MASTER THESIS

Considering acculturation from a narrative approach: Living in Germany with a Turkish background

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Abstract

This paper reports how cultural adaption – acculturation in academic terms - is expressed in the stories of individuals with a Turkish background in Germany in terms of narrative identity construction. Generational differences and certain processes/ topics as intergenerational relationships, well-being and changing societal contexts are considered. A narrative method was used to understand how narrative identities are constructed. Semi-structured life story interviews were conducted with eight individuals - four men and four women - living in Germany and having a Turkish background. The participants were purposively sampled based on their generational affiliation. Four participants belong to the first- and the other four to the second generation. Storyline analysis was conducted to obtain story types which enable to understand and compare how acculturation is expressed within and across generations. This study unveiled two story types about how individuals with a Turkish background in Germany belonging to the first- and second-generation express acculturation attitudes in narrative identities. Story type one, (1) *the wish to be part of the German society*, is a reflection on the receptivity of the German society and was narrated by the first generation. Story type two, (2) *coming into terms with both German and Turkish identity aspects*, is about the acceptance of who you are and how you can do justice to both German and Turkish aspects of your identity, which was mainly told by the second generation. The contextual accounts in the stories show that acculturation attitudes are more like phases that people go through to achieve integration (as defined in Berry's model: Berry, 1997; 2006) which appears to be a motivational force in the stories. The first generation regards aspects as reciprocal relationships, education, autonomy and freedom as keys to become integrated. The second generation regards self-acceptance and the acceptance of others as a key to feel integrated. Overall, this study adds to the acculturation model by Berry (1997; 2006) that acculturation can be regarded as an idiosyncratic and dynamic process that can be considered in a unique context of an individual's life.

Keywords: Acculturation, narrative identity, Turkish migrants, Germany, life story, well-being.

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1. Introduction

People with a Turkish background have been the centre of discussions about cultural adaptation in Germany (Schührer, 2018). They constitute the largest ethnic group with approximately 2.9 million people (Adar, 2019). Political events like the increased refugee immigration since 2015 and the referendum on constitutional reform in 2017 in Turkey heated the public debate on integration and thereby the relevance of integration (Abdel-Samad, 2018). The public debate focuses on how to integrate Turkish people as a collective rather than as individuals (Abdel-Samad, 2018). However, research shows that processes of acculturation relate to factors that differ for every individual like well-being and intergenerational relationships (Koydemir, 2013; Schührer, 2018). Furthermore, it was found that acculturation processes differ for the first and second generation which also points to the heterogeneity of the group (Schührer, 2018; Baykara-Krumme, 2010; Özışık, 2015; Keller, Bullik, Özışık, Stacke, 2018; Koydemir, 2013; Schwartz, 2005). Yet, little is known on how individuals experience and construct acculturation.

From a narrative perspective (Lohuis, Sools, Vuuren, & Bohlmeijer, 2016) acculturation and its related constructs like well-being and intergenerational relationships can be considered as a narration process. This narration process modifies and reproduces the person's narrative identity to psychologically adapt (Westerhof, & Bohlmeijer, 2012; Lohuis et al., 2016). This study will explore how acculturation attitudes are expressed in narrative identities about personal experiences among individuals with a Turkish background in the first and second generation living in Germany. Differences between the first and the second generation will be highlighted.

1.1 Generational Differences

Since the 1960s, Germany has become one of the migrant destinations in Europe because of an urgent need for foreign workers (Dimitrova, Aydinli, Chasiotis, Bender, Van De Vijver, 2015). Among them were millions of Turks who came from underdeveloped areas (Dimitrova et al., 2015). The first generation of Turkish migrants in Germany were called "guests" because both the German government and the workers thought that this work alliance would be temporary (Dimitrova et al., 2015). After the economic recovery in the 1970s, the active recruitment of "guest workers" stopped because the need for foreign workforce declined (Dimitrova et al., 2015). Many male workers decided to settle together with their families in the economically wealthier Germany despite the expectation of the German government from the workers to return to Turkey (Dimitrova et al., 2015).

While the first generation left Turkey for economic profits, the second generation profits from learning the German language earlier and easier than their parents[1] (Schührer, 2018). Furthermore, they not only see Germany as their place of birth but rather as their home (Schührer, 2018). Although many individuals from the second generation grew up in Germany and have German citizenship they are considered as having difficulties in identifying with the German culture (Schührer, 2018). This is due to prejudices and discrimination they are facing from the mainstream society (Schührer, 2018). People from the second generation are likely to inherit the socio-economic status of their parents which leads to fewer opportunities to participate as well as frustration about not being able to improve their situation (Schührer, 2018). Conversely, integration successes are hardly noticed by mainstream society and the stereotypes sustain (Schührer, 2018).

1.2 Political debate & Discrimination

Political-historical analyses show that the settlement of the first generation set the beginning of political and social discourse in Germany about migration and integration (Eckardt, 2007; Panagiotidis, 2019; Bade, 2018). Compared to the United States, Canada or Australia, Germany struggled to define itself as a "multicultural society" (Eckardt, 2007). The governmental change in the 1990s favoured the realization that immigrants are not "guests" but usually stay permanently and that their children grow up in Germany as Germans despite the origin of their parents (Eckardt, 2007). Since the reform of nationality law in 2000, children born in Germany automatically get German citizenship and barriers to naturalization for people with foreign origin have been significantly lowered (Panagiotidis, 2019). This reform aims to set necessary preconditions for successful integration (Panagiotidis, 2019). However, September 11, 2001, and the refugee crisis since 2015 changed the perception of Muslims, including Turkish Muslims, in Germany (Abdel-Samad, 2018). The political right-wing, including Pediga and AfD, accelerates fears of "foreign infiltration", "Islamification" and reject a vision of Germany as a multicultural society (Bade, 2018).

Schührer (2018) shows through empirical evidence that the perception of discrimination encompasses different areas of everyday life situations like shopping, at government offices and authorities, on the labour market as well as at looking for an apartment. Especially women with a hijab perceive discrimination (Schührer, 2018).

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[1] The affiliation to a generation is determined by the individual's migration experience. Individuals with migration experience, regardless of age at the time of immigration, are categorized into the "first generation". Persons without a migration experience, regardless of whether one or both parents have a migration experience, are categorized into the "second generation" (Schührer, 2018).

Weichselbaumer (2016) investigated in a field experiment how randomly drawn employers from different companies all over Germany responded to job applications. According to the results, it can be said that individuals with a Turkish migration background, especially with a hijab, are disadvantaged in job search.

Rejection through the host society can lead to "re-ethnicization" which means that individuals orient more towards their culture of origin than towards the host society which has rejected their efforts to participate (Schührer, 2018). Hence, rejection and discrimination are barriers to successful integration and put them into a conflict of identity (Schührer, 2018; Moffit, Juang and Syned, 2018). According to Moffit et al. (2018) discrimination due to religion and ethnicity leads to the "discriminatory idea that Islam is incompatible with German identity" (p. 879). Based on socio-political analyses, Adar (2019) proposes that people with a Turkish background do not feel recognized and are deprived of their social standing even though most of them have German citizenship. Furthermore, they feel that Germany is forcing them to assimilate (Adar, 2019).

1.3 Acculturation attitudes, intergenerational relationships and well-being

According to research, most individuals with a Turkish Background living in Germany have "difficulties in identifying with the German culture, maintain a strong identification with Turkey, and thus experience adaptation problems" (Koydemir, 2013, p. 461). Turkish people are considered as having many difficulties to orient towards the Western or German culture when compared to people with other migration backgrounds (Koydemir, 2013). According to Phinney (1990, as cited in Koydemir, 2013), individuals with an immigration background need to develop a cultural identity which integrates aspects of the mainstream culture and culture of origin (Koydemir, 2013). The successful construction of cultural identity is hence seen as difficult to reach for some individuals with a Turkish background living in Germany (Koydemir, 2013).

It appears, that individuals with a Turkish migration background in Germany have different degrees of orientations towards the German and the Turkish culture. Integration and assimilations are terms that are often used when describing a person's degree of orientation towards societies and cultures. Berry's (1997, 2006) framework on acculturation is a well-known acculturation framework which addresses the degree of orientation towards cultures in their bi-dimensional model. The bi-dimensional model suggests two independent attitudinal dimensions (Berry, 1997, 2006): The first dimension determines the degree to which

individuals maintain the culture of origin and identity. The second dimension assesses the degree to which an individual wishes to involve the host society. Crossing the two dimensions yields to four acculturation attitudes that might be observed in immigrants (Berry, 1997, 2006): Integration is the experience of adhering to both cultures; assimilation means that individuals adhere to the mainstream culture; marginalization describes the attitude when individuals cannot favour any of both cultures, and separation happens when individuals favour the culture of origin.

Acculturation attitudes seem to differ between immigrant generations which can lead to intergenerational conflicts and changing family dynamics. Research shows that younger generations struggle to emancipate themselves from their families at the expense to become autonomous and orient towards the western mainstream culture (Baykara-Krumme, 2010; Özışık, 2015; Keller, Bullik, Özışık, Stacke, 2018; Koydemir, 2013). Nevertheless, "the preservation of family unity is fundamental for Turkish families" (Özışık, 2015, p. 24). The effort to orient towards the mainstream culture and preserve family unity leads to psychological distress (Özışık, 2015; Keller, Bullik, Özışık, Stacke, 2018). According to Ayika, Dune, Firdaus and Mapedzahma (2018) migrants are exposed to post-migration acculturation challenges which "involve(s) complex reconstructions of migrant identities, familial structure, and familial values" (p. 1).

Researchers were interested in how acculturation attitudes are related to well-being (Koydemir, 2013). According to the results of a quantitative study by Koydemir (2013), integrated Turkish individuals living in Germany report higher levels of subjective well-being in contrast to their counterparts with marginalized, separated, or assimilated attitudes. This outcome is in line with the findings of previous studies however with different target groups (Liebkind, 2001; Phinney et al., 2001; Ataca and Berry, 2002; Berry et al., 2006, as cited in Koydemir, 2013).

1.4 Acculturation and Narrative identity

Previous work on acculturation shows that acculturation attitudes relate to factors that differ for every individual like well-being and intergenerational relationships (Koydemir, 2013; Schührer, 2018). Furthermore, it was found that acculturation experiences differ for the first and second generation which also points to the heterogeneity of the group (Schührer, 2018; Baykara-Krumme, 2010; Özışık, 2015; Keller, Bullik, Özışık, Stacke, 2018; Koydemir, 2013; Schwartz, 2005). Yet, little is known on how individuals construct acculturation experiences.

The narrative approach can enrich existing literature by providing understanding about the idiosyncratic meaning making of acculturation in the individuals life. Recognizing the individual's uniqueness in experiencing and adapting to the environment, it offers a more process-oriented rather than an attitude-oriented approach. From a narrative point of view, maintaining acculturation attitudes can be understood as an "ongoing narrative process of producing, reproducing, and modifying" the individual's identity in the effort to accomplish adaptive psychological outcomes (Lohuis, Sools, van Vuuren, Bohlmeijer, 2016, p. 409). The process of narration can be characterized as "a process through which the relation between personal experiences and identity is construed" (Westerhof, & Bohlmeijer, 2012, p. 112). Narration about personal experiences from a reconstructed and integrated "past, experienced present and imagined future" is described as an identification process which forges *narrative identities* (McAdams, 2015, p. 2). The proximity and distance between identity and experiences results in different identifications (Westerhof, & Bohlmeijer, 2012): *identification* describes the process of identifying with the experiences; *shifting identification* describes that certain experiences change the person's identity; *underidentification* describes that a person cannot identify with the experiences; *overidentification* happens when a person seems to identify with one particular experience. Westerhof and Bohlmeijer (2012) propose that narrative identity is related to mental health: "Identification and shifting identification will generally be related to a flourishing mental health, because they provide a balance in proximity and distance between experiences and identity. Underidentification and overidentification tend to be related to mental health problems because distance or proximity prevail, and flexibility is thereby lost" (p. 113).

