

Cultural and Spatial Negotiation in German Everyday Life: The Case of Turkish Students in Tübingen^a

Alman Gündelik Hayatında Kültür ve Mekan Müzakereleri: Tübingendeki Türk Öğrenciler Örneđi

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ABSTRACT	ÖZ
<p>This study mainly examines the place production processes of Turkish-origin youths in a German city. The main difference of this article is focusing on the dialectical relationship between space and identity by adding the space as a concept to the discussion of identity production processes of youth migrants in German context. As in the beginning of the socialization process, these youths in German schools are active agents, producing new places and transforming the existing places through negotiating their identities within the host country. In this study, an in-depth interview is conducted with 20 high school students in Tübingen. It is found that students not only produce their own identities but also create new existential spaces and reinterpret existing spaces. Cafes, restaurants, football fields, mosques/associations, Turkish lessons, mess halls, and celebration halls will be discussed with the concept of what I called “spatial negotiation”, inside and outside of the school. In there, students try to solve the existing tension between Turkish identities and German identities, and they are able to resolve this tension by producing new cultural forms. In other words, these places contribute to maintaining their own identities while at the same time creating new cultural values intertwined with other forms.</p>	<p>Bu çalıŐma esas olarak Türk kökenli gençlerin bir Alman kenti olan Tübingen’deki mekân üretim süreçlerini incelemektedir. Bu makalenin temel farkı, Almanya bağlamında göçmen gençlerin kimlik üretim süreçleri tartışmasına bir kavram olarak mekânı ekleyerek mekân ve kimlik arasındaki diyalektik ilişkiye odaklanmaktır. Alman okullarında sosyalleŐme sürecinin başlangıcında bu gençler ev sahibi ülke içinde kimliklerini müzakere ederek yeni mekânlar üreten ve var olan yerleri dönüŐtüren aktif faillerdir. Bu çalıŐmada 20 lise öğrencisi ile derinlemesine görüşme yapılmıŐtır. Öğrencilerin sadece kendi kimliklerini üretmekle kalmadıkları, aynı zamanda yeni varoluŐsal mekânlar yarattıkları ve var olan mekânları yeniden yorumladıkları tespit edilmiŐtir. Okul içinde ve dışında kafeler, restoranlar, futbol sahaları, camiler/dernekler, Türkçe dersleri, yemekhaneler ve kutlama salonları “mekânsal müzakere” dediđim kavram çerçevesinde incelenecektir. Öğrenciler Türk kimlikleri ile Alman kimlikleri arasındaki mevcut gerilimi çözmeye çalıŐırlar ve bu gerilimi yeni kültürel biçimler üreterek çözebilirler. BaŐka bir deyiŐle, bu mekânlar kendi kimliklerini korumalarına katkıda bulunurken aynı zamanda diđer formlarla iç içe yeni kültürel deđerler yaratırlar.</p>
<p>Anahtar Kelimeler</p> <p>Mekan, Kimlik, Kültür, Sosyoloji</p>	<p>Keywords</p> <p>Place, Identity, Culture, Sociology</p>

^a Data from a fieldwork conducted in Germany in 2016 were used in this study.

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1. Introduction

Turkey and Germany have a long history of migration, which began formally with the signing of a labour recruitment agreement in 1961. With the influx of "guest workers" from Turkey to Germany, a large number of migrants have arrived. The population has grown from a few thousand to 1.5 million people today (Aydın, 2016). Despite the assumptions of the first generations, they have permanently relocated to Germany and built a new life. This is because the first-generation migrants' plans and desires to return to their home countries vanished as their children and grandchildren grew up in Germany (Ehrkamp, 2005: 345). Today, 58 years later, the problems of new generations who are different from their families in terms of using language, getting an education, having opportunities for secure jobs, and, most importantly, being involved in social life are being discussed. Existing within society is important not only for understanding identities, but also for understanding relationships in various parts of the host country. The new generation in schools is an active agent negotiating their identities, and as part of that process, they create new places to resolve tensions between Turkish and German identities. In other words, new senses of place enable new types of identities distinct from previous generations. However, in the German migration context, this group reinterprets their families' experiences through their own identities, cultures and space imaginations, represents both a transformation and a continuity.

