becomes then in any case °always less and less;° at the moment there are just; the grandparents in Turkey; they are often in

This part of the Texas interview touches on the issue of generational change. The first-generation German Turks who came to Germany experienced adaptation problems and language issues because of a lack of support. Then, some of these problems decreased in the second generation, and the adaptation process accelerated. While the third generation is expected to go through a more trouble-free process, some want to return to their essence and roots occasionally. The words “*the fourth, fifth generation, they will again do the steps forward*” document that change will continue.

The change started in the form of getting used to and learning about Germany in the first two generations, then came back as a return to the roots in the third, but this process is just a pause in change. In the fourth and further generations, the adaptation process is expected to be completed somehow, with the increase in conditions and opportunities, the absence of language problems, and the increased support inside the family. The children of the next generation will forget about Turkey and settle in Germany, contrary to the first generation's constant desire to return. The fact that some of them are already away from going to Turkey, even on holidays, points to this homologous pattern. At the moment, only the grandparents of the third-generation youth remain in Turkey. After their death, the ties that will bind future generations to Turkey will gradually weaken, while the line that attaches and connects them to Germany will become stronger daily. The language level that is better than the previous generations, the transfer of the experiences of the earlier generations, and the success that emerged from these also helped to strengthen these ties toward Germany. Thus, generational succession per se will lead to better integration and a fading of relations with Turkey. The orientation is documented as the generational transition, which will lead to better cohesion towards Germany and weakening ties with Turkey.

A similar orientation is visible in the two passages of the Nevada interview below. Living conditions, especially educational opportunities, emerge as the central generational change theme.

Nevada interview lines between 680 – 694: Educational opportunities are different

Bm: Yes, I have to say that. Well, I was always interested in it. I have (.), of course, I had a high deficit. because my parents have been illiterate. (.) Yes? that means I had to learn everything. (.) others who read Kafka at school I have read privately; or Hesse. Yes? Max Frisch; such stories. I had to learn everything. of course Orhan Pamuk and all these Turkish writers. (.) because I'm just curious too.

I: L° Mm °

Bm: Because I'm just curious, all in all a very curious person? (.) because I simply believe that (.) many problems; (.) in everyday life (.) through a dialogue we can solve more easily. (.) That's my attitude. to say, "I'll give you my hand, will you?" (.) but (.) just let us (.) understand what I mean.

Nevada interview lines between 634-638 In Germany and Turkey, priorities varies

Bm: Because I'm waiting for my flight? I have so (held). (.) I found in a position seven (Minarets). (.) but not a single school. (1) in my village? (.) There was never a (Minaret). (1) the school has been abolished, we have got a (minaret) instead.

In this quoted part of the Nevada interview, learning is valued, and education is made entirely and repeatedly based on framework conditions. Mothers and fathers from Turkey are uneducated because education opportunities and possibilities in Turkey are insufficient and limited. At the same time, the lack of educational awareness of the family prevented the second generation who grew up in Germany, where education opportunities are better, from receiving adequate education and training. Besides, the priorities between the two countries are also different. As documented in the second quote, Turkey's priority is building a mosque (symbolized by minarets) instead of a school. Education and training opportunities are the responsibility of other parties; individuals or families cannot provide them. Due to the construction of a mosque instead of a school in Turkey, his parents, who were born and raised in Turkey and, therefore, himself, were deprived of the opportunity to receive an adequate education. Much later, he tried to fill this gap with his own means, thanks to his curiosity; however, formal education is challenging to acquire through personal efforts.

In another interview, participants compare the differences between the younger and older generations. For youngers, it is pretty normal to ask critical questions.

4.3.3.5 Fifth comparison horizon: Validity of knowledge– different forms of knowledge valid in specific contexts

For type 3, the validity of knowledge emerges as different bodies of knowledge structures and forms of knowledge that are valid in specific contexts and situations. In cases where there is no known experience, it

may emerge in the form of different knowledge structures in the face of any situation that has not been experienced before.

The part of the Maine interview quoted below shows the value placed on conversations with others. Each position and idea has a different contribution to the person. Those contributions are considered phenomena that enrich and develop people.

Maine interview lines between 672-676: Different ideas are like different colors

Pm: What do we want to talk about There must be the other opinion so that we can discuss That extends you as a human, that educates you as a human further on And thus this being colorful is beautiful. This colorfulness also develops me as a human being

In this quoted section, Maine tells what he talks about with friends or colleagues. The emphasis in this section is on the contribution that talking makes to a person. Talking with another person enriches a person, even if he has a different opinion. Without opposing thought, the value of an idea cannot be revealed and seen. For this reason, discussions occur because different opinions enrich, educate, and advance the person. People with other ideas are like different colors. Just as everyone is the same color creates uniformity and mediocrity, the more colors there are, the more different ideas are put forward, and the more colorfulness occurs. It is the colorful picture that emerges from these differences that develops and advances people.

Apart from the contribution of the differences, the differences that people carry are also another source of richness. For example, learning Turkish besides German is a plus and contributes to one's contact with one's ancestors. This orientation is revealed in the following excerpt.

Nevada interview lines between 164-177: Choosing preferences

Bm: And at some point you just have to say, ok; I have to join a certain culture part without giving up my old culture; therefore, I raise my children also bilingual. (...) they (.) they go with me to their grandma every two years to see where I grew up. because that is also a piece of them. (.) yes, but nevertheless it is so for example, I have released it to them with regard to the doctrine of faith ? (.) that they are educated Catholic

I:

L° Mhm °

Bm: And they were brought up Catholic because the mother is Catholic? (.) yes, and meanwhile (.) they (.) have completely different ways of thinking . (.) because they can now freely decide where they belong to Yes?

In this part of the interview, Nevada tells that his children, who were born and raised in Germany, speak Turkish besides German. Although knowing Turkish is not necessary in daily life in Germany, it provides the opportunity to communicate with the grandmother during a once-in-two-year holiday in Turkey. Although children are born and raised in Germany and Turkey, the place where their roots come from also carries a part of them. The orientation regarding religion is also similar to that of language teaching. This time, the religious choice was left to the mother's preference, not the father's. In addition, children have the right to choose their affiliation concerning language or religion. They can use their preferences in the direction they want.

In the Florida interview quoted below, the participant talks about being questioned by those around him because he is a Muslim.

Florida interview lines between 271-284: Knowing the others

Hf: That, of course, they also experience a lot. So here as ° (foreigner) °, I say now. But I think it depends a lot, very, very, very much on whether the person has a Muslim background,

I: Lah ja

Hf: A Christian. So I'd rather just say religion. Because the second question always comes up. What do you work. (.) In most cases also the question comes up "Muslim or @ (non-Muslim.)" @ And then usually comes in such a conversation, if you talk to someone for some time so: "pork or not. And how is it headscarf or not. Why do not wear a headscarf. "Or yes. (.) These are always (2) topics about which, I think, many reflect. "You're a Muslim, you have to wear a headscarf. Why do you not do it?" @ (.) @ Yes.

In this part of the interview, Florida describes the situations she encounters in social interactions because she is not German. Although the Germans ask foreigners about what kind of job they do, the most exciting topics are religious issues, especially if the other person is a Muslim. It is complained about being constantly questioned about whether they eat pork, whether women wear a headscarf, and if not, why they don't. Even though Muslims from different nationalities have lived in Germany for

many years, these questions are still asked, and this is met with both surprise and sadness by the Muslims. It is expected that this information has been learned in such a time.

For type 3, the validity of knowledge emerges as different bodies of knowledge structures and forms of knowledge that are valid in specific contexts and situations. In cases with no knowing experience, it may occur in the form of different knowledge structures in the face of any situation that has not been experienced before.

4.3.3.6 Sixth comparison horizon: Self-positioning – floating individualized existence of bricolage

For type 3, self-positioning emerges as the floating individualized existence of bricolage. Just as a bricolage creates something new after different parts are brought together and combined, this type of German Turk creates a new form that oscillates between two identities. Although they make an effort to create a form, identities are constructed from the outside, and this is inevitable for them. Undesirable situations arise when this is constructed far from the position they have positioned themselves or wished to be positioned.

There is an objection to the externally reconstructed structure in the sections of the Maine interview quoted below. The fact that others change their connection points without certainty or determination creates a feeling of being left behind and sometimes of exclusion.

Maine interview lines between lines 453-463: Root does not mean having information

Pm: Well, politics in Turkey did really interest me not at all; I tell you honestly. I have lived here, I have always looked here. But, if you are confronted every day by people you have been working together for a long time: You are like this, or what do I know; Erdoğan is like that. I did not vote for him. What do you want from me? I live here. I have German citizenship, I also have no right to vote in Turkey, yes- and that are things like that. I have to justify myself for what is in Turkey. I get that everywhere. And then I think: That can not be true! Why I am marginalized again? (.) Why is German politics getting involved in Turkish politics? Is the same.

In this part of the interview, Maine talks about his interest in Turkish politics. Although the noninterest towards Turkish politics is clearly and openly expressed in the quoted section, the Germans hold him responsible for all developments regarding Turkey's politics. Some of the German Turks were born and raised in Germany; they are German citizens, and Turkey is almost a foreign country for them. They do not have enough information to comment on Turkey's political developments. There is no curiosity, effort, or desire to know and learn more about Turkey. Since they do not have such an interest, it is also absurd to ask them to be aware of the developments in Turkey. On the other hand, identity is built for them from the outside because of their Turkish roots. In the face of this identity, people also need to change their anchor points without certainty or stability, which makes them uncomfortable.

The homologous pattern is repeated in another part of the same interview. This time, as a reaction to the expectation of others from German Turks to be "*Turkey experts*", the desire to become a real expert is expressed.

Maine interview lines between 532-542: Forcing to be expert

Pm: I have to- let's say, I'm going to become Turkey expert because I have to, because I'm confronted with that,

I: Yes. As in Turkey there are a lot of tensions and conflicts, and-

Pm: └Here in Germany too ,

I: Yes, sure- but-

Pm: └NSU, AFD. (.) These are the tensions I experience here, every day. I'm attacked, I'm mobbed, my wife is mobbed in the subway, my wife was really shouted in a racist way. That's why we had to buy her a car. She had to- she can no longer go to work with public transport,

As in the previous excerpt, in this part of the Maine interview, there is a reaction to the identity constructed for him from the outside. His statement that he would specialize as the expectation of others being "*Turkey experts*", is a reaction to the behavior he encountered. In this way, he will both place himself in the position that others want to see and at the same time, he will respond to the expectations from him doing this. Another reaction shown is that they constantly bring the tensions in Turkey to him.

Tensions are experienced in Turkey, as in every country, just like in Germany. Each country has its own strain points, and acting with an allegation like it only happens in Turkey creates another reaction. By narrating what happened to him and his wife due to similar events in Germany, it becomes visible again how he positions himself from here. First, the reaction to the expectation of Turkish expertise and then the positioning that the expectation of Turkish expertise will be met is an orientation towards shifting anchor points without any certainty or stability.

A similar experience is visible in another interview quoted below; Ohio tells his frustration about the expectation of being a Turkey expert.

Ohio interview lines between 195-221: Forced interest

I: Just when I mentioned that yesterday was the election, you said that you did not notice it that way. Does that matter to you more or less, what's happening politically in Turkey?

Gm: Well, if I'm being very honest now, really not at all. (2) I mean, (.) of course my cellphone send me a sort of, so in a way a live notification that's why I noticed it. Then I thought like this: ah okey, (2) I read the article through, so I'm up-to-date, because I'm always the first person to be addressed by all people anyway

I: L ° Mhm °

Gm: if they want to know Turkey-related something (.)and if I am not well informed then, then its just embarrassing But that's actually not my real interest, but such a, (.) in the way, obsessional behaviour.

I: So you are more or less asked by others-

Gm: Yes (.) unfortunately. (@. @) I mean, I (2) know the rough political events from history in Turkey. But I haven't observed this really by interest. I mean, I'm already busy enough with German politics. Well.

When Ohio is asked about his interest in the election in Turkey during this part of the interview, he answers that he is not at all interested. Against this uninterested mood, he feels that being informed about the election is necessary to be able to answer the questions from Germans. Although he is not interested in or related to Turkey and the elections there, the expectations of those around him are the opposite. It is requested and expected that someone with a Turkish background should know every subject related to Turkey. Even though his only relation to

Turkey is – by chance – his family’s Turkish background, some discomfort with this expectation forces him to show interest in those topics.

4.3.3.7 Summary

Type 3 is more distant from essentialist tendencies; a patchwork cultural understanding emerges by dissolving certainties. With a hybrid approach, there are transitional preferences between the Turkish culture from the family and the culture obtained through socialization in Germany. A transitive preference is observed between cultures and spaces. More relationships are established with people in the close circle from the social environment, within which no Turkish or German preference is sought. In social, cultural, and political participation, it is preferred not only to be a passive audience but also an active participant. There is a tendency to involve, direct, and shape the decisions taken about themselves. Obtaining knowledge can take place in different environments and forms. Knowledge is accessed within the framework of the rules; when necessary, it is also possible by talking or discussing. There is successful and positive progress between generations. With time, there is a more comfortable position regarding language, occupation, and integration than in previous generations. While people are positioning themselves, they are open to getting different parts from wherever they want. Turkish past can be evaluated positively if needed, sometimes distanced from a Turkish background. In general, both Turkish and German values are used for the decision-making process. The main difference between type 1 and 2 is staying away from essentialistic tendencies without regretting the cultural effects of their background and the socializing impact of living in Germany.

To bridge the differences, type 3 gives importance not only to their own experiences but also to those of the first generations coming to Germany. Thus, there is an effort to establish a “new” by accepting the differences. It is possible to rasp the differences other than the indispensable ones. Thus, patchwork acculturation emerges by using the elements of two different structures. This does not mean they always agree; they may

even have completely different ideas, but the important thing is finding common ground in the process. In addition, in the colorful patchwork structure, they are a piece of it and unique. Building a relationship does not need compromises; they can combine their own beliefs with the choices of others.

They can accept that they do not have a monopoly on truth, not that their own truths are “correct” in all matters. They do not avoid contact with different parts of society. In this regard, they may involve communicating across differences, working to overcome interpersonal or political conflicts from the past or present, or forging an alliance between other groups for a common goal. If positive results are obtained at the end of these efforts, the joy of patch-working is observed, and in unsuccessful or negative cases, a feeling of lack of recognition emerges.

During this socialization and cultural quest, they usually position themselves in the close circle and vicinity they know. This immediate environment can be a neighborhood or district where one lives, as well as a circle of friends, people with personal acquaintances or relatives, or people in the association to which they are a member. The ideas and offerings of these people have priority in determining the truth, and they even base the truth and preferences on the suggestions of their acquaintances. At this point, personal acquaintances and the information and findings obtained from those people are considered fundamental.

In terms of participation, there is a search and preference for environments in which they will be participants, which can provide them with this opportunity. They prefer not to be watching events from afar but to be in an active position where they can influence their ideas. The lack of representation stands out under this preference. There is an opinion that their groups are not adequately represented in society. As a result, a desire for formal representation is visible. Personal attempts are observed in this search for representation. On the other hand, acting as a group or community, a civil society formation is not usually seen.

Change over time is observed in the form of socialization built on the success of subsequent generations. As a result of the relationship and communication established with different cultures and in the light of

these experiences, experiential learning comes to the fore. Therefore, learning is linked to something. These types have different knowledge structures and forms of knowledge that apply in certain contexts and situations. In addition to the a posteriori knowledge gained through experience, the formal, explicit knowledge learned at school is also important.

Table 17: Ideal-typical condensed action-guiding orientations of type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation

	Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power	Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue	Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation	Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity
Cultural Orientation	Mono-perspectival essentialism	Dualistic essentialism	Dissolving certainties and patchwork	
Spatial Orientation	Space as a form of dominance	Spaces as distinct worlds	Space as a network of close social relationships	
Participation and Involvement	Allegiance	Consensual participation	Search for participation in attending mode	
Change in Time/ Learning	Tradition succession and alienation	Instruction and transmission of the own	Additive cultural experiential learning	
Validity of Knowledge	Authority gives the knowledge	Transmission	Different forms of knowledge valid in specific contexts	
Self Positioning	Self-elevation through orthopraxis	Identity rooted in dialogue	Floating individualized existence of bricolage	
Basic type: Sociality-related self-efficacy expectation				

4.3.4 Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursiveness

The following type is another ideal-typical basic attitude in relation to self-efficacy expectation, which differs significantly from the former types already explained in the previous sections. This type is characterized by the mode of discursivity, which leads German Turks to take a designation for structured and conceptual thinking during their interactions with others, which leads to an argumentative dialogue in which the correctness of the claims and the legitimacy of the norms are discussed.

4.3.4.1 First comparative horizon: Cultural orientation – self-assignment

In the beliefs of type 4, it becomes clear that societal diversity is more visible and acceptable, and multi-perspectival approaches are welcomed. Processes of self-assignment are accepted quickly and are more diverse than other types. The practice of self-assignment is visible and goes beyond the classical understanding of social participation. It is also about implicit cultural understandings and the associated offers of self-assignment.

In the cultural understanding of cases of type 4, an orientation differs from the essentialist tendencies as in the previous types. A characteristic of the practice of type 4 is defining themselves within a specific pattern while not rejecting others. While describing themselves, it is not desirable to use previously determined adjectives, descriptions, presuppositions, and definitions for them or the groups they are a member of, such as their families, friends, relatives, or some other German Turks. It is expected to be seen only as themselves. This expectation is not caused by the value assigned to similar ones being underestimated or rejected. The empirical material shows an effort to develop an identity as independent as possible from the environment and circumstances. This orientation guides action for such German Turks; thus, this kind of discursive approach provides the opportunity to explore the construction of meanings in their interaction. This homologous pattern is exemplarily documented in the empirical reference case of Ohio:

Ohio interview lines between 201-215: Labeling by belonging

Gm: I mean, (.) of course my cellphone sends me a sort of, so in a way a live notification

I: L° Mhm, mhm. °

Gm: that's why I noticed it. Then I thought like this: ah okey, (2) I read the article through, so I'm up-to-date, because I'm always the first person to be addressed by all people anyway

I: L° Mhm °

Gm: if they want to know Turkey-related something

I: LYes, yes

Gm: (.)and if I am not well informed then, then its just embarrassing.

I: LAh, yes

Gm: But that's actually not my real interest, but such a, (.)in the way, obsessional behaviour.

In this part of the Ohio interview, he complains that because he is Turkish, others expect him to be knowledgeable about everything that concerns Turkey. Since he has a Turkish background, he is asked about every subject related to Turkey, and if he does not meet the expectations, he feels embarrassed. It is once again documented that there is labeling because of belonging and affiliation. There is an expectation to be knowledgeable about the issues related to Turkey. This forces people to find various methods to be knowledgeable about the ongoing problems even though there is no genuine interest in these matters. The orientation shows the discomfort of labeling. A similar orientation is observed in another part of the same interview.

Ohio interview lines between 334 – 351: Focusing on value orientations

Gm: I mean, I always notice that, I mean, I'm always a first to be addressed, if anything is wrong with Turkey, then always everyone asks me those (.) Turkey specific things, where I have to say first of all, yes okay, I'm sorry, I am not really familiar with those issues. (.) "Yes, but you're a Turk!" (.) Then I felt- in the beginning it did not bother me so much, but in retrospect I thought, I am actually relatively (.) German in regard to my virtues or value orientations (2) And then I sometime started to feel insulted because I did not react Turkish in a certain sense (.)

I: LYes, yes.

Gm: And that they just **do not want** me really as a German, nor as a German with a migration background, but they stamped me just directly as a Turk That annoyed me then sometime (.)

In this part of the interview, Ohio reveals his discomfort with the expectation of those around him to be knowledgeable about Turkey-related issues. The fact that he underlines that he cannot be a Turkey expert just because he is of Turkish origin is an open objection to the identity drawn by others and the mold they want to impose. Beyond that, he can only be “Turkish” to those around him; he must be “Turkish” and continually remain “Turkish” because his family has ties to Turkey. It doesn’t matter to Germans how they feel or see themselves or what they want to be. Although he mostly feels German, those around him do not allow him to feel “German” and do not respect his choice. Even a definition of “*a German of immigrant origin*” is not tolerated. At this point, dissatisfaction with the portrayal of others is displayed. It is documented that the discomfort from the expectation that if someone has a specific background, especially a migration background, that person always has to carry that identity all his life. A change or a different choice is not possible for people with migration backgrounds even though their “*virtues or value orientations*” are towards German ones. This also reveals a disappointment towards the German society for not accepting his preferred “*German value orientations*”.

A similar orientation is visible in the Oregon interview quoted below. Oregon expects to be recognized for how he defines himself.

Oregon interview lines between 374-378: Denial of attribution

Xm: The first sentence was always: yes, what’s going on with your Erdoğan? where I always said, well, I’m a German citizen, I’m actually not interested at all in that, I’m interested- But we always had to answer questions about how the politics down there are operated

In this passage from the Oregon interview, similar to the examples before, Oregon reacts to the definition of “your Erdoğan”. He tells that he is “German” and implicitly denies that he cannot be identified with [President Tayyip] Erdoğan” because of his Turkish belongings. There is discomfort in mentioning his name with a politician from Turkey is exhibited. He

does not want Erdoğan to be attributed to him simply because he is of Turkish origin. Although Erdoğan is the president of the country where Oregon's roots come from, he defines himself as a "German" and does not want a relationship of belonging with Erdoğan. Even if his political views parallel Erdoğan, he wants to be known as German and objects to the attachment of "your Erdoğan" attribution to all Turkish origin living in Germany.

In a part of the Ohio interview, it is seen that not only Germans but German Turks also see him as "one of them". Because of his name and background, German-Turkish parents and students come to him to consult and solve their issues.

Ohio interview lines between 445 – 447: Appointed speaker

Gm: Because I somehow considered as their (4) speaker. Yes, and then I think by myself, ok, maybe I can create any connecting / understanding points, but- (2)

In this part, Ohio tells that apart from the Germans, the German Turks also do not pay importance to the effort to be Ohio himself and his intentions to stay away from the sole Turkish identity. At the school where he works, parents or students of Turkish origin come to him to talk about some issues. This is because both parents and students feel close to Ohio due to this Turkish background and with the assumption that they can communicate with him more easily. The basis of this interest shown to him is that he is a teacher of Turkish origin at the school, which gives him an important position. The orientation shows the complaint that not only Germans but also German Turks consider him as "Turkish" and do not see his German value orientations and tendencies. While there is a standing point, there is no rejection of the "externally appointed speaker" position. There is a force to understand them even though his real intentions are not in parallel with the expectations.

In another part of the Ohio interview, a similar orientation emerges differently. This time, not a personal but a communal self-assignment is visible, and there is an open call and expectation from the Turkish community for trying to understand German society.

Ohio interview lines between 455 – 465: Open spaces of act

Gm: Yes, of course. In any case, (2) if they want to stay in Germany any longer, and (.) if they can really imagine a future here, then they have to take over in a certain respect these values somewhere (.), although not completely -to take them over completely absolutely, they have to understand them (.) and also apply them (.) That does not mean that you find them great, but when you live in such a situation, you have to adhere to certain (.) social conditions - because otherwise you always swim against the current. (Yes)

In this part of the Ohio interview, he talks about the open spaces of the act. It is stated that the German Turkish community should respect German values to exist in German society and be successful in the long run. This statement determines the reason for the preferences in the previous quotations. On the one hand, there is an acceptance that German Turks have some values that may be different than Germans; on the other hand, German Turks should understand the reasons for German values without needing change. This kind of action is also necessary to be successful in Germany. It is emphasized that avoiding or rejecting German values will mean “*swimming against the current*”, which will fail. Respect does not mean that someone finds German values remarkable, but it is shown that the German Turks can achieve success by adapting to their environment, which needs respect for the values of that environment. Based on being successful in Germany, knowing and being aware of one’s own position, there should be an effort to understand the position of others. This understanding effort will not distract people from their values but will make an extra contribution to their success in the society they have been living in for a long time and are planning to live in in the future. It is documented that he is not only the victim of other people but also uses the situation to act.

Similar to the expectations of the German Turkish community and German society, there is a complaint similar to a reproach to German society in the quoted part from the Florida interview.

Florida interview lines between 565 – 571: Every person is unique

Hf: Definitely. I really love to talk about other cultures, about other nationalities and to know more about their culture. That’s different again from person to person. So if I say now that is something typically Turkish, that’s not the

case for the other person, who also has a Turkish immigrant background. @
(.) @ That's why-but in general I find it quite interesting.

In this part of the Florida interview, it is seen that trying to fit people with certain belongings into the same mold is wrong. In her self-understanding, everyone is different, even within the same group. Not all immigrants have similar preferences, characteristics, or reactions, and people from a particular immigrant group may have other preferences, too. Therefore, a definition like “*typically Turkish*” is not correct. Behaviors seen in one German Turk or more than one German Turk cannot be generalized to all German Turks because there are always exceptions. Beyond these, everyone is unique, so people's preferences and value judgments are also personal. When judging a person, it is necessary to look at their individual preferences, values, mistakes, or choices. A person's group or belonging should not affect a judgment of the person. The orientation is documented that judging people should not be according to their belonging or background but with a personality that is unique for everybody and open to different cultures and nationalities.

Another aspect of type 4 is not hesitating to express one's own world and thoughts and being happy with them. The passage below from the Vermont interview is an example of this orientation.

Vermont interview lines between 21-33: Self-confidence

Rf: I'm able to move freely in both, so I say in a local society, and (.) so I have no hurdle, so in terms of language- but I do not speak perfectly mother tongue language. But I speak already understandably, I think. And I dare more, so in social life. And I dare to go all alone, but to move or socialize in the group or in the community. So I dare that already. (.) And also in the same way in Turkish, in a Turkish community, I feel the same way. So as I said: quality can fail. As I said I do not speak so good Turkish any more and also not so good German actually; but, for me is also important the willingness to - as I said - to move in a society, to contribute, to deliver a contribution, as well as (.) in Turkey.

In the passage from the Vermont interview, she tells about her value orientations, which she chose freely, and she is happy with them. In this

empirical example, the orientation shows that German Turks are independent and self-confident. There is no worry about acting and deciding on everything alone. Vermont says that she is “able to move freely” and sees no hurdles in her German language ability even though she knows she is not perfect. Although she knows she is not perfect in German or Turkish, she is content and happy with her current state. She thinks that her grammar is sufficient to express what she wants and that others can understand her, too. She describes in detail what is formative for her own world. Even if it has some deficiencies, it is essential to have “the willingness to move in a society, to contribute, to deliver a contribution”.

Another empirical example from the Vermont interview shows how German Turks compare the Turkish and German societies concerning freedoms, especially personal freedoms.

Vermont interview lines between 89-98: Feeling free

Rf: I have learned here. (.) And, (.) how can I with it also - how can I say it, well, the consequences; if I follow a behavior, is better followed here; in terms of laws; not in terms of social values; with us in Turkey, society, (.) neighbors, so to say the “being-watched-feeling”, this does not exist here. Here I am free. But self-responsibility I have learned here; and that totally in my hand; nobody sees who comes into my apartment, when he/she leaves, when somebody comes, who goes. But I know that, hence this. This strengthened me to learn to strengthen my identity

In this part of the Vermont interview, a comparison is made between the Turkish and German societies based on personal freedoms. While people’s behavior in Turkey is evaluated within the framework of “*social values*”, what is valid in Germany is the “*laws*”. Social values are variable and may differ from person to person, but the laws are clear, do not change, and do not contain ambiguity. Therefore, assessments made with social values cause a “*being watched feeling*” in people. This type of behavior restricts people’s freedoms due to unclear criteria; however, the fact that the power is in the laws in Germany has given people “*self-responsibility*”. Behaviors are evaluated not according to the admiration or criticism of others but according to compliance with the law. This opportunity has strengthened German Turks and their identities. The orientation towards

discursivity is observed once again while explaining how people make their choices.

Another example of acting not with social values but with laws in German society can be observed in the Illinois interview quoted below. It is shown that some of the old habits of the German Turkish community are now losing their power and changing with the new generation.

Illinois interview lines between 320-337: Change with the new generation in a positive way

Df: Sure, I mean, if - for example, when there a Turk gets a verbal attack by a German in the street or something like that, of course, another Turk will come right here and help him (.). And he would say, okay, I'm just one of them; of course, you have the feeling. Well, I think that it is now with my children or the new generations no more like this, because he really nearly feels almost like a German here. If you ask him: (.) "What are you?" or he has now- He does not grow up with religion now either, (.) because I'm Sunnite and my husband is not believing and he does even not believe (.), he also does not have to (.) and religion plays a role, too,

I: ↳Mhm

Df: also with this (.) culture, I always find (.) ° Because if nobody lives according to God and whatever I know, he/she lives quite differently compared with (.) the others. ° I have that feeling personally, too, with my family, because I have ° just to who do not believe and how- that then- (2)

Here, in the section excerpted from the Illinois interview, some old habits in German Turkish society are listed. Whenever a German verbally attacks a Turk on the street, they will be helped by another Turk, even if they do not know that person at all, simply because that person is Turkish. Social values are the basis of the motivation here. On the other hand, such an act has no meaning for the new generation. They will not take sides in such personal discussions because they were brought up with German values and have those norms. Another issue regarding the orientation of the new generation towards German values is religious issues. While religious values are prioritized in some preferences in Turkish society, German society has a different orientation. People can live without adhering to any religious values or accepting another religion's values, which is perfectly acceptable. With the change of generations, judging based on religious affiliations or being pious or not isn't a value judgment anymore. It

is visible that there is not only an orientation towards Turkish culture or a combination of German and Turkish cultures but rather an orientation in which German values are prioritized, and this change is explained with examples of real life.