The narrative method adopted in this study (Murray, & Sools, 2015) recognizes narration as an identification process which can be contextualized in time and space. It addresses "how stories connect past, present, and future" (Lohuis et al., 2016, p. 409) into a meaningful whole and gives understanding for the contextual factors like larger societal norms which colour the stories and thereby the way narrative identities are constructed (Lohuis et al., 2016) in relation to acculturation experiences (detailed in method section). The narrative approach can hence provide a meaningful understanding of how well-being, societal change and intergenerational relationships are relevant for acculturation by examining how acculturation attitudes are expressed in narrative identities.

1.5 Research Questions

Previous studies have shown that stories can be valuable to understand intergenerational relationships and migrant identities (Özışık, 2015; Keller et al., 2018). However, they are either case studies (Keller et al., 2018) or focus on religious development (Özışık, 2015). Other studies assessed acculturation attitudes and their relation to well-being quantitatively (Nauck, 2005; Koydemir, 2013; Dimitrova et al., 2015) or studied different target groups (Phinney et al., 2001; Ataca and Berry, 2002; Berry et al., 2006). As far as we know, there is little known about how Turkish individuals living in Germany express acculturation attitudes in narrative identities. Utilizing a narrative bottom-up approach, this study can enrich literature through its focus on narrative identity construction. Since it is known that acculturation relates to intergenerational relationships, family dynamics, changing societal contexts and well-being, this study will explore how these constructs are relevant for the construction of narrative identity. The following research questions will guide this study:

1. How are acculturation attitudes expressed in narrative identities about personal experiences among individuals with a Turkish background in the first and second generation living in Germany?

2. What are the generational differences in the construction of narrative identity among individuals with a Turkish background living in Germany?

2. Methods

2.1 Participants

This study comprises a purposive sample of eight individuals living in Germany with a Turkish background ($N = 8$). All interviews were conducted in North-Rhine Westphalia. Since this study aims to understand generational differences, participants were selected on the grounds of their generational affiliation. To ensure the heterogeneity in each generational group, it was decided to recruit both men and women with varying age. As education is "cited as a marker of integration" (Moffit et al., p. 882), it was decided to select participants with varying level of education. Four individuals ($N_{\text{first generation}} = 4$) were selected that belong to the first generation. The first generation migrated from Turkey to Germany. The age of the first generation participants ranges between 43 and 72 ($M_{\text{age}} = 58$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 141.5$). Two of them have a higher education and the other two do not. Two of them identify themselves as male and two as female. Four participants belong to the second generation ($N_{\text{second generation}} = 4$). The participants in the second generation were born in Germany. Their age ranges between 23 and 27 ($M_{\text{age}} = 24.7$; $SD_{\text{age}} = 2.2$). Two are male and two are female. Among them are two have a higher education and two have a basic one. The last inclusion criterion is the age of the participants who had to be at least 18 years old. Exclusion criteria are an intellectual deficit and a memory recall deficit. On grounds of the mentioned criteria, none of the participants was excluded.

2.2 Data collection

The faculty Behavioural, Managemental and Social Sciences (BMS) Ethics Committee at the University of Twente approved this research under the registration number: 201260. Individual interviews were conducted with each of the eight participants to elicit in-depth reflections on how acculturation attitudes are expressed in narrative identities. The interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Information about the participants identity as names and places were omitted. The names used to refer to the participants in this paper are pseudonyms. Two interviews were conducted in Turkish and the remaining six in German. The length of the interviews ranged from 53 minutes to 1:37 hours ($M_{\text{length}} = 72, 875$; $SD_{\text{length}} = 14.01$).

The participants received informed consent and were aware of the selection criteria, the aims of the study and how the interviews will be reported. The interviews were conducted by the author. An adaption of the life story interview method (McAdams, 2001; 2008) was

used. This method asks participants "to think of their life as if it were a book with chapters, identify each chapter, and outline each chapter's content" (Lohuis et al., 2016, p. 412). The adapted version used for the aims of this study starts with the interview as follows: "We start with a brief chronological overview of your life story. I ask you now to imagine your life as if it were a book. This book describes situations in your life that have shaped your experience of German and Turkish culture, society and politics. Now please describe briefly - i.e., in two to three sentences - which chapters in your life are particularly important in connection with your orientation towards German and Turkish culture and society". Subsequently, the participant listed each life chapter with a title and a short description orally. Thereafter, the participant was asked to select two key scenes from the mentioned chapters which they believe are relevant to their experience and orientation towards Germany and Turkey. Furthermore, the participant was asked to identify one or two key scenes that mark a turning point in the narrated life story. Participants from the first generation were explicitly asked to think of a migration key scene and another post-migration key scene. Participants from the second generation were not asked to remember a key scene from a specific time but could choose any memory which happened to be important to them. To obtain in-depth reflections on the key scenes, the researcher asked sub-questions on the context, how the key scenes affected the interviewee's subjective well-being ("Has this situation affected your well-being in any way?"), family dynamics ("How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?") and the reasons for choosing them, e.g.: "What does this situation mean to you?".

 Towards the end of the interview, participants were asked to imagine a future life chapter and discern a central theme that runs through their personal story. Furthermore, the researcher invited the participant to describe how the interview was experienced, e.g., how the interview affected the person and whether there are any comments on the process and procedure. Some questions followed on the participant's opinions on German and Turkish policies regarding integration and family relations.

 2.4 Analysis

The interviews were analysed utilizing a narrative method called "storyline analysis" (Murray, & Sools, 2015). Storyline analysis enables to understand the participants perspective from a bottom-up approach (Murray, & Sools, 2015). Furthermore, it enables to conduct a comparative analysis (Murray, & Sools, 2015) between the stories of the first generation and second generation.

Storyline analysis has three levels of analysis: (1) story content and structure, (2) interactional context of the story, and (3) wider societal, cultural and historical context (Murray, & Sools, 2015; van Stenus, Gotink, Boere-Boonekamp, Sools, & Need, 2017). Essentially, storyline analysis "starts with the unique words of the participants and gradually moves up to include wider contexts and become more theory-driven" (Murray & Sools, 2015, p. 139). For the aims of this study, only the first and the third level will be analysed. A comparative analysis will also be conducted. The first level will be shortly described below.

Level 1: Story level. The story content and structure can be analysed through five-story elements that make up a storyline (Murray, & Sools, 2015). The purpose of this analysis is to understand what characterizes the story (Murray, & Sools, 2015).
The researcher actively connects the five elements into a coherent and meaningful whole by focusing on the motivation and drivers of the story (Murray, & Sools, 2015; Lohuis et al., 2016). Constructed together, the five elements are called "the pentad": (1) the *agent* or protagonist of the story; (2) the *setting*, place or background in which the story is told; (3) the *acts/ events*, describes what the main agent feels in control about or feels responsibility for (acts) and what happens in to the agent (events); (4) the *means/helpers*, the means to achieve the purpose of the story; (5) the *purpose*, the aim of the story (Murray, & Sools, 2015).

The storyline is told as a reaction to a *breach* which is defined as the imbalance between two story elements (Murray, & Sools, 2015). The breach makes comprehensible what motivates the story or what is at stake in the story (Murray, & Sools, 2015).
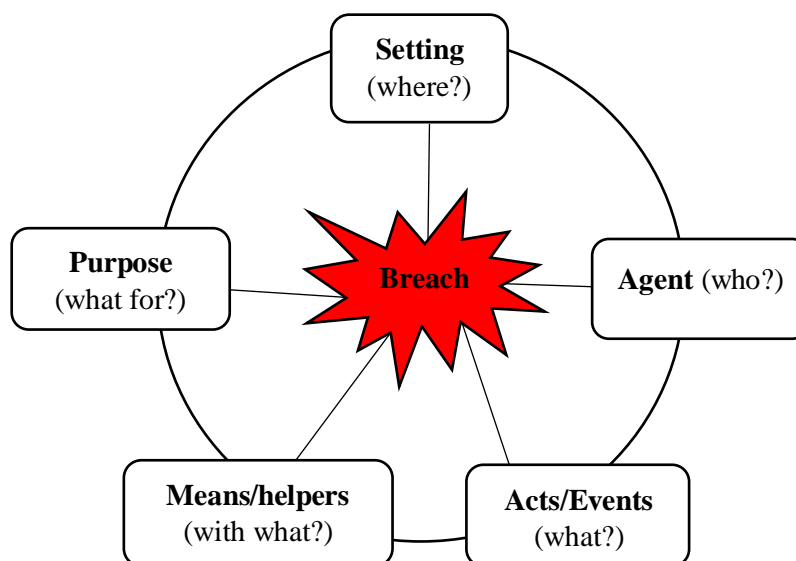

Figure 1. Source: van Stenus et al. (2017)

2.4.1 Procedure of analysis

Initially, the interview transcripts were read carefully several times. Then, the first-level analysis was conducted by analysing each narrative interview on its story elements (namely, agent; setting; acts/events; means/helpers; purpose). Subsequently, it was determined whether a breach can be identified between two story elements. After having identified the five story elements and the breach, the eight acculturation storylines were compared with each other to find patterns across the stories. While conducting the comparative analysis, story types were identified based on the main motives or theme expressed in the breach. To compare between and within the generations, it was analysed whether there are differences and similarities in the breach.

The role of the researcher - who performed the analysis and performed as the interviewer - was critically reflected on. As the researcher has a Turkish background like the interviewees, it could be possible that the researcher's frame of reference affected the interview and the analysis. The fact that the researcher has a Turkish background maybe eased building rapport with the interviewee's because they might have thought the researcher can understand them better than another researcher without a Turkish background. However, the researcher differs from the interviewees, being a psychology student who approaches the topic from a scientific standpoint. Being trained in the discipline of positive psychology, the researcher tried to ask about memories which the interviewee's feel grateful or happy about. Hence, the researcher might have influenced which kind of memories were talked about. In the analysis, the researcher tried to incorporate the positive memories into the analysis because they were felt as being an important contrast to the memories which were narrated as being negative. It could be that a researcher without an education in positive psychology would not try to gather information about positive moments to incorporate them in analysis. The nature of the interaction between the interviewees and the interviewer was different with each interviewee. For example, the women talked a lot about their emotions. One woman expressed her emotions by crying whereas the others used a lot of words referring to emotions. The men appeared as talking about situations by referring less to their emotions. The interviewer gave her best to show empathy to each participant by listening to their pain and showing empathy for their happy moments by e.g., laughing with them and sometimes even praising them for things they feel proud about.

3. Results

The results of this study will be reported by starting with an introduction to the eight cases followed by a description of the similarities and differences between the individual stories at the first level of analyses (see Table 1). Finally, a comparison within and across the first and the second-generation acculturation stories will be presented.

After carefully reading all individual acculturation stories, two types of acculturation stories were identified: the first type of acculturation story (a) is called "*the wish to be part of the German society*". Type one stories appear as a reflection on the receptivity of the German society. Specifically, it is elaborated which values, traditions and manners are hindering or favouring the receptivity. This type of acculturation story encompasses all four first-generation stories. The second type of acculturation story (b) is called "*coming into terms with both German and Turkish identity aspects*". This story type reflects the effort to accept who you are and how you can do justice to both German and Turkish aspects of your identity. This type of acculturation story covers all four second-generation stories.