In this paper, I propose that two intersecting concepts, place and identity, transform each other by being aware of their dialectical relationship. This means that in the first step, identity is seen as critical in identifying relations and transformations, and then place takes centre stage because all of these negotiations are possible within a place, making the process never-ending. In other words, neither of them is the same as they were before. Both are constantly under construction. This paper attempts to clarify the shifts in youth identities by including place in youth studies and, rather than understanding issues of boundaries and conflict, demonstrates how place opens the door to new senses of identity. I use the geographic concept of place to understand how youths' practices create new places of belonging that allow them to engage the receiving society on their own terms with their parents' heritage. In addition to the concept of place, I will discuss social identity, which represents Turkish migrants as a group. This is followed by a brief overview of the research methods and fieldwork conducted in 2016. In this study, the data gathered for Master study is handled with different theoretical framework from the thesis. The main difference and originality of this study is focusing on space-based interactions. In the final section of this article, I show how youths' everyday practices solve the existing tension between Turkish and German identities by producing new senses of place through in-depth interviews with high school students in Germany. Negotiation processes encompass not only identities but also locations. In other words, not only do these places contribute to the preservation of their own identities and cultures, but they also enable the reproduction of the spaces.

2. Identity and Place: Why Two of Them Very Crucial In Migration Studies Together?

Studies on identities looking for conflicts and boundaries cannot explain the issue with all dimensions of the relations between host country and migrants, so I'd like to add an analytical note by mentioning the place within the discussions of identity and migration. This is because daily life in cities creates unavoidable relations and transformations in the sense of place and

identity for both migrants (newcomers) and city residents. In that sense, this study investigates the dialectical relationship between the locations of German cities and the identities of Turkish students. Because of its various dimensions, "identity" is a contentious concept in social science. Although self-identity and social identities are discussed separately, self-identity is also accepted to be social because identities cannot exist without social construction. When discussing migrant and city identities, reference is made to social processes in daily interactions. In this paper, I intend to understand social identity in relation to place by being aware of the differences in personal identities. The historical context and background of both German and Turkish identities are critical for recognizing similarities and differences. From this vantage point, identity is a never-ending process shaped by places, rather than a fixed point; rather, it is a dynamic point. Identity also refers to one's relationship with the other (Hall, 1989).

According to this viewpoint, meanings are assigned to places by people who share common values and identities. A sense of place is more than just being able to locate things on a cognitive map; it is also about connecting meaning to a structure or a natural point (Gans, 2002). Placemaking with a sense of community is critical in this context and is at the heart of this discussion. Locations are built over identities and similar lifestyles in the first step, but after that, they gain independent status over people in order to maintain or reproduce new values and lifestyles within the location. Identity construction is linked to the social production of places, and communal spaces not only foster but also reinforce identity expressions (Ors, 2018). However, the process of creating belonging is not limited to such communal spaces, nor is the expression of identities. Identity expressions occur in public space as well, and it transforms entire neighbourhoods (Ehrkamp, 2002). In this research, it is focused on this transformation mainly in different places of city. Because the city's spatial multiplicity and hybridity contribute to its heterogeneity, all of these places play critical roles in the transformation. Living in the city constantly reflects historical and spatial multiplicities, which both constrain and organize other identities. As immigrants negotiate their place in society, they create places, transforming the urban landscape of modern cities. As a result, urban space becomes a "negotiated reality" (Anderson, 1991: 28).