The Texas interview also mentioned the preference for keeping religion a private matter. In the part of the interview quoted below, besides keeping religion in personal life, there is also an evaluation of cohesion in a different dimension.

Texas interview lines between 217 – 224: Personal life distinction

Km: We are ehm; a family I have to say ehm who can be characterised a bit; ehm well secular, one has to "yes" well- we think simply the- ehm system is good if religion is rather a private matter; and what one can rather observe at the moment that religion; is brought into politics respectively po- the politics; eh gets legitimized; by religion; and there is happening an intermixture-stronger intermixture or gearing up; yes we think that this isn't okay

In the above section of the interview, Texas describes his family as "secular", stating that he sees religious issues as part of his private life. It is shown that religion is a personal issue different from some other types that would like to live their religion visibly. The reaction to politicians who use religion for political matters is again reasoned by the same principle: religion should remain in the personal sphere. Religion should not be used as a tool for politics, and some political initiatives should not be legitimized through religion. It explains why he defines his family, which also includes him, as "secular". It describes what and how it should be by telling how it should not be. Thus, the homologous pattern is an understanding of different dimensions of cohesion and the mechanism of the entanglement of politics and power.

Later in the same interview, the issue of using religion and knowing and understanding different communities comes to the fore again. A position is taken to understand them and their values.

Texas interview lines between 270 – 284: Being open to others' views and ideas

Km: television and so on; and just the opposition is nearly no longer visible; yes and if they are present it is laughed at and if it becomes just a bit dangerous,

it will be contained immediately °well;° °rather difficult yes;° and what you can also notice that just °rather;° also the mosques; are no longer neutral, that they of course try also (.) ehm to influence; (.)

I: Is this the same in Germany, is it also so strong,

Km: I cannot say this as I said I am not so often in a mosque, what I notice more from

I: L °Mhm;°

Km: outside, there is of course also pressure; well they try already to turn people's mind; or at least those who dissent; ehm; to influence them, or they get silenced, (.) but I am basically not part of this community

In the quoted part of the interview, Texas talks about how he follows the news. In this part, it is mentioned that television broadcasting in Turkey does not include the opinions of the opposition; if they are given, they are conveyed by mockery. Being dissident and different has severe consequences in Turkey. Here, even if the person is not an opponent, a call for tolerance to the difference is seen. However, conveying this situation also includes a criticism of what has happened.

Similarly, the use of mosques for political purposes is also criticized, as in the previous quote. Although he is not a mosque-goer, it is observed once again that religion and places of worship are used for political interests in line with the impression obtained from the outside. A homologous pattern is knowing about different communities and their rules combined with a self-position or a decision about their own way. The position of the others is very well explained, and then the position taken is also revealed. The same can be seen when he talks about the different migrant generations. Here, of course, he couldn't choose, but he is explicitly talking about other theories (line 327), and "re-ethnicization" (line 332), with examples such as using the Turkish flag during weddings.

In another part of the interview, Texas shows a theoretical understanding, and he explains the topic with past examples, but his foundation goes in a different direction: To understand this phenomenon and to position himself concerning this phenomenon through theories.

Texas interview lines between 354-362: Generation change seen in a negative way

Km: I see it already well what I know what-what we for example as children never did; things like this the Turkish flag in the city center somehow or if you just have married; I know still in the 80th; this wasn't at all; (.) a topic for us that we somehow fly the Turkish flag? ehm; while marrying? or something like this that was; for us absolutely not important; okay two people just married it was like this; and now some sort of flags are hung up; and-and; or what is also interesting they prayed; before one only had;

In this part of the interview, Texas talks about how Turkish weddings are happening in Germany and mentions an image that did not exist in the past but is frequently encountered today. In former weddings, German Turks never carry a Turkish flag, but in recent times, it has become more and more coming across all over Germany. This is a new practice among the German Turks. While comparing some new practices with the former weddings, the orientation shows that some new practices are not common in the old times and are also seen as different by some parts of the German Turkish community. First of all, this revelation discloses these behavioral patterns that have emerged in the last period. However, there is no visible positive opinion about them. Their existence is accepted and recognized. An implicit distancing attitude is set against this new practice of “flag-waving at weddings” that has emerged recently. It is documented that generational changes are sometimes negative and alienate German Turks from German society, even from some parts of Germany.

On the one hand, the differences that arise with the segment of the society that is similar to oneself are revealed. On the other hand, it is underlined that people find common points in social relations with those who are similar to themselves. This is exemplified in the Texas interview below when he discusses his free-time activities.

Texas interview lines between 664 – 679: Finding commonalities

Km: ne, the=ehm they do not know my-my friends in- eh from Erlangen* for example not at all; and because of that to bring both together is really difficult I tried it once, then one friend; one friend lived in Augsburg* he now lives again in Erlangen*; also engineer; ahm; and a working colleague of mine who is also a closed friend; ehm with him we met one evening and he just

joined us, and this is just a stupid constellation because, he is also teacher like myself then we like to talk about school affairs; he is engineer and has nothing to do with that; well no- yes; @(.)@ °it doesn't work out really well;° one can get around but nevertheless you notice simply that the one or the other then becomes bored; °yes;°

In this part of the interview, Texas talks about his free-time activities. Meeting with friends is one of them. While listing his old friends with whom he had social contacts, their professional backgrounds are also mentioned. This is carried out because people with similar professions can find common talking points; conversely, if people do not have common points, they have difficulty finding similar interests and commonalities even if they are good and old friends. Here, the orientation is to focus on the interest and commonality (here job-related topics) as relevant for social relations found.

In summary, it can be stated for the first comparative horizon “cultural orientation” in the context of the type “self-assignment”: Pluralism is valued insofar as multi-perspectival and complexity of different understandings of the society are valued. Other approaches are seen and respected (in contrast to type 1), even though they are not accepted. Type 4 also looks for common points while aware of their own positions and sees the differences for learning and enriching themselves. It is possible to see the perspective of others and integrate their practices for a deeper understanding. For type 4, the complexity of the different understandings of different segments of society is seen, and the evaluations on social issues are made in the awareness and light of this recognition. While positioning, this type is aware of the differences of others; in this framework, the differences of others are not seen as a deficiency or mistake but as a feature they carry. As a result of this awareness, there is self-confidence. While it is not preferred to imitate others, efforts are made to meet the expectations of society or others, if possible, and not contradict the values that open a multi-perspectival and multi-valued understanding.

4.3.4.2 Second comparative horizon: Spatial orientation—as an abstract set of rules connected by human rights

Spatial orientation for type 4 is visible as an abstract set of rules linked by human rights and open support for globality and world society. In this regard, protecting people against discrimination and violence is a central concern, and there is a search for protection from violence. Further developments toward a multicultural understanding are expected, and emotional empathy is documented. The importance of the rule of law and the rights of others is essential. People cannot do whatever they want and must obey the rules, especially since they cannot and should not engage in practices that will harm others. Because the law protects and defends the rights of everyone. Disobeying the rules and laws harms the rights of others. Everyone should stand up and raise their voices against injustice as much as possible. Besides, globality is another aspect of this type of characterization. Mutual encounters lead to the point that there is no homogeneous culture anymore, and the cultures are all intertwined and reach heterogeneity. Regarding what is national and what belongs to who is not necessary anymore, the specificity of people is much more critical, which leads to more possibilities.

The orientation that people cannot act as they want is visible in the section of the Vermont interview quoted below.

Vermont interview lines between 99-106: Personal freedoms should not bother others

Rf: Everything in your hand! Determine that, and what does me good and what does not do well at the same time, you can not do this to other, because then there are consequences. So that means you have to expect consequences. Consequences- consistent people are followed very well by law, and I like that, too. I sometimes even say that to my boss: Boss, you should always come in control. I say, boss you come more often please.

In this quoted section, Vermont tells how she views herself regarding personal freedom and choices. It is documented that people are free to do what they want, but this freedom is limited to infringing on the rights of others. Each person is responsible for the situation that will arise due to

an action or a choice. For this reason, boundaries in people's relationships with others are and should be determined by the laws and rules. The main point is that people do not harm others due to their choices. In business life, this situation manifests itself as the control of the work done by a manager or boss. There is no harm in the manager's supervision of the employee's work; however, it is a good and appreciated situation. In the understanding of the Vermont case, it becomes evident that people are free to do everything, and the limit is the rights of others; the homologous pattern of the cases of type 4 crystallizes that there should be control for the sake of others.

In the next part of the same interview, a comparison is made between Germany and Turkey. Although smoking is prohibited on buses, the drivers are criticized for not obeying this rule.

Vermont interview lines between 193-199: Spatial horizon is not limited to the locals

Rf: I'm different @ (.) @ For example, if I take a bus and there is posted: Smoking cigarettes is prohibited and the driver smokes. (2) ° uh, I hold myself so hard. I think: Say something; do not say something; say something; do not say something, that an answer comes back. ° So sometimes there are certain things, I've noticed, I'm not anymore

This passage is followed by a lengthy explanation of the understanding of law in Germany and Turkey, using the example of bus driving, which again demonstrates the necessity of law. The orientation is that if there is a rule, everyone should follow it: If smoking is prohibited on buses, this prohibition also applies to drivers who are not exempt from this ban. But drivers are breaking the rule. However, none of the passengers on the bus can raise their voices against this rule violation, and the people around him block the attempts to warn the driver. Violation of a rule disrupts peace and harmony, so people should object to violations of regulations that will affect the lives of others. The homologous pattern is concretized once again, namely, that the rights of others limit the boundaries of rights.

The following is an empirical example of the same interview, in which an account of how Vermont defends herself against sexual violence orientation is documented once again.

Vermont interview lines between 264-286 : Social pressure for keeping the order

Rf: That's right; but I give you another example. If I leave the subject, they tell me: Maybe five years ago that was in Istanbul; in Istanbul there is a bazaar, this closed bazaar. And while we, (.) I and my two daughters looked around; and my daughter said, Mom! she said: Someone touched me with the hand. I said: hey, Mama, what? That movement already tells me; while she turns a boy walks by. What's the matter? I started right away - I had in my hand (Cezve) to make coffee. I just bought that (Cezve) in hand; I run behind this man. And I say: Hello, hello! He does not turn. I hit his back once and then (2), he did- (.) and then he stopped or people called him; I do not know. I turned around, the whole group came behind me; also the salesman, and they packed him and gave him a few more punches, out of the bazaar and so on; thrown away; I liked that a lot.

I: Did he want to steal something? or,

Rf: ^LNo, he just wanted to touch.

I: touch women?

RF: Yes, touch the ass.

I: Mhm-mh; but the others have responded?

RF: Yes. I also liked this reaction very much. I also need this protection.

In this quoted part of the Vermont interview, she tells about an improper touch in the İstanbul Grand Bazaar during a visit. When someone in the crowd inappropriately touches her daughter, first, the daughter tells it to the mother, then the mother, Vermont, declares it to the others. She does not remain silent about what happened, and upon her reaction, the shopkeepers in the surroundings also react to the person who disturbed her. She does not stay silent and raises her voice in the face. As a result, Vermont shows her satisfaction when the people around her take action and claim her rights. Where rules and laws cannot protect against injustice, the expectation of social norms to come into play is put forward. It is documented that there should be certain norms to protect people's rights. Once again, the homologous pattern is recorded as not violating the privacy of others should be met; if not, social pressure takes the place of rules as a pressure element to keep order.

In the same interview, Vermont gives a different example to explain the importance of her country and its significance in the world.

Vermont interview lines between 606-617: Germany is the center

Rf: That is clear. But I feel in Germany in the central office, @ (.) @ I got such a feeling; in the middle exactly. Here you can everywhere. There

I: L @ In the middle @

Rf: are with us dancing of dervishes, Mevlana. With one foot firmly on the ground and with the other foot spinning; that's how man should be. And therefore in Germany for me in the middle of the world; lies in the middle; I see it somehow very central. Because Germany is an important country; also in Europe; generally; in the world in general. Germany name is something special actually.

In this part of the interview, Vermont describes how she locates Germany. Here, she likens the spin of the Mevlevi dervishes to explain the importance and the place of Germany, the country she is living, in the world. Whirling dervishes spin as one foot is stable and always on the ground while the other moves to make the spinning possible. As in this metaphor, Germany is represented by the fixed foot of the Mevlevi dervishes, the center. The analogy made here reveals how much importance she attaches to Germany. Germany is at the center of the world, and Germany is in a position like the fixed leg that allows the Mevlevi dervishes to turn. The position of Germany in Europe and even in the World is like that fixed leg that enables the Mevlevi to spin. Here, the value and importance attached to Germany are documented. There is a Germany-based orientation, which is understood from a global perspective. It depicts a world in which Germany is at the center and in a particular position.

In the Hawaii interview quoted below, the main point is the unique position of the Turks living in Germany. Thanks to having more than one belonging, the German Turks have the advantage of an individual, and authentic global belonging is revealed.

Hawai interview lines between 652-708: German Turks are global

Mm: (.) They are hm-, (.) they-, the German Turks, are fed up (.). So they have a third chair (2) So, (.) they are-, they are (.) neither in Turkey nor in Germany (.) and want to stay in between, (.) between two chairs, but they have a third chair. And you should grant them this identity, you should give them (.) ° - German Turks, I woud say- °, they have developed ° an identity ° for themselves, (.) which is very sad; ° they are neither loved in Turkey nor here. ° (2) Yes. One looks at them(.) from Turkey: ° “You are more Germans.” (.) And

one looks here on these German Turks: „You are more Turks.” ° (2) And they are fed up (.) between these two, and they develop an identity; what I find out: They speak English very well; (.) they are worldwide, they are not linguistically hm- (.) somehow, and if it is, ° if they are told, then ° they go to Dubai, (.) or to Singapore or to America because they have the English language internal and they have a world ° citizenship. ° So, this third chair, ° these German Turks ° have a world citizen ° history ° developed. (.) And they take advantage of all both, they take advantage of Turkishness because they have not forgotten the language ° and as they have not forgotten it hm (.) and hm, they belong to it.

I: L ° Mhm °

Mm: (.) And for hm- (.) They also belong to Germany because they have learned the German language. (.) Have not forgotten and have learned. (.) And they have both language internal- (2)

I: That means, this third chair that you are talking about, so it would also contain somehow a bit (.) hm of globality (.)

Mm: Right!

I: (.), a global identity, but still (.) also a (.) multiple identity, such a (.) double identity

Mm: Right, if you would consider that an enrichment to the- (.), to the majority society, then it's a profit. (.) but if you would consider it as a non-enrichment somehow (.) then you can also leave it just

In this passage, Hawaii tells how he locates German Turks. He tells that they are superior to being only Turkish and German, and they are sitting in a “third chair” which is unique to German Turks. Here, it is documented that German Turks have the advantage of carrying more than one belonging even though some Turks in Turkey or Germans in Germany do not accept them as one of them and see their double belonging as a deficit. The fact that the people in this group are not seen as “Turkish” in Turkey and are not accepted as “German” in Germany is a significant problem. Due to this exclusion from both countries, German Turks developed the “third identity”, neither Turkish nor German but an independent identity of “*German Turk*”. This group of people can speak English besides German and Turkish, making living anywhere in the world possible. Thanks to the English speaking ability they learned in Germany and their other advantages coming from their German and Turkish belongings, they have become a “world citizen”. They achieve a “*global identity*”

by combining their past coming from Turkey and the opportunities provided by the country they live in, Germany. This new belonging gives them a higher status than being German or Turkish: Globality and world citizenship. While being aware of the complexities of the different societies, there is a positioning where building bridges to understand others and integrate the features of all belongings creates a unique location for German Turks. With these encounters, it is visible that there are no homogenous belongings or cultures anymore. Belongings and identities are intertwined, creating heterogeneity in having a local and global understanding.

In the Florida interview, it is explained that the global image is found everywhere besides local identities. However, it is pointed out that the similarities in the image will not be reflected in the political field.

Florida interview lines between 438-444: Europe in values, not only in image

Hf: Turkey. They also want a bit that it becomes more European And they try it out. It is also very, very, very much European, I must say, especially when I am in Istanbul, then (.) Yes then it is Europe in any case @ (.) @ Especially one side. But a lot of things just do not work out

In this quoted part of the interview, Florida shares her observations from Turkey and the desire to be like Europe in Turkey. It is explained that Turkey has become more European, and especially İstanbul has no difference from other European cities. In this context, it is documented that although some parts of Turkey, especially Istanbul, look like Europe, things do not work out like Europe in reality. Just looking like a European is not enough to be a European. What needs to be achieved is the level of democracy and values in Europe. Thus, beyond resembling Europe in appearance, the requirements of being a democracy that respects human rights are revealed. In this regard, political situations can be seen differently and can be changed; they are not just given a homologous pattern.

In further parts of the interview it is revealed that even though the position of Turkey does not meet the standards of Europe concerning a political position, Turkey is also becoming global because of its diverse population.

Florida interview lines between 533 – 546: Global and local together

Hf: I also think it's great that it has become like this So no country just has to stay with the locals. It's also here like this It should also be like that, I mean also in Turkey, there are not only mosques, but also churches.

I: L ° mhm °

Hf: @ (.) @ And hm, there are not only, (.) there are also very many quarters, very many cities, very, very many non-Muslims and non-Turks, who live there For example, Greeks live there too and other people like them - that's why I think it's great that it has become like that And in my opinion it has become so that it is in any case become more global, (.) Yes

In this part of the interview, Florida continues to share her observations about Turkey's religious plurality. Turkey has many mosques, and also there are some churches, too. As Turkey attracts more immigrants, which makes the country global because, in today's world, "*no country just has to stay with the locals*". People other than Turks and Muslims make Turkey "*more global*" and different, and more than one belonging, identity, and affiliation make Turkey "*great*". Here, once again, the homologous pattern shows that it is better and more beautiful for a country not to be mono-cultural but to have very different cultures and belongings. In this context, people other than Turks and Muslims living in Turkey, such as Greeks, save the country from being a place where only locals live. Having churches next to mosques is also a richness, and it is necessary to have this wealth. Being global requires embracing differences in peace and harmony, which is a beautiful trait. The orientation is a stance of moving from isolation and involving other traditions is validated. While recognizing being global is better and more powerful, there are also lacking parts in the system.

Florida interview lines between 611 – 622: Shortcomings of the globality

Hf: Yes, also child labor, can be exactly behind it. That scares me really, that you do not even have the control over it anymore. And that many do not even think about it. Even if you buy a top in a shop, then it was made in Bangladesh.

I: L yes

Hf: But yes, what was done, who did that, were there normal people, what kind of working conditions did they have. That's why I find it very, very problematic, in any case. Sustainability and environment (.), I find it very difficult, yes.

In this part of the interview quoted, Florida tells about the “child labor in Bangladesh” and the extent of the dangers it poses. While asking questions about the working conditions in Bangladesh, she talked about sustainability issues. It is documented that some problems and glitches that arise, in addition to the cultural richness provided by globalization, are revealed. Although globalization increases the ease of transportation and accessibility of products produced in different parts of the world, it can also cause other problems. In this context, attention is drawn to how a product sold worldwide is made. For example, could purchased clothes be produced by a child laborer who had to work under bad conditions in Bangladesh? This question is too difficult to answer quickly, and people should feel uncomfortable. There is an orientation toward respecting human rights and environmental issues. In contact with products produced in different parts of the world and sent to other geographies to be sold, the probable complications behind the production process should be brought to mind without hesitation. This homologous pattern appears in the empirical material. At this point in the interview, Florida once again validates the orientation in the mode of globality.

On the one hand, while the concern that economic globalization may have some shortcomings is displayed in the Florida interview, on the other hand, it is also revealed that the economy is the main force that governs the world.

Oregon interview lines between 325-332: Balance of power is economy

Xm: That would show up. But otherwise from my point of view the balance of power is not played out in politics but in the economy, in the arms industry, pharmaceutical industry, construction industry, if we would have a green (male) Chancellor or (female) Chancellor, they would certainly continue the armaments business with Saudi Arabia like everyone else. These are such obligations, a government, a political government cannot change much either.

In this excerpted part of the Oregon interview, he tells that not the politicians but the economy rules the countries. Here, it is documented that the economy achieves a global balance beyond the thought of politics. Although politicians run the countries, the real power is in the hands of big, powerful companies. Those who have a say in the direction of the world are economic giants such as arms, pharmaceutical, and construction industries, which rule money because the economy is the motor of world politics, playing a central role in managing it. In this regard, politics and economy have become increasingly interlinked, and the economy has become the main power of hegemony. The big economic powers define the interdependence of the countries, and countries are more interconnected economically than ever. While the power is in the hands of the business people, even politicians with different world views cannot change this choice. Even a possible Green Chancellor – famous for their stance concerning human rights – cannot change the established relations with Saudi Arabia, known as a notorious country regarding human rights – because of economic ties and promised contracts. This shows the complexity of the world and the interconnectedness of different dimensions. There is no economy on one side and politics on the other; they are intertwined, and there is a power play. It is documented that the economy is the power and central factor in world cohesion. Even though globality is mentioned implicitly, economic powers are seen as the global power players. The orientation from another empirical example of the Oregon interview once again revealed that the economy is superior to politics. This part below is another empirical example from the Oregon interview:

Oregon interview lines between 623-628: Economy is superior that politics

Xm: the economy will work, the powers are anyway in the economy, so that I see the policy anyway secondary. So, that will be settled; so, Turkey and Germany have always been allied countries and the friendship of Turks towards Germany is much larger than to other countries.

In this part of the interview, Oregon discusses the relations between Turkey and Germany. Before the part quoted here, the political tension between Turkey and Germany is explained, and it is conveyed that business people can resolve the tension created by politicians. Although the power

is supposed to be in the elected politicians, they always come second in terms of power. The real power, and in a sense, the authority, rests with the business people. The problems between the two countries will always be resolved because the basis of the relations is a solid alliance and friendship. Disagreements are temporary, and it will be easier to overcome these disagreements thanks to business people. This homologous pattern appears in the empirical material. At this part of the interview, Oregon once again validates the orientation of economics, which is the power and rules of the countries. In addition to the example already illustrated above, this is also documented in a further text excerpt of the Oregon interview.

Oregon interview lines between 817-829: Democratic rules

Xm: there are always in my opinion economic reasons why they are in these countries. In earlier times they always claimed, they wanted to democratize the country, they simply wanted to annex the country practically to the West or to create comparable conditions. Yes, the one king was overthrown and why was there no democracy introduced? They have a king there again, and with a man you can bargain better than with a whole people. This is often a hypocritical business with politics, which is more about exploitation of countries and less democracy; that is very alarming. Yes, (.) where- where countries operate worldwide, with which intention;

In the part of the interview quoted here, Oregon states that some democratic Western countries' activities in non-democratic countries are purely economy-oriented. There are claims that Western countries' activities in these countries are *"to bring democracy there,"* but whenever the king is overthrown, another king takes his place. It turns out that the claim of Western countries to bring democracy is not valid because they start supporting the new king. Here, there is an orientation to democracy. If the king is overthrown, the system should change. There is also criticism towards the Western countries for not supporting their *"democratize the country"* claims. This criticism is understandable due to a further passage in the interview: *"with a man, you can bargain better than with a whole people"*. Since the Western countries are there mainly to make money, they prefer the continuation of the non-democratic government by supporting new kings to make deals with them easily. If the real intention was to bring democracy, Western countries should not help the new king, but

this never happens. The homologous pattern is documented again, that business is powerful and superior to politics and democracy, which is “*alarming*”. Using the reference case, it is empirically proven that the orientation to support the democratic rules. It is evident that even while criticizing that is irrelevant to the events, it is closely interwoven with a deductive-oriented practice of action.

In the interview quoted below with Alaska, special attention is drawn to the rule of law in the focus on violence against women and women’s rights.

Alaska interview lines between 613-625: The rule of law

Tm: There are injuries, there are disputes, murdering in the neighborhoods or of women are very common nowadays It happens in Turkey it is high I believe that politics will now also get stricter laws that simply **women** hm () in Turkey Yes I would not say now get more rights because the rights are already there but education simply the population has to develop a little bit in terms of the thinking;

I: L Yes

Tm: L Well, (.) why can a man in Turkey separate, but a woman are not allowed to do so; or if the woman wants to separate that there will be a murder or that the woman will be beaten by a man and so on (.)

In this quoted part of the interview, Alaska draws attention to violence against women in Turkey. Underlining the incidents of beating and murder of a woman who was divorced from her husband, Alaska tells that women’s rights, in reality, exist in Turkey, but that people’s lack of education leads to this violence. By way of example, the passages presented make it clear that it is not enough that rights are determined by law, but the basis of violence against women is lack of education rather than their unprotectedness. Although politics has adopted a stricter stance, the root of the problem lies in the fact that people are not adequately educated on this issue and do not have sufficient awareness. While the importance given to the rule of law is given by underlining the rights, the importance of democracy is also emphasized. However, respect for the rights of others is of vital importance for the establishment of democracy. No matter how strong the laws are, if enough education is not given to understand and accept them, it becomes impossible to apply them.

The importance of education in the pursuit of rights is also highlighted in the Ohio interview. The rule of law and the importance of knowing them are shown.

Ohio interview lines between 373 – 387: Implementation of rule of law

Gm: Well, the (.) the most banal is always, (.) that strikes me in my grandparents, who are just back in Germany, for example, if something hmmm (2) unfair happens to them, (.) then they (.) do not complain, (eh) They (.) do not stand for your right. They do not complain, they do not retract, they do not do anything, they just accept it simply as it is. And, I do not know that in Germany, I mean, we have a catalog of rights and it is **completely normal** to demand your right, if one feels treated unfairly. (Yes) And then that has nothing to do with malice, that's just the legal system that we have (yes). And then it strikes me that I am more likely to stand for my right, (.) If I feel treated unfairly(.) And my grandparents and my parents for example do not. They tolerate, so they accept and tolerate being treated unfairly. (eh)

Some observations about the first-generation Turkish workers in Germany are shared in the excerpt. Ohio criticizes his grandparents for not making a sound against the injustice done to them. It is normal in Germany to speak up in the face of wrongdoing, oppose injustice, and seek justice; the opposite is unexpected and unacceptable. However, grandparents from a country with a different educational background and a different understanding of democracy are afraid to seek their rights. They tolerate injustice, which is wrong behavior and choice. People's rights are protected by law, and pursuing these rights is also completely normal. This passage shows an application of the rule of law and an understanding of justice. This is seen as a value, thus constructed in Germany as normal, contrary to the ones whose orientations are constructed in Turkey.

In another part of the Ohio interview, the areas where the practices between Turkey and Germany differ and the logic behind punishment in the German justice system is exhibited.

Ohio interview lines between 471 – 482: Religious freedom and gender injustice

Gm: Well, from the point of view, (yes, yes) so I think they do the hardest with religious freedom. hm (.) Gender-injustice is not so good either in regard to these people (2) (whereby) I feel that the girls feel more offended by the topic than that boys, although they actually benefit from it. Mhm. (2) And then so in general, so

things like (2) this German judicial thinking, I would say, this sharp thinking, that when we commit a punishment, that also everyone has the right to be sentenced for that-yes, clearly (2), but then also to be rehabilitated accordingly

In this passage, while Ohio explains the differences between Germany and Turkey, it is stated that the most challenging areas are religious freedom and gender injustice. There is freedom in discussing religious matters in Germany, and people can choose more comfortably whether to follow a religion or not to believe in any religion. On the other hand, people in Turkey face more difficulties in explaining their preferences in religious matters. The issue of gender injustice in Turkey is also quite problematic. Even bringing this issue to the agenda offends the girls. Beyond all these differences, according to “*German judicial thinking*”, everyone who commits a crime is punished, and no one is given privilege or immunity. Everyone knows that when someone commits a crime, that person will be punished. The orientation of the rule of law is documented. At the same time, it is visible that punishments are not only for punishment but to rehabilitate people and to encourage people to avoid making mistakes again. While addressing the differences between countries, Ohio also evaluates the perspectives of different generations in Germany on religious freedoms. He draws attention to the conservative tendency observed in some of the younger generations.