The stories can be differentiated in their different orientations (towards Turkey, Germany, or both) (see Table 1.). In story type one, we can see an orientation towards Turkey in Ibrahims, Selmas, and Maras story, whereas Cem is more oriented towards Germany. In story type two, it appears that Elif is more oriented towards Turkey, whereas Sibel and Tarik are oriented towards Germany. Murat appears to orient towards both.

3.1 Similarities and differences between the eight acculturation stories

3.1.1 Storyline Analysis

Type 1: "*The wish to be part of the German society*" – narratives about the receptivity of German society told by the first generation

The luck of meeting good people in a world that is not experienced as appreciating and welcoming at first.

Global impression

Ibrahim is a 72-year-old man. He immigrated in the 1970s to Germany to work in the automobile industry while "leaving my wife and little daughter behind". Ibrahim reports to be one of the so-called "guest workers" among first-generation immigrants. He can be considered as someone who only received basic education. The interview took place in Ibrahim's private home and was conducted in Turkish.

After a few years of him working in Germany, Ibrahim's wife and his daughter followed him to Germany. His wife gave birth to their son in Germany. Ibrahim was experienced as very talkative. It appeared that Ibrahim and the interviewee could build good rapport as they might both felt sympathy for each other. Being categorized as story type one, Ibrahim's story focuses on the reasons why "it was not easy to build contact with the Germans". Hence, his story mainly focuses on hindering factors on the receptivity of the German society.

Setting

The setting of Ibrahim's narration can be characterized as a psychological state of a culture shock which is a reaction towards the foreign culture in this narrative, i.e., the processing of unknown and different traditions and behaviour: "Everything is new (…) you do not know the traffic, the language (…) I had a little daughter and a wife whom I left behind and all this turned out to be problematic".

Agent

Ibrahim is the protagonist of the narrative. He is described as a diligent person who learns new skills quickly: "The job was difficult (…) but I learned the skills quickly and did my best". Being ambitious, he had the wish to perform well in his work life and support his children in school: "I wanted my children to graduate from a university". As an outgoing

person, Ibrahim likes to get acquainted with new people. Ibrahim identifies himself rather with being Turkish than German by distancing from "the Germans": "it was not easy to build contact with the Germans"

Acts/events

After finishing a craft training in Turkey, Ibrahim and his brother were running a shop however as "I could not get along with my brother" he decided to work in Germany, a country which he "wondered a lot" about.

Having settled in Germany he realized that "it was not easy to build contact with the Germans". He remembers how one of his German neighbours demanded "50 Pfennig to call the ambulance" while his wife was about to give birth to their second child. Another person he had difficulties to build contact was his German colleague: "I once shared some of the Turkish pizzas at work which I made a day ago with my wife. This colleague said that he found them delicious, so I invited him and his wife to us for dinner. We made Turkish pizza and they ate it and asked us whether we can pack the rest of the food and we did. A few days passed and he asked me whether we can invite them again, I said no, why won't you invite us, and we make Turkish pizza in your kitchen. He said no, I will not invite you". Ibrahim thought that he would be "embarrassed" to act like him and that it is "natural to invite people who have invited you". From such examples he concluded that "many Germans are selfish and uncultivated". Having made such a conclusion, this put him into "some conflicts" with his son who had a German girlfriend: "He said that she wanted to stay overnight at our home, but I forbid that because such behaviour is not approved in our culture. I also thought that he could be a bad role model for his sister who was a university student at that time". Hence, the acts described here are serving the purpose to "build contact" with the Germans by inviting them, communicating with them and wanting to be introduced to the German girlfriend of his son.

A rather positively experienced event was becoming acquainted with his son-in-law: "If I only could have ten sons and all of them were him (…) he is kind and honest". His son in law "wiped out the thought that all Germans are the same".

Ibrahim describes that "many times, I felt treated like a person of second class (…) I started to distance from my German surrounding (…) it felt bad". In such times, Ibrahim did not feel appreciated as a human by the German society, however later in his life he made the experience that the German healthcare sector "hold me by the hand until I was healthy again",

where he felt appreciation: "the German health sector much better than in my home country (…). After being part of a traffic accident in Turkey, I was not taken care of (…) but in Germany, I was taken care of (…) Germans appreciate human life much more than our people". Hence, there are some acts which show that Ibrahim experienced ups and downs in his mental health states.

Purpose

The narrative of Ibrahim expresses his wish to "build contact with the Germans" and be part of the German society together with his family: "95% of the guest workers only stayed to make economical profits and had the wish to return (…) I wanted to build a life here because I wanted my children to graduate from a university and they successfully did". This citation shows that he expects a better live in Germany, a country which he "wondered a lot about". Therefore, Germany might be experienced as kind of a land of promise.

Means/helpers

Reciprocal relations (being kind to Germans as by "sharing Turkish pizzas" and expecting kindness in return "why won't you invite us?") is described as a means to "build contact" with the Germans. A success in building contact with Germans is attributed to "luck". Furthermore, hard work is seen as a means to "build a life here" by "making sure that my children get good grades and go to university".

Breach

The purpose and the acts/events express different kinds of expectations. The purpose expresses the expectation of a land of promise where he and his family can live a good life whereas the acts/events show that Ibrahim feels not appreciated and welcomed. He expects his German surrounding to act bad towards him or in his words act "selfish and uncultivated" whereas he describes to be friendly towards them (e.g., inviting them), hence the wish for reciprocity is not satisfied. The acts/events show certain turning points from expecting badness from Germans to expecting appreciation, honesty and kindness - with i.e., the health care sector and his German son in law. The turning points hint to the paradoxical expectations that are posed to Germans. They also show that he wants to amend the breach by formulating positive expectations about Germans which would satisfy the purpose.

"No matter what happened, I need to accept things as they are and continue"

Global impression

Selma is a 67-year-old woman who immigrated in the 1970s to Germany as a wife of a so-called "guest worker". Since she had to quit school due to immigration, she can be regarded as less educated. She has three children which grew up in Germany. As a widow, she lives alone together with her daughter. Her two sons are married. Selma and the interviewer are acquaintances which made it easy to build rapport with her. She appeared very talkative which yielded to an obtainment of a rich story. The interview took place via Skype and in Turkish. Selma's story is a type one story, reflecting on how getting acquainted with Germans and helping others can favour receptivity.

Setting

The memories of the first years in Germany are situated in a "dark" place: "These days were the dark days of my life". The "darkness" might be a symbol for disorientation: "It was not like Turkey; the people were strange (…) I did not know their language and could not communicate with them". As she started to orient herself in the new environment, Germany is described as a place of a new start and opportunities: "We lived in a big flat, my children were about to have their own rooms, (…) my children started school". Hence, the setting is a place where one starts of disoriented and needs to develop ways to see opportunities.

Agent

Selma is the protagonist of the narrative who is described as a fighter "I never gave up (…) I needed to accepted things as they are". Furthermore, she is very helpful, compassionate, and patient. Although Selma suffers from depression, her faith in Allah gives her "strength": "my prayers help me to stay on my feet every day (…) it gives me strength".

Acts/Events

As Selma met her German neighbour for the first time, the neighbour told her: "thank god, you are not a Turk". As Selma told her that she is a Turk, the neighbour said: "You cannot be a Turk… you do not even clothe like a Turk … I do not like Turks". This reaction of the neighbour hurt Selma deeply, "I will never forget what she told me". Although Selma knew the neighbour thinks negative of Turks, she tried to become acquainted with her: "as I got acquainted with people, I mean as I helped them, I started to like them". Selma stood by her neighbour's side as she lost their daughter: "I helped her with her household and everything

that belongs with it". As the woman got old and sick, Selma nursed her until the point of death. Before her death, she told Selma "You are a daughter to me".

Another memory of important events revolves around the marriage of her son to a German woman who "refused to learn Turkish and adapt to us". Her son avoided contact with her "for years" realizing that Selma was not happy with his choice to marry a German woman. She was "heartbroken" as her son asked her whether his happiness is not important to her: "he said, mother, is my happiness not important to you?". Selma tried to give her best to get to know her daughter in law and "I taught her some Turkish and introduced her to Turkish kitchen and traditions". Furthermore, she helped her daughter in law with everything she could.

An important act that can be related to the agent's well-being is faith. Selma tries to deal with her "depression" by praying: "Praying helps me to wake up every morning". An event that also hints to the agent's well-being is that she receives much love and support from her environment because she thinks that she has a positive influence on others by helping them out "I think that this convinces me to stay alive".

Means/helpers

Becoming acquainted and helping others serves as means to accept and get accepted from her environment (especially her German environment): "as I got acquainted with people, I mean as I helped them, I started to like them"; Neighbour saying: "You are a daughter to me". Faith and social support are helping the agent to in her endeavour for reaching acceptance of others and accepting events that are happening to the agent.

Purpose

Selma wants to be accepted (especially from her German environment as the example with her neighbour and daughter in law show) and wants to accept events are happening to her: "No matter what happened… I need to accept things as they are and continue".

Breach

The disorientation described in the setting might be seen as an expression of her "depression". Not feeling accepted might be a root of the agent's depression who actually enjoys social interacts and likes to express compassion towards others. Hence, the taken-for-granted world view of "strange people" deprives her. The setting is breached to the purpose of wanting to accept her German environment by starting to orient in it/ see opportunities to embrace her

strengths like compassion and her wish to get compassion and acceptance in return. Hence, the breach hints towards a longing for reciprocity, which is shown by the turning points in the acts/events like accepting her neighbour and daughter in law which in return resulted acceptance from them.

"*I have broadened my mind (…) to offer my children a better life*"

Global impression

Mara is a 50-year-old woman who can be regarded as rather less educated. Mara migrated in the 1970s to Germany together with her parents. Then, Mara was 3 years old. She grew up in Germany and married a Turkish man. Mara and her husband migrated back to turkey for 4 years and came back to Germany. Her two children were born in Germany. Since Mara has made immigration experiences, she can be categorized into the first generation. The interview with Mara took place via Skype and was conducted in Turkish. The interviewer perceived Mara as a warm person who smiles a lot and is very friendly. Like a reciprocal response to her friendly smile, the interviewer perceived that he smiled a lot as well. Mara and the interviewer build rapport quickly which resulted in a long and rich interview. Mara's story belongs to story type one and mainly focuses on her efforts to become part of the German society as a Turkish woman. The alleged patriarchal and hierarchical structures of her Turkish family and surrounding seemed to be hindering the receptivity of the German society.

Agent

Mara is the protagonist of the narrative. She is described as a "shy" and "anxious" person. Mara grew up with many prohibitions as the only woman in her "conservative family". Being "curious", Mara always wanted to "learn more about the prohibited things" and did so "in secret". Education is very important to Mara, but not only in terms of learning skills or facts but also in terms of "broadening one's mind" with other perspectives and opinions.

Setting

The narrative is situated in a prison-like world in which Mara wants to open up the "doors" to offer her children a better life. The prison is characterized as a place where one cannot express oneself and cannot see what is happening beyond the prison, i.e., other perspectives and lifestyles. Only Turkish people are living in that prison who control contacts to others like Germans: "We were among us". The prisons system is ordered hierarchical and strictly paternalistic: "As a woman, I had to obey to my parents"; "A woman has not much to say".