There is a dialectical relationship between immigrants and host societies in this way. Because migrants find their own similarities in contrast to the world around them in urban environments, urban life converts migrant groups into ethnic communities with shared memories and perceptions. Because of all these relationships, neither identities nor places are the same and are both undergoing transition. Youth identities are the most dynamic among these identities because they have potential to adapt to changes in both their personal identities and the urban environment. I am going to concentrate on this dynamic of young migrant identity with relation to the activities of the cities in terms of transition in periods and times.

As a result of their engagement with the receiving society, young immigrants negotiate their belonging in both symbolic and material ways. In other words, because young migrants are frequently confronted with new situations and experiences, they must rethink and negotiate their worldviews. They try to find appropriate solutions to problems that arise in their daily lives.

In addition to places where negotiation can be used to resolve tensions between Turkish and German identities and create new senses of place and identities, some of the places where students go to maintain their Turkish identities are also spaces of resistance. Resistances within the spaces are manifestations of ordinary people's existence in opposition to the dominant

German identity strategy. According to Michel De Certeau, power expects the continuation of dominant values and forces subalterns to participate in strategies devised by themselves (1984). However, in response to power's "strategies," migrants develop "tactics" and "resistance" mechanisms to overcome suppression and maintain their own cultural values within host countries' existing spaces. However, these locations are not the same as they were before the migration. Because there is a power struggle between tactic (Turkish identity) and strategy (German identity), place in everyday life becomes resistance spaces. As a result, not only are identities changing as a result of migration, but so are places. Existing places are not the same as with interactions of identities transforming the meaning of places, in addition to re/production of new places. This is because these locations become focal points for struggle and resistance. These two dimensions demonstrate how Turkish students attempt to resolve the dichotomy between their two identities by creating new meanings and identity forms in daily life interactions. Even when place is used as a form of resistance against the dominant culture, it facilitates the resolution of identity conflicts and increases adaptation and belonging to the host country.

3. Research Design / Methods

"How the settlement of Turkish migrants in Germany has effected new generation Turkish pupil's understanding of their own identity?" is main research question in this research.

To tackle this question so exploring the place production processes of Turkish origin youths in a German city, research takes a qualitative approach. The research is conducted in Tübingen region (south of Germany) under the capital of Stuttgart in the province of Baden-Württemberg. I chose this region because I was appointed as a mother language teacher in German schools by Turkish Ministry of Education approximately two years to teach, spread and protect Turkish language and culture to Turkish origin youths maintaining their education in Germany (abdigm.meb.gov.tr, 2019). Since field and participants are familiar to me, my school and student samples are all from Tübingen city. Tübingen is a traditional university town and about one third of the population is a student. The sentence of "Tübingen doesn't have a university, Tübingen is a university." characterizes the town. However, despite large increase in population and all the modernization with the restoration of the Old Town, Tübingen has been able to preserve a lot of its atmosphere and charm. The city lies along the Neckar River in the south of Stuttgart (www.tuebingen.de, 2019).

The research has been designed as the standardised open- ended interview. For two years teaching experience, I had a chance to observe how these students use the places in schools and outside of the schools to express their own identities. With the advantage of observations in their natural environment, research is designed as qualitative research. This observation helped to learn the social, cultural, and economic contexts of participants and the relationships between people, contexts, ideas, and norms before intensive analyses. Especially, observation makes easier tacit understanding which informs about knowledge and subsequent interpretation of data's, collected from field during the research.

The main method, qualitative research is used for investigating meanings, interpretations, symbols, and the processes and relations of social life with a small number of respondents. As a qualitative research method, using in depth- interview helped me for more detailed information about thoughts and practices of respondents. This is because; it gives broader,

detailed and more meaningful picture about the relations more than observed in the field (Boyce and Neale, 2006).

I carried out 20 in-depth interviews with young people between 15- and 18-years old living in Tubingen and continue to their educations in there through taking permission from their families. Since they have known me as their teachers, gaining confidence was not difficult. In a silent place, generally in their homes, interviews have been conducted.