Ohio interview lines between 557 – 571: Conservatism tendency

Gm: I tend to feel (...) that, for example, my grandparents are (.) actually totally tolerant of other (.) religions. (.) The generation of my parents, too. My generation theoretically, (2) it depends (.) If we go towards the end of 30, (.) concerning the age, so at my age, (.) then they are still relatively (.) tolerant, but the other half, which is a little younger now, (.) the get more extreme in their views I think, (2) although I can not prove exactly now why it is like this.(2)

I: L ° that is- °

Gm: (.)But that is my impression that the younger ones somehow (.) become more conservative than the older, who are more liberal (.), relatively.

Here, the participant describes the difference between generations of German Turks living in Germany regarding their approach to religious tolerance. On the one hand, the first generation is tolerant of other religions,

even though they lack belief in the rule of law and claim their rights, as shown in the previous examples. The second generation, namely the participants' parents, is also as tolerant as the grandparents. On the other hand, some of the young people, like the participant's generation, also have this tolerance, while others, although born and raised in Germany and learned all the values there, have more conservative tendencies and "get more extreme in their views". While previous generations were "relatively more liberal", younger ones, namely those below the age of 30, there is a visible trend toward conservatism concerning the approach to other religions. Although he cannot reveal the reasons to explain this tendency and its differentiation, a critical orientation is visible. It is not acceptable and understandable for the younger generation to be more conservative than parents and grandparents. It is an issue that needs to be considered that people in the same group who have gone through the same education system in Germany have fundamentally opposite approaches to tolerance towards different religions. Quotation examples stand for a recurring pattern in describing a reaction to conservatism. The orientation shows that this problem should also be considered a topic for Germany.

In addition, the evaluation of the material provides some data on the reasons for the loss of the younger generation of German Turks. This could be exemplified by the following excerpt of an interview on the subject of multiculturalism and diversity.

Hawaii interview lines between 737-782: Multiculturalism and diversity

Mm: It's a loss. It is actually a loss for our German culture. (.) Yes. Well (.) A lot was done wrong. (.) For example, if I want to make multilingualism a topic in class these days, (.) ° then I am always viewed with scepticism. (.) They are here in Germany, they should learn German. ° (.) If the intention is in the teacher's room that the child wants to pass on her/his feelings more in German- in Turkish and when I see a teacher passing by, saying (.), automatically intervening and saying: "° Why are you speaking Turkish?" ° (.) "Our official language is German! °" (.) Then I notice: ° Oh, that's not that far, (.) yes, that's not that far. ° And hm (.) that's a story like that, where the society (.)

I: L-Oh

Mm: Hm (.) still has these thoughts. Even as an educated personality, I always thought (.) hm (.), I always thought the people who belong to the middle

about its relationship with Turkey and its democratization process in following part.

Texas interview lines between 192 – 209: Democracy as value itself

Km: [Breathe out loudly] (.) not so much a role well if just listen to daily news for example or if I now get informed politically; ehm; then rather Germany is in the centre for me or rather °pff°; the world politics; (.) eh I observe of course also Turkey or the developments, that going on in Turkey that makes me a bit sad; because ehm Turkey, was- or is still ongoing- still unfortunately and hopefully it will stay like this- well- but I think that the trend is like this; that rather- well- if you look at all of these Muslim countries than one can see that just already democracy; (1) in most of the Muslim countries rather not such developed compared with the West, and ehm Turkey was basically a country with; (.) an Islamic tradition but nevertheless democratic; (1) and now mh-mh-mh one have to say that even the democracy in Turkey is unfortunately declining; autocracy increases; and this; (1) I am observing just from outside; and-and well; it's just sad and; (.) but now my relationship otherwise eh, as I said I have been in Turkey

Texas answers the question about Turkey's role in his life in this part of the interview. The deep and loud breathing at the beginning of the answer is an indication not only that Turkey has a small role but also the discomfort felt by the situation Turkey is in. He is not doing anything special other than following the news, in general, to be informed about Turkey. However, he finds the political situation in Turkey "*sad*" and does not find it sufficiently developed in a democratic sense, as in other Western countries. It is documented that there are deficiencies in terms of democracy in Turkey. Similarly, there are democratic deficiencies in other Muslim countries. It is documented that Islam has a role in this backwardness. Although Turkey is a Muslim country, it has chosen democracy, but this situation is "*unfortunately declining and autocracy increases*" in the last few years. As someone who observes these developments "*from the outside*", Texas expresses his sadness and disappointment. The orientation shows that Turkey should have a democracy at the level of Western countries. As a Muslim democracy, it can set an example for other Islamic countries, but unfortunately, this is not observed. The reasons for the discomfort and deep breath at the beginning of the passage are thus documented:

Turkey's move away from democracy causes sadness, and people's interest in Turkey is decreasing. Turkey's direction should be towards the West with more democracy and democratic values. As a democracy with a Muslim population, this trend can be an example for other Muslim countries.

Texas interview lines between 435 – 453: Fear of extremes

Km: perspective I see it more positive; I rather fear that at the moment the forces from the right or political that there will be a swing to the right, yes; that is rather my fear;

I: L where with us in Germany or-

Km: L so what do I know stich- sti- in Germany rather than whereas there is in Turkey of course a swing to the right; but there is even eh; a global problem; that really frightens me; that it just eh; increases and that then thus rather problems arise; it doesn't matter whether this is now eh from Turkey or a religious swing to the right or what else ever; that just this; phenomenon what one can observe worldwide ne;

In this part of the Texas interview, the participant shares his concerns and fears when he answers how he sees the future of Germany and Turkey. He is not very optimistic about the futures of both countries. The shift to the “right” observed by politicians in Germany, Turkey, and worldwide causes problems, and this trend is frightening. In Turkey, an administration follows a preference that emphasizes religious values, which makes people concerned about them. Concern about rising extremism is expressed both in Germany and Turkey; this increasing trend has made life difficult in both countries and has caused concerns. The discomfort caused by the administrations that impose religious values is expressed, and the anxiety and fear of the situation are emphasized. It is documented that Texas includes in his political reflections more than the contexts addressed and abstracts from the single phenomenon not only related to Turkey or Germany but worldwide.

Nevada reveals the world's becoming a global village with the development and changes in communication and transportation opportunities. He cites the developments in the Arab Spring as an example of this proposition.

Nevada interview lines between 754 – 780: Global village

Bm: so that the world, in the end by the (1) Internet? through these (.) fast connections? Yes? if this is now (.) flight and so (.) simply get very close together. it is not like it used to be? that it took half a year to get to Venice . na? so

I: LYes.

Bm: It's just so much faster. (1) hm, I can explain you this, perhaps, on the basis of the Arab Spring(.) I just think this Arab Spring? has become popular because of that? in Tunisia? Algeria? and so on? (.) because internet was there. (.) because this (.) this world- has been published quite quickly worldwide. Through this internet? (.) eh-eh (.) you can not hide certain things. (.) And I think that's also meant in some way. (.) that this has become a small village through the development of technology , the world (.). that is, in the end, uh, they are now capable of [stuttering] e-mails? within five minutes? if ever takes so long, to land somewhere in San Francisco. well (.) these are these things; and I also believe that the human being as a whole (.) has become much (nomadic); that is, this (.) that travel , uh has (.) has also led in a certain degree to the fact that this-the-world also a bit [stammer] na? ° has moved closer together °. This, of course,

This passage deals with the topic of globality. The “global village” description is explained by the developments and changes in communication and transportation ways and methods through technology. The shortening of long trips in the past and the rapid spread of information with the internet have made the world a global village. Thanks to these opportunities, people have become closer, and distances have shortened. Here it is seen as an example narrative for the global village, which goes from the very beginning to a more abstract level or at least a more extended level: The Arab Spring and its spread as an example of the global village. Whatever happened during the “*Arab Spring has become popular ... through the internet*”. Before, when there was no internet or limited dissemination of information, it was possible to “*hide certain things*” in autocratic countries. But with the help of the “*development of technology*” now it is easy to distribute any news around the world “*within five minutes*” which makes the world “*a small village*”.

In summary, globalization and its opportunities have ensured the dissemination of information in the autocratic countries of the world, revealed hidden truths, and positively affected the development of democracy.

A similar orientation is visible in the following interviews: Florida interview lines between 878 – 889, Oregon interview lines between 400-425, Oregon interview lines between 445-453, Oregon interview lines between 462-474.

4.3.4.3.Third comparative horizon: Participation – civic engagement shaped in the interest groups and based on the understanding of human rights

Various interest groups work and lobby to shape the environments in which they live. In democratic societies, different segments of society are allowed to represent themselves, and even groups that make up a tiny part of the society operate freely to promote their policies in line with their own demands and preferences. In this context, since they migrated to Germany, German Turks have also made efforts to effect the policies within the framework of their own expectations and interests by establishing ethnic, cultural, and religious associations by being active in the Immigration Councils of the regions they live in, by holding meetings, by meeting with policymakers and city officials. They actively participated in civic engagement activities in Germany's civic and democratic environment. While these efforts sometimes manifest as making changes within the framework of their own expectations, sometimes they are observed as trying to prevent steps that they do not want or think will be to their detriment. In this framework, they participated in various non-governmental organizations and contacted public officials to convey the expectations of their group. The individuals participating in these non-governmental organizations, which act with the logic of collective action, operate to strengthen social cohesion and increase the quality of individual life. Preventing the isolation of community members from society and ensuring social inte-

gration in Germany are among the targeted objectives of many. Civil society participation can be characterized by an orientation towards the community's pursuit of the common good, which is voluntary, without expecting personal financial gain in return for what is done. From the empirical material, it was reconstructed that about participation, two main orientations are characteristic of type 4 as action-guiding and ideally typically condensed: an orientation on the construction of civic engagement shaped in the interest groups and an orientation based on an understanding of human rights. These two main central orientations documented, among other issues, can be explained by the empirical material presented below.

As an example, the following excerpt from the interview from Montana shows why and for what reasons the tending orientations of this type take part in non-governmental organizations and their aims. The main point of participation is constructed. She tells that it is not enough to expect something from someone to gain rights, and if a difference is desired, active participation is required.

Montana interview lines between 649-667: Call to action

Ef: Well, I have - (.) I've always experienced this in a way (), I always do it that way, you'll never get anything served on the silver tray.

I: L ° Mhm °

Ef: You always have to struggle, no matter(.) which nationality you have, whether it's purely German or- (.) you have to fight for yourself (.), I would say now, to get your rights (.), to get rights (.) and to feel that you have arrived in the society. (.) And I guess that (), if everyone would try a little bit hard in the right way, well(.)and would then participate, I think, (.) that all would be better, so if I then say-see yes you, well I got involved, for example, in those things where I thought (.), I want to get that different, (.) and then (.) what do you do? you have to participate,

I: L Yes

Ef: then I have- you have to get involved. Here's a proverb: You roll up your sleeves (.) and you do something.

In the passage quoted here, Montana tells that reaching a target and achieving an objective needs working otherwise, “*you'll never get anything served on the silver tray*”. To achieve it, it is necessary to work and strive to

reach the goal. This effort needs to stand up to difficulties with hard struggles. Otherwise, it will not be possible to achieve the desired and expected result. This need for effort is not just a situation faced by immigrants who have come to Germany; Germans also have to fight if they want to achieve anything. Participation is the most basic method of a way to reach the desired point. Without involvement, getting a result related to that subject or achieving the desired result is impossible. If change is expected on a particular subject, it needs participation as well: “You roll up your sleeves and you do something”. No one works for somebody else’s need, and no right comes on a “*silver plate*”. The orientation is documented as hard work and participation are needed to achieve something.

Having rights also brings responsibility. While people strive to acquire certain rights, they should not forget that these rights also entail responsibilities. The following example from the Montana interview, which deals with responsibility for rights, also shows that pluralism of different cultures is described.

Vermont interview lines between 643-658: Pluralism of cultures

Rf: That’s what I’m here for: for migrants. I’ve achieved, I will achieve this too. But as I said, always say I: teach. They have rights, but they should not forget obligations. Parallel, parallel, parallel, so much freedom, so much social state; (.)also fails. Because welfare state forgets these people; migrants are not independently educated. They are educated differently. They come here, if no control uh ah. Here is freedom; sometimes in the classroom, they are sometimes in the living room, because there is freedom. You cannot beat, you cannot grumble, you cannot do that or that; that is sometimes exploited. And therefore, they are not educated by kindergarten in a responsible and self-confident way; they are not. There this fails and at least there are the integration courses. We try a little, we shake them a bit.

Here, Montana, who works in a Kindergarten, tells that one of the most important reasons for her working there is “*migrants*”. Montana, who was also a migrant and came to Germany at an advanced age, has “*achieved*”. This expression of achievement describes someone who can stand on their own feet, earn money, learn a language, and be helpful to others. Starting from Kindergarten, she conveys what other immigrants who come after her should do to achieve just like her. She teaches that they

have rights but that these rights also come with responsibilities. Because immigrants from different countries and cultures experience an education other than in Germany, they may not realize that rights also entail responsibilities. However, some of the limitations of the German education system may not provide sufficient conditions for immigrants to learn, and some may abuse these rights. The orientation shows that there is a pluralism of cultures that offers opportunities as well as difficulties.

Apart from non-governmental organizations, politics is one of the main fields where participation is observed. A preference is shown by being a party member and actively participating in its work. The following excerpt from the Ohio interview could exemplify this.

Ohio interview lines between 792 796: Political choice

Gm: I'm (.) with the Green Party as a member since

I: ↳oh yes

Gm: (2) 2011,-no 2012 hm, yes about the turn of '11 to '12. (2.) hm. (.) Although I had thought before about joining the SPD, but then I rather chose the Greens (2)

In this passage, Ohio tells that he is a party member, namely the Green Party. He indicates how long he has been a member. He first showed a desire to join the SPD, but later on, due to his evaluations, he chose to register with the Green Party. These statements are an indication that a conscious choice was made at the end of a detailed examination. The orientation is documented as participation through a political party.

Another participant Arizona is also a member of a political party, also a human rights association.

Arizona interview lines between 133 – 138: Political party and human rights association membership

Df: in my spare time I volunteer in a cultural center of the Jugendamt in a kinder Jugend Haus I do things with the children I am working on kids to make them love reading books with the children **I do** activities things (.) I don't know (.) things like handwork or games like those things I am trying to make them like reading books ? like that

I: Besides that do you have a membership for a club or an association

Df: ↳yes in former times

I: ↳places like that

- Df: I used to be a member of a political party but I'm no longer
- I: Lis it in Germany
- Df: in Germany yes I was a member of CSU almost three or four years aaaaa after then I thought about the thing to be active in the human rights association but I cannot do much because now my children are small aaaaa aaaaa also in a immmm voluntarily i do mentoring to a newly immigrated family iiiii let me say like this actually in reality I am trying to be a mentor to the kids you know the children you know iii from **Poland** they immigrated from a different country you know to be able to learn Germany to adapt to Germany or in terms of spending good time I am trying to help ?him?

In this part of the quoted interview, Arizona explains that she volunteered at a cultural center, where she did activities to encourage children to love reading. Apart from this, Arizona has previously been a member of CSU for 3-4 years but is not currently a member. She preferred to be active in a human rights association, not in the political arena. Although she cannot contribute much because her children are small, her orientation is participation in a human rights association rather than a political party. She documents her participation-oriented preference by participating in a children's club, a political party, a human rights association, or as a volunteer for Polish migrants. As a second-generation immigrant, she is "a *mentor to the kids*" of a family who recently emigrated from Poland to Germany. Her last preference appears to be a civic engagement based on understanding human rights and helping people like herself, i.e., migrant-origin people. A "bridge building" activity, which helps immigrants, is also documented.

Another participant in civil society work for youth and children is Colorado. In the section quoted below, Colorado talks about her voluntary work in teaching Islam to children in Germany.

Colorado interview lines between 590-609: Religious voluntary work in German

- Zf: I'm still very active in the meeting center Kulturelle Zentrum*, I try to run a children and youth group there every Sunday, and we treat, of course, only Islamic topics, but in German. I also have a mixed group, which is very important, because (.) meanwhile there are- many can just explain Islam in their country language or native language even better (.) mother tongue better than now in German, but there is a big shortage of German because there

are many German Muslims who somehow do not know when they go to a Turkish mosque, they get lessons almost only in Turkish. It is in transition, but it is far too little; I now know one or two in Landshut* who offer lessons in German in Muslim-Islamic classes and there is a great need for them there and- exactly. That's why I am leading a youth group (.)and doing an apprenticeship for pastoral care- and Muslim pastoral care, because there is a huge need that I can go into jails or palliative into hospitals, where emergency pastoral care can need me, yes. °What else do I do, I don't know; ° I run from one to the other. We say- really.

In this excerpted interview passage, Colorado says that she regularly and consistently volunteers at a Cultural Center and teaches Islamic issues to children and youth on her weekend holidays. Civic engagement shaped by interest group orientation is documented with a focus on religious matters. Since sermons and religious services are given in Turkish in most of the mosques in Germany, there are limited places to be informed about Islam for those whose Turkish is not sufficient. In this context, the aim is “to explain Islam in their country language, native language, mother tongue” to Muslim children born and raised in Germany. Works are carried out to address this need since few people can teach Islamic issues in German. In addition, she also receives training to give “Muslim pastoral care”. Her willingness to become a pastoral caregiver and volunteer in hospitals and prisons is another civic engagement orientation with a religious focus.

Colorado interview lines between 677-719: Understanding both and reconciliation

- Zf: through the meeting place Kulturelle Zentrum* got to know such a broad field of work and relations to people which I would never get otherwise, I would never be able to talk to the Bundeswehr or to people with Jewish roots or so- about their religion or in general, we did also on a journey together to ch- Israel (.) There were Jews, Christians and Muslims represented, and there we were so 12, 13 people, and that was really very interesting, very cool;
- I: Was there, let's say, such an outstanding event, experience that you want to tell?
- Zf: One has felt the conflict very much, especially the Israeli-Palestinian conflict and this is not so easy- so it is not easy to solve; because both sides are also very rooted and hurt, I would say. So you already felt that. We, as (female) Muslim, we have- because I'm visible with headscarf, yes, was already in the

Israeli part very much looked at, so especially in Tel Aviv or so, at the beginning when I arrived at the airport, I thought just, okay, so to speak, but there were those who hugged us, kissed us, said: exactly, that's what we're looking for, that three world religions can handle each other like that; and then, again, we also felt the great hurt in the Palestinian perspective, and we were, for example, not allowed to drive partly through Palestinian territory because we had a Palestinian guide who was not allowed to pass through certain Israeli areas; he did not have the permission, that means, we had to drive outside for two, three hours because our guide was not allowed to drive through this city. We had such experiences then. Or that we were partly not being served, because we were just wearing a headscarf and were (female) Muslims, we were not served and vice versa exactly- as well again- I really have seen both very strange racist features, but also very hospitable ones, where I thought by myself: wow, that we are looking for, yes. Both sides, but at full level. In both-

I: What does that do with you, such experiences?

Zf: That was difficult to classify; because I knew that many there stand for a reconciliation, many, and for others it's out of question, because they are so hurt on both sides and also see- to solve the conflict there- I thought it would be easier, but when I was down there, I knew that is not so easy to solve.

In this excerpted part of his interview, Colorado describes the vast network of relationships she has established through the Cultural Center, where she volunteers. Thanks to this center, there is an opportunity to meet a wide range of people, from the Bundeswehr to Jews, arose, and also a travel opportunity to Israel with a group of "*Jews, Christians, and Muslims*". She describes her experiences during this visit as "*really very interesting, very cool*". Thanks to this visit, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict is felt closely and deeply, and it is understood that the solution to this problem is not "*not so easy*". A discursivity orientation that tries to understand both sides is recorded. Although she went to Israel with certain prejudices as a headscarf-wearing woman, the treatment she faced there made her feel hopeful. This activity with members of other religions is documented as "*that's what we're looking for, that three world religions can handle each other*". The orientation shows a human rights-oriented approach by accepting different beliefs. While she describes not being able to receive service due to being a Muslim wearing a headscarf during an event as discrimination,

she is also affected by the hospitality of their Jewish hosts. A call for “*reconciliation*” is made with an orientation that seeks to understand both sides.

Democracy and tolerance are among the values that society should pay attention to and strive to protect. In the Texas interview, the concern is shared that these values could be lost too quickly if enough attention is not paid to protect them.

Texas interview lines between 721 – 734: The core value to be protected is democracy

Km: No I- I think simply democracy is something what we; (.) independently where. (.) ehm; (.) safeguard- or pay attention for, because this can be lost, very fast, as you see already; (1) and I believe as school or as parents or whatever we have to make this of course clear to our children; (1) and we have really to stay on the ball; that means not to say that we now have achieved democracy; no idea tolerance in society and it will always stay like this, keyword anti-Semitism, yes well it-it can quickly change, and ehm; (.) at that point we have to invest in any case much energy, (.) ehm; in order to even safeguard what we have get; to keep it; well also to appreciate it; our children do partly not know how important this is; yes, well

Texas talks about the importance of democracy and its value to society in this part of the interview. “Democracy” should come first among the things that society should tremble on because although it takes a long time to win and reach a certain level, there is a danger of losing quickly. Here, the reference is implicitly to 1930s Germany. In a very short time, how bad can society face by moving away from democratic values and multiculturalism. School administrations and families have essential duties to inform children about the extent of the disaster that will occur if democracy is lost. The phrase “keyword anti-Semitism” refers once again to Germany’s dark period. It aims to feel the issue closely by giving examples from the history of the country it lives in, not imaginary examples or experiences from other parts of the world. If the current environment is appreciated and explained, the importance of protecting and guarding democracy and what will happen if moving away from democratic values will be understood much better. Thus, an orientation focused on democracy and shaped within the framework of human rights is documented.

Both the protection of democracy and human rights and civil society work on other issues for the benefit of the people. Studies carried out within this framework should be supported, and participation should be ensured.

Texas interview lines between 778 – 785: Participation and engagement are appreciated

Km: it is of course sometime really complicated in particular when you watch the news and then any questions come up; questions then; but I believe you have to contribute as parents and; and of course it would be fine if you could; (.) be involved in an association of course; or politically no idea; ehm that you can have more influence eh then; into society; unfortunately I don't have time for that @that's the problem;@ but I find it likely important;

In this part of the interview, Texas mentions that civil society activities need to be involved by all parts of the society and supported by all means. All people, especially parents, should take part in different associations and assume responsibilities in these organizations. Through this type of participation, people can influence politicians, make the changes they want, or hinder things. Although he does not have time to be involved in such activities due to his preoccupations, he respects the participants and considers participation in civil society activities significant. Here, the homologous pattern supports civil society activities, and the orientation is documented as a participation-oriented civil society engagement.

4.3.4.4 Fourth comparative horizon: Change-in-time – formal and informal self-reflective learning, education as a high good

This section shows which action-guiding orientation could be reconstructed from the material with a horizon of the change-in-time of formal and informal self-reflective learning and ideally condensed for type 4. An orientation toward self-reflective learning derived from civil society and the social environment appears to guide action. It is based on a premise framed that the education given at school and the informal information is valuable and that every place and environment can contribute to increasing one's knowledge. This vision is promoted as a valid perspective for young people to be successful. This orientation leads to methodically

structured and conceptual thinking through different forms of education. Examples of this trend characterizing type 4 are described in detail below using the following passages.

The first passage selected is an excerpt from participant Texas' response at the end of the interview, whether or not he had anything to add. In this passage, he tells that democracy cannot survive on its own without the support of people, and there are personal responsibilities to improve the world come to the target perspective.

Texas interview lines between 754 – 772: Formal and informal education together

Km: As for the school it means ehm; what we already are doing; well we are just school without; racism a school with; courage what is just very important for example that the school administration of course

I: L Mhm;

Km: support this; that they make it clear also to the teachers; that this is important for us or ne, this is also important for myself; whereby thanks to God also many of our teachers are in line with that, and that we can of course make this a point of discussion during lessons; and let's say eh democracy; and talk over those themes and do not consider this as; (1) no idea; eh aa-as something additional but that these are basics- basics what we have to teach to out students; well at school we can do a lot; also as parents you can do a lot of course no idea my youngest is now 13 years old; always when I am watching news he joins me and asks always of course; why wherefore; why is Mr Trump so bad; or what ever; really and he is interested you have of course to reduce the topic

In this passage, Texas describes the activities carried out at his school on discrimination and racism, which are the main issues of democracy. He then discusses with his son the future of democracy within the framework of developments in the USA. First, he focuses on explaining the harms of racism in school as a “formal” education place. Additionally, he presents what it is like to learn by discussing it in the family, which is an “informal” form of education. Being against racism, one of the main points of democratic understanding should be taught at school, in a formal educational institution, and this is necessary. Otherwise, students not receiving this education properly may have different opinions on this sensitive topic. He refers explicitly to racism in which younger generations can be affected

easily and openly shows his enthusiasm about participating in the “no to racism project” of other teachers. In the subsequent statements, he points to his 13-year-old son’s questions about “bad things in the USA,” namely “Trump,” and uses this opportunity to explain the importance of democracy. He evaluates the fact that even in the USA, which is a democratic country, some people act contrary to the basic principles of democracy, and this is a reality. In this regard, a democracy can’t live on its own without the support and demand of the citizens. These conversations with his 13-year-old son reveal the necessity of taking informal education at home, in the family, and in the circle of friends, in addition to the essential education given at a school on the rooting of democracy. The orientation shows that, without formal education, there can be no social awareness and support for democracy.

Education has been recognized as an excellent socialization tool and used to spread modernization values. The Florida interview below describes how the first person in the family to receive higher education set an example in the extended family.

Florida interview lines between 7 – 19: Education as a change agent

Hf: Well, let’s just say, I’m the first one in the family to study I also notice in the family that they are also very proud of me, because really everybody supports me And umm (.) My(female) cousins afterwards or my (male) cousins, the um start now also, so an good example - ehm (.) I’m just a role model function And then they start too For example, my uncle or my aunt will also say, “Look, Florida* has now made it so far, so you could do it - just talk to her, that’s right, make your life plan”

When asked about her feelings as a person of Turkish origin in Germany at the beginning of the interview, Florida answers with the words, “*I’m the first one in the family to study*”. Although she was asked the question of whether there are advantages or disadvantages to having a family of Turkish origin in Germany, she replied that she was the first person in the extended family to receive a university education, indicating that the more important thing before belonging to a group is “*study*” or “*university education*” in the German context. First, Florida doesn’t follow the rules but sets her agenda at the first point. Additionally, it is revealed how a family

member's university education positively impacts other family members and makes them "proud". An educated person has become a "role model" for the whole family. Being able to do it and being successful sets an example for others and shows that it can be achieved. It is also an example of informal education; her experience sets an example for the family. Success in formal education takes a dimension that directs discussions within the family as informal education. The orientation is an understanding that is restored through justification as documented.

In addition to the contribution of education to the development of individuals, both the individual should work to improve themselves, and the family should support this effort and pave the way for necessary things for success. This can be seen in the quoted part below from the Florida interview.

Florida interview lines between 76 – 87: Invest yourself

Hf: Also, also in the school career, also generally, in general, it is of course difficult, you feel it very often, of course, in everyday life. But it has (.) I believe more to do with the (.) well with the family, I find very much to do. Whether the parents and the children really squat down and do something, even if they are not good at German, I say now.

I: L ° yes °

Hf: Or if they just let things run freely, so in the way: oh, (2) he should do what he wants or she should do what she wants. So with us in the family, I realize that it has a lot to do with the parents.

Florida, in this quoted section, explains that the education received in school alone is not enough; one must also invest in oneself. The support and effort of the family are also necessary in this process. Their support and encouragement are essential keys to the change. Trying to solve problems together, even if the family is inadequate on a topic, knowing the deficiencies, and making efforts to overcome them are of great importance in the change of generations. An individual's feeling of the family beside her in the face of positive or negative attitudes and behaviors is a fundamental source of success. In addition, the individual learns concepts such as respect and love more in the family environment than in school. The child always observes the effort that parents will make with

the child and shows that investing in oneself is a necessity of life. The orientation shows that family interest and support are essential for change and success. This should be a goal alongside self-investment and family support. The change will make sense when it is done for a purpose. Yet another part of the Florida interview shows the importance of a person's goals and effort.

Florida interview lines between 149 – 165: A goal needed for success

Hf: So I'll say that studying is not everything...

I: L° mhm°

Hf: It depends. You can also do a great education. You can develop further. Well, not only because I'm the student now, not only because I'm a great role model right now. What is important is that you have a goal in mind, that you (.) Of course (.) choose something in life, which is fun (.) Definitely

I: L°mhm°

Hf: what moves you forward, what has the future. My sister, for example, is a hearing aid acoustician. She also did (.) her professional training, then developed further and made her Master degree. That's why I'm so mega proud of her. Well (.) studying takes a mega long time. You also have to be patient.

