

## Chapter 27. An Essay of Meta-Analysis on Seeking Identity of Euro-Turks

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### Introduction

‘European Turks’ or ‘Turks in Europe’ is one of the most significant titles in contemporary academic and public agenda. In fact, it is known that many sociologist, anthropologist, political scientist, educationist and economist have had publications on experience of the Turks in Europe. Every study focuses on cultural identities, life styles, experiences, ideas, feelings, hopes and expectations of the European Turks from various aspects.

In this paper, it is suggested that the description of social identity and the sense of belonging of European Turks can be analysed on the basis of the ‘*double-consciousness*’ concept of Du Bois (1999). The main argument of this paper is that the social identity descriptions of immigrant Turks residing in Europe can be examined within the context of the single consciousness-double consciousness-single consciousness conceptualisation. This argument is supported by findings of field studies performed on Turkish immigrants resided in various European countries (Kaya and Kentel, 2005; Kaya and Kentel, 2008; Gelekçi and Köse, 2011; Özmen, 2012; Akıncı, 2014; Göker, 2015). This conceptualisation is sought to be produced via the meta-analysis method, and the idea is that it can offer some significant insights on approaches to analyse both social identity and the sense of belonging of each immigrant generation, and co-existence patterns with the rest of society which they live in. It should be mentioned that in order to test the validity of this argument there is a need for specific field studies.

### Identity Seekers of Immigrants; The Concept of Double-Consciousness

Double-conscious conceptualisation is an important sociological evaluation mentioned in the book *The Souls of Black Folk* written by African-American sociologist William Edward Burghardt Du Bois (1868-1963) and was published in 1903. Du Bois utilises the concept of double-consciousness to describe socio-psychological results of social and structural differentiations in between Blacks and Whites in America. The concept refers to an identity dichotomy and two separate consciousness of Blacks who see themselves both in and outside of the dominant White society. According to Du Bois this dichotomy creates disorder and regression and is a threat to co-existence (Du Bois, 1999).

Later on, double-consciousness has become a term used frequently by social scientists to analyse immigration and states of being an immigrant. Double consciousness especially refers to identities of the second and third generations

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which are a mix of identities brought from their homeland and tried to be protected, and of identities developed in the host society. They are also defined as hybrid or hyphenated identities, shaped in between two cultures. Some researchers also define these identities as heterogenic, problematic and lost identities (see Cana tan, 1990; Abadan-Unat, 2006).

### **Identity Characterisation of Turkish Immigrant Generations: A Meta-Analysis Attempt**

Focusing on the '*double consciousness*' concept of Du Bois, the social identity descriptions of Turkish immigrant generations who reside in various European countries can be analysed within the scope of the *single consciousness-double consciousness-single consciousness* conceptualisation.

*Single Consciousness*; is mostly the sense of identity, of first generation immigrants. This generation consists of immigrants who migrated as a part of dual agreements with Turkey and European countries on labour migration, and they had immigrated with the intentions of returning to their homeland. This generation, who had immigrated in their 20s and 30s, and had completed their socialisation in their homeland. They had immigrated with a specific social, cultural, ethnic, religious identity and character. Therefore, the first generation has tried to live in countries they resided in with a collective identity shaped by the ethnic, religious and cultural codes they had gained in their homeland. They had resided in places which had a distinctive semantic world, isolated from urban areas and created with a sense of homesickness.

*Double Consciousness*; refers to the sense of identity remained in between the cultural code brought from their homeland and the local cultural code in the host countries. When the first generation immigrants, who migrated with the intention of returning to their homeland, realised that they were there to stay, brought their families within the scope of family reunification and extended their families by reproducing, thus the immigrant population had started to increase. This new generation, which arose as a result of immigration turned into permanency, is identified as second and/or third generation. This generation is considerably a heterogeneous society and has quite various tendencies. As identity and sense of belonging, they have 'double consciousness' which can be explained as hybrid or hyphenated identities stuck in between two cultures. The social sphere they grown in determines the social identity they adopt.

*Single Consciousness*; is the sense of identity dominated and shaped by the cultural codes of the host countries. As the immigration started to turn into a permanency, immigrants gained citizenships from the host countries, buried their dead in the countries they live, eventually, they began to consider the host countries as their homeland. Especially younger, the third and following generations who were born, raised, educated and completed their socialisation in the dominant culture of the host countries may prefer to identify themselves within the scope of the country they reside in. These generations may have already or nearly completed their integration to the host country ethnically, linguistically, religiously and culturally. Consequently, it has become problematic to identify these generations as immigrants.

This trio categorisation, concerning social identity and the sense of belonging characterisations of immigrants, contains an analytical disaggregation. Transitivity in between the generations is possible in this categorisation. The categorical disaggregation is significant in terms of providing a macro perspective to identity seekers of immigrants.