The position of the researcher is one of the important factors during the research. I tried to understand my participants with the advantage of being both insider and outsider. While being Turkish and migrant produce insider position, being teacher produced outsider position

Tablo 1: List of Participants

Pseudonym	Sex	Age
Ayşe	Girl	15
Ali	Boy	16
Ahmet	Boy	16
Nevin	Girl	18
Berrak	Girl	17
Semra	Girl	18
Faruk	Boy	17
Mesut	Boy	16
Fatma	Girl	17
Sude	Girl	15
Kemal	Boy	17
Feyza	Boy	15
Sezen	Girl	18
Cenk	Boy	16
Arda	Boy	15
Necla	Girl	15
Bedriye	Girl	17
Mehmet	Boy	16
Fatih	Boy	18
Zeynep	Girl	18

4. Findings

In this research, it is found that Turkish Pupils to express themselves not only create new spaces but also reinterpret the existing places with their own understanding of their identities. During this relation both identities and places are not same both under construction. I categorized these spaces under “Spatial Negotiation” category to identify in school and out of school places because these places are both resistance against suppression of dominant culture and solve the existing tension between Turkish identities and German identities by producing new cultural forms and negotiating two identities. In other words, even if these places are resistance spaces to protect Turkish identity still the meanings of places are not as same as before the relations of these cultures.

Tablo 2: Categorization of Places

Spatial Negotiation	
In School Spaces	Out of School Spaces
Turkish Lessons	Homes
Mess Hall	Cafes/Turkish Restaurants

Cultural Celebration Halls	Mosques/ Associations
	Sport Fields (Football)

4.1. In School Spaces

4.1.1. Turkish Lessons

Turkish and Turkish Culture Lessons have been started to be given with the agreements in 1971 and 1976, generally, as two hours elective in German schools (Yılmaz, 2012) so places (classes) are put in order by German school management by aiming to teach mother language and culture to Turkish origin pupils. While these places are ordered for these aims, the meanings have shifted and gained more broader character with the relations in classes. Mainly, Turkish lessons turn to the expression of Turkish identity in the given place by power, so they are now the place of negotiation between their Turkish and German identities.

Ayşe expressed her feelings with these words:

“I chose Turkish elective course to show Turks are here, in this school. When we enter Turkish lessons in a group, my German friends wonder and ask what we have learned in class. These lessons make us more visible”

Ahmet agreed Ayşe by clarifying their position like that:

“My German friends choose their elective religion course, so I choose Turkish lesson. If they have a chance to learn their religion according to their sects, I have the right to learn my language, culture and religion”.

These quotations show how Turkish courses turn to places where pupils express their Turkish identity. They believe in that with Turkish courses they are more visible, and they express their Turkish identity. However, these youths do not only expect to be accepted with their Turkish identity but also with their German identities.

Ali told his position in between Turkey and Germany by saying that: “When I go to Turkey my relatives laugh at my Turkish because I could not understand them and just remember German words instead of Turkish one when I am talking “

Fatih also added the meaning of being in limbo by explaining his language necessities: “In Germany, I am seen as Turkish, but in Turkey I am seen as German. I am always in between two so in addition to German language, I need to learn Turkish. I hate the word ‘Alamancı’”

Fatih introduces us with the term of “Alamancı”, main unintended word by them because it implies to being lack of symbolic and cultural capital of Turkish society, so they try to learn norms and values of Turkish culture and expect to cohesion with Turkish society with their German identities as well.

When these sentences are considered together, it is seen how Turkish classes turn the place of negotiation between their two identities. These students as the creator of new form of identities, they use practices of two cultures and languages as a form, so they do not only learn Turkish culture to maintain their ties in their native countries but also represent their cultures within the culture of host society. Since they are not only different from German but also Turkish norms, they play the rules of both sides with new form of living and new cultural capitals. On

the one hand, they resist to dominant power who underestimates their cultural existence and identities, on the other hand they negotiate their two identities to solve tension between them.