This part of the Florida interview shows that education alone is insufficient and is not everything for success. Although formal education gives a specific formation, the person has to set goals for themselves. Education without a target will be insufficient for the expected result, change, and happiness. The person can progress and enjoy life in this process only if the goals to be determined are goals that will make the person happy at the end of the investment. It is not necessary for this target to always be very big or high. Setting goals and investing in the subject that the person enjoys and is happy with will bring happiness and change at the end of the work. It should be kept in mind that these processes are long and need patience. The orientation shows that education is not only about the formal degree but also about having a goal, standing for it, investing, and working to expand one's possibilities.

Over time, the difference between generations begins to emerge. The second and third-generation German Turks have moved away from the assumed typical behaviors of first-generation German Turks over time. A

differentiation is observed in terms of political preferences. This is documented in the quoted section of the Vermont interview below.

Vermont interview lines between 551-569: Change over generations

Rf: I know a phrase. Turk- wait a minute, Turk does not, does not say anything, but moans. ° How is it called? ° I can not translate so well. But do not say anything, but complains. Does not tell his opinion. Does not criticize properly, but only complains. That's exactly what exists there. And I believe in it, too, and ehm more. I think, this second generation, this second generation, third generation is now in Germany. But rather the teenager now. The conscious youngster either actively stay here again or again religions oriented, also majority religiously oriented and who also follow also politics in Turkey, many also follow; the religious ones, (2) the not so religious rather not. They are more here. Either they have become quite modern, Hippippi; not even by this, not even religiously, not even involved here; just having fun, having such enjoyment; they also exist, and yes, I rather assume, that a less share is involved, but more in social life more, more and more. In almost all facilities there are Turkish speaking staff, I would say.

Vermont in this quoted passage assumes an attitude towards political criticism that she claims is unique to the Turks. She tells that typical Turks only complain and talk about the issues they are not happy with, but they avoid giving a detailed explanation about their discomfort. They do not make a detailed criticism after revealing the reasons for their dissatisfaction. On the other hand, second and third-generation German Turks have a different attitudes both when making their choices and when mentioning their criticism about different subjects. While some of the third generation choose a modern lifestyle and lead an active social life in Germany, another group makes a “*religiously oriented*” choice. Unlike the first group, the second group follows the political developments in Turkey with more interest and socializes with only Turkish-speaking social events in Germany. Change in time is shaped by the differences in preference between generations and how they want to be accepted in their environment. The orientation shows that youth differentiates itself more clearly than the previous generation, representation in the mode of acceptance

Vermont interview lines between 724-735: Self-assignment requirement

Rf: it will continue like this. As long as a foreigner are well educated, further socialized, one can do with them already; but there will always be negative consequences, to many who have come together as a family, many divorces, a lot of family violence, including the children, shock with culture; and (.) begin with drugs; these parents, Turks also experienced that at that time. Now the experience other things; I already see it. At that time the Turks had solid family structures, values and the children wanted freedom, everyone was free, everyone went for a discussion- but they also wanted, but parents said: No. The Turks succeeded.

In later parts of the interview, Vermont shares her thoughts on the future of German Turks living in Germany. Contrary to the first-generation German Turks who have been living in Germany for several generations, second- and third-generation German Turks can reach any point they want as long as they receive an education and socialize in German society. There are possibilities and opportunities for everybody in Germany. As long as the German Turkish community continues to be involved in life in Germany, it will encounter some “*negative consequences*” brought by life here: “*divorces, family violence, culture shock, drugs*”. In the first generation, Turks were considered to have a “*solid family structure*”, but many of these negative consequences were encountered over time, and many families continue to encounter them. Compared to the past, people discuss more and move away from silence, and a change is observed compared with the “*not talks but moans*” understanding mentioned in the previous quotation. However, the self-assignment requirement can also overwhelm German Turk migrants.

In the following example, the importance of the liberal education system in the change of values over time is shown. In this passage, Ohio explains how the German Turks will be positioned in the future by classifying them into two groups.

Ohio interview lines between 660 – 671: Future of German Turks

Gm: And then (2) actually the other side, who I just say now, end up unfortunately (.) with unqualified or lower degrees and who then do not try to educate themselves politically or behave just also more generally (.) in a strange attitude towards these (.) ethical, life-philosophical (.) political questions, (.) who never deal with it and then just take up these images of opinions in an un-reflected way. I think that will then divide into these two groups. (2) and (3) I mean, let me say my section where I myself belong to, (.) so these more liberal ones, (2) I think we definitely stay here.

In the passage, the participant presents his prediction of German Turks in the future. A group that does not care about education gets “*unqualified or lower degrees*” due to these choices. They do not make any effort to educate themselves politically, parallel to their professional deficiencies. Instead of complying with the general German society, they confront these values with “*strange ethical, life-philosophical political questions*”. Because their ideas are shaped around simple thoughts, in general, they are alienated from German society, and they are also alienated from some German Turks.

On the other hand, the second group of German Turks, who are liberals, and Ohio sees himself in this group, use their preferences and choices to stay in Germany. The orientation shows that liberal values are essential to achieving a successful life with better social status. On the other hand, having a comfortable life without proper education and social integration is impossible.

Colorado interview lines between 500-526: News sources

I: In general where do you get information?

Zf: Wherever I inform myself generally, I unfortunately read less newspaper, if then (.) if I am interested in a topic somehow and then I want to have an opinion, then I go mostly into the net, in ARD, ZDF, look there first on- from the German point of view, what's exactly just (2) often discussed there and then I just look into Turkish news, TRT news, then there is even CNN just on other- on the English level, that I just got a bit a view, okay, how is this chosen from several sides; because I realize that if I am only in one country, I have only a one-sided news report. That's what I do now when I'm doing research for homework, for example, I always open several languages. I look at the sources in Turkish, there is something told completely different, I look at it up in English and I look at it in German, and then I get a picture of it.

So I have three languages, so I can research on three levels. And that's clear, of course, because I read reports, newspaper reports just in the net, so I do not buy any newspaper now, but then, of course - then I just look into the net, I just look there. So I'm watching - I'd say, more by video, but then any articles to a certain topic, of course, I read then. But then I read more in Turkish and Turkish-German, because I'm more difficult with Turkish, there I'm really more on the way with videos, because the language- there is a language barrier in reading, there I have an access; so I understand it better when I hear it.

In this passage, the resources used for information are revealed. Due to his insufficient Turkish, the participant prefers to read German and English news and watch Turkish news. Following the news from different sources shows a preference for understanding other perspectives and avoiding being one-sided. It is not desired to see the events only through a German lens, but the approaches of English or international and especially Turkish sources on the same subject are looked for. A multidimensional picture is obtained by understanding the differences between these news presentations. There is both a distrust of some news sources and a desire not to be fed only with German sources, as well as the expectation of observing the differences in interpretations by comparative reading or watching the news documented.

Although the school is a place of formal education, the lesson method can also turn this formal place into an informal one. In the part of the interview with Alaska quoted below, the participant, who is a teacher, explains how he sometimes stays in the background during the lesson and ensures the active participation of the students.

Alaska interview lines between 1005-1010: Learning methods

Tm: You really have to try to get the student active in the classroom, it is all the better that the teacher holds back; Whether you can do it or not is questionable. Actually it should be only in urgent cases, of course, should the teacher be there as a companion, but not always give a lecture

This passage reveals some of the methods used to ensure the active participation of the students in the lessons. It should not be a preferred

method for the teacher to always be in the position of speaking and explaining. It is also a modern teaching method, letting students participate in the lesson, present their ideas, and learn from each other. Students should discuss among themselves, reveal their opinions, and thus understand the manners of discussion and listening to others. Teachers should only step in and intervene in emergencies. The orientation shows that the culture of debate is vital for establishing and understanding democracy. To confirm this understanding, creating school environments where students can share their ideas, learn as free assignments, and be independent is necessary.

This comparative horizon documents that education is the key to success and generational change. Education is the central point for the implementation of democratic values, and democracy cannot survive on its own without the support of the people. This awareness can only be achieved through various learning methods, formal or informal. Other than learning and education, there must be an effort for self-investment for personal progress. Patience is a vital issue for learning, and it may take a long time to achieve goals and targets. By then, German Turks were divided into two major groups due to their preferences: a less educated group more oriented towards old values and a more educated group with liberal views.

4.3.4.5 Fifth comparative horizon: Validity of knowledge – knowledge is construction

For type 4, the validity of knowledge occurs when the person becomes an active participant in the learning journey. Knowledge is built with the contribution of the person based on experiences. As events unfold, people can develop new ideas by reflecting on these experiences. In this process, dialogue and interaction play an essential role. People's conversations and discussions are vital in acquiring knowledge.

In the portion of the Vermont interview quoted below, when the participant learns the correctness of an unknowingly act, she does not repeat it.

Vermont interview lines between 128-137: Learning by experience

Rf: Once, I called my colleague. We said we think about the topic. I remember something, I write her SMS. And I have sent a second SMS; it was seven o'clock PM, seven o'clock thirty. First there was no answer. Then no answer came; then I get an e-mail, the next day early in the morning, hm Ayşe wrote: from eighteen o'clock onward I am no longer working. Please, do not send me an SMS. Uhhuhhhh. She did not write back to me with SMS either, e-mail was written extra. Oh I said, hey you! Yes, that's where I learned something again.

In this part of the Vermont interview, the participant cannot understand why she did not receive a response to the SMS she sent to her colleague outside of working hours. The reason emerged when she got an e-mail the other day: Work-related issues should be discussed during business hours, and free time should not be disturbed by work-related issues. Vermont learns this knowledge by experience. Such knowledge may not be in school textbooks or work guides, but experience can teach it. In this learning process, a person reaches a general conclusion about how she should behave by passing on the knowledge she has acquired through her own experience. Thus, previously ignored details can open new and different horizons in life.

In another part of Vermont interview, she tells about people not talking to each other but complaining behind.

Vermont interview lines between 551-556: Not directing the issues

Rf: I know a phrase. Turk- wait a minute, (söylemez) (söylenir), Turk says does not say anything, but moans. ° How is it called? ° I can not translate so well. But do not say anything, but complains. Does not tell his opinion. Does not criticize properly, but only complains. That's exactly what exists there. And I believe in it, too

In this part of the interview, Vermont talks about a Turkish idiom: Turk does not say but moans. The idiom says that people prefer to complain and moan but not talk with each other. Giving this example as a negative example shows that the orientation is for talking. People can quickly solve issues between each other by discussing, but they do not speak to each other, and on top of that, they do not hesitate to complain constantly about

the problem. It may be much easier to deal with the problem by going and talking to the other person rather than moaning to themselves. Avoiding talking to the other person for fear of conflict causes problems to worsen rather than be solved. On the contrary, if there is a problem, it can be resolved by talking, perhaps by arguing harshly.

In the Alaska interview, there is a complaint about the personal perception of criticism.

Alaska interview lines between 170-182: Accepting criticism

Tm: Hm and I actually think that politics is not part of the mosque Of course, you can discuss about this in the tea room but everyone should be open to any opinion and hm: I've got the experience from time to time, also in the circle of friends, that when I start criticizing now that I am looked at so stupidly or that one glides over to a state treason And I think that has nothing to do with criticism at the moment and hm :: but one just overdoes it.

In this part of the interview, Alaska mentions that criticism on any subject is perceived as personal and causes anger. Someone who criticizes something, especially on political issues, is seen as a traitor. Just as everyone has the right to charge about anything, no one needs to support, and like everything, politicians do. On the contrary, criticizing politicians leads to more efficient work, improvement, and successful results, and if there are overlooked mistakes, they can be corrected. It is possible to reach such a good result only by talking and discussing the problems.

For this reason, it is pretty understandable to express all kinds of criticism in appropriate environments and grounds. This is a need and even a must. The orientation emerges once again as knowledge constructs.

In another part of Alaska interview, the participant calls for questions on every subject, which is seen as a positive step for learning.

Alaska interview lines between 390-400: Critical young generation questioning imams

Tm: There are just youth groups hm and in Germany it is quite normal to ask a lot of questions: I alone am also a teacher of religion and there it is important that you ask these questions and how to see these questions concerning religion you seek questions, answers and that is not so common in the mosque

I: L Mhm

Tm:

L It may

be that the imams are a bit confused as the young people react here. But I actually consider this as good

In this part of the interview, Alaska talks about a mosque visit of a high school group. The data material makes it clear that the rationale for German students asking questioning questions to imams during mosque visits is poorly understood by imams. German students go over the points they do not know in the face of the answers to the questions they ask about the religion of Islam, and they do not hesitate to express their criticisms on the points they disagree with openly. This situation led to the confusion and reaction of the mosque imams, who were not used to being questioned. Since the tradition in mosques is based on transmission rather than questioning, imams have difficulty understanding the reason for questioning and consider questions as “objection”. On the other hand, the participant, a teacher himself, supports this questioning and interprets it as the person’s interest in the subject and that the students value the subject. The orientation here emerges as seeing students’ critical questions on religious issues as a part of learning.

The harm caused by people’s avoiding dialogue and speaking is revealed in the Hawaii interview quoted below. People have negative feelings towards people they don’t talk to; this anger grows because of dialogue deficiency.

Hawaii interview lines between 453-461: Lack of communication magnifies divisions.

Mm: Yes. And of course, they (.) avoid dialogues with another hm (.) community that thinks differently. (.) They are always among each other (.) and this gets worse. This opinion towards others is aggravated if you stay among yourselves (.)and always arguing the same things. (.) They never come together I think.

In this quoted part of the interview, the participant explains that members of the German-Turkish community avoid dialogue with each other on most topics. In particular, people who think differently avoid dialogue in-

stead of solving problems by talking to each other, which makes their feelings for each other worse. The separation, which started as a difference of opinion, becomes personal animosity over time and sometimes takes a situation that can never be resolved. Issues that should be resolved by talking to each other become intractable because people talk to themselves and not others.

4.3.4.6 Sixth comparative horizon: Self positioning – reflected sovereign positioning in universal values and tolerance acceptance of plurality

In this part, action-guiding orientations of self-location for type 4 are revealed. It is documented that there is a reflected sovereign positioning based on universal values and a tolerance of acceptance of plurality and diversity. People show how they locate themselves and determine the direction of their actions. Special attention is paid to the rights of the people in this ideal type, and concepts that are desired and accepted as valuable for all people and cultures are welcomed. This orientation is constructed through the actions of individual choices and recommendations for the more significant group. Persons who carry the characteristics of this type are not identical but share common and morally essential characteristics.

In the first example given below, the participant does not have any objection to making a choice that is not shared by herself and does not fit her opinion but shows respect. Examples of swimwear are given while demonstrating respect for preferences.

Vermont interview lines between 394-423: Respecting others

- Rf: as I said, so, with my neighbors and neighbor- neighbors, and my professor and his wife have also come from ([place]); she is also wearing a headscarf; the professor is still working. They live just as normal. And with them we sometimes sit together and go to the sea; at the sea there is also swimming with burka and others also next to each other. It's not a problem. It was nice to see that. This is not a problem; because, I am(.) also working in the Verbindung Zentrum* for interreligious dialogue. If for me someone has such an attitude, I (.) would like to dress like that and rather live just normal and so on; for me it's okay.
- I: Were there in earlier decades when you were younger, were there any people who went for a swim with burka?

- RF: Not burka! At that time, such swimsuit ideas had not yet been developed; with normal clothing; my mother, too.
- I: So, burkinis or something; normal clothes; mhm;
- Rf: ^LNo! My mother too, a normal. Maybe pants or skirt and with T-shirt. With clothes gone into the water; because my mother knows that, too.
- I: And that was already common then that women did that
- RF: ^LThat was common.
 (.) Yes; and for that they have made bathing stops; they have now - is okay. For me it's okay. That does not bother me at all. (.) There are such and such. As long as people live for themselves, religion is no problem. But not when I realize the person influencing others, (.) also that we are better, we do right and they do so and so, then I stand against that. (.) So, everyone must be free, as I said, even unbelievers.

In this excerpted part of the Vermont interview, the swimwear preferences of women on the beach during the summer holidays in Turkey are explained. Vermont considers it normal for devout Muslim women in her neighborhood to swim in covered clothing while she wears regular swimsuits. When she talks about the existence of women who go to the sea with a burkini (swimwear for Muslim women covering most of their bodies except face, hands, and feet) in the same place, she doesn't react on the contrary, for her "it's not a problem, it was nice to see that". Adult people decide for themselves what to wear or not to wear in their daily lives, and they are free in these choices, free to wear what they want. In this regard, there is respect towards Muslims wearing headscarves and burkinis. People are entirely free to choose 'different' outfits for swimming, or in general for all clothing choices, which should be respected. The person can dress as they wish; the choice is entirely their own decision. In the past, women who did not want to be seen in swimsuits, including her mother, preferred swimming in their daily clothes such as pants and T-shirts, which was completely normal. This choice should be respected because the reason for this kind of clothing is people's religious beliefs. People who live their beliefs in themselves are free in their choices, but if they try to impose their beliefs on others, then freedom has to be ceased. Every person of faith has the right to live by their preferences, and in parallel, if a person does not believe in religion, that preference must be respected

as well. There is an orientation here that believers are free to arrange their lives according to their preferences, and a tolerant approach to all beliefs is documented.

While people use their freedoms to make choices, others should see people's behavior as personal preferences. In the passage excerpted from the Florida interview below, it is seen that a person realizes activities and does not depend on preconditions.

Florida interview lines between 461-465: Activities are individual

Hf: Exactly. And my dad is very, very modern. @ (Even more modern than me, I have to say.) @ In any case, he has also been able to integrate himself here (.) also from his thinking

In this passage, Florida discusses the integration discussions between the German Turks. She defines her father as a “*very, very modern man*” in his choices. In this regard, “*he has been able to integrate here*”. It is shown that integration is an activity individuals realize and does not depend on preconditions. As a second-generation person, her father was able to integrate himself into Germany in the eyes of Florida. Her father has adapted to the conditions of Germany, where he has lived for many years, and no preconditions have been put forward for this success. He achieved this with his self-efficacy and his own motivation. Individuals should determine their own goals and goodness by themselves. The orientation has shown that preferences should be personal instead of standardizing strategies and propositions for different groups and cultures.

In the same interview, it is emphasized that individual preferences and behaviors should not be generalized to groups and cultures. Success is personal, as mistake.

Florida interview lines between 225-233: Behaviours are individual

Hf: shopping, for example, you are waiting in a line and you notice (.) Someone (.) goes into the line saying to you: “Excuse me, I stood there? Can you please step back behind me=“ Yes, what do you want to tell me, so in the way: the shit (.) foreigners. Have I often experienced.

I: But this is not an experience that is always or frequently occurring now

Hf: No, no always, no. Definitely not. That's why I always remember the example when you differentiate that way. (.)

In this passage of the Florida interview, the participant explains how to generalize an individual's behavior to the group that the individual belongs to or is a member of. A person who messes up while waiting in a queue has made a personal mistake. It is wrong to generalize that mistake to all group members to which the person making the mistake belongs. Florida reacts to the generalization trend, saying that she has encountered this mislabeling from time to time because, for example, although she is also from that group, she never makes that wrong move and is still labeled by others. This is an example of Florida showing self-location because she also denies the questions about culture and being a person with a Turkish background. She sets her own agenda. Florida underlines the differentiation brought into the interview by the interviewer: There are examples, "*when you differentiate that way*" and it isn't her differentiation.

A similar orientation is repeated later in the Florida interview. As each person's preferences differ, their future perspectives also differ. Every person can develop different reactions to the same situation and position.

Florida interview lines between 632 – 654: Perspectives are individual

Hf: Mhm. (.) Hm, it's different for everyone. There is really everything, there are those who are still here and are really very unhappy, and say again and again I still want to go back one day but what they are not do (...) or perhaps they do. (.) And those too, I would say (.) quite banal, every week somehow infiltrate into another job - because they always say: "That's too hard, I can not do that," then try the next factory work. That's also not possible: dissatisfaction, unemployment. (.) That exists as well. (.) I also experience this myself in our family.

I: L ° mhm, yes. °

Hf: Then there are those who (.) have more or less a normal career, who just (.) earn a normal income and (.) can afford a nice car, a nice apartment. (.) And those say generally, I am really happy here. Sure, I can do something in Turkey as well, but I'm satisfied, my family is here - that's also the point why many older people stay here as their children are still completely here and they do not want to separate from them. And (.) then of course there are those who have already achieved much more and are overjoyed and enjoy Turkey as a holiday destination in particular. Exactly.

In this part of the interview, Florida tells how she sees the future of German Turks in Germany. She states that although one group has been in

Germany for a long time, they are still unhappy and want to return to Turkey, while another group is satisfied with their life in Germany. The group, whose life in Germany does not make them happy, does not feel any belonging to Germany. Therefore, they do not have fixed jobs and must constantly change them. Job dissatisfaction causes unemployment, and this continues in a vicious circle.

On the other hand, in contrast to the first group, those with a regular career and an average income are happy with their lives. There are many reasons to be satisfied: having a good job, being with family, having children, etc. In this regard, when asked about the perspectives of people with Turkish backgrounds in Germany, Florida differentiates many different ways of living here. She explains the different situations mainly through the people's activities and attitudes. It is a question of the person's activity, not of the power of other instances. The orientation shows that people's perspectives are individual and free from other people's perspectives.

In addition to individual behaviors and preferences, Turkish and German societies may sometimes have generalizable behaviors. In the interview quoted below, self-location is observed as differentiating itself from Turkish society.

Hawaii interview lines between 170-200: Differentiating from the similars

Mm: **Well, something**, (.) that burns on **your tongue**; I don't know if I am allowed to express it **that way** (.); (.) **saying** it in German society (.), yes, (.) but in the Turkish society you are afraid that you will be criticized (.) For example, (.) well, some things shouldn't be said directly, (.) although I think that's wrong. So, with this society I **found out** that, (.) hm (.), this is not about the assessment, but that we discuss it. (2) And to discuss means simply to say your opinion really **openly** and not just to hide it hm somehow (.) And that's what I learned from this society (.) So that one should not make detours, but just directly, (.) simply say the opinion

I: So it's a **freer** exchange of opinions, (.)

Mm: ↳ Right, (2) right.

I: **Free exchange of ideas.**

Mm: You just don't have (.) the fear (.), as you have this opinion, (.) you are now somehow excluded, (.) or somehow marginalized. (.) Hm. (.) And, of course, I don't have this feeling in Turkish society; (.) **there**, really watch out! Because (.) somehow you will be **pushed into a rail**, (2) that they don't want to have anything to do with you (.) or something like that. And that also applies

very much to **close family** relationships, if the son has a completely different opinion than the father, then there are also again divisions (.) and the father would then say, “Yes, you are no longer my son.” (.) Interesting, so there is- (.) But here in this society, the father would, of course, be shocked that his (.) son, now let’s assume that (.) he is gay (.), yes, (.) but (.) he would just really (.) hm (.) consider him as a son.

In this passage, Hawaii compares German society and the German Turkish community. He says that although some choices are tolerated in German society if made in Turkish community, someone will face criticism. Germans can express their opinions or preferences directly and freely, but in such a situation, it is not always appreciated that the Turks speak directly and openly, on the contrary, it can put the person in a difficult situation. In this context, German society is more liberal, free, and democratic in expressing itself directly and openly. On the other hand, expressing opinions directly in the Turkish society can put people in a difficult situation, leading to their exclusion and even their marginalization.

For this reason, Turks are or should be more careful when expressing their opinions on their preferences and choices; otherwise, they “*will be pushed into a rail*”. Hawaii gives the example of coming out as a “gay son”. Explaining this situation, a German father may be surprised but relations will continue, whereas, in Turkish society, even rejection of the son can be seen. Hawaii, as a German Turk, identifies himself more in German society. The orientation shows that people can position themselves in contrast to their groups or environments and differentiate themselves from similar ones.

While talking about the differences seen in the German-Turkish community, Hawaii points to another danger that the society faces. He tells that some TV series broadcast on Turkish television with the feeling of glorifying the old Turkish history in society led to nationalism.

Hawaii interview lines between 593-636: Everyone is human

Mm: We portrayed it badly at the time, so that we now form a direction, a government; now we have, and now we have to represent reality and truth; so, really new series are emerging now (.) which hm- (.) (.) the old Turkish tradition

I:

L ° glorified. °

Mm: simply hm- ° wake up once again. and **there** are the -, (.) we are such a population that try to identify the hm- (2) the young people, of course, (.) Yes, because the-, (.) because the education system is now really moving in this direction. You know, for example, in the (.) Turkish schools all statesmen from these 16 countries, which (.) Turkishness (.) also formed **before** the Ottoman Empire. (.) The personality who immediately, (.) they let it live up again (2) Yes, and that is the approach, and the children (.) try to identify themselves accordingly and hm (.) hm develop a completely different (.) feeling of nationality. I say now, and in my opinion that's dangerous, because- (.), and you could do it in turn (.) for German Turks here from the German side quite differently. (.) From the German side you could for German Turks ° ever °, if you do something with nationality, (.) 1933- ° 1940- °, then it leads to it and now it is done in Turkey. (.) Well, (.) in Turkey, ° nationality is also not recommended here by religion. ° (.) So, the children are really so fixated (.) that they don't see the religion, although Prophet Mohammed said (2) hm "Nationalities doesn't matter." (.) So, (.) there are no considerations between two nationalities. "Everyone is **human**," he said.

I: L ° Mohammad ° as a hm (.) large community

Mm: **right, right**. And there- there (.) we just have to take all people on board (.) And hm (.) I believe that if the nationality is very strongly simple anchored (.) then - (.) sometimes they forget religion.

In the passage quoted above, Hawaii talks about some serials broadcast on Turkish television. In these TV series, the old Turkish states are praised and glorified, which makes the nationalist feelings of the young people who watch these TV series swell. Apart from TV series, a narrative in Turkey's education system emphasizes the magnificence of the old Turkish states, especially the Ottoman Empire. Telling the old glorious days of history causes children a different sense of belonging and sometimes causes them to break away from reality. The inflamed sense of nationalism contains a threat that could have dangerous consequences. A similar practice in Germany in the 1933-1940s had bitter results. By mentioning the dark days of Germany, there is an implicit warning for Turkey and the Turkish people: playing with the nationalism card easily leads to hazardous results, as it is seen during the Nazi times. Another reference is made to religion. Although the majority of the people living in Turkey

are Muslims and Islam rejects nationalism, this matter is not paid attention to in today's Turkey. While the religion of Islam states that there is no superiority of any nationality over the other, the prophet of the religion of Islam, Muhammad, said "*Everyone is human*" despite such clear principles of religion, there is a different attitude towards nationalism in Turkey. Here, attention is drawn to the damage that can be caused by nationalism and the danger of consequences it may have in today's Turkey. Reminding the example of Nazi Germany, the implicit orientation is what a wrong choice of nationalism is, which is full of ferocity examples from history. By showing various examples that this nationalist preference is also against Islamic principles, it is shown that although the administration in Turkey claims to be religious, its practices are against the religion. It is shown that everyone is equal regardless of their religion, nationality, affiliation, or identity and that these do not give anyone an advantage or superiority over another. The orientation shows that nationality does not lead to superiority. Inflating nationalism leads to unwanted results. The orientation shows the equality of humans regardless of their background and religion.

While mentioning the principles of Islam, Hawaii comes in another part of the interview to the point that some also misinterpret Islam. Some extremes act "in the name of God" and kill people.

Hawaii interview lines between 947-980: Misinterpretation of religion

Mm: (.) Threat, defence I can (.)- but (.) hm (2), I don't understand it; so, I really don't understand (.) hm (.) why (.) in the name of God, if I may say so now, (.) war is being carried out and (.) hm we cannot describe it well again because it is done in the name of God, whether this was now an attempt of religion, (.) Yes, (.) but I never wage such a war in my society. (.) Well, (.) I would say individualized (2) we don't strive for it, (.) but if somehow hm (2), now like IS-state, well they say; we are now a state, if you belong to it, then you have to kill in God's name, ° so like that °. (.) There are such institutions that we do not accept (.), of course. (.) But I would say that all religions are based on- (.)on humanity. (.) ° Yes. (.) ° Hm (.) And (.) some (.) institutions, some belief institutions make a profit there, like Buddhism. (2)

I:

L ° Mhm °

Mm: Well, so they consider this as ethical (.) and all religions aside, (.) one should be ethical -, (.) and this human coexistence (.) was always present, all religions strive for it. Hm (.), but some people understand it completely differently, I think (.) or some states understand it quite differently. (2) Some malicious people; because you must not kill a person, then (.) you killed mankind (.), it's a commandment among us (.)

I: L ° Oh yes. (.) So, it is in the Koran, too. °

Mm: So. (.) Interesting. If you start now by this, then- (.) then should- then (.) we also have contradictions. (.)