Acts/Events

As a girl, Mara wanted to go to school trips or meet friends, including German friends, which was prohibited by her parents to prevent interactions with men which could harm the family's "honour and pride". Mara "had no good childhood" and "lived in fear". She was "jealous" of the German girls in her school who could "live with a lot of freedom". Sometimes, she was even "angry" because she was not allowed to live like a German girl. As a mother, Mara experienced "generational conflicts" with her daughter who had a Polish boyfriend. Mara was "afraid" to be "postmarked by the Turkish community" for allowing her daughter to have a premarital relationship with someone who is not a Turk.

As Mara understood that her daughter's "happiness" is more important than the opinions and judgements of the Turkish society, she acted by "tolerating" her relationship and "breaking the chains" in which she was put: "I did no longer care about the opinions of the society, my daughter is important and not them".

A life with "chains" made Mara anxious and shy which shows that she had poor mental health while she was controlled by her Turkish environment. After she "broke the chains" she describes to have a better relationship with her children and feels "happy" in general.

Purpose

Mara's narrative has the purpose to widen one's perspective to adapt to the environment (which is in this case Germany): "My parents remained in a mindset which people had in 1950 in a small town in Turkey (…) they did not develop with the time but remained stuck in 1950 in Turkey".

Means/helpers

Allowing her children to have more liberties than she had she tries to reach the purpose to widening up her perspective: "I told myself to open up the doors for my children so that they can have the freedom I never had". She allowed them to "go to school trips" and "meet with friends". Generational conflicts are also described as means: through many "generational conflict discussions" with her daughter, she could "widen my perspective" which she thinks differentiated her from her "stolid" parents who would "never care to understand other opinions". Education is also an important means to the purpose of widening up one's

perspective: "Education is very important to me (…) I did everything in my power to help my children to educate themselves at school".

Breach

The breach is compound through the setting of the prison world and the purpose of educating and broadening one's mind with other perspectives since other perspectives seem to be prohibited in the prison world, especially for a woman. The act of "breaking the chains" of the prison world in order to offer her children a happy life as a turning point in the narrative points to her effort and growth as an agent who is described as "anxious".

Becoming free of the pressure posed by the illusory world

Global impression

Cem is a 43-year-old man. He can be regarded as higher educated. While working in the tourism branch in Turkey, he met his German wife. For a short period, they lived together in a well-known touristic place in Turkey until his wife got pregnant. They decided to move to Germany to offer their child better circumstances to be born in. Cem was 21 years old at the time of his arrival in Germany. He and his wife decided to stay in Germany. His wife gave birth to three more children. Cem gave up his Turkish passport to receive German citizenship. The interview took place in Cem's private home and was conducted in German. He appeared talkative and gave very long and detailed answers to the questions. Cem's story belongs to story type one and mainly focuses on how assimilationist tendencies can favour receptivity. Being part of the Turkish community in Germany is seen as a hindering factor for the receptivity.

Setting

The setting in which Cem's narrative takes place is best characterized as the "pressure" to "correct the circumstances" in an "illusory world". The "illusory world" "won't admit the truth which no one wants to admit which is that Europeans are more correct, have nothing evil on their minds and are better structured (…) I cannot understand how Turkish people can live here in Germany for decades but anyway stick to what they know although the other is right in front of their eyes they categorically neglect it by not participating in the society (…) and controlling each other".

Agent

Cem is the protagonist of the narrative. He is characterized as an autonomous person: "It was important for me to become independent (…) I earned money early and bought a car (…) I no longer had to justify or explain myself … I just enjoyed my freedom". Furthermore, he is well reflected and open-minded. "After I finished school, I questioned traditions and religion (…) but it was not easy to sit at a table with friends and communicate that (…) because this would be a humiliation".

At the time of his arrival in Germany, Cem "walked differently and had a different hairdo, I wore clothes which I bought in Turkey … all this might have given them the impression that I am a foreigner". Cem adapted his appearance to German standards and "I merely talk Turkish". He distances himself clearly from the Turks in Germany by talking about them using pronouns like "them" or "they": "I distance myself very clearly because I do not want to be put on the same shelf as them".

Acts/events

While doing his job in turkey in the Tourism branch he needed to "figure how Europeans think (…) since this was part of my job". His wife is "his first meeting point" with the European world and at the same time his "lifebelt". He asked her many questions "and as she replied I understood that everything she said was right to me (…) we had the same way of thinking". Moving to Germany, he realized that the Turks in Germany "screwed it up" which made him feel "disappointed". The aspect in which he thinks they "screwed up" is that "they did not accept that if you want to integrate you need to put aside some of your values for the sake of the local values". He remembers being invited to a Turkish wedding in Germany where he had the impression that "as I crossed the doorstep, I was in Turkey … everything as the decoration, order of events, the way of clothing was just like in Turkey".

A similar experience happened when he visited the Turkish consulate "it was like in Turkey (…) they did not treat you like an individual as in German administrative bodies, but you first get a number (…) they do not look you in the eyes (…) the loud TV and conversations I do not want to hear, everything made me feel that I am externally controlled".

Cem feels "pressured" to change things that the Turkish community in Germany "screwed up" in his opinion. He changes or corrects it in his own life by "clearly" distancing himself from Turkish society because he does not want to be put on the same "shelf" with

them. Wanting to distance himself from everything he associates with being Turkish, he "merely" talks Turkish. Other than his "religious and conservative family" he raises his children in "freedom" and more oriented towards the German culture. He and his wife gave them, for example, German-sounding names.

Means/helpers

Distancing from everything that he associates with Turks or Turkishness helps him to free himself from the alleged "pressure" and enables him to orient towards the German culture which he experiences as free (e.g., he raises his children in "freedom" and gave them German-sounding names). His wife, as his "lifebelt", is an import means to emancipate from the external pressure.

Purpose

Cem's narrative points to the wish to emancipate from external "pressure" which he experiences from Turks and the Turkish culture. He said, "If I could, I would change things (…) but I do not want to be part of the flock (…) I want to go my own way". The "flock" are the Turks who prefer "staying among themselves" and "have the anxiety to face the unknown and the fear of each other which is even bigger"

Breach

The agent Cem is a person who is described as very autonomous and reflected. The setting in which the narrative is placed is perceived as a threat to the agents drive to live an independent and free life. This explains why the agent has the wish to emancipate from the "flock"/ the perceived external threat to his autonomy allegedly posed by the Turks. The means/helpers and acts/events show how the agent struggles to gain his "freedom" where his wife is an important contributor to the goal of emancipation from Turks for the sake of living a life in "freedom" as a German. Hence, the breach is compound between the agent and the setting. The breach is confirmed through Cem's subjective feeling of his levels of well-being. The described feeling of "pressure", "disappointed" and at times "externally controlled" by the Turks are negative emotions which are the result of a dissatisfied need of autonomy in the "illusory word": "I do not think that feeling pressured would contribute to my well-being". Cem has the feeling that the circumstances – the willingness of Turks to adapt to Germany - are getting "better" among the "second and third generation, but this will take time". In other words, the agent thinks that the future generations might be more willing "to integrate"/"put

aside some of your values for the sake of the local values" for the sake of a life in alleged "freedom". It appears that perceived freedom and autonomy are positive contributors of the receptivity in the agents experience because these are attributes that are perceived as western whereas collectivity or in his words "the flock" is hindering the receptivity.

Type 2: "*Coming into terms with both German and Turkish identity aspects*" – narratives about accepting who you are and how you can do justice both German and Turkish aspects of your identity told by the second generation.

"I do not want to be judged based on my appearance or nationality (…) I want to be accepted as a human"

Global impression

Elif is a 27-year-old woman. Her parents migrated to Germany before she was born which makes her belong to the second generation. Elif is less educated, unmarried, has no children and lives with her mother and her sister. The interview took place via Skype and was conducted in German. Elif reported: "I felt aggressive (…) I think just because of the topic". The interviewer tried to listen carefully to her anguish and pain. It appeared that the interviewer could calm Elif by listening to her in a non-judgemental way. Besides non-judgemental listening, the interviewer tried to express empathy by using paraphrases and emotional reflections as a response to the feeling that she termed as feeling "aggressive". Elif's story belongs to story type two and focuses on acceptance as the main theme.

Setting

Elif describes that "there is a wall" between the German and the Turkish society. This "wall" symbolizes the setting in which she lives in, which is *on the border of both societies*. She distinguishes the societies by contrasting the German "disciplined world" and the Turkish world which is associated with her home. The "disciplined" German world is where "we were forced to learn the German language (…), being good at school and adapt to their way of clothing". She uses very negative words when she describes her relationship to the German side of the wall, like feeling "disgusted" or "humiliated". On the other hand, home is described as a "solely Turkish" and a safe place at which she "forgot everything negative that happened". Leaving home came "near to a culture shock".

Agent

The protagonist of the narrative is Elif, who is characterized as a strong person by phrases like "nobody can get me down" or "I am very sure of myself". She "fights" for what she wants and reacts with "indifference" to setbacks to move on. The protagonist sees herself belonging to the Turks through the pronoun "we" whenever she talks from the perspective of the Turks in Germany. "We" is mainly used in a negative relationship with the Germans. The Germans are narrated as a homogenous group who are "all the same" and are dissociated from the protagonist through the pronoun "they". "They" are characterized as judgmental although "they pretend to be modern and open-minded". Her family is very positively characterized, "we have a good relationship". Hence, it appears that Elif is not the only protagonist in the narrative, but it seems that Elif is also represented as a collective protagonist who acts as the collective "we"/ the Turks.

Purpose

The main theme and purpose in her life story to be "accepted as a human" and not judged on her Turkish roots: "all they see is a head with black hair (…) they do not see the person I am". Acceptance might be therefore seen as a aim which transcends the "wall" by uniting both worlds in her identity (with which she struggles since she dissociates with German identity aspects by using pronouns as "the Germans").

Means/Helpers

A means to gain acceptance from German society is to adhere to the perceived assimilation pressure "I tried to adapt to Germans (…) we were forced to learn the German language (…), being good at school and adapt to their way of clothing". A good job is perceived as a helper.

Acts/ Events

Although she gives her best to be accepted - by learning the German language, clothing according to perceived German normality standards and trying to be good at school - Elif reports that she faces rejection, for example in job search. Furthermore, she describes that she is exposed to stereotypes like "being forced into marriage" or "being a head with black hair". Elif feels forced to assimilate ("we were forced to learn the German language (…), being good at school and adapt to their way of clothing") and thinks that "diversity is not welcomed in Germany". For example, she can remember that her friend received no job offers: "My friend studied architecture, received no job offer because she was wearing a hijab". Elif thinks

that rejection has a positive effect on her well-being because it "turned out that rejection makes me ambitious".

The situation of facing rejection and discrimination leads up to a turning point. The turning point happened when she started working and won German friends in her work environment. She reports "I am no longer thinking completely negative of them, but neutral". Although this turning point resolves the breach to a certain degree (since she gained acceptance at her current work environment), Elif still experiences a clear dissociation from "them" or "the Germans".

Breach

The narrative is placed in a setting which can be interpreted as a life on the border of the German and Turkish world. The agent/s has/have the desire to transcend the "wall" between both worlds (shown in the purpose) by means/helpers as a good job or adhering to perceived force to assimilation. The acts shall execute the means/helpers. It appears that the protagonist/s expect to transcend the wall if the acts and means/helpers show success in the events in terms of receiving acceptance of the Germans. Rejections and discrimination described in the events seem to maintain the perceived wall. The turning points are reported as events that align with the expectation since the agent won acceptance. However, the agent/s still experience difficulties in identifying with German identity aspects by continuing with using pronouns as "them" or "the Germans". The breach is therefore compound through the setting and the events. Although events as winning German friends who are accepting the agent are expected in the narrative, the agent/s struggle/s to align these wished for events with the overall setting. However, the turning points can be interpreted as an effort to amend the breach, as they had an effect - "I am no longer thinking completely negative of them, but neutral"- even when the effect does not correspond with the purpose.