4.1.2. Mess Halls / Common Eating Places

Eating habits and practices are the most visible sign of being Turkish and different from Germans. In the schools, it has been seen that Turkish students are more sensitive to pork, pig productions and its marketing. Pork is a red line between German students, teachers and Turkish students. During in-depth interview, many students have constructed direct relation between being Muslim, Turkish and not consuming pork.

To overcome this problem, in mess halls or eating times, they choose menu suitable for their religious and cultural codes. We understand their choices from the experiences Arda and Semra:

“Each week, my mother choose menu without meat because they are not halal.” (Arda)

“My lunch box is different from my friends. They consume German products but I prefer halal Turkish foods”

These examples show even if they are common places and common practices in the same school borders, Turkish youths exist with their own cultural codes. This existence creates a way of negotiation within the borders of school. For instance, today many teachers and school management are more sensitive about eating habits of Turkish migrants than ever. Even if, they get candies with gelatine, they also get alternative productions suitable for Turkish students. I have observed that if there is a barbecue party in schools, there are two stands. One of them is for pork, the other one is for meats bought from Turkish markets for Turkish students.

Sezen and Faruk told how their experiences are similar to their German friends despite the different food consumption: “Lots of fun in grill parties. Turkish students participate and eat halal foods in these activities. School management knows and cooks for us” (Sezen).

“When my teachers come to class with a sweet surprise, they give me one without gelatine” (Faruk)

Moreover, many students express their pleasures about not only sensitiveness of teachers but also families of German students. In school and home parties, families are also careful about eating practices of Turkish students.

“My friends warn their families about my eating habits. When they cook for activities in class, they do not cook meat, or something contains pork” (Kemal).

Despite the dominant culture and its eating practices, Turkish youths are successful to change and transform the relations in common eating places. While there is an uncompromising eating habits between two cultures, by getting their cultural habits into school places, they transform the relations in the common places, and they become successful to express their identities without excluding from the places.

4.1.3. Cultural Celebration Halls

Rehearsal halls and festival halls are given by German authority; however, they are used differently from expectations and turn to places where Turkish identity is reproduced and maintained. In other words, although power gives places for the performative activities of

students, these places have been used as a place of reproduction of identity. 23 April Children Festival is very crucial among families. They expect from Turkish teachers to teach traditional dances, music and any other activities to show on this date. Turkish Families and NGOs are very active to continuity of this tradition in Germany. They rent performance halls, send out invitation cards to German Authorities and Turkish families in their region and announced in mosques the date and time of activity.

These places create feeling as if they are in Turkey. These words of my student's parent also clarify reason behind emphasize on these festival places "Is there anything else or any other place to feel like in Turkey except on April 23? My goal today is to make my children feel like me."

Feyza sees these special days as an expression of themselves and the way of telling their cultures by saying that "Learning Turkish dances and performing them in front of our teachers and friends are so enjoyable. They learn more about us."

In addition to their German identities, youths perform their Turkish identities in the same place in front of German authorities and Turkish community both. Through performing Turkish dances, using two languages by reciting poetries and singing, and introducing Turkish culture to host country, these places are used for solving tension between two identities and showing how these two identities can be together within the same place.

4.2. Out of School Places

4.2.1. Homes/Domestic Relations

Houses are the first places where identities are negotiated, and new forms of relations are reproduced both different from those of the host country and native country. Eating habits, food chooses transformations of cultural values to young generation, TV channel chooses, language preferences, consumption patterns are all under the effect of dialectical relation. Despite the protection of Turkish cultural values by parents, the younger generation tries to transform relations and bring their German identities to space in which Turkish identity codes are dominant.

The way of using language and language preferences are the most remarkable sign of negotiation between two identities. Despite the warning of their families to speak Turkish in homes, they prefer to use German mainly. Especially with their siblings, they continue to communication how they do in daily life.