In this part of the interview, Hawaii talks about how some Islamic values have been exploited to benefit some. Based on the example of “Islamic State in Syria”, which was the hot topic of the agenda at the time of the interview, he complains that some people wage war with the claim of acting “*in the name of God*”. Such comments are interpreted as contrary to the spirit of Islam, and it is underlined that many Muslims do not support such a war. An unequivocal stance is displayed against a group that commits massacres because they are acting in the name of Islam. The expression “*all religions based on humanity*” documents how wrongly those who commit crimes against people using religion. The statement that all religions exist for the unity of humanity shows the harm done to humanity by extremists in all religions. Despite the principle of “*if you kill a person, you killed mankind*” in the Qur’an, the value given to human life is displayed with the words that killing in the name of religion and God is a brutal act. Whoever takes the life of another person not only does that person an injustice but also shows that he does not believe in the sanctity of human life and has no mercy for others. To protect human life, people must respect each other beliefs, believe that life is sacred and help to protect it, and above all, not support murderers. All religions and legal and moral systems are united in that killing is a major crime. Islam has made such an interpretation in order to show how great a crime the perpetrators have committed, to prevent murder, to ensure the safety of society, and to make them live peacefully and happily. However, what IS-minded extremists do harms both the spirit of religion and humanity. Here, the value given to people’s lives and the sanctity of life is documented. The value

given to pluralism emerges, how all nations are equal and do not have superiority over each other, and “all religions are based on humanity”.

Success and self-development of immigrants are not enough for a life of a higher standard; German society should also follow the example of successful choices of other countries in its attitude towards immigrants. This expectation is showcased in the following section of the Hawaii interview.

Hawaii interview lines between 1106-1153: Expectations from German society

Mm: Nowadays we are also confronted by this (.) majority false education, but we have the languages and we can defend ourselves. (.) We don't swallow anything. (.) My fear is that one day my children will be confronted with it. **That** would make me very, very sad. (2) ° Yes. ° They are quick in the language; (.) they get great feed back reports from the teachers, ° from the- (.) from the day care, but one day they will be confronted very negatively, because they look different, because they know another language (.) hm, because they have a different identity, they will one day be confronted with it very negatively and they may be shocked. I hope that on the way we can build up this self-confidence and that they can defend themselves. (.) And that is my objective and that is my fear one day, that this xenophobic, this dissenting (.) intolerance, let me say, (2) hm one day still shapes our society (.) Because (.) we also have to develop further (.) We also had the xenophobic story back then. Nowadays it's a party that we're experiencing, unfortunately. And if it goes on like this, I would feel very, very sad for my children or my grandchildren; so this society must really (.), the society have to change or be changed, towards this majority. I don't experience that in Canada or Australia, for example; there is a completely different

I: L ° yes °.

Mm: approach to the- (.) to the (.) guest- hm - (.) the (.) to the- (.) Yes, because all immigrants are- (.) suddenly, except for, let's say, the native- (.) borns, all are immigrants; therefore, there is no (.) majority society and I actually want that here too. It took a long time that (.) Germany said that we are really an immigration country. That's already one step (.) and these steps will just come over the ° time. ° (.)

In this passage quoted above, Hawaii talks about how he sees the future of German Turks. He tells that he fears that he and his family will one day be discriminated against by those around him because of their success. German Turks have now proven themselves in German society in terms

of language and many other competencies. For this reason, the third generation born and raised in Germany is now very different from their parents. It feels like “we are not different from those around us” beyond the sense of inadequacy their grandparents experienced. However, the fact that they can speak another language and have a different belonging may disturb some others. The negativities they may face due to jealousy are a source of great concern because new choices in German society cause such concerns. The phrase “*We also had the xenophobic story back then*” refers to the period of Nazi Germany once again, drawing attention to the recent increase in AfD votes. Reminding the Nazis to reveal the harms of discrimination and pointing out the danger of the AfD reveals the magnitude of his concern. Although this type of xenophobic behavior is not experienced in places such as Canada and Australia, the disappointment after its observation in Germany is documented. In Canada and Australia, there are no behaviors, words, or preferences that make people with migrant backgrounds feel that they are different. However, Germany still has a long way to go in this regard. The orientation shows that society’s attitude towards people with a migrant background, especially those who were born and raised in Germany, should change. After the German Turks have proven themselves in many subjects, especially in language and academic achievements, with the younger generations, it is now the turn of the German society. They should also bring their attitudes and behaviors towards immigrants to the level of other countries.

While in the Hawaii interview, the expectations from the German society are displayed, in the Nevada interview, the expectation of everyone to work for change is shown. Attention is drawn to the experiences of people who have trouble in one part of the world but less in other parts of the world.

Nevada interview lines between 921 – 930: Let’s do it together

Bm: And that’s (.) It-it’s a difficult wish, I could wish myself a thousand things; but I just wish (.) that we (.) come to a point, you know where we say, uh (2) ° let’s (.) let’s do it together. (.) let and not always (.) yes uh (1) do you know? (.) that’s-that’s so difficult; I read again this morning (.) the Trump has now withdrawn this-this ° (.) this money for (now) Honduras, El Salvador; (...)
because that-because-the one in-the-government accuses the () people of

holding back nothing to America (.) These people starve to death . because people have to starve ?

In this passage, Nevada is telling his expectations for the future. It is stated that he may want many things for himself, but that something must be done together for all humanity. He wishes for good and excellent things for himself and others living in different parts of the world. Since such an expectation cannot be achieved with the effort and initiative of one person, the expression “let’s do it together” requires all people to work together hand in hand for peace and tranquility. The expectation of a promising future and wish is not only for the country of residence and citizenship or the group of which he is a member but for people who suffer, are exposed to oppression, and face difficulties in other parts of the world. The perspective is extended to the troubles and problems of German Turks and those of people living in relatively distant countries such as Honduras and El Salvador. The orientation shows how the feelings of brotherhood between people should be regarding humanity. He does not only want for himself but also has good wishes and expectations for others. He shares the pain of others.

Expressing his well-wishes for others besides him, Nevada further demonstrates in another part of the interview that democracy is for everyone. People’s democracy level can be seen in the closest environment, for example, how they behave towards their colleagues.

Nevada interview lines between 945 – 957: Democracy for everybody

Bm: that I-that I can read what I want? (.) that I can inform myself uh (stutter) on what I want? (.) That I’m uh-er (.) Democracy is at the same time to me, uh (.) How do I like-how-to deal with my staff members? (.) Yes? for example, is that democracy for me? (.) that I do not act in a patriarchal way, but that I say “only with each other?” (.) Yes? and that is actually the case? (4) I go out into the yard in my old estate, and (.) ° feel a bit free. (.) that’s ° (.) for me democracy just feeling . That’s (.) That’s that feeling . and-and-and more , it’s not really . (.) And-and therefore I try by all means to preserve that. Yes? (2)

In the section of the interview quoted above, Nevada explains that he has every opportunity to improve himself. For example, he has the chance to

read what he wants, which leads to him improving himself. However, his development is not enough to solve the problem. Democracy can be measured by what people want for others, not only for themselves. In this framework, democracy first begins in the immediate environment. Democracy should be the basis of a person's relationship with their family, colleagues, and a close circle. Like democracy, everything is valuable and meaningful if shared "only with each other". If a peaceful and happy time spent in the garden of his house is the most precious feeling for them, others should experience the same pleasure in the same amount and to the same extent. The orientation shows that, as long as others do not find the same level of peace, more effort is needed for democracy to succeed.

4.3.4.7 Summary

In type 4, the origin of the preference or behavior in cultural matters is not considered, nor is it concerned with whether it is Turkish or German. The concern is being able to do what one wants. Others' comments on the person's (or one's) preferences are not considered. Authoritarian and dictating methods are disliked; the person wants to be listened to, and at the same time, they easily listen to others, even if they disagree with their ideas. There is an orientation that listening to those different from oneself improves oneself. Those who think differently are also trying to be understood. Thus, new information and new experiences are gained. The sensitive points are the universal human rights values and the behaviors shaped within this framework. This stance ensures that differences are seen as "valuable". Being closely related to global issues and world problems does not keep him away from his own community or society.

On the contrary, an attitude is displayed that is aware of the impact of global issues on the local. By breaking the immigration environment shell in terms of participation, they become active in non-governmental organizations in areas of interest other than Turkish cultural associations or mosque associations. This stance does not keep people away from Turkish associations or mosques. They can easily take charge there and participate in their activities if desired.

In their discussions, the inter-subject truth is considered reasonable, which others also accept. In this process, a communicative discourse method in the form of expressions is followed, aimed at explaining oneself and understanding the opposite, or others. During this communicative action, validity claims are regularly put forward that are aimed at understanding and accepting an agreement and propositions of the person following their own opinions and propositions.

In this regard, a one-sided point of view is also rejected by this type. There is a sensitivity to approaching the events from the eyes of the other person. Representatives of this ideal type form of understanding on issues a communicative action with empathy. In this regard, there is no single conclusion on issues related to orientation horizons. The discussion itself goes on with a process and focuses on the interaction and communication, not the result. People have principles and truths on issues, but talking with somebody who has knowledge and different ideas on those issues gives them a multiperspective on things with the expectation of exploring differences and learning. In this regard, discussions lead to learning but not fighting tension or stress. With this multiperspective, everything around their environment leads to learning and more exploration. Interaction with others gives details of life that make them reach a deeper understanding. All people have their positions that are different to others; this is accepted, and it is possible to listen and integrate their position into the perspective of others.

One of the main characteristics of these is that types they can say: "I know what I stand for, but I can also look at the issues from the shoes of others and see their perspectives, which gives me a broader understanding". They reflect their own positions by listening to others, and they see their own position in the light and the positions of others. In this way, it allows them to see the complexity of the different understandings of society. With this in mind, however, it is possible to position themselves in their own positions. With this approach, it is viable to make bridges to understand each other and integrate other ideas into their perspectives. Communication with others takes the form of a process of negotiating individual validity claims. The discussion continues with or without

reaching a decision. The red line is universal human rights, dignity, and respect for personal choices and preferences.

One-sided historical accounts are called into question while discussing cultural issues. It is advised to use a multiperspective rather than concentrating on the viewpoint of a dominant group. This is because variety and cultural heterogeneity are taken into account, as many groups – including women, the poor, ethnic minorities, migrants, etc. – have been left out of conventional historical narratives. An abstract set of rules connected to human rights is observed in the spatial orientation. Respecting the rights of others is an important motto and principle. Multicultural encounters lead to a point where there is not a homogeneous cultural understanding, but there are several. Participation is visible in different interest groups, and they are active even in leading positions. Civic engagement is based on an understanding of human rights. Learning contains formal and informal ways, making it possible for self-reflective learning, and this type of education is worthy and precious.

**Table 18 : Ideal-typical condensed action-guiding orientations of type 4:
Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity**

	Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power	Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue	Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation	Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity
Cultural Orientation	Mono-perspectival essentialism	Dualistic essentialism	Dissolving certainties and patchwork	Self-assignment
Spatial Orientation	Space as a form of dominance	Spaces as distinct worlds	Space as a network of close social relationships	Space as an abstract set of rules connected by human rights
Participation and Involvement	Allegiance	Consensual participation	Search for participation in attending mode	Designing in interest groups
Change in Time/ Learning	Tradition succession and alienation	Instruction and transmission of the own	Additive cultural experiential learning	Self-reflective learning
Validity of Knowledge	Authority gives the knowledge	Transmission	Different forms of knowledge valid in specific contexts	Knowledge is construction
Self Positioning	Self-elevation through orthopraxis	Identity rooted in dialogue	Floating individualized existence of bricolage	Reflective sovereign location in universal values; tolerant acceptance of plurality
Basic type: Sociality-related self-efficacy expectation				

4.3.5 Summary of chapter 4

Using the documentary method, the data were analyzed in a rule-guided manner with the help of formulating and reflecting interpretations. The findings were consensually validated with an interpretation group. The data were condensed and generalized through a process of abduction.

This enabled a (sense-genetic) type formation through a case-external and case-internal comparative analysis. These comparisons made it possible to reconstruct a basic typology (“sociality-related self-efficacy expectation”), against the background of which different types in the perception of and dealings with the world emerge, thus revealing various forms of how self-efficacy is attained through social mechanisms.

It was possible to reconstruct six different comparative horizons: (1) cultural orientation, (2) spatial orientation, (3) participation and involvement, (4) change in time and learning, (5) validity of knowledge, (6) self-positioning. Along these comparative horizons, four types of how self-efficacy is achieved through social mechanisms could be reconstructed:

- as authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power
- as bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue
- as dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation
- social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity

The four reconstructed ideal typologies are briefly presented below:

Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power type

For this type, a person can be either Turkish or German. No matter how long a Turk spends time or lives in Germany, he is still a Turk and will remain so. These types of people use the spaces they have to dominate others and do not miss the opportunities that may occur for this purpose. They are highly committed to their preferences, ideas, and beliefs. This loyalty can also be loyalty to a person, a group, or a cause. They often associate adherence to a ideology with nationalism and patriotism. Their devotion grows more substantial when they encounter any opposition. In troubled situations, they prefer a defensive position rather than understanding the problem and show a sense of commitment to support the values and ideals of the cause they follow. In a constantly changing and developing world, the values and traditions passed on from previous generations should be preserved and continued. Education is necessary for a diploma or certificate, eventually leading to a job. In these types, the level

of education that increases as the generation changes leads to alienation and separation between generations. It is believed that the information should come from an authority for accuracy. It is thought that people coming up with their own ideas and making choices will lead to chaos and confusion, but people should follow the orders of an authority. The virtue and morality these types assume that they and the people around them possess are the most essential features that distinguish them from others and make them superior. The source of virtuous behavior and moral attitude is religion or religious values.

Type2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue type

Type 2 features are structured in such a way that Turkish and German identities are separate, but they can be contacted for different reasons and ways. While this relationship acts as a bridge in a positive sense, it leaves a person who does not know where to sit between two seats in negative examples. Turkish and German cultures are constructed as two separate worlds. Cultural and mosque associations, seen as safe places, are ideal for civil society activities. Collaborations with members of different religions to express themselves are preferred. In this way, teaching their traditions to others is aimed. Collaborations based on dialogue are structured to see itself as a part of the larger society. In addition to learning through education, there is also the goal of teaching others. It focuses on transmitting rather than creating knowledge. Politics is not socially acceptable because it disturbs peace.

Type3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging and affiliation type

For type 3, Turkish and German cultures are colors and different parts of a whole, like parts of a harmonious beauty that emerges when the pieces of a patched bundle come together. Thus begins the process of letting go of pre-existing fixed beliefs and being open to new ideas and perspectives which allows self-exploration and personal growth. A space is created in the close neighborhood consisting of Germans and possibly German Turks. This allows us to work together to address common issues and concerns, which helps to make a stronger sense of connection and belonging to society. Participation as a volunteer mode is constructed in the way

that individuals contribute to something greater. Involvement is for being a member or participant, not for leading. Knowledge is constructed differently in different contexts and situations due to different individual experiences or cultural influences and the specific context or environment in which the knowledge is being acquired. Individuals' sense of self and identity is continuously constructed within the framework of their experiences and life that aims to reveal a unique and personal identity.

Type4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity type

This type creates their own identity for themselves instead of the 'sole Turkish' or 'sole German' or 'German Turkish' identities defined by others. The space that the persons choose for themselves is focused on universal human rights. The space is created with the awareness of the world's increasing interconnectedness and interdependence, and of the global processes that shape the experiences of individuals and communities around the world. Participation includes the purpose of helping and supporting others, as well as personal preferences. The basis of this is not only to support the interests of a group but to defend it within the framework of universal values. Global issues such as climate change or migration, which have an impact on communities around the world, are on their personal agendas. The value given to education is high. The individuals go through processes of actively thinking about educational processes in order to understand and improve their own learning experiences. Critical thinking skills are developed, and a personality open to innovations is constructed in every moment of life by identifying personal development areas. Knowledge is not fixed or objective that is simply discovered or uncovered, but it is actively constructed by individuals or groups trying to understand it.

Table 19: Ideal-typical condensed action-guiding orientations of German Turks

	Type 1: Authoritarian allegiance following in the mode of mono-perspective power	Type 2: Bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue	Type 3: Dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation	Type 4: Social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity
Cultural Orientation	Mono-perspectival essentialism	Dualistic essentialism	Dissolving certainties and patchwork	Self-assignment
Spatial Orientation	Space as a form of dominance	Spaces as distinct worlds	Space as a network of close social relationships	Space as an abstract set of rules connected by human rights
Participation and Involvement	Allegiance	Consensual participation	Search for participation in attending mode	Designing in interest groups
Change in Time/ Learning	Tradition succession and alienation	Instruction and transmission of the own	Additive cultural experiential learning	Self-reflective learning
Validity of Knowledge	Authority gives the knowledge	Transmission	Different forms of knowledge valid in specific contexts	Knowledge is construction
Self Positioning	Self-elevation through orthopraxis	Identity rooted in dialogue	Floating individualized existence of bricolage	Reflective sovereign location in universal values; tolerant acceptance of plurality

Basic type: Sociality-related self-efficacy expectation

5 Discussion of the results

This study examines the world society orientations of individuals with Turkish migration backgrounds in Germany across three generations. The focus is on the unique experiences of individuals with a migration background who live in connection with two states, different cultures, religions, and social expectations and who encounter social and spatial differences. Individuals with dual affiliations experience the complexity of world society to a greater extent, as they encounter more uncertainty and contingency than those with a single affiliation. Furthermore, this case highlights the relation between world society and democracy-related orientations.

With more than 60 years of history in Germany, the way of life of Turkish immigrants in Germany and their preferences on many issues have long been a subject of interest. However, many studies have been conducted on this group - which has now become the German-Turkish community - and especially on issues of adaptation and integration (see chapter 2), no empirical studies have been conducted to address the beliefs and values of this group from an educational perspective and the learning experiences of German Turks in the context of global society issues within the framework of their implicit knowledge or action-guiding orientations. Studies on understanding how German Turks acquire tacit knowledge for action are lacking. The present study aims to contribute to this research desideratum. Therefore, to clarify the summary of the results for answering the research question, it should be taken up again at this point:

Which action-guiding orientations do German Turks from various generations living in Germany experience regarding their world society orientations, and how do they position themselves regarding political participation?

The study reflects on the orientations toward the world society, the self-conception, and the political participation of this most significant group of Germans with a migration background. Regarding the introduction (cf. chapter 1), it should be recalled that the question is relevant in the following perspective. Participation in society is a vital resource for

democracy and society, both from a societal and an issue-related point of view. The participation of people of immigrant origin, especially German Turks, who constitute the largest group of people of immigrant origin in Germany, is also essential for the healthy progress of democracy in the country. In recent years, however, developments have called into question German Turks' long-standing adaptation and integration processes (see chapters 1 and 2). The tendencies of Turkish citizens living abroad after the facilitation of voting in Turkey's elections became more visible, and their preferences for constitutional changes in Turkey have led to democratic concerns in European countries, especially in Germany.

Therefore, the scientific interest of this study is to reconstruct German Turks' action-guiding orientations in the context of global social issues. Thus, the study reconstructs the action-guiding orientations of German Turks in dealing with global social issues based on a qualitative-reconstructive research approach. For this purpose, 22 people living in Bavaria were interviewed with theoretical sampling, which led to a satirized sample. They are all of different ages, with various educational and migration backgrounds, but what they have in common is a connection to Turkey in their own or their family's past. In the interviews, the participants were given the opportunity to talk about their lives and experiences in Germany. The interviews were analyzed using the documentary method (see chapter 3). All the people who participated in the research that makes up the "theoretical sampling" (Glaser & Strauss, 2010) are concerned with migration-related issues and topics in the global society.

In chapter 4, the results were presented based on an ideal typology of the action-guiding orientations of German Turks in dealing with social issues within the framework of global society. This presentation of the results based on the ideal typology allows a differentiated description of the forms of dealing with the global society. The results of individual case-specific orientation patterns are not presented descriptively, but an abductive epistemological approach is preferred. In this way, a sense-genetic type formation is made possible through comparative analysis outside and within the cases. Sampling continued until the empirical material was condensed by abduction, and comparative horizons, and ideal types were

established. When no new comparative horizon emerged, it was realized that the sample was saturated, and the interviews were stopped.

The interviews provided numerous insights into the world-society-oriented habitus of migrants from Turkey. It was possible to reconstruct a basic typology (“sociality-related self-efficacy expectation”) against the background of which different types in the perception of and dealings with the world emerge. Thus, various forms of how self-efficacy is attained through social mechanisms become visible. Six different comparison horizons could be reconstructed: (1) cultural orientation, (2) spatial orientation, (3) participation and involvement, (4) perception of the change of time and learning, (5) validity of knowledge, and (6) social self-positioning.

These comparative horizons led to a sense-genetic typing, which is dimensioned along four ideal types of how self-efficacy is attained via social mechanisms:

- 1- as authoritarian allegiance in the mode of mono-perspectival power*
- 2- as bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue*
- 3- as dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging and recognition*
- 4- as social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity.*

In the following summary (5.1), the results are summarized and linked to existing findings. This ideal type presentation of the findings demonstrates a new definition of how social issues are addressed. The summary also provides a summary of the results obtained in chapter 4, which is followed by an in-depth evaluation of the results. In chapter 5.2, the modalities for perceiving cultural plurality are explained in five sub-topics based on empirical data. Section 5.3 focuses on the discussion of sociogenetic ideas. The contribution of this study to a theory of learning the world society is discussed in chapter 5.4.

5.1 Summary of the results

The research question was to determine the global social orientations of German Turks and how they position and locate themselves in spaces of

political participation. The order in which the findings are presented in this chapter does not indicate any priority or evaluation of the results obtained. The research model chosen here cannot provide insight into the quantitative results of the reconstructed forms of understanding the trends of the German-Turkish community. The criterion-oriented selection of cases is intended to identify differences in the dispositions of German Turks in the context of global society (see chapter 3 for the methodology). In addition, no generalizations can be made between their tendencies and their socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, education, and generation of migration. What they have in common is that they live in Germany, and they or their parents (or grandparents) have a history of migration from Turkey.

Four types of world society orientations

From the empirical data, it was possible to reconstruct that the orientations guiding the actions of German Turks repeatedly referred to six common issues that make up the comparative dimensions in the analysis: (1) orientation to culture, (2) orientation to space, (3) participation and involvement, (4) perception of the change of time, and (5) validity of knowledge and (6) social self-positioning. In this way, the orientations that German Turks have with the effect of their migration background can be reconstructed as a common, overarching theme that all German Turks work on in their explanations of their lives in Germany.

Looking at all the horizons of comparison and the ideal-typical constructs developed from them in this qualitative reconstruction study, it becomes clear that essentialist cultural attitudes, a lack of reflection, and an urge to avoid discussion have shaped the ways of self-expression. Based on the empirical material, it can be said that essentialist cultural preferences are related to situations in which the person is dependent on their own cultural background, perception of pluralism, and personal history. For those who have had personal or parental experience with the mainstream majority environment in Turkey, Turkey is seen as a single homogeneous structure. Not being aware of the differences that exist in many areas in Turkey, or ignoring them even if they are aware of them, leads people to maintain their essentialist cultural preferences in their private

relationships and social life in Germany. The reconstructed action-guiding orientations of the ideal type of “authoritarian following in the mode of mono-perspective power” are based on these findings.

If action-guiding orientations can be assigned to the ideal type of “bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue”, in that case, there are indications that the rigor of essentialist approaches is decreasing. On the one hand, the boundaries between being Turkish and being German remain sharp. Still, on the other hand, participation in the other is exhibited in environments that are assumed to be safe, which are religious and cultural centers. The fact that this kind of participation is carried out with the aim and effort of explaining what belongs to one does not mean that one is closed to understanding and learning from the other.

When the orientations that guide action are assigned to “dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging, affiliation”, the beliefs and convictions are not always as solid as in the previous types. On the one hand, this happens for various reasons, such as changes in environment, experience, and perspective. The most striking area of the dissolution of certainties is seen in the perception of Turkish and German cultures as complementary. Personal experiences impact the change of beliefs and values and the differentiation of perspectives. The living environment leads to a re-evaluation and possibly a change of previously held beliefs. A person raised in a particular religious tradition is no longer as uncomfortable talking about issues that were once central to their identity and considered non-negotiable. On the contrary, such an experience provides a positive perspective on other cultures. This perspective paves the way for participation as a participant in different social settings that offer new learning opportunities and the dissolution of other sharpnesses. Differences are not considered uncomfortable or feared; instead, these differences create a distinct beauty.

If action-guiding orientations can be assigned to the ideal type of “social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity”, one is not stuck in a narrow mold defined by others in terms of cultural belonging. One determines for oneself what is and what is not. The nomenclature made or to be made by others is not important in this respect. Activities in all kinds

of social environments are central to universal human rights, not only as participants but also as guides and leaders. In every subject, there is a goal of learning and development centered on explaining oneself to others and listening to others. It does not refrain from discussing topics that are clearly and logically explained. This process opens the doors to new learning opportunities; every kind of communication is a means of development. These processes allow the individual to position himself in a place centered on universal values. It leads to pluralism and a tolerant and respectful acceptance of differences.

A problematic finding of this study is that the formal learning and educational processes of the German Turks participating in the research have little influence on their action-guiding preferences. On the one hand, this situation leads to a limited impact of schools, the most basic learning environment, on plurality, globality, and cosmopolitanism. This perception has been identified not only in orientations that see school and education only as a means to obtain diplomas and jobs but also in orientations that strongly recognize the power and value of formal education.

The basic typology, which refers to the importance of recognition, made visible the comparative horizons and the identification of different types and neuralgic points for social recognition. The following functional results can be reconstructed as experiences of German Turks in the context of global social issues: On the one hand, the values, habits, and social norms of Germany are accepted, while on the other hand, the influence of their family heritage from Turkey, where their roots come from, continues. German Turks have a confusion of identity and belonging that is defined within the framework of adaptation-integration and assimilation debates that have been going on since the beginning of migration. This confusion leads to comparisons and causes difficulties. The in-between position of German Turks squeezed in an identity trap leads to the need to show their identity and prioritize belongings. The sharpness of this process creates a permanent perception of 'the other'. The process of dissolving these certainties leads to a more pluralistic understanding. The creation of the perception of pluralism and respect for diversity leads to a

weakening of the image of the 'other' and a strengthening of the perception of democracy.

The key results of the research are summarized below in a brief form.

Perception of plurality

The main focus of this study is global orientation and its importance for democracy; the case is German Turks. An important result of the study is that the participants' orientation in a globalized world, which deals with the perception of pluralism in the context of recognizing, accepting, and respecting the values of others as a consequence of living as a minority in Germany, can be reconstructed as a common theme. The strong mono-perspective essentialization in type 1 gradually weakens and loses its effect in type 3 and type 4, and a more universal perspective emerges. While type 1 perceives Turkey as homogeneous and has little reference to the perception of world society, types 3 and 4 perceive plurality in Turkey and link this to an understanding of world society. For type 2, religion is an essential means of getting to know and getting closer to other segments of society.

The narratives of the participants and the reconstructed orientations based on these narratives show how the interviewees dealt with the perception of pluralism, how this perception influenced their preferences and orientations, and how the perception of pluralism guided their evaluations in negotiating different issues. The role of their religious and political identities is effective in shaping their understanding of pluralism. This effect is focused on how German citizens view Germans of Turkish origin, their religion and religious pluralism, and the experiences of German Turks themselves or their families in Turkey, which play an effective role in shaping the perception of pluralism. In addition to the conditions created by being a community within German society, the cultural norms they brought with them from Turkey continue to have an impact. In this regard, the role of the perception of cultural plurality, also in the country of origin, in avoiding mono-perspectival essentialist cultural orientations becomes clear.

The research demonstrated the role of the perception of cultural pluralism in avoiding mono-perspectival essentialist cultural orientations,

even in the country of origin. The perception of plurality in the country of origin is essential for understanding world society. Obviously, it is a precondition for understanding world society to see the plurality of life in Germany and Turkey.

Some types do not perceive plurality and an understanding and appreciation of cultural diversity because they believe that countries and cultures are homogeneous. They do not have enough opportunities to interact with people from different backgrounds and do not have the chance to learn about people from different cultures.

Cultural essentialism strongly emphasizes homogeneity and conformity, which results in not valuing diversity or encouraging exposure to other cultures. This leads to a lack of understanding and appreciation of cultural differences and makes it difficult for individuals from these cultures to adapt to new, more diverse environments. Developing a sense of plurality can be difficult without the opportunity to learn about different cultures and perspectives. This may be particularly true for types who may not have had access to the realities of Turkey and Turkish history that expose them to diverse cultures and ideas. On the other hand, positive experiences with people from different cultures can help foster understanding and appreciation of cultural differences.

Cosmopolitan approaches

Another result of the research is that democracy-related aspects of cosmopolitanism (e.g., the experience of plurality, attribution of meaning to human rights) are related to the experience of plurality in both societies or its rejection in the cases of majority experiences associated with Turkey. In type 1, the influence of cosmopolitan approaches is weak, while in type 2, the strength of this influence diminishes. On the other hand, in types 3 and 4, the cosmopolitan influence is strong, and a positive view of pluralism and an approach towards universal human rights are prominent.