Developing from being externally controlled to self-determination

Global impression

Sibel is a 23-year-old woman. She has no migration experiences because her parents migrated before her birth, therefore Sibel can be categorized as a person from the second generation. Sibel is higher educated and lives together with her parents, is unmarried and has no children. The interview took place in Sibel's private home and was conducted in German She was very

talkative and gave very detailed answers to the questions which facilitated a good relationship between her and the researcher. At the end of the interview, she said that she found it "interesting to call up her past in this way". Sibel's story was categorised as story type two and mainly deals with the unfavourable effects of assimilation tendencies on self-acceptance and well-being.

Setting

The narrative takes place in her hometown where the world is split between the Turkish and the German society in which "one lives in-between". The Turkish side of the society is described as oppressing and the German side as "open-minded" and a place of freedom. Since Sibel experiences to live in between the two societies, the main setting is the border of freedom and oppression.

Agent

Sibel is the protagonist of the story who is characterized as a rebellious person. She felt "controlled by the opinions of the Turkish people" in her surroundings. Feeling more free and self-determined in the German environment, she identified herself more with the German environment and "hated" the Turkish environment and could "not accept that "I am one of them because I have Turkish roots too". Not accepting her "Turkish identity" she tried to change her appearance in a way that would make her look German like by wearing "blue contact lenses" and dyeing her hair "blonde".

Acts/Events

Sibel had a good relationship with her parents and the "Turkish community" until a Turkish female character gossiped about her chatting with many men. The gossiping among the Turkish community ultimately changed her parents' attitude towards her. Her parents did not believe her that the gossip was a lie and "imprisoned" her at home and "controlled" her private life. Sibel "suffered" for a long time due to the "evil eyes" that gossip and spread rumours. She thinks that her parents had no bad intentions by imprisoning her, but they wanted to "protect her from Christian-German influence" which they interpreted as "protecting her from the evil". To ensure that Sibel gets "positive influence" they send her to Koran school where she learned learning Islamic prayers.

Sibel rebelled by avoiding contact with her parents and "kept away from Turks" because "I knew that I would only feel miserable through Turks". By going to Koran school

and learning Islamic prayers she "earned credits" from her parents to change her appearance which they thought was a "teenage thing", however, Sibel used the "credits" to look like a German "because I did not want to be like them". She "hated" the Turkish community for turning her relationship with her parents in such a way and felt "depressive", "isolated", "pessimistic" and had even suicidal thoughts because "I cannot change my Turkish roots".

As her parents realized "that they are about to lose their daughter" they slowly opened up towards her will to live a life like a "western woman" which led into a turning point. She proved herself that it is worth to rebel against the parents. Since her rebellion proved out to be worth it, she changed her mindset of hatred towards Turkishness and nowadays tries to "come to terms with the trauma" of the past and "to accept my Turkish identity" because "I have to accept who I am to be happy".

Purpose

The purpose of the narrative is to appear as "a role model" to especially Turkish women who can "fight" for self-determination instead allowing the gossip, rumours and judgements to control one's life: "I do not need to value everyone's opinion about me (…) because it depends on my interpretation of things and not theirs". She appears to envision a self-determination as a "western woman" who she tries to be like as, for example, in her appearance.

Means/helpers

The rebellion in form of avoiding Turks (or keeping "away from Turks"), changing her appearance fitting to her experience of German normality standards ("blonde" hair, "blue contact lenses") are means to achieve the goal of becoming a German or a "western woman". The so called "credits" which she earned from her parents can be considered as helpers for the overall purpose mentioned before since she used the "credits" to change her appearance.

Breach

The breach of her story is compound through the purpose to become self-determined and the setting where she lives "in-between" an oppressing Turkish world and an "open-minded" German world. The rebelliously described agent experiences trouble while living in the Turkish world. She tries to break free of the Turkish environment and orients more towards the German environment. Breaking free by avoiding people with a Turkish background and neglecting her own Turkish roots for the sake of becoming self-determined has its consequences that are expressed in her depression. Her turning point offers a way to amend

the breach since she tries to accept her Turkish identity aspects and believes that this would ultimately help her to become happy.

Enlightenment over prejudice and faith

Global impression

Tarik is a 25-year-old man. His parents migrated to Germany before he was born, hence Tarik belongs to the second generation. He is less educated, unmarried, has no children and lives together with his parents. The interview took place via Skype and was conducted in German. Tarik experienced the interview as "pleasant" and thinks that it is "necessary to make research on this topic because there are problems that need to be understood from our perspective". The researcher experienced good rapport with Tarik which resulted in the obtainment of a rich life story. This story was categorized as story type two and focuses on the different value homosexuality is given in the Turkish and German society.

Setting

The setting of the narrative can be characterized as the tension Tarik experiences as the realized that he is homosexual which is, according to him, valued differently in the Turkish and German culture: "Germans accept homosexuality much more than Turks".

Agent

The protagonist Tarik characterizes himself as "more feminine than other men". At the age of eleven, he understood that something "was not right with me". For "a long time", he had to deal with an identity conflict "what is wrong with me?". After "doing a lot of research" he understood that he is homosexual. Before doing research, he did not "know that there is something like homosexuality". He felt "lonely with this insight" because he could "not share it with anyone".

Acts/Events

The reason why Tarik could not share his insight on being homosexual with his family was his assumption that Turkish people would consider his homosexual feelings "as shame". As he confessed to being homosexual, his parents sent him to a Muslim psychiatrist "he tried conversion therapy on me". As the therapy did "not affect me", his brothers abandoned him. On the other hand, the German society is characterized as an "open-minded", "welcoming"

world, where he found his "community". Due to their "open-mindedness", he has "more German friends than Turkish friends" and feels "more oriented towards Germany". However, he thinks that the Germans have their prejudices about Turks. For example, Tarik thinks that: "It could be that I received denials in the job search because of my Turkish roots". He "got used to rejections" from the "Turks who judge on homosexuals" and the Germans "judging people due to their Turkish roots".

Tarik felt isolated as a homosexual in his Turkish surrounding because he could not share this with them. "I felt lonely … I could not share with anyone". The "mission" of earning acceptance for homosexuality and having Turkish roots gives him a sense in life. He describes that having this sense in life helps him to deal with the emotional burden of receiving rejection from the Turks and the Germans.

A turning point in his story happens when he started to identify with liberal Islam which he acknowledges as a middle ground between his western values as openness for diversity and Islam. He regards himself as both Turkish and German " I am both, I identity as Turkish and German", but thinks that "the Turks need to adapt and cannot continue living in Germany with solely sticking to being Turkish".

Purpose

Tarik thinks that although people have their prejudices towards Turks or homosexuals, "cultures and societies are in constant change" which gives him "hope to live in a place where everyone is accepted".

Means/helpers

Learning that he is homosexual, he made it a "mission to prove people, especially Turkish people, that homosexuality is normal". His mission is described by the research he did gathering "knowledge to prove that the prejudices do not apply to everyone". As a YouTube blogger, he aims to earn more acceptance for homosexuality and "being different". On the other hand, he had to "fight" with prejudices ensuing from German people towards him due to his Turkish roots. Before he was able to live up his mission, he "needed to become independent, earn money and prove that I achieved something in life" because he thinks that only then people would take him "serious".

Breach

The breach is composed through the ambivalence of the purpose of the narrative which is "to live in a place where everyone is accepted" and the tensed setting in which homosexuality is valued differently in the German and Turkish society. The agent who experiences trouble in combing the two worlds in his identity found liberal Islam as a turning point as a way to amend the breach.

Cultural exchange as a good means to co-exist as individuals and cultures

Global impression

Murat is a 24-year-old man. His parents migrated to Germany before his birth which makes him belong to the second generation. Murat is a student and higher educated. He lives in a student housing apartment. He is not married and has no children. The interview took place via Skype and was conducted in German. The interviewer and Murat could build easily rapport and the interview went smoothly. Murat liked the interview; however, he was worried whether his negative memories took a dominant role within the conversation since these were the first that came into his mind. Although he had this feeling, the interviewer had the impression that he delivered a balanced view of narrated situations. Murat's story was categorized as story type two and deals mainly with the importance of intercultural exchange.

Setting

The world in which the narrative takes place in is one of "constant exchange" between individuals and cultures which means that cultures, societies and individuals are depicted as dynamic players in the world that influence each other. However, there are also individuals who live in "their own bubble" and therefore are inhibitors of such an exchange.

Agent

Murat is the protagonist of the narrative. He is described as a rather extroverted person who likes to share experiences and ideas with his surroundings. He reported that his friends are "from various nationalities". Murat experiences being Turkish as a positive aspect of his identity: "I experience being Turkish as a something good". He is a reflected and humorous person who rather wants to interpret situations from a positive angle however he also

considers situations from a negative angle. When talking about negative situations, he tries to frame the situation as a "funny anecdote".

Acts/Events

Murat met a woman during his internship "who wanted to appear friendly" and told him that she knows some Turkish people with whom she has a good relationship. He told her that he needs to write an internship report for school, and she replied: "I can help you with writing your report and I can also provide you with a computer for that". Murat's first thought was "I am not poor!". He interpreted the situation as "strange" but anyway believed that "she has no bad intentions; she just does not know how to behave". Another "defining event" happened in school where some of his classmates "bullied" him "by using what I interpret as something good - I mean my Turkishness - like something bad". On the other hand, he had classmates "who considered me, as one of the few Turks in school, as someone special and being special was good". The two events are connected "by the same basis which is that people sometimes remain in their bubble".

Situations like being bullied of this Turkish identity made Murat "angry" and made him feel "hatred". He thinks that these negative emotions had a "negative impact" on his well-being. However, he deals with his emotions by telling other persons these events as "funny anecdotes" which reverses the negative event into a funny ones. This strategy helps Murat to maintain his well-being.

Murat thinks that cultures are "compatible" and can "co-exist" if "we learn to accept that we are different and learn of each other's differences (…) there are bad sides of the German culture like drinking too much alcohol but there are also good sides like their philosophy and their scientific progress which are things that Turks can learn but things that I can incorporate into my self-concept". Murat exchanges his knowledge of "Turkish history and Turkish food" with Germans to arrange an interpersonal and intercultural exchange.

Purpose

Murat thinks that some people have "extreme opinions" which closes them in a mental "bubble" or a "limited ken". His narrative has the purpose to show that people will remain in their mindset of stereotypes without intercultural and interpersonal exchange: "When someone remains in a bubble, he cannot learn other perspectives or ideas because he has no or

not a lot of contact to people of for example our culture which is why they behave wrong in one way or the other".

Means/helpers

Exchanging with Germans, for example, about Turkish kitchen and history is a means to prevent a "bubble" or "extreme opinions".

Breach

The breach of the narrative is compound through the purpose and the acts/events because people who live in their "bubble" are interpreted as persons who are inhibitors of the fulfilment of the purpose of establishing an intercultural and interpersonal exchange. The setting of constant exchange is hence disturbed through people having "a limited ken", for example, by bulling the agent because of his Turkish background. The extroverted agent Murat likes to exchange with Germans and has never really experienced something else than positively identifying with both his Turkish and German identity aspects which is why he "never really experienced something like a turning point because my views never really changed but remained rather the same". This statement might show that the agent has always tried to amend the breach by believing in a world where cultures are "compatible" and can "co-exist", although there might be people who have other views.