Families see using Turkish in the house as resistance against dominant culture and protecting their cultures. One of the mothers of my students expressed her ideas with these words that "In house, I always try to speak Turkish with my children. When they speak German each other, I warn them"

They only transform their language to Turkish if their mothers do not know Turkish or parents do not want to speak German. We understand this tension from the words of Bedriye: "I am used to speak German in school. When I come to home, my family speaks Turkish and warn me"

However, Ahmet broadens his language experiences at home by adding that “It is so enjoyable to speak secret issues with my brother in home. Since my mother does not understand, we can chat until she is angry with us”

They negotiate their languages sometimes through speaking German sometimes Turkish. More interestingly, this negotiation is clearer when they put German words within Turkish language and so they use mixed language within the borders of the houses. Although this mixed language usage is popular among Turkish pupils in different spheres of daily life, home is the first place where this negotiation has started since they born. However, while they speak German more in the homes, they prefer Turkish broadcasters when it comes to choosing a TV channel. Families also support them and generally they watch together.

Nevin and Mesut explained how enjoyable watching Turkish channels for them:

“I am watching Turkish serious because they are exciting and humorous. I get bored from German channels” (Nevin)

“Turkish competitions are funny than the ones on German channels. Thus, we can learn a lot about Turkey” (Mesut).

The main reasons for watching TV channels and series are cultural similarity, excitement, and entertainment. Television, with its latent teaching ability, can be critical tools for cultural transformation. The effect of Turkish soap operas on cultural transformation was discussed in the study "The Effect of Turkish Soap Operas on the Bosnian Native Speakers in Turkish Learning Process." According to research findings, Turkish serious are effective at both changing values and improving language abilities (Karçiç and Arslan, 2014). In that sense, it cannot be underestimated the roles of televisions on children. Because television is the primary source of entertainment for Turkish migrants in Germany, its importance is highlighted in the homes. In this sense, televisions are regarded by students and families as a means of preserving culture by "entertaining as Turk." Parents use the most powerful communication tool, orienting their children to watch Turkish channels, to cleverly and latently enable cultural transformation.

Another important dynamic to comprehend when living with two distinct identities is patriarchy. However, the effects of patriarchy have been felt not only in homes but also in schools because parents' attitudes have a double standard for the sake of boys. Girls are not allowed to go outside at night, and they are expected to be more responsible with housework and to be more respectful and calmer. Even German teachers complain about boys' overly masculine attitudes. Paşha and maço are the most common words used by German teachers to describe masculine attitudes in boys of Turkish origin. They couldn't figure out why there was such a big difference in attitudes between boys and girls.

Necla by comparing her situation with the boys in the home expressed her feelings with these words:

“I wish I was a boy. It's so hard to be a girl. Everything in the house has been expected from me”

Sezen has also used similar arguments with Necla in the quotation below:

“When my mother asks me for help, I ask her why she didn't ask my brother. I object when she says you are a girl”.

Despite the German education system's intentions, we see that cultural transition continues for the sake of the boys. We can see how Turkish-origin girls fight inequalities within their homes.

However, given Turkish society's dominant patriarchal structure, expecting complete gender transformation is unrealistic. Despite the clear negotiation in terms of domestic roles and despite the changes to some extent, still Turkish cultural relations are dominant. Lastly, houses are the first place where young people get used to eating practices. As it is discussed under the chapter "in school places", religious and traditional eating habits produce a resistance mechanism for young people in different places and houses are the centre of these places from where resistance has produced. Although young generation tries to German tastes in daily life, they prefer Turkish foods and eating customs.

As a result, while homes turn to places of negotiation in terms of using language, watching TV and gender roles, when it is looked for eating practices they become as the place of resistance.