While cosmopolitanism is a philosophical and political perspective that emphasizes the importance of understanding and engaging with people from different cultural backgrounds (Appiah, 2007), cosmopolitanism in the context of democracy is observed in the research as open-minded

and inclusive individuals in their political beliefs and practices. The democratic aspect of individuals with a cosmopolitan lifestyle is their willingness to listen and take into account the perspectives of others. German Turks are a diverse group with various cultural, social, and economic backgrounds and experiences. This study reveals that type 4 and partially type 3 have a cosmopolitan outlook that reflects their unique position at the intersection of Turkish and German cultures. One aspect of cosmopolitanism that is particularly relevant to some types is the idea of cultural exchange and the value of diversity. Some types or their parents have lived in Turkey and Germany and therefore had the opportunity to experience and learn from both cultures. This cultural exchange can lead to the exchange of ideas, the sharing of knowledge, and the enrichment of both Turkish and German cultures.

Another critical aspect of the cosmopolitan approach is the idea of universal human rights, which is visible in type 4. All people, regardless of their immigration status, have the right to live and work in safety and dignity. Cosmopolitan approaches to migration recognize the importance of protecting the rights of migrants and advocating for policies that support their well-being and integration into their new communities. In addition, it recognizes the importance of those with immigration backgrounds in addressing the root causes of migration, poverty, and conflicts. This includes working to promote stability in countries of emigration, supporting efforts to eliminate the causes of migration, and participating in activities against global inequality and injustice. This brings with the advocacy of policies that support integrating some types into German society and promote greater cultural understanding and tolerance. These include supporting initiatives that promote language learning, education, and employment opportunities for immigrants and combating discrimination and prejudice against immigrants. The results demonstrate work to value and respect the cultural diversity of Turkey and Germany, defend the rights and well-being of immigrants, and address the root causes of migration.

Quest for harmony

A further important result of the research, the quest for harmony, shows the search and expectation of peace and satisfaction in the immediate environment, especially in the family environment. In this lived ideal of harmony or unity, familial mono-positioning is demanded. In concrete terms, different political positions are rarely exchanged or discussed. In this way, social expectations of homogeneity are drawn into one's own circle of life. Discourse, discussion, and debate do not have a positive connotation in types 1, 2, and 3 but tend to be viewed negatively. The relationship with the world society is outlined as not understanding its plurality, and there is a weak relation to world society. In this regard, type 1 acknowledges the existence of different cultures, understandings, and ideas but avoids contact with the alien or others. Type 2 prefers contact with others only in safe environments that do not require discussion. There is an attitude of withdrawal and avoidance of contact with the 'other'. The search for harmony, observed mainly in type 1 and partially in type 2, causes people to ignore their problems with others, delay a search for a solution, or not seek it at all.

The essence of the quest for balance and unity is the maintenance of harmony and peace without discussion, not the choice to live in harmony with others. As a result of the conscious and deliberate avoidance of argument for fear of separation, conversations with others are not intended to seek the good, the right, or the best. This avoidance does not always result in living in peace with others and the outside world, does not result in the emergence of what is wrong, and does not result in a respectful understanding of differences. Still, it does result in the harmony seen in type 2. This pursuit of harmony often delays or makes it impossible to face complex realities and make difficult choices. Although the pursuit of harmony makes it seem as if individuals have no problems with others, on the contrary, it only obscures conflicts and disagreements between individuals due to unresolved issues. One of the main reasons for seeking harmony in a relationship is to maintain emotional well-being.

Harmony can provide a sense of support, security, and happiness and maintain communication within the family or friends. Harmonious relationships are often characterized by respectful communication, which can help resolve conflicts and build trust and understanding. In the opposite case, there is a possibility that relationships will become strained or even broken. This possibility can be seen not only in the preference of one party but also in the will of the other. For this reason, in order not to break or interrupt communication, harmony is maintained by staying away from, delaying, or avoiding the issues on which there is disagreement. It is preferable to ignore or dismiss conflicts and challenges rather than address and resolve them. The bond, sense of belonging, and connection are not damaged by maintaining relationships with other parties. Avoiding conflict creates a sense of fulfillment and happiness. People feel more connected and supported.

Lack of discursivity

After analyzing the empirical material, another result of this study is how discursivity is understood, handled, and dealt with. The empirical data shows the lack of discursivity in types 1 and 2 in relationships within and outside the community. As an expected result of seeking harmony, individuals avoid presenting and defending their own viewpoints, presenting arguments coherently and structuredly, and engaging in meaningful dialogue and discussion. On the contrary, discursivity is visible in type 4, leading to self-reflective learning. This learning generally ends with acceptance of plurality and universal values.

Type 1 expects information from external sources, especially from an authority, and rejects suggestions outside their current knowledge. Type 2 also does not develop a culture of discussion. Knowledge is acquired through transmission, and personal preferences and skills play a minor role. Type 3 is open to interaction with different cultures, and the experience and acquisition of knowledge from these relationships are considered natural and valuable. For type 4, the source of knowledge is unlimited, and outside of formal places of learning, such as schools, a dialog with a person can also be instructive. There is no prejudice about the source of learning.

The lack of communication that results from this avoidance leads to misunderstandings, conflicts, and assumptions. It also makes it difficult for individuals to effectively communicate their ideas and thoughts to others, leading to frustration and difficulties in building relationships and achieving their goals. Empirical data suggest that the lack of discursivity is not due to a lack of language skills or abilities in Turkish or German but to a fear of critical thinking for various reasons. This situation limits individuals' ability to think critically and communicate effectively while keeping them closed to different perspectives and ideas. On the other hand, for type 4, discursivity is an indispensable value, a characteristic at the center of social life. There is an open preference to discuss, talk, or evaluate any value without concern.

From the empirical data, several reasons can be listed why people avoid discussions or conversations, including fear of conflict, lack of trust, disinterest, and communication difficulties. German Turks avoid discussions or conversations because they fear conflict or disagreement with other people. They fear the debate will lead to an argument or tension and try to avoid it altogether. At the same time, it is evident that people feel insecure about themselves and their opinions and, therefore, prevent discussion to avoid feeling vulnerable or exposed. The inability to express oneself adequately sequentially and the lack of argumentation are other reasons.

Hybridity perception

Another central finding of this study is how hybridity is understood in the German-Turkish community. A bicultural structure develops when the Turkish social and cultural environment comes from the family and meets the German educational environment, the place of work, and the network of other social relations. On the one hand, this structure, which develops in the natural course of life, appears as a composition that tries to establish a connection between the differences; on the other hand, it sometimes causes fragmentation in the search for belonging, in the uncertainty of which side one will be close to or stay away from. In the first case, hybridity is seen as a component within the parts that make up the

great whole. While hybridity is visible when there are common overlapping parts, there is a desire to be seen as they are and as part of the big picture. In the second case, there is a desire to be an active and useful part of the larger structure and not to forget the ties of family or family history.

Type 1, with an essentialist approach, does not accept the existence of hybrid identities and presents a view close to interactions. Type 2 does not deny the existence of different identities and the relationship between them but recognizes them as independent entities. Type 3, in which the sharpness is gradually refined, establishes a relationship with the other and is open to the cooperation of differences, preferring development through participation and learning from the other. For type 4, identities or names are of little importance, and the person can learn in any environment and change through interaction.

First-generation German Turks often bring not only the Turkish language with them but also their own cultural traditions and identities. In this regard, they see hybridity as a way to celebrate and embrace these aspects of themselves. It also gives them the possibility to learn from and exchange ideas with the culture of Germany as an enriching and positive experience and also a way to adapt to and navigate the cultural environment of Germany and be resilient in the face of cultural change. Hybridity is also seen as a natural consequence of globalization, which has brought people from different cultures closer to one another. While some German Turks support hybridity and the joyous blend of diverse cultures, some are against it mainly because of feeling strongly connected to Turkish cultural traditions. Hybridity is seen as a threat to the Turkish cultural identity, which has to be preserved under all conditions. They fear that blending with the culture of Germany will lead to the erosion of their own cultural practices and values or assimilation and a loss of cultural identity.

On the other hand, because of nostalgic feelings for Turkey and Turkish history make them stay away from hybrid understanding with the fear of losing their connection to Turkey and Turkish culture. It is seen as a form of cultural loss or displacement. Strong religious or moral beliefs that are at odds with some aspects of Germany or German culture make them see hybridity as a way to compromise these beliefs. Neither situation

leads to a harmful separation from society. Hybridity is perceived as a hair braid, and the individual threads that make up this hair braid are indistinguishable. When these strands are braided, they take on a special meaning and make sense.

Recognition expectation

The basic typology refers to the importance of recognition, which has already been defined and described in scientific discourse (see chapter 2). The long-standing debates and research on adaptation and integration show that maintaining a connection to one's cultural identity facilitates migrants' attachment to their new life and positively affects their mental health (Alderson et al., 2016). However, the integration expectations of the new country often lead to the recognition needs of migrants being overlooked or ignored. It has long been known that there is an ongoing problem of 'recognition' due to some wrong choices made in the early stages of migration to Germany, and the effects of these choices are still visible (see chapter 2). The expectation of recognition in this context represents a longing that has been going on for generations. Nevertheless, the definition of comparative horizons and different types clarifies the neuralgic points for social recognition. Thus, at the same time, the complexity of pedagogical interventions becomes apparent.

In particular, the summary of these research results makes clear the expectation of recognition of the four ideal types as the sixth main result. On the one hand, it can be seen that family members did not receive the necessary congratulations and respect in the past. However, they contributed to the development and welfare of Germany for many years. On the other hand, the desire to have their own existence recognized under the identity of "German-Turkish" can be observed. Underlying this expectation is the sensitivity that when society reminds them of their "Turkish" past or identity in various ways, their ancestors' role in the prosperity this country achieved should not be forgotten.

While the expectation of recognition emerges to some extent in all types, for types 1 and 2, there is a desire for recognition in which Turkish identity is particularly dominant. For types 3 and 4, the immigrant iden-

tity, which includes the Turkish identity and presents a broader perspective, becomes prominent. For type 4, where the importance of being Turkish decreases, recognition evolves beyond personal and group recognition to the recognition of problems of all.

Validation of identity is a significant reason for the recognition. German Turks seek recognition to validate their sole Turkish and/or unique German Turkish identity and cultural background. They feel their culture and traditions are not fully respected or understood in their new country and seek recognition to assert their cultural identity and worth. At the same time, they look for recognition as a way to feel a sense of belonging and connection to Germany. When they don't see enough recognition, they feel isolated or marginalized and seek recognition to feel included and accepted. It is also a way to advocate for equity and fairness. When they feel they are not being treated equally or justly, they seek recognition to defend their rights and needs. Recognition is a way to facilitate integration into Germany, understand better and navigate the culture and norms of Germany, and encourage their participation in society. This leads to boosting their self-esteem and confidence. They feel more valued and respected.

Role of Interreligious Dialogues

One of the research findings is the place and importance of religion (Islam) and interreligious dialogue activities of Muslim German Turks with members of other faiths. In a religiously diverse world, those who understand the interconnectedness of societies and groups engage in interreligious dialogue. In doing so, they strive to promote understanding and tolerance across differences and to bridge the gap between different faith traditions. This endeavor expresses an understanding of a world community that embraces pluralism while presenting itself as it is. Interreligious dialogue creates a safe and accepted environment within society. In this dialogical environment, dualities can be bridged, and forms of plurality can be experienced by remaining themselves. The relationship with members of other religions is non-polemical, peacemaking, and cooperative. For type 3, this constructive attitude includes learning from others. This approach, which seeks to understand members of other religions beyond

self-expression, sees interreligious dialogue as a contribution of different cultures to themselves.

Goals for identity

The characteristics of the four ideal types have different goals to be pursued:

Type 1 has a transmission goal that prefers transferring historically and culturally significant knowledge from its own perspective to others. With this perspective, which displays a mono-perspectival essentialist approach, there is an authoritarian search for dominance. Goal search in type 2 aims to build bridges by dialoguing with different segments of society over commonalities. Although some essentialist approach is maintained, participation in different environments is exhibited in safe areas. In this way, the aim of expressing oneself and passing on one's own belongings to others is seen. In type 3, there is a search for coping with differences in belonging and affiliation; the goal is to display the differences as a part of a whole. In this way, they both enjoy being different and showing that difference is not something to be feared or worried about. Having moved away from essentialist approaches, type 4 aims to define itself through a framework determined by itself, not by the patterns or borders drawn by others. Instead of the desire and motivation to express oneself, the goal is to conclude by talking and making all kinds of discussions, when necessary, clear.

These empirical findings are made efficient for further theory development in the following sections. Specifically, the empirical results are shown graphically in the figure below to contribute to the analysis of German Turks' beliefs and values in the context of global social issues.

5.2 Modalities for the perception of the world society

In this section, the study's primary results, summarized in the previous section, will be evaluated and discussed under various theoretical aspects. With the present study, the action-directing orientations of German Turks have been reconstructed, and thus, the implicit knowledge bases that guide their actions have been made explicable. The revealed four types

reflect the diversity of action practices of German Turks in the context of global social issues.

Based on empirical data, it can be seen that there are particular challenges. The findings bring to world society understanding that the notion of harmony, the role and function of dialogue between religion for identity and participation, the function of recognition, and the idea of discursive approaches and self-expression for understanding world society. These major points can be discussed in five aspects. The first aspect is the perception of cultural plurality. This problem is dealt with in more detail in 5.2.1. The second aspect is seeking harmony and avoiding conflicts (5.2.2). The third aspect is the emergence of religion as a means of participation (5.2.3). The adoption of cosmopolitan approaches for social recognition and adaptation, which is the source of the basic typology, is another aspect (5.2.4), while the presence or absence of discursive approaches focused on self-expression is the last aspect (5.2.5).

5.2.1 The role of the perception of cultural plurality

In the following, the analysis of the actions of German Turks is concentrated on the understanding of plurality. German Turks, on the one hand, are trying to be a part of a pluralistic society in Germany with their alleged differences. On the other hand, they are burdened with the cultural and social baggage of their past in Turkey. As already described above, one of the main results of this study is that all the cases included in the sample represent the understanding of pluralism in a different dimension and, therefore, define how they understand pluralism differently. Here, it becomes clear that both the experiences of pluralism that the individual or their family encountered in their lives in Turkey played a decisive role in shaping their understanding of pluralism in Germany.

The perception of plurality, or the understanding and acceptance of diverse groups and cultures within a society, can vary significantly among individuals without firsthand experiences with heterogeneous societies. According to research, individuals with limited intercultural experiences may rely on media portrayals and stereotypes to form their perceptions of

other cultures (van Tilburg & Vingerhoets, 2005). This can lead to biases and prejudice (Ward, Bochner, & Furnham, 2020) and a limited understanding of the complexity and diversity within different cultures (Berry, 1980; Burton, 1997). On the other hand, research has also shown that increased intercultural interactions can lead to more positive attitudes and perceptions of cultural diversity (Furnham, 2010). These experiences can help individuals better understand and appreciate the differences within a society (Young, 1995), leading to more inclusive and tolerant attitudes (Rudmin, 2006). The perception of plurality among individuals with limited intercultural experiences may be limited and potentially biased, while those with more diverse intercultural experiences may have a more nuanced and accepting understanding of cultural diversity (Bauböck, Heller, & Zolberg, 1996).

Plurality perception refers to how individuals perceive and interact with their community's various social and cultural groups (Berry, 1997). Based on the results, in the German Turkish community, plurality perception is shaped by a variety of factors, including the individual's own cultural background, family history, experiences in the host country, and interactions with other members of the community for the German Turks participating in the study is evident. The higher the level of certainties, the lower the value placed on pluralism, while the lower the level of certainties, the higher the value placed on pluralism. One of the key factors influencing the perception of pluralism in the German-Turkish community is the social environment in which the respondents live. Individuals who are more socially adapted to German society are more likely to perceive the various cultural groups within their community as distinct, equal, and interconnected. This focus is particularly evident for type 4, "social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity type".

On the other hand, less adapted, socially disengaged people perceive their own cultural group as superior to others or see other cultural groups as instruments for the status and well-being of their own group. This is particularly evident in type 1, "allegiance following in the mode of monoperspective power type". In addition, plurality perception is shaped by intergroup conflict or tension. Conflict or tension between different cultural

groups within a community leads to negative perceptions and stereotypes of others. It can make it more difficult for individuals to see the value and worth of others.

Based on these results, it can be abstracted that the orientations of German Turks' global society orientations concerning cultural plurality perception are reconstructed between a line that focuses on understanding differences based on cosmopolitanism (Appiah, 2007) and perceives differences negatively based on essentialism (Glickman, Gordon, & Ross-Gordon, 2017). For example, as presented in chapter 2, Berry distinguishes between the two by underlining the degree to which immigrants moving to a new country, society, or cultural environment orient to the contemporary society: individuals desire to preserve their ethnic culture, and individuals wish to interact with the members of the majority group (Berry, 1997).

The role of the perception of cultural plurality, also in the country of origin, in avoiding mono-perspectival essentialist cultural orientations becomes clear. When Turks migrated to Germany, they brought with them not only their physical presence but also their emotions, preferences, habits, and the meanings they had learned and constructed up to the time of migration. The findings show that democracy-related aspects of the like experience of the plurality are related to experiences of plurality in both societies or their rejection in cases of majority experiences related to Turkey. Other than space, type 4 has already had the experience in Turkey that a mono-essentialist perspective does not work. They saw the negative examples, so they knew what was wrong. This experience was also inherited in Germany and reconstructed as accepting differences and plurality. They had the experience of dealing in a society, not dealing with a culture, multiculturalism, and hybridity in Turkey already. With this experience, acting in a society constructed on the principle of plurality is much easier. On the contrary, living in a country with less perception of pluralism, even if it is their homeland, is more challenging for this type.

At the center of the complaint that people of Turkish origin are underrepresented in German society is the desire to make German Turks more visible. Many who express their discontent within this framework

do not show any action other than complaining. There is no such action as participating in a non-governmental organization or becoming active in a political party. Still, there is an expectation that they will be given representation simply because they are of Turkish origin. There is a desire to have a place not by winning and deserving it but simply because of their origins, but no active work is shown to eliminate the weakness of representation. The expectation that the authority should open a space for them is perceived as a lack of democracy, even though it does not align with democratic principles. The expectation that these positions should be offered to them is not because they cannot achieve them through their own efforts, endeavors, and skills but because of an understanding of an authoritarian essentialist society background. In these societies, people are given a place. Finding a place is not in the capacity of individuals, but the authorities hold this.

On the other hand, a different orientation is observed in those who were introduced to pluralism in Turkey because they did not already belong to the majority of Turkish society due to their political, ethnic, cultural, or class position in Turkey, and in those who were able to adapt to the pluralistic environment in Germany due to their experiences. Those in the first group (Kurds, Alevis, Christians, etc.)

When migrants migrate to a place where they think their living conditions will be better, they do not see or know the problems in the destination country at first. Over time, they face the realities of their society and learn the realities and issues at the destination. Struggling with those problems that only concern migrants like oneself is the first step towards participation in civil society. This change continues by participating in other civil society activities that do not directly interest them.

Most interviewees came to Germany, taking with them what Turkey taught and giving them. These are those that they, or their grandparents or parents brought, are still with them, more or less. Some continue to form the basis of their life choices with what they got (type 1), while others combine them with values from Germany (types 2 and 3). Some others approach these values from a universal perspective, regardless of the country of origin, and make their choices regardless of country (type 4).

5.2.2 Seeking harmony and avoiding conflict

German Turks seek harmony in their daily lives and interactions with others, not limited to but especially with family members.

The empirical material reveals different approaches to the harmony-seeking orientations of the German Turks interviewed. Worrying that a discussion with family members or friends will cause conflict either delays or makes it impossible to discuss, consider, and evaluate the controversial issues in detail. This results in different specific challenges for understanding others since even talking on controversial topics is seen as a persuasion process, not for understanding. To avoid distance due to disagreement with others, especially close family members and friends, the importance of harmony and discourse becomes apparent. In this lived ideal of harmony and unity, familial mono-positioning is demanded. Different political positions are rarely exchanged or discussed. In this way, social expectations of homogeneity are drawn into one's own circle of life. Discourse, discussion, and debate do not have a positive connotation in types 1, 2, and partially 3 but tend to be viewed negatively. Discussion, even small talk on controversial issues, is deliberately avoided to keep the peace and maintain harmony.

Conflict avoidance is a behavior to please others and a deep-rooted fear of upsetting others (Tjosvold & Sun, 2002). Always looking for harmony leads to suppressing diversity of thought and opinion. Individuals or groups are discouraged from expressing opposing views or differing opinions to adapt. This leads to a lack of discussion or critical thinking, ultimately stifling creativity while maintaining the status quo (Leung, Koch, & Lu, 2002). While this process involves ignoring individual needs and desires, it also leads to a lack of autonomy (Donnellan, Trzesniewski, & Robins, 2011). Unresolved problems perpetuate, and sometimes increase, resentment or dissatisfaction among individuals or groups (Young, 1995). On the one hand, it prevents people from being authentic; on the other hand, it ignores the authenticity of others (Cheek, 1989; Kim, Sherman, Ko, & Taylor, 2006). Failure to understand the underlying rea-

sons for disagreements may involve pretending to agree with others, leading to a genuine connection (Zhang & Wei, 2017). In seeking harmony, the sense of valuing the diversity of thought and individuality is weakened and limits the development of individual identity and autonomy (Thomas, 1992). Even though this search seems to maintain harmony, it creates a hidden tension within families and perpetuates oppressive societal norms (Zhang & Wei, 2017).

Thus, the willingness for self-censorship is seen primarily on political issues, which may lead to disagreement or conflict within the families. To avoid discomfort or tension, family members willingly choose to avoid discussing politics altogether. This orientation is not limited to relationships within the family. Still, it is also reconstructed in different social settings to avoid the topics to maintain harmony or due to societal norms or the influence of family dynamics and power dynamics. It is impossible to agree or disagree and set boundaries if discussions become too contentious. When people do not feel comfortable communicating openly and honestly, it leads to a lack of connection. Repairing conflicts promptly after a discussion is difficult, which limits maintaining a healthy and robust relationship.

Democracy starts at the micro-scale with family relationships and daily social interactions. When a sense and perception of democracy that is not developed within this framework prevents civil society activities, political debates, and the expression of opinions on issues, it affects society at the macro scale. It is stated that clear communication fosters trust and respect within a group and helps to prevent conflicts from arising. Furthermore, avoiding discussions or disputes can lead to a lack of diversity in perspectives and ideas within a group (Berry et al., 2021). Therefore, when some people have a negative connotation for discourse and discussion, it is difficult or even impossible to resolve existing problems and issues of disagreement or prevent future problems in advance. When someone has had a negative experience with discussions or debates in the past, they may be more hesitant to engage in them in the future. A vicious circle is thus created.

In summary, it can be stated that German Turks' cultural codes and traditional values are geared towards the devaluation of discussion. Being unable to speak freely about one's preferences, wishes, and feelings weakens the desire for democratic participation. When the worthlessness of a debate is frequently emphasized in family relationships and other social settings, the belief that it is natural and expected not to present an argument against an idea with which one disagrees develops. For this reason, training on the openness of all kinds of ideas to the discussion, not just differences and contradictory ideas, will teach that discussion will not disturb the peace.

5.2.3 Religion as a resource for participation

A significant part of the Turkish community in Germany is Muslim, which is different from the Christian and atheistic majority in the country. This difference has been cited as one of the reasons for barriers to participation (Adida, Laitin, & Valfort, 2010), but the power of religion concerning integration is often described in an unclear and abstract way (Jackson, 2009) (also see chapter 2). From the empirical data, it is possible to say that the power of religion is bringing it from the authoritarian mono-perspective in a breaching perspective.

Religion is a stepping-stone for essentialists, who stay away from participation and remain trapped in their own narrow circle in an ethnocentric orientation, to bring them together with different segments of society and reach the first stage of involvement and foster cultural exchange via their position to bridge between groups (Wiley et al., 2019). This participation starts first by joining the congregation in mosques and then by participating in activities in mosque communities. Participants with different levels of religiosity, political views, and worldviews can get to know other Turks at the common point of these communities. The following participation stage is meeting with different segments of German society through these associations. These include the mosque association's participation in a charity campaign in the city on behalf of Muslims or the

mosque association's support for campaigns on issues of concern to immigrants. This also includes meetings with members of other religions with a common theme. These safe spaces help reduce sharpness, make common and divergent points visible, and recognize and understand the differences. In this regard, religion represents a powerful resource for type 2. In the safe and accepted forms of interreligious dialogue, dualities can be bridged, and forms of plurality can be felt.

However, the strength of religion is not in bringing it to a hybrid understanding. It is also possible to see in the data the strengths and weaknesses of religion as a bridging function based on religiosity. However, the opposite is also likely; while it has a bridge-building function, it creates a compelling “we” versus “other” distinction. This depends on the orientation of the teachings of the mosque association members or the imams. Most of the imams in Turkish mosques in Germany are appointed by the Turkish Religious Authority as public employees paid by the Turkish state. The classical religious education of these imams sent from Turkey is seen as adequate. They respond not only to the community's spiritual needs but also to their counseling needs on many issues. Imams work seven days a week and have a high tolerance for frustration. Despite these positive traits, on the other hand, these imams, who have only socialized in Turkey, have difficulties reaching out to community members, especially to the younger generation. It is difficult for these imams, who can only speak Turkish and preach in Turkish, to address the younger generation, who have little or sometimes no Turkish, and to learn first-hand about the problems and needs of teenagers. It is also observed that the imams from Turkey operate within the framework of the sensitivities of Turkey and the Turkish state rather than the realities of Germany and German Turks (Bruce, 2020; Yaşar, 2022). In addition, although not often, the interpretation of religion by imams from Turkey, their understanding of the relationship between the state and religion, their orientation towards the role of religion in the public sphere, and relations towards the members of other religions sometimes do not correspond to realities of Germany (Bruce, 2020; Yaşar, 2022).

Besides that, contrary to the practice, in the case of German Turks, religion is always related to a 'state' – in this case to Turkey – which is against the modern understanding that a state should be neutral about religion-related issues. Turkish religious associations are, in most cases, not multicultural; the congregations are predominantly Turkish, the topics covered in sermons are determined and centrally distributed by an institution associated with the Turkish state, and in most cases, they are delivered only in Turkish. On the one hand, the relationship between Turkey and Turkish is maintained through the use of Turkish only in mosques. On the other, contact with institutions associated with the Turkish state is firmly held. This not only contradicts the state's neutrality, its principle of being equally distant or close to all religions or religious issues, except for ensuring freedom of religion but also puts religious activities under state control.

Polarizing positions on theological issues also emerge in the search for answers to the culture shock observed among immigrants in Germany. This orientation, reconstructed in type 1, attributes the backwardness of the Muslim countries to moving away from their own tradition. The reason for the economic and technological backwardness of Muslims is seen as their becoming distant from religion and their own traditions. Therefore, to catch up and overtake others who are technologically and economically advanced, they must return to their roots. As a result, traditional dogmatic doctrines are sanctified. Ritualism, formalism, and literalism that reduce reflection emerge.

On the other hand, type 3 and partly type 4 seek to reconcile Islam with modernity. It argues that there is no fundamental contradiction between the West's scientific and technical achievements and the Islamic religion's content. In this framework, it is sufficient to interpret religion within the framework of today's needs. Religion's emphasis on human rights and participation must be re-understood and made visible. Nevertheless, the findings of this study show that in cases where the mosque or their religious communities are open to starting a religious dialogue, this emerges as a first step into joining society and not staying at home. When participation starts, it can continue in different ways to "interpret reality

and to become active within society” (Frégosi, 2013). Suppose it’s going beyond this special group, and this special group is only dealing with themselves or with others. In that case, it’s the question of the person and the community’s interest.

To summarize, within the framework of the basic type of self-efficacy expectation, German Turks who are members of the Islamic religion can be reconstructed to participate in their daily lives through religion-oriented institutions, contrary to expectations. Participation starts with self-expression in type 2 and evolves into learning from others. Mutual understanding is not limited but highly visible in type 2 and type 3.

5.2.4 Cosmopolitanism for social recognition and adaptation

The empirical data suggests that experienced cosmopolitanism is related to a sense of social recognition. It is important to note that while cosmopolitanism is particularly prominent for type 4, for the other types, the experience of cosmopolitanism is mainly limited to purely close-up experiences. Limited social relations with individuals and groups outside their own community do not allow for a reconstruction of cosmopolitanism for type 1, type 2, and partly type 3. The lack of abstract social reflection this expresses is a problem for the recognition of democracy insofar as it potentially leaves no room for the concept of universal rights, which are always associated with belonging and equal experiential space. This makes it epistemically almost impossible to make sense of questions of universal social justice, intergenerational justice, sustainability, or universal rights. The sphere difference from the supposed non-Germanness and non-Turkishness is broadly not identified as a resource in types 2 and 3. Instead, it becomes apparent that this sphere difference has negative connotations and is not transformed.