3.1.2 Comparison

This part of the results serves to present similarities and differences between the acculturation stories (Table 1.). First, similarities and differences between the generations will be shown. Subsequently, a comparison within the generations will be presented.

Comparison between generations

A decisive difference between the first and the second generation is that the first generation migrated to Germany whereas the second generation was born in Germany. This difference coins the tension with which the generations have to deal: The first-generation experiences tension because of difficulties in becoming part of the German society (story type one) whereas the second generation tension lies in difficulties concerning identity construction (story type two). The tension is expressed in the breach: The imbalance in the stories of the first generation is constructed whenever two-story elements pose unfavourable circumstances to the receptivity of the German society. The second generation experiences an imbalance whenever two elements hinder coming to terms with Turkish and German aspects of one's identity.

It appears that there is a certain orientation or acculturation attitude in the breach which is either assimilation or segregation (as defined by Berry, 1997, 2006) which causes tension. It appears in each story that the breach is tried to be amended by a turning point (acts/events). The turning point can be regarded as an effort to achieve or maintain integration (as defined by Berry, 1997, 2006), because it shows that the narrators develop a balance in their lives (e.g., by solving interpersonal or intrapersonal issues; by starting to identify with or accept certain values which were neglected before) helping them to move around in two worlds.

It can be concluded that the narrators appear to imagine a future which motivates or works as an organizing force. The motivator is to become integrated (as described in Berry's model): in the first generation are *motivated* to become part of the German society whereas the second generation *strives* for self-acceptance and acceptance through the outside world.

Comparison within the generations

Participants from the first generation, Ibrahim, Selma and Mara orient towards Turkey whereas Cem orients towards Germany. Something they have in common is that the outside world – in setting and events- poses a conflict to the agent's interest and effort – acts, agent, means/helpers and purpose - to become part of the German society. This main conflict is

expressed in their breaches and covers the main theme of story type one. Based on the breach, and the pentad in general, there are individual differences in how the individual experiences tension, wishes and potentials. For example, Ibrahim and Selma share that they experience tension because of a not fulfilled wish to establish reciprocal relationships with Germans (breach). They deal with their breaches in different ways. Selma, as a compassionate and patient agent, she tries to accept, understand and help others (acts) to finally be treated appreciated as well (events). Ibrahim tries to build his hope on a better world or "good luck" through examples as his son-in-law with whom he could built a good relationship (events). Mara, on the other hand, is a shy and anxious agent who conforms to the conditions set by the setting although, in reality, she is motivated (purpose) to "break the chains" through education or opening up one's perspective to find access to the German society, which is succeeded in a turning point (events). The breach of Cem is compound through his wish to express autonomy (agent) in an environment that is experienced as oppressive (setting) outgoing from the Turks. Hence, in the example of Cem, autonomy and freedom are experienced as keys to favour the receptivity of the German society. Taken together, autonomy, freedom and education and reciprocity are main themes in the first generation stories that are regarded as keys to favouring the receptivity of the German society.

While comparing the breach in the second generation, it appears the participants have different orientations. However, they share that they want to be accepted from their outside world or setting. On the other hand, they have the desire to act in the setting as a self-accepting protagonist. This notion, that the agents in the second generation strive for self-acceptance and the acceptance of their outside world leads up to the most crucial commonality: the tensed situation of living in two worlds (namely, the Turkish and the German world) while struggling to identify or maintain identifying with one or the other. This tension seems to cover the main theme in story type two which is expressed in the breaches. Elif, Tarik and Sibel are experiencing their settings as two worlds with two different value systems and they are standing on the boarder of these worlds. In Sibel's and Tarik's story, the setting is breached with the purposes of either living in a world words where everyone is accepted (Tarik) and feeling self-determined (Sibel). In Elif's example, the setting is breached with acts/events, where the events (e.g., discrimination) are keeping the perceived boarder. Murat however has the purpose to interculturally exchange which is breached by events (acts/events) that show that people do not want to exchange but stay in their "bubble".

It appears that exchange, acceptance from the outside world as well as self-acceptance or self-determination are important themes in the second generation stories which are perceived as important contributors in combing both German and Turkish identity aspects.

Table 1.
Commonalities and differences between the eight acculturation stories

Analysed Elements	Elif	Tarik	Sibel	Murat	Ibrahim	Cem	Selma	Mara
Story type	two	two	two	two	one	one	one	one
Orientation	Turkey	Germany	Germany	Both	Turkey	Germany	Turkey	Turkey
Breach	The **setting** of living at the border of the German and Turkish world and the **acts/events** that keep the border (e.g., through experience of discrimination and rejection by Germans).	The ambivalence of the **purpose** of the narrative is "to live in a place where everyone is accepted" and the tense **setting** in which homosexuality is valued differently in the German and Turkish society.	**Purpose** to become self-determined and the **setting** where she lives "in-between" an oppressing Turkish world and an "open-minded" German world.	People who live in their "bubble" (**acts/events**) are interpreted as persons who are inhibitors of the fulfilment of the **purpose** of establishing an intercultural and interpersonal exchange.	Paradoxical expectations towards Germany/Germans which are expressed in the **purpose** (Germany as land of promise) and **acts/events** (not being appreciated). Ibrahim is not receiving the wished for reciprocity in relations with Germans.	The wish of the **agent** to express autonomy in a **setting** which is perceived as a threat to his autonomy. The threat is allegedly posed by the Turks in his surroundings. Autonomy and freedom might be perceived as a key to his receptivity.	A longing for reciprocity (**purpose**) in relationships to Germans in a world of "strange people" (**setting**).	The **setting** of the prison world and the **purpose** of educating and broadening one's mind with other perspectives since other perspectives seem to be prohibited in the prison world, especially for a woman.

4. Discussion

This study aimed to understand how Turkish individuals living in Germany express acculturation attitudes in narrative identities. Emerging generational differences were investigated as well. This paper answers the following research questions: (1.) How are acculturation attitudes expressed in narrative identities about personal experiences over time among individuals with a Turkish background in the first and second generation living in Germany, and (2.) What are the generational differences in the construction of narrative identity among individuals with a Turkish background living in Germany?

It was shown that acculturation attitudes are expressed in narrative identities as a dynamic process of identifying with aspects of both the German and the Turkish culture. This means that the person dynamically develops certain acculturation attitudes which differ for individuals based on their life context. Hence, acculturation is not a static process of adopting certain acculturation attitudes, but they can be rather seen as idiosyncratic developments in a person's history that are useful in certain moments in their unique contexts. Generational differences were shown through two story types. Story type one, (1) *the wish to be part of the German society*, is a reflection on the receptivity of the German society and was narrated by the first generation. Story type two, (2) *coming into terms with both German and Turkish identity aspects*, is about the acceptance of who you are and how you can do justice to both German and Turkish aspects of your identity, which was mainly told by the second generation. Story type one reflected the *motivation* to become part of the German society or favour the receptivity of the German society. Within generational differences found in the first story type were key themes as autonomy, freedom and education and reciprocity which were seen as favouring the receptivity of the German society. Story type two reflects the *striving* of the second generation for self-acceptance and acceptance through the outside world. Most crucial within generational differences in the second story type were themes as exchange, acceptance from the outside world as well as self-acceptance or self-determination which were perceived as important contributors in combing both German and Turkish identity aspects. The generations share that there are certain motivational forces (either to become part of the German society or become accepted and accept Turkish and German identity aspects) which shows an anticipation of the future or a future goal. Imagining the future was found "to have an all-over organising and motivating effect" and therefore can shape the person's identity in a certain direction (Sools, & Mooren, 2012, S. 219). According to the results of this study, the motivating effect appears to be a striving for integration (as defined by Berry, 1997,

2006) because both generations try to develop into individuals which can move around in both words. Hence, acculturation attitudes as separation and assimilation can be considered more like phases that people go through while trying to achieve integration.

Some of the four acculturation attitudes defined by Berry (1997, 2006), namely integration, assimilation, and separation, were recognized in the life stories of the interviewees. However, marginalization was not found. This might be explained through the small sample of eight people. Another possibility is that it is more difficult to find participants with marginalization attitudes. Among the sample of 230 individuals with a Turkish background living in Germany in Koydemir's study, only 14.8% were marginalized whereas in another study of Luque, Fernandez, & Tejada (2006) only 7% were identified as marginalized in a sample of 813 individuals with a different target group (African immigrants). When comparing the results to Berry's model, it appears that acculturation is a dynamic process in which people express acculturation attitudes as segregation and assimilation in response to their unique context. The motivation behind this dynamic process is an achievement of integration (i.e., the motivation/striving to become part of the German society in story type one and become accepted and accept oneself in story type two). Hence, this study nuanced the contextual accounts of the acculturation model of Berry and highlighted the uniqueness of each acculturation process based on a person's history. Furthermore, it was shown that the individuals experience acculturation as an organizing process of using acculturation attitudes to achieve integration.

The turning points appear to function as the means to achieve integration. The breaches express acculturation attitudes as assimilation and segregation that cause tension in the stories and appear to be related to the narrator's subjective levels of well-being. The narrators with assimilation or segregation attitudes report lower levels of well-being whereas the one narrator who express integration reports higher levels of well-being but is trying to maintain integration which is threatened by the outside world which is his breach (see Murat's story). This finding is aligning with the findings of Westerhof & Bohlmeijer (2012) about well-being and narrative identity: The turning point could be interpreted as a process of shifting identification since the person is in the process of identifying with both cultural experiences. Before the turning point, it appears that some narrators cannot identify with Turkish or German cultural experiences - leading to assimilation or segregation. These were reported as being associated with lower levels of well-being. Not identifying with cultural experience or overly identifying with a cultural experience comes near to the process of

underidentification and overidentification which are related to poorer levels of well-being (Westerhof, & Bohlmeijer, 2012). These findings are also aligning with Koydemir (2013) who reported that people with integration tendencies have higher levels of well-being than their counterparts with assimilation, segregation and marginalization tendencies. The results add to Koydemir's (2013) work that integration is part of a process that is expressed in turning points as a resolution enhancing or maintaining well-being.

Intergenerational conflicts and changing family dynamics also played a role in the stories. These were mainly represented in acts/events and means/helpers as obstacles or opportunities to reach the purpose. For example, supportive family relations seem to function as means/helpers to the purpose. On the other hand, hierarchical and patriarchal family structures described in settings and acts/events seem to be obstacles to the purpose. In some stories, family relations seem to shape the setting as they determined the overall atmosphere in which the agent is acting. Generational differences in how family relations play a role in the stories can be found. The narrators in the first generation are all parents who are not only aiming for a place in the German society for themselves but also for their children. Germany is seen as a "land of promise" (setting) where the families can start of a better live with better opportunities, i.e., having better access to education and better jobs (acts/events, purpose). In the narratives, family unity is understood as preserving the values which the parents brought from Turkey. Such values are for example gender roles (i.e., the preservation of "honour" in Mara's story; Ibrahim who does not want his son - who has a premarital relationship - to be a "bad" role model for his sister) or traditions as Turkish kitchen and customs (i.e., Selma teaching her daughter-in-law to cook Turkish dishes). Referring to Özışık (2015), the preservation of family unity can lead to psychological distress in the second generation. The narrators in the second generation have no children and are focused on finding a way to orient towards the mainstream culture (story type two). Hence, they are more concerned with identity construction rather than family unity. Psychological distress because of the pressure to preserve family unity was seen in some stories like Sibel's and Tarik's story. The results align with previous research in the literature that purposes that younger generations struggle to emancipate themselves from their families at the expense to become autonomous and orient towards the western mainstream culture (Baykara-Krumme, 2010; Özışık, 2015; Keller, Bullik, Özışık, Stacke, 2018; Koydemir, 2013). The findings also line up with Ayika et al. (2018) who reports that there are certain post-migration acculturation challenges which "involve […] complex reconstructions of migrant identities, familial structure, and familial

values" (p. 1). Due to the mentioned differences in the generations, it appears that the first generation struggles with "generational conflicts") (i.e., Selma's, Mara's and Ibrahim's story) which some of them try to amend for example with turning points (acts/events). Hence, this study added to previous literature that intergenerational conflict and family dynamics could be post-migration acculturation challenges which can be regarded as contextual factors that lead to a reconstruction of narrative identities (i.e., with turning points that could stand for identification processes described in the paragraph before).