4.2.2. Cafes/Turkish Restaurants

Generally, Turkish youth prefer to be together with their Turkish peer groups and generally socialize with them. When it is asked to reason, answers point to the differences in eating habits and entertainment. As it has been discussed, pork is clear border between their Turkish and German identities. However, still there are friendships between Turkish and German pupils and they go out for different activities by overcoming cultural borders. They alleviate tensions through Turkish restaurants and doner, a popular Turkish traditional kebab. Today, not only Turkish people but also many Germans enjoy eating doner in Turkish restaurants. Nomadic kitchens enable displaced or voluntarily displaced communities to re-settle, hold on to life, develop a sense of belonging to a congregation, and, moreover, come together in a physical environment (Tuncer, 2018), so doner Kebab became a catalyst for the cultural transition between Turks and Germans.

From this perspective, during socialization process, Turkish youth try to be together with their peer groups and also, they protect their borders in terms of cultural and religious eating habits both in school and out of school.

From what Ahmet and Faruk have said, it is clear why doner is such an important part of their socialization process: "When we go out together, we decide to eat doner kebab because it is halal, and my German friends love it." (Ahmet)

"Since my friends know that I don't eat pork, they prefer to eat doner automatically when we go out and we would like to have a sit in Turkish restaurant" (Faruk).

In addition to restaurants, traditional Turkish bars are crucial places where youths express their two identities especially through their music styles. The Hip-pop music style is the most popular among Turkish students. This music is not only a resistance but also a way of expressing new identities. The younger generation tries to express their problems in different cultures through existing within the dominant society. According to Kaya's work, hip-pop youth is an example of the transnational space in German society. These transnational identities also indicate why it is not easy for them to use the term immigrant today. Today they are commuting between the two countries (2007).

“Rap music does not talk about only love unlike Pop music. You put in it the life. You put everything; you show the life. In the past, rap singers suffer more, they sold drugs, and their parents are alcoholic or death. These children tell their pain with rap” (Cenk).

Hip-pop music is the music of new generation who are different from their migrant parents. In that sense, it is a new way of expression and production. This new culture is not as the same of existing dominant culture. It is between two, so it is not Turkish and not German wholly. By expressing inequalities in dominant culture, they try to solve problems within society and be part of German daily life. Although in the past there are inequalities as well and their families were suffered from these, new generation can express inequalities in different spheres with music. Both in cafes and restaurants are main places in which Turkish identities reconstruct with the contribution of experiences in German society and values in German society so doner and hip-pop music become sign of this transition in common places.

4.2.3. Mosques/ Associations

Today, Islam is not recognized as an official religion in Germany, and religious organizations and mosques are not supported by the government, so they are considered private and have no legal standing (Jonker, 2000), and they continue with the help of local actors. Despite the various religious community associations and local organizations, Diyanet stands out because it is directly funded by the Turkish government in order to maintain and increase loyalty to Turkey and Turkish identity. Its activities aim to create national identity rather than Muslim identity. In other words, Diyanet's goal is to integrate German-Turks into German society primarily through their Turkish national identity. In this regard, teaching the Turkish language and culture to future generations is critical to preserving national identity. (Yükleyen and Yurdakul, 2011: 70-71).

However, within daily life, we see different representations of identities which are different from the expectations of both Turkish and German policies. New migrant youths do not only re/interpret existing places, but also, they are producing new sense of identities. In this sense, the meaning of mosques is more than the purpose of establishment and identities different from pure form of national identity discussions.

Today, Turkish mosques in Germany are different from the mosques in Turkey because they are not only used for religious targets. Imams and Religious teachers in mosques organize activities similar to activities get used by youths in German schools. In other words, they have to organize activities that take their German identity into account as well.

Necla told the one of the functions of mosques with these words: “As in the school, our Muslim preachers teach religion with games and funny activities. We do not only learn religion we discuss about life as well. Last week one of my friends cried for their parent’s separation. Our preacher has supported her and told how we can cope with the problems like that. When I go to mosque, I feel like in a therapy”.