In addition to studies showing the “importance of acceptance from the majority group” (Bayad, 2021) in maintaining psychological, sociocultural, and health-related cohesion (Baysu, Phalet, & Brown, 2011), studies drawing attention to the feeling of being “in-between” (Bhabha, 2004;

Verkuyten, 2018) also point to the importance of the expectation of recognition. German Turks are an example of both the benefits and results of biculturalism (Ataca & Berry, 2002) with a cosmopolitan identity, but also stand out as an in-between exception to bicultural acculturation orientations (Sam & Berry, 2016). On the one hand, types 1,2 and partly type 3 fit the description of Amelina and Faist's "failed integrators despite their long migration history" (Amelina & Faist, 2008). On the other hand, German Turks reconstructed within the framework of type 4 exhibit a successful adaptation and participation that cannot only be defined by a successful integration process but can also be evaluated within the framework of cosmopolitanism.

With the impact of modernization and globalization, societies that support pluralism, such as Germany, provide opportunities, environments, and grounds for transforming the essentialist and personal into social and communal dimensions (Vignoles, Schwartz, & Luyckx, 2011). This environment can also be explained by the fact that individual and social identities are different from each other within the framework of Tajfel's Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1982). While dual identity (Dovidio, Gaertner, & Saguy, 2009; Prasch, Neelim, Carbon, Schoormans, & Blijlevens, 2022) and hybrid identities (Bhabha, 2004; Esser, 2009b) are defined for migrant communities in this framework, there is a cosmopolitanism that goes beyond these. While racial, ethnic, and cultural identities are increasingly losing their sharpness in today's world, and people prefer to identify themselves with more than one identity, the opposite has been the case for the Turkish community in Germany. On the one hand, dual identity is more applicable to Turkish immigrants who do not want to leave some parts of their ethnic identity behind (Sam & Berry, 2016).

On the other hand, cosmopolitan German Turks stand out as having a Turkish background by chance. Although they have a Turkish connection in their past, they refrain from stating an ethnic identity, portraying themselves as someone from the majority culture, which is distinct from ethnic identity, as a result of the accelerated flow of ideas across cultures

due to globalization (Jensen et al., 2011). Political participation and interest in German politics among bicultural Turkish Germans only emerge when they perceive discrimination against their own group (Fischer-Neumann, 2014). In this context, multiple identities and their recognition are factors that can increase political participation.

Against this background, the results of this study can be linked to the Turkish Germans in Germany, reconstructed into type 1 and type 2, who have a unique relationship with democracy in general, shaped by several factors, including their experiences in Turkey and their integration into German society. One of the main reasons why those in this group perceive their understanding of democracy as weak is related to their low-level democracy experience in Turkey. Turkey's history of military coups and political instability and the existence of institutions and organizations that disregard pluralism have undermined and reduced trust in democratic processes.

The lack of freedom of the press (RSF, 2022), and the suppression of opposition by Turkish governments (Freedom House, 2022a), which have become commonplace in Turkey, make it difficult for German Turks to embrace and understand the principles and values of democracy fully. These problems are not only today's problems; military coups (1960, 1971, 1980, 2016) and political turmoil over many years can be counted among the obstacles to establishing a healthy democracy and a free press. The slow adaptation of this group to German society compared to other types and similar migrant groups has led to low levels of civic engagement and participation in democratic processes. The feeling that they face discrimination and marginalization in German society has led to continued feelings of alienation (Hammar, 2013) and postponed investment in the democratic process.

5.2.5 Self-expression and discursive approaches

The question of how the learning experiences of German Turks in the context of global society issues direct the focus to the plurality (see subchapter 5.2.1), harmony quest (see subchapter 5.2.2), the role of religion

(see subchapter 5.2.3) and cosmopolitan approaches (see subchapter 5.2.4). Against the background of the main conclusions of this study, the importance of the lack of discursivity in both the perception of pluralism and the search for harmony emerges.

As explained in chapter 1, this study deals with the action-orienting orientations of the actions that migrants of Turkish origin living in Germany encounter daily, which influence their views on global social issues and democracy. In this context, the development of an understanding of pluralism, the strengthening of participation in society, and the increase in cosmopolitan actions are also characterized by the positioning of the power of expression, i.e., the embeddedness of discursivity in a situational context. Thus, the ability to express oneself adequately increases one's participation at all levels, on the one hand, and the search for consensus rather than harmony, on the other hand, leads to the assimilation of democratic traditions. Discursivity is one of the primary forms of democracy-related participation in general. Democracy requires participation in forming opinions on all issues; it depends on people discussing different issues together, seeking the best possible option in the event of emerging or pre-existing disagreements or disputes, and seeking compromise. The basis for this democratic pursuit is an orientation towards discursivity, where positions are exchanged and weighed through communication. The basis for this is the "democratic promise" (Möllers, 2012), in which people recognize, value, and respect each other as free and equal and thus organize the order of rule that is necessary to preserve this freedom, respect, and equality. This also means regulating effects, emotions, and arguments in the "age of anger" (Mishra, 2017). Jürgen Habermas has repeatedly emphasized the importance of public discursivity: "Between citizens who can no longer know each other personally, a fragile common ground can only be established and reproduced through the process of public opinion and will-formation. The state of a democracy can be eavesdropped on the heartbeat of its political public" (Habermas, 2005).

Habermas introduced discourse as "the form of communication characterized by argumentation in which claims to validity that have become

problematic are made a topic and examined for their justification” (Habermas, 1995). In this regard, discourse is a communicative action in the form of regular utterances oriented toward understanding and negotiating individual validity claims (Angermüller, Maingueneau, & Wodak, 2014; Schäfer, 2019). On the other hand, Foucault means the knowledge of the reality of a particular culture that appears in the language by discourse (Foucault, 1971, 1972). Reality can be regarded as complex, multi-layered, and ambiguous in many respects, and discourse makes it possible “to uncover and make visible the richness of aspects” (Duncker & Mathis, 2021). In light of these, discursivity refers to the ability and capacity to have open and honest conversations (Egbert, 2022) and a reflection of language. When discourse is lacking, people may have difficulty expressing their thoughts, feelings, and needs to others, which can lead to misunderstandings and conflicts. Underlying this deficiency lies people’s hesitancy to share their feelings and thoughts for fear of being judged or rejected (Schäfer, 2019). Some societies or cultures are inherently more hierarchical, which allows persons in positions of authority or power to become dominant characters (Küpeli, 2019). This authority is not just a position. Sometimes, issues such as age, kinship relations, and origin can also generate authority (Weigand, 2022).

The empirical data also shows that being open and honest with the other person in a discursive environment requires a certain level of vulnerability. Sensitivity to such vulnerabilities breeds insecurity and pushes people to seek harmony by avoiding self-expression. Some people may also lack the skills to communicate their thoughts and feelings effectively and have difficulty expressing themselves clearly (Giddens, 2007). Social or cultural factors also contribute to the lack of discourse. While some societies or cultures value the pursuit of harmony, they consider it unworthy to express an opinion on a subject, making it difficult for people to express their feelings and thoughts openly. Here, the community’s traditional social norms and customs come to the fore. In some cultures, there is a strong emphasis on maintaining a sense of decency and following social etiquette, making it more difficult for people to express themselves

emotionally (Maritato, 2018). Emotions are seen as something to be controlled and suppressed rather than spoken. The emphasis on self-control and restraint inhibits the expression of emotions. Harmony-seeking emphasizes group cohesion and leads to the presentation of feelings and personal issues as a source of dissonance to be avoided (Berger, Luckmann, Plessner, & Plessner, 2021). Past bad experiences also prevent people from expressing themselves openly and honestly. Such expectations and incentives discourage people from speaking up, expressing themselves, or even listening to others; these processes lead people to cling to their existing ideas and close the door to new learning and change.

When there is a power imbalance because of family structure, age, or some other reasons, there is a hesitation to express opinions against someone who is supposed to be respected, and this may prevent discursiveness. When people hold a strong belief or opinion, they tend to filter out information that confirms their beliefs and ignore information that contradicts it, making them less open to different points of view and hindering discursiveness (Lindemann, 2016; Searle & Suhr, 2018). The data revealed apparent differences in communication styles between Turkish and German cultures. Certain aspects of Turkish culture, such as collectivism, high-context communication, and respect for authority, cause some Turkish immigrants in Germany to be more reserved or less willing to express their feelings and thoughts freely in certain situations. Underlying the avoidance of discussing disagreements between people is the assumption that the other person should change their mind at the end of the discussion (Luhmann, 1998). If the other person is believed not to change their mind at the end of the conversation (Knoblauch, 2017), the topic is not brought up at all, or they leave talking about it.

A person from the mainstream is not required or expected to answer any questions. When a Muslim woman wearing a headscarf enters a social environment in Germany where people who are not like her are present, she may face many questions because of her visible difference. She may be questioned about her headscarf, what she eats or doesn't eat, or even about very simple aspects of her life, and she must explain everything in detail. A person may even often have to explain things with no particular

meaning because they are seen as outsiders, foreigners, or different. Still, others think they must have a special meaning because they see them differently. These questions may be out of curiosity, to learn, or to judge.

In contrast, the mainstream or the hosts often do not feel the need to answer a question, even if it comes just out of curiosity. On the other hand, it is a good sign to ask and be asked questions because those asking - usually - show their curiosity and desire to learn about others. For the party being asked a question, it should be considered a good sign when someone asks a question. Being confronted with a question means that the other person wants to learn. It also creates the possibility and opportunity for someone who is asked a question to ask a question back.

In addition, in a discursive society, every question about something is often linked to the expectation that every decision has an explanation and justification. In this way, the question becomes normality, leading to recognizing a person as an individual with specific choices. This leads to misunderstandings: The person from an individualized society sees a question as a form of recognition of individuality, but if the person being questioned comes from a different social and cultural structure, they perceive it as a form of questioning and exclusion. Research and empirical material show that in the context of Turkey and German Turks, if someone is from the mainstream – in this case, Turkish and Sunni – everything is clear, and there are no salient questions about their actions and preferences. On the other hand, this group does not see or understand how someone who is not Sunni or Turkish might think or feel about the issue at hand. Being from the mainstream means that everything you do is regular or routine, and they don't understand that there might be others besides themselves and that they have different feelings.

When German Turks asked, “Where are you from?” they felt excluded. When the person does not look like Turkish or the answer is unexpected, the questions continue with “Where are you REALLY from?” or “Where is your father from?”. These questions increase the community's sense of exclusion. This question can also be about understanding one's local identity, especially when a German asks another German (Hug & Walter, 2002). When people see a difference or disharmony, they start

questioning. If a black person says, “I am from Bielefeld,” people would continue asking, “Where are you REALLY from?” The first question could be out of simple curiosity, but the second one does not carry good intentions and put people out and lets them feel excluded (Schneider, 2018). The questioning of German Turks by Germans and the questioning of German Turks inside the community, whether they were mainstream or not, also triggered similar feelings of discrimination. There are parts in the interviews where people always complain about being questioned about Turkey-related things. There is an expectation to explain Turkish issues, politics, and Turkey-related issues. They are seen as the experts but don’t want to be experts just because of their origin and do not want to be seen as the experts. German Turks do not want to face these questions – even ones with friendly meanings – which tell them to be put outside. The questions are always to identify where people are from. Although there are different reasons why German Turks are uncomfortable with questions related to their Turkish background, they refrain from openly and freely expressing their feelings and opinions to their interlocutors. Avoiding saying themselves thoroughly and lacking discursivity are reconstructed as a feeling of isolation or alienation (Granderath et al., 2021) or misunderstandings and conflicts, which creates traumas for being known only as a Turk.

In summary, this study, focusing on German Turks, who represent the largest immigrant group in Germany, is based on a politically influential target group for the future of democracy. It is thus possible to take a closer look at the orientations that drive this group’s actions and analyze them from the perspective of the formation of theories of world society. This study contributed to further developing a learning theory of cosmopolitan education. The study has provided new impulses for civic education. There are inspiring results, particularly for groups with a migrant background. By condensing the results, different types of perception and coping with the world were identified. Thus, strong reference was found to the different ways self-efficacy is acquired through social mechanisms. With the six different comparison horizons identified (see table 17), the

recognition and its importance previously identified in scientific discourse is once again established. It is also recognizable that lived cosmopolitanism is related to a sense of social recognition. The role of the perception of cultural plurality, also in the country of origin, in avoiding mono-perspectival essentializing cultural orientations becomes clear. The importance of harmony and discourse becomes apparent, and a familial mono positioning is demanded. For type 2, religion represents a resource and in the safe and accepted forms of interreligious dialogue and dualities can be bridged.

5.3 Discussion of socio-genetic ideas

Familial, cultural, and historical ties from Turkey, transmitted over generations, are essential in the formation of the preferences of German Turks; therefore, all of these factors have had a greater or lesser influence on the learning processes of German Turks.

The four types identified represent the diversity of behavioral practices of German Turks in the context of world society. The question of how these practices develop has yet to be answered. For example, how do participation preferences emerge? How does the process of dissolving certainties create? How is the inclusion of different cultures determined as enrichment or assimilation? Which factors favor hybrid practices? The number of these questions could be increased, but the analyses conducted in the framework of this study cannot be sufficient to answer them. However inadequate, reflections on the background of some practices are offered. The socio-genetic reflections here are about how various practices of German Turks emerge in the context of the world society and are therefore built on the contrasts that arise from the sample of this study.

While the extent to which conjectural areas of experience such as gender, age, and environment determine research orientations has been long discussed (Nentwig-Gesemann, 2013; Nohl, 2013), the results of the research show that age, generation, occupational status, education, and income are not among the socio-biographical conditions that lead or do not lead to differentiation. The only notable socio-biographical issues can be

noted as being a minority in Turkey and partly the reasons for migration. Those who are not mainstream in Turkey, or those who had to leave Turkey because they are not mainstream, generally differ from other groups (those who migrated for purely economic reasons) in terms of understanding others, respect for human rights, and assimilation of universal values. The ones who are coming to Germany because of persecution in Turkey (like Kurds, Alevis, and political dissidents) are more open to German society and any participation and social integration. They find an open space in Germany they didn't have before, and they use this freedom by participating in causes and involvement for various reasons. Those in the first group already have prior experiences of discrimination or at least hearing about it, which gives them an advantage in respecting differences. They are more open to social, political, or much simpler changes. They are not afraid of differences and differentiation. Thus, the study's empirical results also reveal a paradox of world society learning in that mainstream Turks who know about the adverse effects of being seen as the other in Germany are unaware of the existence and problems of others outside the mainstream in Turkey. This understanding points to a problematic relationship between expectation, action, and learning concerning the world society. Thus, as the results clearly show, expectations do not always lead to learning, even when they are supported by action.

The study's results did not reveal any clear and noticeable differences between the preferences of male and female participants or between young and old respondents. This means that not the time make the integration, but some other factors are also crucial for adaptation. The empirical data also reveals that the level of education does not matter for global learning. While authoritarian and essentialist tendencies are reconstructed in highly educated and/or young people, high levels of cosmopolitan world understanding are also reconstructed in low levels of education and high age groups. Neither years of integration, individual age, nor education makes a difference, but the way or which possibilities or participation they find makes the difference. The main divergence is seen between those who, although socio-biographically mainstream and traditional, question preferences within the group and want to differentiate.

These empirical results point to the limits of developing German Turks' cosmopolitan tendencies in world society learning.

Here, it would be helpful to recall the development of German Turks in their more than 60-year history in the country (see chapter 2) within the framework of the dual identity model (Baysu et al., 2011) and acculturation theory (Sam & Berry, 2016). The history of German Turks differs significantly from the development, change, and process of similar economically driven immigrant communities in Germany and other European countries. It is considered an "exception" regarding acculturation (Sam & Berry, 2016). In addition, Turkey's social, political, and economic developments, especially in the last two decades, have gradually eroded the expectation that German Turks would acquire a more hybrid identity over the years (Sauer & Halm, 2018). In this process, the Turkish government's efforts toward Turks living abroad have had a significant impact (see chapter 2). On the one hand, economic developments increased German Turk's sense of pride in their homeland, while on the other hand, segregation accelerated contrary to expectations of acculturation and hybridity models. The importance that Turks in Germany attach to their ethnic identity has been increasing since the early 2000s in parallel with the changes in Turkey's diaspora management (Adar, 2020). While a general threat to non-Germans promotes German national identity in migrant societies, a specific threat to Turks weakens the promotion of German identity in contrast to other societies. The most significant impact of this was observed after the attempted military coup in 2016. These processes led to the rejection of hybrid or multiple identities and the strengthening of singular identities. These processes were considered reasons for the German Turkish community to distance itself from the global society. Due to increased global travel and migration, pluralist and multicultural societies — where members of different cultural, linguistic, and religious groups coexist — are becoming more and more common (Sam, 2016), the preferences of Turkish government and the events in Turkey caused the German Turks to develop a contrary attitude.

The low impact of education on this group in the study also presents a negative picture regarding global education. Previous research has

shown that education still tends to be politically liberating in non-democratic countries but at a lower intensity than in democracies (Diwan & Vartanova, 2020). Despite this data, it is noteworthy that formal education has limited or almost no effect on German Turks socializing in Germany, where a country is classified as free and democratic by international organizations (Freedom House, 2022b). While “global education aims at developing learning communities, in which learners and educators are encouraged to work cooperatively on global issues” (Diwan & Vartanova, 2020), “global learning should lead to knowledge about social justice in the face of globalization and about sustainability and climate change” (Scheunpflug, 2021).

“Evidence means the reason to believe that something works” (Scheunpflug, 2021), and “looking for invisible relationships to make them visible” (Scheunpflug, 2021). In this regard, “talking about evidence in global learning seeks the empirically proven relation of a learning input and a learning outcome” (Scheunpflug, 2021). The empirical results in this research have identified a weak link between the educational process of German Turks and their change and that it does not produce the expected and intended output. Therefore, different methods should be applied to learning issues for German Turks.

5.4 The contribution to a theory of learning the world-society

Individuals or groups living in societies that have experienced democracy for many years sometimes have a weak relationship with fundamental democratic values. Scholars from various disciplines have worked to understand the reasons for this weakness, to get to the root of its causes, and to find ways to remedy it. For a democracy to flourish, it is helpful to understand how individuals, groups, or communities position themselves in terms of their orientation toward the world society and their political participation. As discussed in chapter 2, similar debates have occurred regarding German Turks, who have lived in Germany for over 60 years. Inequalities of opportunity as a result of policies implemented in the early stages of migration, lack of education, different motivations for migration,

and discourses on integration problems are among the reasons frequently emphasized. This study examined the world society orientations of German Turks and how they position themselves in terms of their political participation. The results also indicate which learning experiences moderate openness to the world society and democratic participation. In this study, however, it can be shown that not only factors related to educational challenges, migration motivations, and integration issues are essential for learning processes, but also self-efficacy expectation, perception of pluralism, social recognition, religion, and cosmopolitan experiences play a central role for the action-guiding orientations of German Turks concerning global society and political participation.

World society has been described as characterized by contradictions where orientation problems and uncertainties may arise for each individual. These uncertainties and challenges are detailed in chapter 4 and summarized in table 17. All interviewees identified these challenges of the world society. The case of German Turks shows that the feeling of recognition seems important for world society orientations. German Turks criticize German public institutions and societal values in the country for excluding, ignoring, and misrecognizing their unique cultural values and identities. The scientific discourse already describes the importance of recognition and is once again documented. There is an expectation of recognition that respects their individual preferences and acknowledges their sense of dignity. While recognizing their obligations to society as individuals, the society in which they have lived for over 60 years is expected to recognize them and their preferences. Dissatisfaction is shown when their preferences are put into a certain mold. They feel that German society does not understand them sufficiently regarding the delicate balance between individual identity, freedom, and cultural belonging.

As a qualitative study, this study aims to contribute to the theory-related discourse and generate hypotheses to make the results suitable for further empirical research on participants' orientations.

The first hypothesis can be formulated as follows:

This study shows that a feeling of recognition is essential for world society orientations of migrants and people living with different cultures, as in the case

of German Turks. There is a feeling of disappointment about “there are not enough steps being taken in to recognize them”, and this lack of feeling makes it difficult for this group to develop orientations toward world society. This can sometimes result in resistance to adaptation and change.

Secondly, the role of the perception of cultural pluralism in avoiding mono-essentialist cultural orientations is evident not only in Germany but also in Turkey. The findings of the research show that democracy-related aspects of cosmopolitanism (e.g., the experience of pluralism, the attribution of meaning to human rights, respect for universal values) are related to experiences of pluralism in both societies or, in the case of majority experiences of Turkey, to their rejection. The assumption that Turkey is a homogeneous country leads to ignoring different cultural, religious, ethnic, and other structures. On the one hand, the perception of pluralism was observed in Germany for their own recognition. On the other hand, there was the absence or weakness of a Turkey-oriented perception of pluralism. Those who learn about the world society in the essentialist mode perceive differences from the perspective of “us”, have no “others”, exclude differences, and do not respect the rights and preferences of those not from their circle. On the other hand, those who determine in the mode of “self-assignment” accept the world society as it is and seek solutions to their common problems.

The following hypothesis can be formulated:

For world society orientations, the case of German Turks shows that if people or groups are not involved in hierarchical structures and are independent of authority, respect for global society values will increase in their preferences.

Thirdly, empirical data have consistently revealed an orientation towards the harmonious glorification of social communication rather than revealing and discussing political differences. In order not to undermine the assumed ideal of harmony, mono-positioning is demanded in relationships, especially even if not limited, in the family, and differences are not allowed to be voiced. This expectation of harmony means that different political preferences and opinions are rarely discussed or debated in social relations, let alone within the family. Under the guise of preserving social harmony and order, the expectation of homogeneity emerges, and

people hesitate or avoid openly expressing their own political, religious, and cultural preferences. Discourse, discussion, debate, and expressing personal opinions and preferences do not have a positive connotation in types 1, 2, and partly 3; self-expression and expressing preferences tend to be viewed negatively.

Accordingly, the following hypothesis can be derived from the foregoing:

For world society orientations, the case of German Turks shows that when people or groups are unable to find an environment in which they can freely express their opinions and preferences due to the search for harmony, it affects their democracy-oriented actions their whole lives.

Fourthly, it is evident that religion –in this case, Islam, since the research is about migrants from Turkey– represents a vital source, especially for type 2 and partly for type 3. Interfaith dialogue activities, which focus on explaining one's own values and religion to others, are reconstructed as a way for German Turks to represent themselves in a space where they feel safe. Through interfaith and intercultural activities, where they are accepted as they are, bridges can be built between others, and in this way, they feel that they are a part of German society. The similarities observed in such activities help to reinforce the idea of pluralism.

In light of the data obtained, the following hypothesis can be derived.

For world society orientations, the case of German Turks shows that, when people or groups who actively participate in interfaith and intercultural activities have a higher perception of inclusiveness and pluralism in democracy focal points.

Fifth, the sphere difference that emerges from the supposed non-Germanness and non-Turkishness is broadly not identified as a resource in types 2 and 3. Instead, it becomes apparent that this sphere difference has negative connotations. This definition of identity and belonging cannot be transformed into a positive form of hybrid and transcultural or non-nationally bound identities. In these two types, the Turkish and/or German boundaries are clear, even if there are transitions in between.

Accordingly, the following hypothesis can be derived:

For world society orientations, the case of German Turks shows that, studies that support and promote dual identity, hybridity, and multicultural identities for people or groups with more than one background are beneficial for the consolidation of pluralism and democracy.

Finally, it can also be noticed that the cosmopolitanism experienced is related to a sense of social recognition. German Turks expect to be treated equally in a religiously and culturally diverse German society. Based on the German Constitution, which sets the boundaries of coexistence and leaves room for cultural diversity, a desire for recognition becomes apparent. While social recognition is associated with a symbolic form of state recognition – for example, the legal authorization of Islamic-style burials in Germany – the social significance of the civic aspect of participation is overlooked. Participation is often associated with political involvement, voting, elections, campaigns, etc. On the other hand, participation is limited in the context of civil society-style educational and charitable activities, and associations with different purposes operate locally or nationally. In this framework, participation in types 2 and 3 is limited to religious and cultural structures, which are seen as safe spaces. Except for type 4, experiences of cosmopolitanism are limited mainly to purely close-circle experiences. The lack of abstract social reflection implies a problem for the recognition of democracy. It potentially leaves no room for universal rights, which are always associated with belonging and equal experiential space. This makes it epistemically almost impossible to make sense of questions of universal social justice, intergenerational justice, and sustainability or universal rights.

6 Outlook on further research and practice

This qualitative-reconstructive study has examined the world-society orientations of German Turks and how they position themselves according to their political participation areas by addressing the question of action-guiding orientations. Thus, the competence of German Turks to act in a global world and how they display their abilities in their environment are revealed. At the same time, it has been seen that religion is influential in the participation process of German Turks and determining their position in society. In this framework, the results are transformed into a meaningful socio-genetic typology, thus again revealing recognition's importance. After determining the basic typology, the description of the comparative horizons and the different types make visible the neuralgic points for social recognition. The identified types revealed the orientations of recognition-oriented preferences. Then, the relationship between these ideal types is derived as a second step. It has been shown that, among other things, the traits attributed to the people by the society and the values, beliefs, and habits inherited from Turkey to them and/or their families are the guiding principles in the orientation of German Turks. At the same time, it has been seen that religion is effective in the learning, determination of their position in the society, and participation processes of German Turks.

Discussing the findings of this study presented in the previous sections (see chapter 4) and the empirical results (see chapter 5), recommendations for further research perspectives in terms of world education and democracy education for German Turks are formulated. (see chapter 6.1). The practical perspectives of the results (see chapter 6.2) and their practical applicability are also described in detail.

6.1 Recommendations for research

Further research, as detailed below, should go in two directions. The first is to continue these qualitative interviews with different German-Turkish groups to see if it is a group with general ideas or a specific group (6.1.1). The second direction is to find the distribution of the types determined by

the research with a quantitative survey within the German Turkish community (6.1.2). Further research suggestions for global learning and education are explained in 6.1.3.

6.1.1 Suggestions for further qualitative research

World society orientations are a need as migration and its effects, which constitute one of the main pillars of the research, are not a phenomenon encountered only today. Migration has been experienced for many different reasons since the first days of humanity and continues to be experienced. The movement, which started with the German Turks' desire to be temporary – for both sides – to meet the labor needs that emerged in Europe after the Second World War, has continued until today (see chapter 2). In this process, being integrated into a new society was overlooked, and people who migrated from Turkey to Germany faced some advantages but often disadvantages of being a “guest” from the beginning. With the sense of being temporary, they kept themselves outside and away from the issues concerning the “local” society. They could not find the opportunity to participate in political processes, even if needed. The fact that they could not find a place in Germany for the political participation processes that T.H. Marshall described as the “pinnacle of citizenship” (Marshall, 1977) led them to continue unabated and even increase their interest in Turkish politics (Mueller, 2007). The areas where Turks, who did not have the right to be citizens in Germany when they were defined as guests at that time, could participate were the non-governmental organizations and associations they founded to maintain their culture, religion, and language (Kaya, 2007). By using this right, which is allowed by the opportunities and conditions, they chose the way to meet their needs that emerged as Turks living in Germany.

It is possible to describe these developments with Martha Nussbaum's general capability approach. While respecting religious and cultural differences, Nussbaum also states that universal human development is possible. However, it is necessary to evaluate people's ability to act in a world that is becoming increasingly global with each passing day

within the framework of their abilities in the places where they live. In Nussbaum's capabilities approach, which is shaped around the concept of individual human dignity, attention is drawn to the distinction between "what people are able to do and being" (Nussbaum, 2011). Nussbaum's approach of focusing on each individual in terms of their choices and freedoms rather than their achievements offers an essential perspective for evaluating the policies in Germany that for many years have only focused on the "integration" of migrants.

In Nussbaum's view, when assessing what a person does, one should first focus on the environment in which that person does it and relate the results to the environment in which the person is living. In this way, it can reflect what an environment looks like so that people can participate. In this regard, it is wrong to look at whether a person has the competencies to do something; the critical point is how to enable a person to do something and create the necessary environment to reach the expected results. Nussbaum, who proposes pluralism in values, points out that even individuals within a family unit may have different needs, emphasizing that the capabilities approach is universal. Individuals are judged on their abilities and the opportunities to produce available results (Nussbaum, 2011, 2019). Turks in Germany have been involved in all levels of German society from the time they were guest workers until today. There is still a long way to go in order to strengthen their position in Germany as a part of society. However, considering the continuation of the relations of this group with Turkey, where the roots of this group come from, it is necessary to evaluate Nussbaum's capabilities approach and expectations accordingly.

In light of Nussbaum's capabilities approach, further qualitative research should be on how the conditions enable or do not enable people to participate. This will give an idea about what conditions need to be created for more type 4 people to emerge who are more meaningful in understanding world society. Which conditions are necessary for more people to become type 4? What conditions and situations produce type 4 people? If the requirements of this environment are understood, and if such environments are made more widespread, there are opportunities

for the proliferation of type 4s. Through such environments, type 1, 2, and 3, which are weaker in understanding world society, can also be transformed into type 4.