Applying a narrative method as storyline analysis nuanced the acculturation model by Berry by contextualizing it in time and space. By showing how narrative identities are constructed, it was displayed how individuals make sense of the acculturation processes in their past, present and future. Furthermore, the narrative method contextualized aspects as acculturation attitudes, well-being and intergenerational relationships and recognized the uniqueness of these contexts in each story. Other contextual factors as societal change will be presented in the paragraphs below.

4.1 Contextual factors

The following section presents the contextual background of the findings based on storyline analysis level one. The examination of contextual factors is part of storyline analysis in being the third level of analysis. The purpose of the third level analysis is to provide contextual information for the "findings and connecting them to the literature" (Murray, & Sools, 2015, p. 144). The contextual factors will be analysed separately for each generation because of different times and circumstances in which the stories take place. The contextual analysis will be conducted in line with previous literature described in the introduction.

First generation

The time of immigration plays a role in how the stories are told. Mara, Ibrahim and Selma immigrated in 1970's, being in the so called "guest worker" generation, whereas Cem migrated during the 1990's. The settings rooted in the 1970's are described as a state of culture shock. The individuals have difficulties orienting themselves in the unknown (e.g., foreign language, environment). The interviewees describe that Turks stayed mainly among themselves to create a familiar environment in a foreign land. As people with a Turkish

background were the largest group of immigrants in the 1970's, it was easy to develop a network with other Turks sharing similar background, language and culture (Schührer, 2018). The first generation indeed preferred to stay among themselves (Schührer, 2018). The setting described by Cem, who migrated in the 1990's, approves that Turks were rather among themselves. He has a rather different point of view on this communion as the ones who migrated in the 1970's by saying that he thinks that they reject "participating in the society" and thereby maintain a Turkish "world of illusion". The agents who are rather less educated value education and hard work. Studies show that Turkish migrants in Germany are more education aspired than their German counterparts because they want to compensate for the socio-ecological disadvantages they are exposed to (Becker, & Gresch, 2016, as cited in Schührer, 2018). Besides education, having a job is seen as an important step to become part of the German society (Schührer, 2018). Cem, who is rather educated and migrated 20 years later, strives more for autonomy rather than having a job or receiving education as can be seen in the description of the agent and purpose in his story. Although participants of the first generation want to become part of the German society, part of the narrators stick to Turkish values and customs which seem to hinder woman to be part of the German society (i.e., Mara). In Mara's case, one can see that such a setting can influence the agent being anxious and shy. Özışık (2015) found in his study that "any alienation is unacceptable and is sometimes understood as a threat to the honour of the family" (p. 20). Mara mentions the concept of "honour" a few times in the interview which lead to troubles in becoming part of the German society. This concept might be retraced back to sticking to certain Turkish values as described by Özışık (2015). This is an important topic in the acts/events, where a clash between Turkish and German values/ customs are described. Relations with Germans, e.g., neighbours, are taken as examples (acts/events). Statistics show that the first generation has less contact to Germans than the second generation (Schührer, 2018). The results show that it might be that negative experiences with German contacts lead to less contact, e.g., being treated as a "second class" person or stereotypification. Still, in the means/helpers, the protagonists are eager to build contact to Germans by getting acquainted to them and get appreciation back as a reciprocal consequence. This is in line with qualitative findings of Özışık (2015), where similar conclusions were made from one of his interviewee's: "relationship does not come out of the blue. One has to invest in a relationship and find common points of interest" (p. 231). The effort to get acquainted with the Germans serves the main theme of story type one which is the motivation to become part of the German society. The reasons to stay in Germany are reported to be a better social system (e.g., healthcare

system) and having more opportunities (i.e., education). A reason mentioned in the interviews was also to immigrate because of economic profits and then to return someday. These reasons are already known in literature (Schührer, 2018; Koydemir, 2013; Dimitrova et al., 2015;).

Second generation

The breach in the second-generation stories describes who the narrators deal with, who they are, and how they can do justice both German and Turkish aspects of their identity. Schührer (2018) and Koydemir (2013) argue that people from the second generation deal with "identity conflicts". The conflict in identity is seen in the setting as for example a "wall" or being "in-between". Obstacles in the identity formation include the "inheritance" of the parental migration and therewith the associated negative stereotypes which is why they might encounter discrimination and prejudices (Schührer, 2018). These obstacles are described in the acts/events, e.g., being treated as poor, being seen as a "head with black hair ", "feeling forced to assimilate". Other obstacles described in acts/events are receiving job denials due to negative stereotypes which aligns with the findings of Weichselbaumer (2016). The pressure to adapt to Turkish values, mainly from the family, is also an act/event which is narrated in the second generation stories. Özışık (2015) argues based on qualitative data "any kind of deviation from family and cultural values are seen as defamatory (…) German social values are immediately accused of being responsible; younger generations of Turks bear extra responsibilities because they have to spend more effort on integration in order to realize a life free of conflict" (p.21). The agents either dissociate with Germans by using pronouns as "we" and "them", deny their Turkish roots by changing their appearance or try to change as a reaction to the acts/events. According to Schührer (2018) rejection through the host society can lead to "re-ethnicization" which means that individuals orient more towards their culture of origin than towards the host society which has rejected their efforts to participate. Efforts are for exemplified in the means/helpers, e.g., learning the German language, exchanging through YouTube or Turkish history and kitchen. In the narratives, the purpose of these efforts is to be accepted and accept oneself. Acceptance is described as a very important reaction towards the efforts of the individuals and is also important for the willingness to integrate (Schührer, 2018).

This analysis shows that the five story elements are rooted in a context which plays an important role in how the stories are told. Storyline analysis is hence showing that the

individual lives in a dynamic context which can influence identity construction and thereby the expression of acculturation attitudes in the identities.

4.2 Strengths and Limitations

The narrative method used in this study appears as a strength of this study because it enables us to make sense of acculturation attitudes in the dynamic context of an individual's life. It was shown that the process of acculturation can influence identity construction which offers a new perspective on researching acculturation experiences. This study adds to the previous acculturation model by Berry (1997; 2006) that acculturation can be regarded as an idiosyncratic and dynamic process rather than a (fixed) process of taking static attitudes.

Factors which enable good rapport with the interviewees were that the researcher has a similar background as the participants. The participants might have the impression that the researcher can comprehend their struggles better. Offering to conduct the interview in Turkish had a positive effect on the rapport as well since they were not forced to talk in a specific language (e.g., German) and facilitated the interviewees to express themselves. For example, the interview with Ibrahim was conducted in Turkish. The good rapport with Ibrahim might be retraced to the choice of language. On the other hand, it was difficult to build rapport with Elif who reported to feel "aggressive (…) just because of the topic" during the interview. A possible explanation for this could be that she had to remember negative events from the past (being what she means with "because of the topic") which made her feel "aggressive". As the interview took place via Skype, she might have not recognized the researcher's empathy for her as she would have when the interview would have taken place face to face. Body language, vocal signals and mimics that show empathy might come better to the fore when interacting personally.

Reliability and validity were ensured through several steps. Firstly, the analysis was reviewed with the first supervisor of this paper at various stages until intersubjective agreement was reached. Secondly, the questions were formulated openly. The researcher took a non-judgemental role as the interviewer to prevent having any influence on how the interviewees respond to the questions. Thirdly, the interviewer took notes on how she felt and what she thought during the interviews. According to Boeije (2010) staying "sensitive to shifts in one's perspective by systematically recording it at various times throughout the fieldwork" (p.175) can overcome bias since it can inform on how the researchers own frame of reference might have influenced the data collection and analysis. It appeared that although

the researcher tried to stay non-judgemental, she sometimes influenced which topics were discussed. Having an educational background in positive psychology, the researcher tried to gather negative as well as positive memories. It could be that the researcher wanted to hear kind of "a happy end" and especially tried to ask the interviewee's about positive turning points. This might have influenced the analysis as well since it appears that the interviewee's attempts to amend the breach by positive situations happening to them. The fact that the researcher influenced the interview by gathering information about positive memories could be a validity issue. On the other hand, it could also be argued that gathering and analysing information about positive situations could be a way of considering people's lives in a balanced way. For example, Murat was worried about portraying his life story dominantly negative. In Murat's case, the interviewer had the impression that Murat tried himself to portray positive and negative memories equally.

The question whether interviews with other persons would provide different data might be a question of saturation. Although the purposive sample is small, the participants were deliberately chosen based on varying levels of education, gender, age, and generation to get as much variation in the data as possible. It is an issue for future research to figure out whether a larger sample size would lead to a third story type or perhaps in more individual variation within the two-story types that were found (e.g., marginalization might be found if there was a larger sample size). Hence, the completeness of the results is questioned.

4.3 Future directions and Implications

The results of this study show that acculturation is not a static process of adopting certain acculturation attitudes, but they can be rather seen as idiosyncratic developments in a person's history that are useful in certain moments in their unique contexts. This finding gives attempt to rethink the theoretical model of acculturation by Berry (1997; 2006) which describes acculturation rather in terms of fixed attitudes. Future qualitative studies can build upon this new insight by replicating it with other individuals with a Turkish background in Germany to see whether a third or more story types emerges. Furthermore, the study can be replicated with Turkish migrant generations in another host country, e.g., the Netherlands, to check whether the results remain valid in other contexts. Since this study shows that family relations and dynamics play a role in how narrative identities are constructed, future studies could research how families co-construct acculturation attitudes expressed in narrative identities. Focus group interviews and a narrative method as storyline analysis on all three levels could

help in making sense of how the family identity is co-constructed through content, interactive and normative complexities.

Present and future studies may provide recommendations for clinical practice. Balkir Neftçi and Barnow (2016) refer to studies which show that "patients from this particular group are less likely to seek professional care and exhibit higher rates of dropout and lower rates of compliance to treatment than native patients" (p. 72). Furthermore, Balkir Neftçi and Barnow (2016) report that there is a need for therapeutic strategies that considers the needs and wishes of this particular client group to motivate them to search for and continue psychotherapeutic treatment. The results of this study show that family dynamics and family unity are important aspects which should not be ignored for the sake of the sole promotion of autonomy and independence, although these can also be important as well as has been shown by the example of one interviewee (see Cem's story). However, autonomy and independence are rather western values when compared to the values people advocate with a Turkish/ collectivistic background (Balkir Neftçi, & Barnow, 2016). Hence, the psychotherapeutic focus could also be laid on how the individual interacts within the family system. Furthermore, it was shown that the participants in the first and second generation share a motivation to become integrated (in terms of Berry's definition). Clients in the first generation can be supported in their motivation to achieve integration by helping them to build and maintain appreciative relationships (/reciprocal relationships) as this appeared an important key theme in their endeavour to become part of the German society. The second generation can be supported by helping them to learn self-appreciation and supporting them in finding and maintaining relationships that are appreciative. Accordingly, the therapeutic aims could be different for clients that are from the first or second generation and therapists could be prepared for that.