Now, I will present to you some findings from field studies which focus on identity and the sense of belonging. They support this trio categorisation, and were done with Turkish immigrants who reside in Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark and Sweden.

Table 1: Kaya and Kentel, 2005

Country	Birth Place	Only Turkish	Both Turkish and European	Only European
		Single Consciousness	Double Consciousness	Single Consciousness
Germany and France	Turkish	39.9%	55.9%	3.5%
	Germany	24.3%	71%	4.5%
	France	13.8%	83.5%	0.9%

In Table 1, field study findings of Kaya and Kentel (2005) on identity specification of Turkish immigrants in terms of their birth places are presented. According to this, the rates of self-identification as being only Turkish (single consciousness) are higher among Turkey-born (39.9%) than Germany-born (24.3%) and France-born (13.8%). Self-identification of being both Turkish and European (double consciousness) is higher among the ones who were born in Germany (71%) and France (83.5%) than the ones born in Turkey (55.9%). As for the ones who regard themselves as only European (single consciousness), it is higher among Germany-born with 4.5%, followed by Turkey-born with 3.5 % and lastly France-born 0.9 %.

In a study on social integration of Turkish immigrants who live in Germany, Şahin compares the rates of adoption of the German culture and maintenance of the Turkish culture in between generations and argues that towards the second and third generation the rate of maintaining Turkish culture decreases and the adoption of German culture increases. He states that especially after the third generation there is a drastic decline on adoption of the Turkish culture (Şahin, 2010).

Table 2: Akıncı, 2014

Country	Generation	Turkish	Both	French
		Single Consciousness	Double Consciousness	Single Consciousness
France	Frist Generation	85 %	10.5 %	2.25 %
	Second Generation	65.5 %	29 %	5.5 %

In his study on perception of ethnic and religious identity of Turkish immigrants in France, Akıncı (2014) analyses self-identification of the immigrant generations'

social identities in terms of sense of self. According to him, towards the second generation the rate of self-identification as Turkish (single consciousness) decreases, the rate of self-identification as both Turkish and French (double consciousness) increases. Moreover, while the degree of self-identification as only French (single consciousness) is only 2.25% among the first generation, it increases among the second generation to 5.5%.

Table 3: Kaya and Kentel, 2008

Country	Birth Place	Only Turkish	Both Turkish and European	European
		Single Consciousness	Double Consciousness	Single Consciousness
Belgium	Turkey	27%	68%	3%
	Belgium	17%	72%	6%

Table 4: Gelekçi and Köse, 2011

Country	Birth Place	Turkish	Belgian of Turkish Origin	Belgian
		Single Consciousness	Double Consciousness	Single Consciousness
Belgium	Turkey	63.7%	33.9%	2.4%
	Belgium	34.2%	58.7%	7.1%

Findings of the study of Kaya and Kentel (2008) on Belgian Turks which focuses on identity specification according to birth places are shown in Table 3. According to the study, the rate of self-identification as only Turkish (single consciousness) is higher among the Turkish-born (27%) compared with the Belgium-born (17%). On the other hand, self-identification as both Turkish and European (double consciousness) is highest among the Belgium-born with 72%. Self-identification as only European (single consciousness) is also high among the Belgium-born (6%).

Table 4 shows the study of Gelekçi and Köse which focuses on identity specification of Turks living in Belgium according to their birth places. It could be said that these findings are quite similar to the ones in Table 3. According to these findings, while the rate of self-identification as only Turkish (single consciousness) is high among the Turkey-born with 63.7%, the rate of self-identification as Belgian of Turkish origin (double consciousness) is high among Belgium-born with 58.7%. Also the self-identification rate as being only Belgian (single consciousness) is high among the Belgium-born (7.1%).

In Table 5, data of the study which Özmen (2012) made on Turks living in Denmark is shown. According to this study 30.4% of the participants feel close to Turkey (single consciousness), 31.9% feels close to both Turkey and Denmark equally (double consciousness), and lastly 24.5% feels close to Denmark (single consciousness).

In Table 6, the statistical findings of Göker (2015) on the Swedish Turks and their self-identification according to their birth places are presented. The rate of the ones who self-identify themselves as only Turkish (single consciousness) is higher

among the Turkey-born (44.7%) than the Sweden-born (26.3%). As opposite of this, the ones who self-identify themselves as having dual identity (double consciousness) are mostly Sweden-born (63.4%). 2.3% of the Turkey-born and 1.7% of the Sweden-born identify themselves as European (single consciousness).