In addition, what would be the result if, for example, the environments of type 2s, who see religion as a bridge, were applied to type 1s, who exhibit a more authoritarian outlook? Would they also adopt a stance that accepts the bridging role of religion? What can be done so that different types can show or approach type 4 characteristics, which are more meaningful in terms of world society orientation?

It is also necessary to understand whether the data obtained for this research is specific or generalizable for this group by conducting similar qualitative studies in other parts of Germany (this study only evaluates German Turks living in Bavaria) and throughout Germany. New research can be done to obtain more detailed information on recognition expectation, which is defined in the light of empirical data. In light of the data, further research with a team of theologians may offer different perspectives to better understand the impact of the identified religion (Islam) on this group. In this sense, research focused on groups other than Turkey belonging to the religion of Islam can also make it understandable how much religion and ethnicity influence the data obtained. While the research reveals the importance of the complexity and hybridity of society once again, it may be helpful to know the details of the learning processes of German Turks in this and other subjects. New research is also needed to understand whether there is a transition between the identified types and which learning processes and other processes lead to the transformation from one species to another. Although the research reveals the adequacy and inadequacy of plurality-oriented understanding, it did not provide sufficient data on how some basic democracy-oriented concepts are learned within the framework of plurality. Research on this subject will be helpful in determining which concepts are learned and how they are not learned, as well as the necessary opportunities and possibilities for these concepts to be put into action. In the light of the empirical data, “cultural difference has not disappeared – quite the contrary” (Welz, 2009); in some cases, it has strengthened. Further qualitative research

based on cultural differences can help us understand the reasons for cultural essentialization and the increase in cultural differences.

6.1.2 Suggestions for quantitative research

Welsch's definition of "transcultural society" defines it as a community in which everyone (and/or their families) participates equally, regardless of where their roots come from (Welsch, 1999). Thus, culture is portrayed as a phenomenon that unites, not divides, society, as many do. He states that in the meeting of two different cultures, there are points of contact that eliminate borders, not differences. In this context, it is not the other foreign to someone but the "foreign" elements within the person himself. As one gets to know these foreign elements, one realizes how many similarities and commonalities are with what is defined as alien or outsider (Welsch, 1999).

In Germany, after the economic migration that started in the 1960s, for the newcomers, the emphasis was placed on "Leitkultur", and after the problems of this offer was realized, this preference was abandoned, and a "Mutlikulti" focused approach was adopted (Litta & Wittlif, 2016; Polat, 2000). In this new period, the existence of Turks, Italians, Yugoslavs, and Spaniards in the country, besides the Germans, was accepted. They were seen as colorful pieces of a large patchwork. "Culture is created through the increasing interconnectedness of various local cultures" (Hannerz, 1990), which created today's German culture.

In Multikulti approach, cultures (in this case, Turkish) are assumed to be a homogeneous islet or a closed area. All immigrants from Turkey – even though they are very different ethnically, culturally, geographically, and religiously – are considered the same in one structure. On the other hand, "transculturality" lies in the exchange of different lifestyles (Turkish, Italian, or German), their values, and their understanding of each other (Welsch, 1999). Thus, the dialogue between the assumed groups enables the exchange of ideas, actions, preferences, mutual interaction, and learning. In this process, both the members of the host society and the migrant groups realize how much they have similarities with 'others', and

they choose to define a new relationship that has been determined through differences until that point, based on similarities. Thus, immigrant groups describe the countries of origin and the host countries they moved to as “home”, and both cultures become their own. With these processes, the culture of the host country and the culture they brought with them lose their homogeneity and become increasingly heterogeneous.

Today, German Turks are essentially transcultural. They are both familiar with the language, culture, and customs of Germany and keep the language, culture, and traditions from Turkey more or less alive. Empirical data of the study determined the scarcity and abundance of transculturality. Even though they see Germany as their “home”, there are individuals who have a high tendency to lean towards Turkey with an essentialist approach, as well as individuals who are genuinely “transcultural” as defined by Welsch (Welsch, 1999). As with the *Leitkultur*-*Multikulti*-transcultural evaluation of German society and politics over time, there are also essentialist, hybrid, patchwork, and transcultural approach changes in German Turkish society. On the other hand, “the perspective of the cosmopolitan must entail relationships to a plurality of cultures understood as distinctive entities” (Hannerz, 1990). German society and its relations with other immigrant groups in the country significantly impact the shaping of the Turkish-German community.

In the context of Welsch’s assessment of transcultural society, it would be meaningful to reveal the distribution of types within the German Turks with a quantitative study, thus determining how much of the community exhibits which type characteristics. Such a study would contribute to understanding the representation rates of the identified types in society. Understanding these ratios may also lead to understanding society’s opinion formation processes and mediums. Based on the definition of action-guiding orientations or implicit knowledge bases, these can be collected and examined in a representative questionnaire with the aid of a quantitative research design in a standardized form. To do this, reconstructed orientations should be transferred to a relevant research tool and run for that purpose. In this way, the relationship between the socio-biographical aspects and the orientations that guide the action –if any– can

be revealed. New dimensions about the relationship between socio-biographical distribution, frequencies and possible connections, and orientations that guide action can be obtained. The results of such a research design can be a starting point for understanding how German Turks see their position in the country on the one hand and thus determining their orientation towards democratic actions on the other. Therefore, customized proposals can be produced for different socio-biographical groups of results. Similar results can also be investigated for other immigrant communities.

On the other hand, besides addressing the effects of globalization and cultural exchange for migrant communities, there is also the need to recognize and respect local cultures. In a globalized world, local cultures continue to be the foundation of a society, and local values must be respected for a genuinely globalized society (Hannerz, 1990). This framework has a visible “fear that globalization would bring about a culturally homogenized world” (Welz, 2009) in German society. To understand the rate and impact of this concern in German society, a study may be helpful, this time not for immigrant groups focused, but for German society as a whole. In this way, the source of their concerns about immigrant groups and their validity can be seen, and the data to be obtained can be stimulating for new educational practices and policy changes to overcome this assumed fear.

6.1.3 Further research suggestions for global learning and education

In the 1970s, Niklas Luhmann argued that modern society should be characterized as a world society because social communication is no longer viable outside of global social contexts (Luhmann, 1998). In this context, more research on how the global competencies of the German-Turkish community develop is necessary. What efforts are essential to help these group members who are socializing in Germany create a competent global understanding? It is clear that there should be an interaction between informal learning and formal education in learning global competencies.

Global education aims to influence the behavior and attitudes of individuals in society in general and to teach them to understand others (Scheunpflug et al., 2016; Scheunpflug, 2021; Scheunpflug & Mehren, 2016). For this purpose, it is necessary to understand what is effective in the preferences and attitudes of individuals (Scheunpflug & Asbrand, 2006) in future research to be conducted. This research has once again revealed the importance of global learning and education while determining action-guiding by addressing how German Turks position themselves according to their world-society orientation and areas of political participation. While empirical data determine that universality is inevitable, it also points to its “confusing and frightening” (Scheunpflug, 1996) nature, as individuals now encounter not only familiar surroundings but also people from other cultures and environments (Scheunpflug & Schröck, 2000). These experiences, challenges, and difficulties have forced today’s people to learn to cope with complexity and diverse experiences on many levels.

The facilitation and accessibility of communication and travel opportunities brought rapid social change, and the development of a global world society necessitated a new perspective on education. This research was carried out in the context of German Turks. Determining how an immigrant origin group living in Germany understands the world society also brought up a question. What kind of world society education should be given to these and other migrant groups? The data revealed that school education for German Turks was not as effective as expected in terms of world society education. From this point of view, what kind of education methods should be followed to explain the complex, uncertain, and dynamic realities of world society to immigrant groups?

According to Kant’s definition, people tend to be egoistic and socially cold towards people they do not know personally (Kant, 2006). This determination, which is essential in terms of pluralism, is of great importance for German Turks to better understand the world society. Future studies addressing learning processes in the context of German Turks should fo-

cus more on implicit action-direction orientations related to the understanding and construction of global social contexts or cultural understanding based on the findings of this study.

The flow of culture, ideas, and resources is not a one-way street from one side to the other. On the contrary, there is an intense back-and-forth exchange and communication between outgoing and incoming cultures (Welsch, 1999), and hybrid cultures emerge from meeting multiple cultures. From the day the German Turks began to migrate, their interaction with German society began, and a hybridization arose without realizing it. The research data also determined the existence of those unaware of this hybridization process or object to this process among German Turks. Research that will reveal what needs to be done to teach cosmopolitanism to German Turks with this tendency will also be helpful. In the context of global citizenship education, this research is a case study of people with Turkish backgrounds, but how could these results be related to other migrant groups? With different preconditions, similar research could be replicated for different migrant groups, even for Germans who do not accept contemporary German society's transcultural nature and the hybrid bodies inside the society.

6.2 Suggestions for practice

This research examined the world-society orientations of German Turks and how they are positioned concerning participation (see chapter 4 and 5.1). After more scientific research suggestions, it is also possible to offer some suggestions for practice that align with the research findings.

Hybridity refers to the mixing or blending of different elements, often from diverse cultural or social backgrounds. For identity, hybridity implies the existence of multiple, overlapping identities that may not conform to traditional or rigid categories. It challenges the idea of pure, fixed identities and highlights identity formation's fluid and dynamic nature. Hybrid identities emerge when individuals or groups navigate and engage with various cultural influences, resulting in a unique and multifaceted identity. Heterogeneity refers to the state of being diverse or

composed of dissimilar elements. It emphasizes the existence of differences within a system or a group. Various components characterize heterogeneous societies or groups, whether cultural, social, or other characteristics. Heterogeneity acknowledges the coexistence of different elements without necessarily implying a blending or fusion, as in the case of hybridity — the relationship between hybridity and heterogeneity lies in their shared focus on diversity and multiplicity. Hybridity often contributes to heterogeneity by introducing mixed elements into a system. In the context of identity, enhancing hybrid identity involves acknowledging and embracing the various influences that shape one's sense of self. This can lead to a more heterogeneous understanding of identity within a broader social or cultural context. Hybrid identification proposals can lead to the identification of unique and complex identities in the process of hybridity adoption. Individuals or groups may find a sense of self by negotiating and blending diverse cultural or social elements. In a globalized and interconnected world, where people are exposed to a multitude of influences, the concept of hybrid offers identification and emphasizes the active and evolving nature of identity construction. While hybridity involves blending diverse elements to form new identities, heterogeneity underscores the presence of diversity within a system. The relationship between the two lies in the contribution of hybridity to the overall heterogeneity of identities and cultures. Developing a hybrid identity involves recognizing and embracing the diversity of influences that shape one's sense of self, leading to a more heterogeneous and dynamic understanding of identity.

The empirical data of the research once again showed that even though they have lived and socialized in Germany since many years, German Turks have one foot in Turkey. Although this relationship is sometimes weak and sometimes intense – the degree of this relationship has been created not only to the tendencies of the German Turks but also (perhaps to a large extent) the attitude of the German society toward the German Turks– it persists. Campaigning for practical applications that support an understanding of hybridity and multiple identities is necessary. Hybridity is also a symbol of glocalization; it is both global and local, not

against the global and not against the local. Just as glocalization, which is a combination of the words globalization and localization, reveals tendencies in social and political systems that are simultaneously universal and local (Beck, 2015; Robertson, 1992, 1995; Roudometof, 2016), the Turks in Germany are a concrete representative of this understanding. Supporting such efforts can enable Turks in Germany to gain a Germany-oriented perspective without severing their cultural ties with Turkey.

Rather than forcing people to be clear about place, time, and identity, it may also be useful to allow for opportunities to engage with other differences and, as a result, bring more localness or local identities to light. For many Germans, in their own understanding, this is in the daylight because they live in it. Still, they live without the possibility of integrating with others because they live in a closed and narrow neighborhood. Although it may seem possible to be included in these communities from the outside, it is not easy for an outsider to be accepted or integrated. When German society is more open to hybrid traditions and the Turkish population sees hybridity as a chance and not a threat to their existence, this will strengthen a society where multicultural practices are accepted and valued.

The form, method, and content of socialization change as societies become more complex. In the past, socialization meant that once a person was formed, that person had a place in society. In today's world of increasing ethnic, religious, origin, and linguistic diversity, socialization means overcoming power relations and thus finding personal freedom. In a society where hybridity is not accepted, it is not easy to socialize in just one thing or overcome power relations. As much as it takes one's efforts to make something of oneself and define one's own place, society must also value others with differences, multiple identities, and hybridity.

The role of stakeholders in defining and constructing hybridity, heterogeneity, and pluralism emerges. The research will be limited to schools, media, and politics.

While the findings show the complex tendencies of German Turks, almost no influence of the school was observed in the interviews of the participants, who were nearly all socialized in Germany. Even if school

education affected their action-guiding orientation, this was not visible in the study. It would not be wrong to say that the school has minimal impact on the research subjects, if any. The primary purpose of schools and formal education should be “impact”, not just to teach school subjects. However, the data showed that they do not reflect society in a deep sense; the participants were not educated to get involved in social issues like participation, human rights, etc. globally. The data show that the school, or the education received at school, does not cause to think or reflect on world society. The need to reform the educational curriculum to lead to participation and involvement is evident.

Some people talk about schools in interviews, but it's always about parents' expectations of their children or what and how school is vital to children. Parents seem to care only about their children's formal learning, and parents value school for education and getting a diploma. Empirical material does not explain whether parents care or feel that they care about such effects. School success or impact depends on parents' involvement and activity. It is shown in the interviews about the ambitions and the expectations for the future but not about the impulse. In this regard, there is a need to find out these impulses in further research. An enlightening module on differences within migrant groups in teacher education may also be helpful. In this context, formal education in schools must be supported through different mediums, conventional media and/or social media campaigns, non-governmental organizations under Turkish administration, especially mosque associations, etc.

Radio, television, music videos, and movies are examples of mass media goods that Appadurai emphasizes are crucial because they let migration processes come to the fore: “forces [...] that seem to impel (and sometimes compel) the work of the imagination” (Appadurai, 1996). In their news about German Turks in the German media, newspapers or TV always show stereotypical German Turkish images of an older woman in a headscarf walking with many shopping bags in the streets of Kreuzberg, a man smoking a cigarette with a thick mustache, but never shows a young university student with a headscarf, other successful examples (Froehlich, 2018; Mora, 2009; Çağlar, 2004). In a place where the media

portrays German Turks as 'uniform', it becomes difficult for both the German society and the German Turkish community to see and understand the differences within this group. In this context, conducting studies that will show the community's diversity would be beneficial. It may be helpful for the German Turkish community and society to understand that Turks are a structure with different layers, just like German society. for the establishment of pluralism. It is also the responsibility of the media to analytically distinguish and present what are cultural issues and what are, for example, constitutional regulations, not to confuse them and to explain them to the world society better.

For both Turks living in Turkey and Turkish-speaking people living in Germany, there is a need for much more free media representing the colorfulness or hybridity of Turkey and Turkish culture. Unfortunately, the local Turkish language media in Germany has minimal effects on the community due to its limited capacity. News about Germany in Turkish is always a neglected issue (Hafez, 2002) in Germany. When German Turks cannot find Turkish language news offered by Germans with a German approach, they turn to the Turkish TV's or newspapers, which display a different worldview or interpretation than the German approach. They learn a 'different reality' when they see and learn from Turkish sources. In this regard, after 60 years of integration efforts, it is visible that a Turkish language media of German Turks is still needed.

Neither the school nor any other public speeches or media explicitly focus on the multifaceted nature of Turkish society and the hybridity of Turkish migrants. Turkey is known through the lessons told in schools, but the diversity of being Turkish is unknown. Empirical data reveal that there is some information on Kurdish-related issues, but not in the sense of being part of the diverse Turkish society. Very little is known about the multi-layered structure of Turkish society, for example, about other religious minorities, firm believers and loose believers, traditional Islamic pious or non-pious, Alevis or Christians. In Turkey, like every society, some people are more religious or less religious, those who use religion in politics or those who oppose it and have a heterogeneous structure. This should become more visible in schoolbooks, and students should realize

that Turkish society does not have a single layer. At the same time, to see Turkey as a multifaceted society would be easier if people realized that the plurality of Germany is not constituted only by Germans, Italians, and Turks but also among the Germans itself there is a plurality. When people understand that there are many Germans with different backgrounds, it might be easier to realize that there are different kinds of people coming from Turkey or within Turkey. In teaching diversity, social media promotions can be made outside of school lessons, attracting more attention from the younger generations.

In this context, a high level of sensitivity is needed to sensitize people to their natural routines, offer people more points of contact to present their different histories, and place in their minds what they know they are doing for this purpose. People from the mainstream do not need to answer any questions about their preferences, and their actions are not questioned. In contrast, those outside the mainstream should explain even their most superficial preferences. In the Turkish context, this means that if a person is from the mainstream (e.g., Turkish and Sunni), everything is clear to them, but they do not see or understand what a non-Sunni or a non-Turkish person might think or feel about the same issue. Being from the mainstream leads to the belief that everything that is done is orderly or routine. “Everything is good in Germany, but I have to explain everything. I have to explain why I am doing something or not doing something” is the precise summary of not being aware of the comfort of being mainstream in Turkey but only seeing the troubles of being in the minority in Germany.

“Where are you from?” questions make people excluded. These questions are always used to identify people where they are from, but there is a need for identification that cannot be ignored. So, how should it be handled? The implicitness of being cultural is not implicit anymore, and the implicit cultural background needs to be made explicit, not only in education but also in companies, social associations, and even in voluntary fire brigades. The research revealed not only the existence of differentiation or exclusion of migrants but also the need to include Germans who are seen as different or other within German society. In this context, further

research should investigate the existence of excluded native Germans and immigrants who are already seen as distinct. The so-called 'normal' also face exclusion; in this regard, other mechanisms should be researched more. That's not only a question of how to invite or integrate people from different contexts but also that this mechanism should work even with people from other contexts of the mainstream or dominant group.

The study's results determined that religion is a powerful participation tool. Especially in the safe and accepted forms of interreligious dialogue, dualities can be bridged, and forms of plurality can be felt. It would be worth exploring how these safe spaces can be used to dissolve dualizing ideas further. One of the most significant difficulties in making religion an effective tool in reducing differences is that most imams working in Germany do not know the German language. Therefore, they cannot communicate with young members of the congregation who are socialized in Germany and in German. They cannot follow what is going on in the German society. Since they stay for a limited term of four to five years, they still follow developments in Turkey or other Islamic countries during their time in Germany. The primary sources of information and orientation are those produced outside of Germany. For this reason, they cannot establish a dialogue with both the German society, the Muslim communities of other nationalities in Germany, and German people who want to learn about Islam. In this context, it is essential to support imams in learning German, and there should be more imams from people born and raised in Germany.

Young people want to talk, learn, and discuss daily topics with imams in the language they socialize, namely in German. During the religious weekend lessons given in mosques, insufficient communication leaves the questions of younger people unanswered. The new generation of young people born and raised in Germany do not fully understand the speech of imams from Turkey, which is full of religious terms that are not used in everyday life. The constant import of imams from Turkey or other Islamic countries prevents German Turkish youth from identifying with Germany. Always bringing clergy from abroad makes them feel that Islam does not belong to Germany. To develop a religious identity unique to

Germany and a Muslim-German identity development, Muslim communities should train their imams in Germany. Religion and religious leaders can create an opportunity to bring about greater understanding and awareness. It can also play an essential role in motivating individuals and communities to take action on issues of public concern. If used to inspire individuals to work for the betterment of society and to promote justice and equality, it can create an opportunity for the global society to live in more peace and harmony when these messages are given in the daily life language.

It is essential for schools and other institutions to cross-work their institutional framework, to cooperate for learning places outside of the normal, and not only for project days but to see this as a fundamental part of their general offer. Schools, especially, have a lot of connections to many places, but they are framed as exceptions. They should create opportunities for different learning practices. In this kind of relationship, it is also possible for churches and mosques to collaborate for trans-institutional reach.

As a summary of these empirical results, some recommendations for educational practice can be formulated as follows:

a) In the German curriculum, more emphasis should be placed on educational proposals that include topics such as pluralism and hybrid identities in the face of Turkey's global and cultural heterogeneity processes.

b) In addition to school education on constructive criticism and divergent thinking, opportunities for extracurricular social events should be provided by civic associations.

c) Turkish media in Germany and German media should publish stories and narratives on hybridity and multiple identities and support this with TV series and movies with similar themes.

d) Cartoons, comics, and stories should be produced, especially for kindergarten and primary school students, promoting hybrid identities.

e) Narratives and stories about the positive aspects of conflict in social relations and the questioning of harmony should not only be included in

the school curriculum but should also be supported through extracurricular activities such as games and school projects.

f) Teacher training for students addressing all four types should be provided to facilitate migrant education in the context of democracy, and teacher training should include advance information about the challenges faced by migrant students in the classroom.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Background questionnaire for the research

Appendix 2: Letter of content (in German)

Appendix 3: Letter of content (English)

Appendix 4: Interview Guide (English)

Appendix 5: Participants' socio-biographic details

Appendix 6: Practice partners list

Appendix 2: Letter of content (in German)

Studie der Universität Bamberg: “Weltanschauungen von Deutschtürken”

Bamberg,/...../ 20....

Sehr geehrte/r,

vielen Dank für Ihr Interesse und Ihre Bereitschaft, an der Studie über die Weltanschauungen von Deutschtürken teilzunehmen. Die Studie wird von der Universität Bamberg in Zusammenarbeit mit dem „Bayerischen Forschungsverbund“ durchgeführt und erforscht die Weltanschauungen der in Bayern lebenden Deutschtürken.

Wir bitten Sie um ein Einzelinterview (auf Türkisch oder Deutsch) von ca. 45 Minuten Dauer. Das Interview wird sachliche Fragen (Alter, Lebensgeschichte, Bildung) und narrative Fragen zu Ihren Lebensperspektiven enthalten.

Unser Ziel ist es, mit dieser Umfrage relevante Informationen für die in Deutschland lebende türkische Gemeinschaft zu sammeln.

Fragen, die in irgendeiner Weise unangenehm für Sie sein könnten, müssen nicht beantwortet werden. Wir werden das Interview aufzeichnen, um verlässliche Daten zu erhalten, und es nach der Transkription sofort löschen. Ihre Identität wird auf keiner Ebene der Forschung aufbewahrt, ist niemandem bekannt und wird gemäß den Standards der DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft) an niemanden weitergegeben.

Nochmals vielen Dank für Ihre Bereitschaft, diese Initiative zu unterstützen!

Emmer Demorel

Appendix 3: Letter of content (English)

University of Bamberg Study: “Worldviews of German Turks”

Bamberg,/...../ 20....

Dear,

Thank you very much for your interest and willingness to participate in this study on the worldviews of German Turks. The study is being undertaken by the University of Bamberg in cooperation with the Bayerischer Forschungsverbund and is researching the worldviews of German Turks living in Bavaria.

We would ask you to give a one-to-one interview (in Turkish or German) of about 45 minutes. The interview will include factual questions (age, life history, education) and narrative questions regarding your life perspectives.

Our aim in this survey is to gather relevant information for the Turkish community living in Germany.

Questions, which may be in any way uncomfortable for you, need not be answered. We will record the interview for reliable data and immediately delete it after the transcription. Your identity will not be kept at any level of the research, will not be known by anybody, and will not be shared with anybody according to the standards of DFG (Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft).

Once again, many thanks for your readiness to support this initiative!

Emmer Demorel

Appendix 4: Interview Guide (English)

Interview Guide

- 1) There are 3-4 million Turks or Turkish originated people living in Germany. You are one of them. Could you please tell what is being a “Turkish” in Germany?
- 2) Tell me your experiences you faced for being Turkish.
- 3) What does Turkey mean for you? / What role does Turkey play for you?”
- 4) Are you still related to Turkey?
- 5) Tell me: What has been politically important to you in the last year?
- 6) Many people discuss with their friends and family about politics, ... How about you?
- 7) I want to know what are the main differences between Turkish and German politics?
- 8) Tell me how does these affect your life?
- 10) Can you please give me an example of that?
- 11) Can you tell me what do you think about the future of German Turks?
- 12) Can you tell me how will the relation between Germany and Turkey be in the future?
- 13) Please explain where do you get your information?
- 14) Many say that world is becoming a global village. What do you think about this?
- 15) Where do you see yourself, Germany in this trend?
- 16) What do you do in your free time/when you’re not working, outside your house?
- 17) How do you socialize with others? Where do you meet people? Any club membership?
- 18) Are there anything you wish to change in your life in future?
- 19) Would you like to add something else?

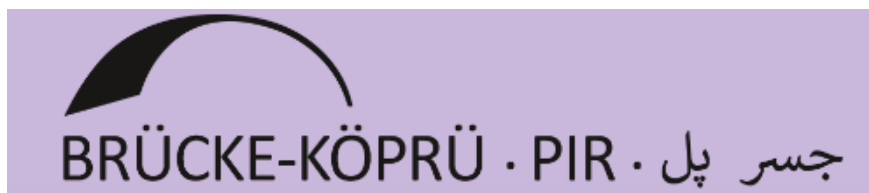
Appendix 5: Participants' socio-biographic details

	Code	Age	Gender	Born in	Generation	School	Occupation	Club m.ship	Party m.ship	Int. Lang.
1	Alaska	53	M	Ger	Second	Uni	Lehrer	No	No	German
2	Arizona	28	F	Tur	Second	Uni	Houswife	No	Yes	Turkish
3	Colorado	25	F	Ger	Third	uni	Student	Kulturverein	No	German
4	Delaware	47	F	Tur	Second	Berufschule	Shopowner	Mosque	No	German
5	Florida	25	F	Ger	Third	Bachelor	Student	Sportverein	No	German
6	Hawai	44	M	Ger	Second	Uni	Teacher	No	Yes	German
7	Idaho	51	M	Tur	Second	Berufschule	Worker	Mosque	No	Turkish
8	Illinois	34	F	Tur	Third	Primary	Seller	No	No	German
9	Kansas	23	M	Ger	Third	Bachelor	Student	No	No	German
10	Maine	44	M	Ger	Second	Berufschule	Salesman	Kultur&Fussballverein	No	German
11	Maryland	50	M	Tur	Second	Berufschule	Salesman	No	No	German
12	Milwaukee	50	M	Tur	First	Primary	Salesman	No	No	Turkish
13	Minnesota	24	F	Ger	Third	Uni	Student	Kulturverein	No	German
14	Montana	49	F	Tur	Second	Hoher	Erzieherin	Sportsverein	Yes	German
15	Nevada	53	M	Tur	Second	Berufschule	Carpenter	No	No	German
16	North Dakota	56	M	Tur	Second	Berufschule	Worker	Kulturverein	No	German
17	Ohio	29	M	Ger	Third	Bachelor	Student	Environmental	Yes	German
18	Oregon	55	M	Tur	Second	Uni	Businessman	Kulturverein	No	German
19	Rhode Island	33	M	Ger	Third	Uni	Engineer	Sportsverein, Mosque	Yes	Turkish
20	South Dakota	49	M	Tur	Second	Berufschule	Businessman	Mosque	No	German
21	Texas	44	M	Tur	Second	Uni	Teacher	No	No	German
22	Vermont	55	F	Tur	Second	Uni	Teacher	Kulturverein	No	German

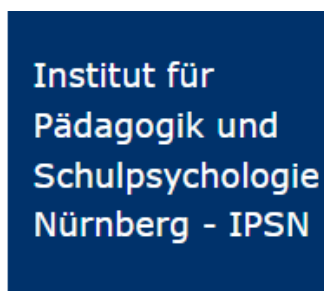
Appendix 6: Practice partners list



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This study examines the world-society orientations of immigrants of Turkish origin living in Germany and how they position themselves regarding their political participation.

A reconstructive-qualitative and, thus, hypothesis-generating approach was chosen to address the research question. Twenty-two interviews were conducted and they were analyzed using the documentary method, and the results were condensed by inductive typification and generalized towards a cosmopolitan education theory.

The interviews provided numerous insights into the world-society-oriented habitus of German Turks. It was possible to reconstruct a basic typology (“sociality-related self-efficacy expectation”) and thus by sense-genetic typing, four ideal types emerged:

- as authoritarian allegiance in the mode of mono-perspectival power
- as bridging duality in the mode of harmonizing dialogue
- as dealing with fragmentation in the mode of searching for belonging and recognition, and
- as social self-assignment in the mode of discursivity.

The results clarify the role of the perception of cultural pluralism, also in the country of origin, in avoiding mono-perspectival essentialization of cultural orientations. The findings show that democracy-related aspects of cosmopolitanism (e.g., experience of pluralism, attribution of meaning to human rights) are associated in both societies. On the one hand, the cosmopolitanism experience is related to a sense of social recognition. On the other hand, most cosmopolitan experiences are primarily limited to purely close-up experiences.



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