5. Conclusion

This study unveiled two story types about how individuals with a Turkish background in Germany belonging to the first- and second generation express acculturation attitudes in narrative identities. Story type one, (1) *the wish to be part of the German society*, is a reflection on the receptivity of the German society and was narrated by the first generation. Story type two, (2) *coming into terms with both German and Turkish identity aspects*, is about the acceptance of who you are and how you can do justice to both German and Turkish aspects of your identity, which was mainly told by the second generation. The contextual accounts in the stories show that acculturation attitudes are more like phases that people go through to achieve integration which appears to be a motivational force in the stories. The first generation regards aspects as reciprocal relationships, education, autonomy and freedom as keys to become integrated. The second generation regards self-acceptance and the acceptance of others as a key to feel integrated. Overall, this study adds to the acculturation model by Berry (1997; 2006) that acculturation can be regarded as an idiosyncratic and dynamic process that can be considered in a unique context of an individual's life.

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Appendix A: Interview Schemes

Interview scheme – Second generation

Considering acculturation from a narrative approach: Living in Germany with a Turkish background

based on McAdams (2008)

This is an interview about your life story. As a psychology student, I am interested in hearing your story, including memories from your childhood and present, as well as your vision of the future. In this interview we will look at your story in sections, that means we will not talk about everything that has ever happened to you. Instead, I would like to ask you to focus on a few key events in your life. These should relate to your experience as a German-Turk. To be more precise, I am interested in moments in your life that seem to be decisive in your orientation towards German and Turkish culture and society.

There are no right or wrong answers to my questions because this interview is all about your experiences.

The length of this interview is approximately one hour.

The interview is recorded, saved, transcribed, and quoted for academic purposes. To ensure anonymity, personal information about you such as your name and location is omitted. In addition, you will only be quoted in excerpts to reduce the risk of identification to a minimum.

Since sensitive topics can be addressed in this interview, there is a likelihood that you may feel uncomfortable during or after the interview. You have the right to withdraw from the interview at any time without giving any reason. There are no direct benefits to participating in this research.

To ensure that no third party has access to the audio file of the interview, the audio file is encrypted using an encryption method provided by Windows 10 and protected with a password. After the transcription, the audio file will be destroyed.

Would you like to take part in this interview study?

Do you still have questions?

A. Life chapter

We start with a brief chronological overview of your life story. I ask you now to imagine your life as if it were a book. This book describes situations in your life that have shaped your experience of German and Turkish culture, society and politics. Now please describe briefly - i.e. in two to three sentences - which chapters in your life are particularly important in connection with your orientation towards German and Turkish culture and society. For example, you can briefly specify the content and time span of each chapter. We need to keep this part of the interview short, as this section is just an overview. In the further course of the interview, we will examine and reflect on situations in more detail.

Please list your life chapters chronologically and give each chapter a short description of two to three sentences and a title. Please also say a sentence about the transition from chapter to chapter.

B. Key Events

Since we now have a chronological overview of your life story, we can examine and reflect on the content of the life chapters mentioned. For this I would now ask you to describe key events in connection with your experience of German and Turkish culture and society.

1. First key event

Please choose a key event from one of your life chapters. This should appear particularly important to you in your experience of German and Turkish culture and society.

• Please describe the situation: place and time; other people; Thoughts and feelings?

• Why did you choose this situation?

• How did you deal with the situation?

• What does this situation mean to you?

• Has this situation affected your well-being in any way?

• How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?)

2. Second key event

Please choose a second key event from one of your life chapters. This should also appear important to you in your experience of German and Turkish culture and society.

• Please describe the situation: place and time; other people; Thoughts and feelings?

• Why did you choose this situation?

• How did you deal with the situation?

• What does this situation mean to you?

• Has this situation affected your well-being in any way?

• How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?)

3. Third key event: turning point

Please describe one or two key events that have significantly changed your experience of German and Turkish culture and society or mark a turning point in your life story.

• Please describe the situation: place and time; other people; Thoughts and feelings?

• Why did you choose this situation?

• How did you deal with the situation?

• What does this situation mean to you?

• Has this situation affected your well-being in any way?

• How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?)

C. Future

Your life story describes how you perceived German and Turkish culture and society in your past. I ask you now to imagine what the next chapter in your future might look like. **Please describe how you think you will experience German and Turkish society and culture in the future.**

• Are there any dreams or hopes in connection with German and Turkish culture or society?

D. Life theme

If you look back on your entire life story with all its chapters, scenes and challenges, do you recognize a central topic, a message or an idea that runs through your story?

• What is the main topic in your life story?

E. Opinions and attitudes

Now I have a few questions about your basic opinions and attitudes.

• How do you feel about the integration policy in Germany?

• How do you describe your relationship with your family? Please give reasons.

G. Reflection

Thanks for this interview. I only have a few more questions for you.

Given that most people don't regularly share their life stories in this way, I wonder if you can tell how this interview here was for you today.

• What thoughts and feelings did you have during the interview?

• How did this interview affect you?

• Do you have any comments or suggestions on the interview process?

Interview scheme – First generation

Considering acculturation from a narrative approach: Living in Germany with a Turkish background

based on McAdams (2008)

This is an interview about your life story. As a psychology student, I am interested in hearing your story, including memories from your childhood and present, as well as your vision of the future. In this interview we will look at your story in sections, that means we will not talk about everything that has ever happened to you. Instead, I would like to ask you to focus on a few key events in your life. These should relate to your experience as a German-Turk. To be more precise, I am interested in moments in your life that seem to be decisive in your orientation towards German and Turkish culture and society.

There are no right or wrong answers to my questions because this interview is all about your experiences.

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Would you like to take part in this interview study?

Do you still have questions?

A. Life chapter

We start with a brief chronological overview of your life story. I ask you now to imagine your life as if it were a book. This book describes situations in your life that have shaped your experience of German and Turkish culture, society and politics. Now please describe briefly - i.e. in two to three sentences - which chapters in your life are particularly important in connection with your orientation towards German and Turkish culture and society. For example, you can briefly specify the content and time span of each chapter. We need to keep this part of the interview short, as this section is just an overview. In the further course of the interview, we will examine and reflect on situations in more detail.

Please list your life chapters chronologically and give each chapter a short description of two to three sentences and a title. Please also say a sentence about the transition from chapter to chapter.

B. Key Events

Since we now have a chronological overview of your life story, we can examine and reflect on the content of the life chapters mentioned. For this I would now ask you to describe key events in connection with your experience of German and Turkish culture and society.

1. First key event: Migration to Germany

Please describe one or two key events from your migration to Germany. These key events can, for example, seem particularly important to you in your experience of German and Turkish culture and society.

• Please describe the situation: place and time; other people; Thoughts and feelings?

• Why did you choose this situation?

• How did you deal with the situation?

• What does this situation mean to you?

• Has this situation affected your wellbeing in any way?

• How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?)

2. Second key event: Life in Germany

Please describe one or two key events from today or from the time after your migration that appear particularly important to you in your experience of German and Turkish culture and society.

• Please describe the situation: place and time; other people; Thoughts and feelings?

• Why did you choose this situation?

• How did you deal with the situation?

• What does this situation mean to you?

• Has this situation affected your wellbeing in any way?

• How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?)

3. Third key event: turning point

Please describe one or two key events that have significantly changed your experience of German and Turkish culture and society or mark a turning point in your life story.

• Please describe the situation: place and time; other people; Thoughts and feelings?

• Why did you choose this situation?

• How did you deal with the situation?

• What does this situation mean to you?

• Has this situation affected your well-being in any way?

• How did others perceive the situation? Was the family involved? If so, how did you perceive your family's reaction?)

C. Future

Your life story describes how you perceived German and Turkish culture and society in your past. I ask you now to imagine what the next chapter in your future might look like. **Please describe how you think you will experience German and Turkish society and culture in the future.**

• Are there any dreams or hopes in connection with German and Turkish culture or society?

D. Life theme

If you look back on your entire life story with all its chapters, scenes and challenges, do you recognize a central topic, a message or an idea that runs through your story?

• What is the main topic in your life story?

E. Opinions and attitudes

Now I have a few questions about your basic opinions and attitudes.

• How do you feel about the integration policy in Germany?

• How do you describe your relationship with your family? Please give reasons.

G. Reflection

Thanks for this interview. I only have a few more questions for you.

Given that most people don't regularly share their life stories in this way, I wonder if you can tell how this interview here was for you today.

• What thoughts and feelings did you have during the interview?

• How did this interview affect you?

• Do you have any comments or suggestions on the interview process?

Appendix B: Informed consent

Informed consent form

Research Project:	Considering acculturation from a narrative approach: Living in Germany with a Turkish background
Institution:	University of Twente Drienerlolaan 5 7522 NB Enschede, The Netherlands
Supervisors:	Prof. Dr. Gerben Westerhof, Dr. Anneke Sools
Interviewer/Researcher:	Yasemin Bulut Email: y.bulut@student.utwente.nl

This interview study aims understand how you as a person with a Turkish migration background experience to live in Germany. The interview will be audio-recorded, stored, transcribed and quoted for academic purposes. The length of the interview will take 1 hour.

To ensure anonymity, personal information about you, like names and locations, will be omitted. Furthermore, you will only be quoted in excerpts, to reduce the risk of identification to a minimum. There is a risk that you could feel emotional discomfort during or after the interview because of sensitive topics that could potentially be discussed. You have the right to withdraw from the study at any point of time within the interview. Taking part in this research has no direct benefits for you.

To make sure that no third parties have access to the audio file of the interview, the audio file will be encrypted with an encryption method that is provided by windows 10 and safeguarded it with a password. After transcription, the audio file will be destroyed.

X

Consent Form

Considering acculturation from a narrative approach: Living in Germany with a Turkish background

YOU WILL BE GIVEN A COPY OF THIS INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
Taking part in the study		
I have read and understood the study information dated [DD/MM/YYYY], or it has been read to me. I have been able to ask questions about the study and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.	□	□
I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.	□	□
I understand that taking part in the study involves an audio-recorded interview, which will be transcribed as a text and destroyed after transcription	□	□
Risks associated with participating in the study		
I understand that taking part in the study involves the following risks of identification by close relatives and potential emotional discomfort after the interview	□	□
Use of the information in the study		
I understand that information I provide will be used for academic purposes, e.g. academic publications and reports.	□	□
I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me, such as [e.g. my name or where I live], will not be shared beyond the study team.	□	□
I agree that my information can be quoted in research outputs		
	□	□
I agree to be audio recorded.		
	□	□

I give the researchers permission to keep my contact information and to contact me for future research projects.   □   □

Signatures

_____   _____   _____

Name of participant   Signature   Date

I have accurately read out the information sheet to the potential participant and, to the best of my ability, ensured that the participant understands to what they are freely consenting.

_____   _____   _____

Researcher name   Signature   Date

Contact Information for Questions about Your Rights as a Research Participant

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions, or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the Secretary of the Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Behavioural, Management and Social Sciences at the University of Twente by ethicscommittee-bms@utwente.nl