In addition to being social and psychological centre for the students, they are the place for fun: “Mosques are really funny. There are competitions, quizzes, games and lots of fun. I look forward to weekends” (Ahmet).

Mosques serve a variety of purposes, including resolving youth issues, imparting cultural values, addressing dual identities, bringing them together in one location, and altering their

connotations in various contexts. According to this viewpoint, mosques ought to confront the negotiation of identities as a feature of German society, giving them a distinct character from mosques in Turkish. They work to counter the dominance of the educational system, but they also attempt to address the issues and demands of emerging adolescent identities.

4.2.4. Sport Fields/Football

Football fields are the places reproduced new meanings by youth Turkish boys. They mainly play football under local sport clubs. Instead of other sportive activities, they prefer playing football because students feel more confident and powerful in this group sport within the football field. Playing as a group is crucial because through producing group identity, they resist to inequalities and equalize themselves with other group friends. In other words, whether German, Turk or Italy, they feel themselves together and unified under a team.

"Football is not the only sport. As real as life. We are happy, sad, and enraged. All spectators in the stadium rise united when we score a goal in stoppage time. A certain vibe already exists. And it fosters interpersonal harmony. Our squad has no rules and no prejudice, so it can join us. As a team, we compete. Therefore, forget Kurdish, German, Turkish, and Italian in the stadium. Being a team and working together is beneficial" (Mesut).

All of the football players chosen as role models represent concepts like unity, cohesiveness, inclusion, and integration. Additionally, they have demonstrated the possibilities of a life other than that of their factory-working dads. As a result, Mesut Zil and Ronaldo have comparable connotations for them. They stand for ascent and acceptance in the host nation while maintaining their own ideals.

"We are Ronaldo fans. He has compassion. He assists others. To kids, he never says no. They are welcome to photograph him. He was on the same local team as me at the time, yet he never changed. He belongs to us." (Fatih).

So, in addition to transformation of cultural values and place of resistance against inequalities, today football is seen as a way of mobility by regarding role model especially similar to them. Mesut Özil and Emre Can are most popular examples for them. Since they want to be discovered by German football authorities and play in German National Team, many Turkish students go on to play football from their early ages.

"As a Turk, Mesut Özil has started to football on my own age in local team. Now he is in Arsenal. Could you imagine it? He could be successful so why cannot I? (Faruk).

As a result, acting as a group with their own cultural values, being together equally with people from different backgrounds in the same place, gaining more money and getting upward mobility let turn football fields to new places and the new meanings are reproduced within these fields.

5. Conclusion

In addition to identity transformations in migration studies, space should be added into the discussion and the meaning of the spaces that young people generally use in urban life should be understood together with the meanings of their identities. This is because, space, like identity, is a dynamic concept that changes and transforms both the immigrants and the people of host country. In this study, we discussed how both new spaces and existing spaces gain new sense of understanding by looking at how two dynamic relationships transformed each other. In this sense, space makes possible different relations both as centre of conflict and negotiation.

In this study, the places used by Turkish-origin pupils in German everyday life were taken into consideration. They are actively used inside and outside the school because these youths who are under transformation from childhood to adulthood more social than their parents and consume their times in different places of cities. These places, which are sometimes places of resistance and sometimes negotiation, are the means for the formation of new cultural forms in both cases. This potential inevitably creates a different spatial memory emerges from their families because they are more visible, and they don't have a life between work and home. Moreover, these young people have different socializing habits, entertainment cultures, perceptions of religion, and usage of language. They regulate their relations not only with the host country, but also with the previous generations, both within and outside the school, and this relation is directly parallel to the perception of their own identities and space. With the advantage of long observation process as a mother language teacher, in-depth interview was conducted with 20 high school students to understand their perceptions. It is found that students are trying to solve the existing tension between their Turkish and German identities and reconcile this tension by producing new cultural forms and new senses of meaning in common places. This not only makes them visible but also prevents tension and conflict in two cultures by showing that negotiation is possible within the daily life.

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