Table 5: Özmen, 2012

Country	Turkey	Feeling close to both	Denmark
	Single Consciousness	Double Consciousness	Single Consciousness
Denmark	30.4%	31.9%	24.5%

Table 6: Göker, 2015

Country	Birth Place	Only Turkish	Dual, Two-Sided, Hyphenated Identity	European
		Single Consciousness	Double Consciousness	Single Consciousness
Sweden	Turkey	44.7%	43.6%	2.3%
	Sweden	26.3%	63.4%	1.7%

In the field study we made on Cypriot Turks, Turks and Kurds from Turkey who live in the U.K. which are described as ‘Turkish Speaking Communities’, some findings supporting the trio conceptualisation are observed indirectly. Particularly, it is observed that while the first generation of Turkish and Kurdish immigrants from Turkey had the single consciousness, the second and the third generations predominantly had double consciousness. As for Cypriot Turks, they had immigrated to the U.K. long before the Turks and Kurds from Turkey. From the statistics of population census, it is understood that at the present time they are in the fourth generation and most of them have British citizenships. Due to the reasons that they bury their dead in the country they live in and change their names to British names, it can be concluded that they have a single consciousness (see. Çoştu, 2013). The study of Şimşek on children of Cypriot Turks, the Turkish and Kurdish who live in London also supports this finding (Şimşek, 2016).

As it can be seen from all the studies mentioned above; the first group mostly consists of the first generation immigrants and identifies themselves as Turkish and/or from Turkey from a social identity and the sense of belonging perspective, thus, they have single consciousness. The second and third generations predominantly form the second group; they identify themselves both as Turkish and European/or from the country they live in and they have double consciousness. Lastly, the last group mostly consist of the third and following generations and they identify themselves as only European/from the country they live in. For this reason, it is quite difficult to define them as immigrants; they have completed their socialisation in the country they live in and regard the county as their homeland, they also have single consciousness.

The sense of identity and belonging which immigrants have can function as a determinant factor in many spheres; from their settlement patterns, economic activities, and socio-cultural patterns to language preference.

The minority psychology is a significant factor which determines settlement patterns of immigrants. Immigrants often form a ghetto-like, adjoin and intersecting settlement patterns in the host countries. Undoubtedly, besides cultural, religious and linguistic differences with the host society; shared culture, ethnic origin, social networks such as companionship, relationship, citizenship and religious and linguistic similarities with other immigrants also plays an important role in this situation. Likewise, the resemblances in the settlement patterns of immigrants motivate them to work in similar business lines and to join similar social, cultural and economic activities (see. Abadan-Unat, 2006; Kaya and Kentel, 2005; 2008; Perşembe, 2005). These explain the social reality in which the first generation immigrants live. Because of the people in this group live quite marginalised, isolated, and collectively, their communication and interactions with the rest of society are mostly limited and distanced.

The social reality of generations who have double consciousness, although has some similarities with the first generation; it has rather a heterogeneous structure. The ones in this group move in between two worlds, thus feel the same closeness to both cultures, however due to the reason that they are identified as newcomers or immigrants by the host society, they feel the social exclusion just as the first group. Because of this psychology the individuals who have double consciousness can be in different alternates (see. Abadan-Unat, 2006).

It is discussed that with third and following generations there is a return to single consciousness. Although this group is distanced from the problems of first and second generations, they can encounter some distinctive inconveniences within the context of coexistence. Despite the fact that they identify with the identity of the dominant culture, their names maintain their ties with their origin and can pose some problems. Their names can be determinative on views of the local dominant society on them. Therefore, individuals who have single consciousness in this group may prefer to break the bonds with their origins and assimilate in the dominant culture.

In terms of language, the first generation of immigrants who has single consciousness prefers to use the language spoken in their homeland due to not being able to learn the language of the host country. Because the second and third generations who have double consciousness are raised and are educated in the host country, they are fluent in both languages. They are generally named as bilingual. The third and following generations, who have single consciousness, complete their socialisation in the host countries and for this reason in time they become culturally, religiously and linguistically distanced from their homeland and the country they live in becomes their homeland. They can no longer be identified as immigrants.

### **Conclusion**

In this paper, the sense of identity of first, second, third and following generations are discussed within the context of single consciousness-double consciousness-single consciousness conceptualisation developed from the double consciousness concept of Du Bois. It is observed that the related field studies

support this conceptualisation. According to this; single consciousness is the social identity carried by the first generation immigrants from their homeland. Double consciousness expresses the shift that the second and/or third generations have in between two worlds. And again, the single consciousness refers to the identity that the third and following generations gained in the dominant culture, by drifting away from their origins. There is no doubt that transitivity in between generations is possible in this categorisation.

The argument in this paper is that the single-double-single consciousness conceptualisation proposed as a macro-sociological theory can offer some important insights in analysing social identity and the sense of belonging of Turkish immigrants living in various European countries. Furthermore, this conceptualisation can contribute to determine some significant hints on analysing coexistence and connection with the rest of the society. Lastly I must express that there is a need for further specific and exclusive researches to confirm this trio categorisation which is subjected to an analytical classification.

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