

Faith, Culture, and Generational Change: A Qualitative Study of Turkish Muslim Immigrants' Acculturation in the United States

İnanç, Kültür ve Kuşaklar Arası Değişim: Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'ndeki Türk Müslüman Göçmenlerin Kültürel Uyumuna Dair Nitel Bir Araştırma

Elif Havva Karataş 

Gordon F. Derner School of Psychology, Adelphi University, New York, USA / Adelphi Üniversitesi Gordon F. Derner Psikoloji Fakültesi, New York, ABD

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study examines how bicultural identity and religious belief are negotiated across generations within Turkish Muslim immigrant families in the United States. The study draws on semi-structured interviews with eight participants from four families, recruited through purposive sampling at a Turkish-American Religious Center. Data were analyzed using Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke's six-phase Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA), involving data familiarization, coding, theme development, review, definition, and reporting. Rather than aiming for statistical generalizability, the research prioritizes close engagement and in-depth analysis of a small, interconnected community. The findings indicate that experiences of surveillance have shaped generationally distinct acculturation strategies. First-generation participants reported adopting protective approaches that limit public visibility. In this study, these practices are referred to as "self-regulatory behaviors" and "filtered socialization," through which parents sought to shield their children from potential discrimination and emotional harm. In the literature, these responses are sometimes described as a form of "hidden injury." In contrast, second-generation participants emphasized visibility and public engagement. Many expressed a desire to challenge exclusion through public expression and critical awareness, grounding these actions in their sense of belonging as Americans. The generational divergence not only produced intra-family tension, also caused reactive identity positioning. Overall, the findings suggest that generations differ not only in their perceptions of challenges, such as Islamophobia, also shift across generations—from a threat managed by avoidance to a structural issue requiring direct engagement. The study contributes to Turkish diaspora research by highlighting how trauma, religion, and family relationships shape social and political integration.

Keywords: Inter-Generational Identity, Turkish-Americans, Islamophobia, Filtered Socialization, Critical Conscious Resistance, Bicultural Identity Integration (BII).

ÖZET

Bu nitel çalışma, Amerika Birleşik Devletleri'nde yaşayan Türk Müslüman göçmen ailelerde iki kültürlü kimlik ve dinî inancın kuşaklar arasında nasıl müzakere edildiğini incelemektedir. Araştırma, bir Türk-Amerikan Dini Merkezinde amaçlı örnekleme yoluyla seçilen dört aileden sekiz katılımcıyla yapılan yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmelere dayanmaktadır. Veriler, Virginia Braun ve Victoria Clarke tarafından geliştirilen altı aşamalı Refleksif Tematik Analiz (RTA) yaklaşımı kullanılarak analiz edilmiştir; bu süreç veriyle tanışma, kodlama, tema geliştirme, gözden geçirme, tanımlama ve raporlamayı içermektedir. Araştırma istatistiksel genellenebilirlikten ziyade, küçük bir toplulukla derinlemesine yapılan bir incelemeyi öncelemektedir. Bulgular, katılımcı deneyimlerinin kuşaklara göre farklı uyum stratejilerini şekillendirdiğini göstermektedir. Birinci kuşak, kamusal görünürlüğü sınırlayan koruyucu yaklaşımlar benimsediğini bildirmiştir. Bu çalışmada bu pratikler "öz-denetleyici davranışlar" ve "filtrelenmiş sosyalleşme" olarak adlandırılmıştır; ebeveynler çocuklarını olası ayrımcılık ve duygusal zarardan korumayı amaçlamıştır. Literatürde bu husus "gizli yara" tepkisi olarak tanımlanmıştır. Bunun yanında, İkinci kuşak ise görünürlük ve kamusal katılımı vurgulamaktadır. Birçoğu, Amerikalı kimliğine dayanarak dışlanmaya karşı kamusal ifadeyi vurgulayarak eleştirel farkındalık geliştirmiştir. Kuşaklar arası farklılıklar, aile içinde gerilimlere sebep olabileceği gibi kendilerini pratik olarak da farklı kimlik konumlandırmalarıyla şekillendirmiştir. Genel olarak, bulgular, kuşakların yalnızca İslamofobi gibi zorlukları algılama biçimlerinde değil, aynı zamanda bu zorluklara verdikleri tepkilerde de farklılaştığını göstermektedir—kaçınma yoluyla yönetilen bir tehdidin, doğrudan müdahale gerektiren yapısal bir soruna dönüşmesi gibi. Çalışma, travma, din ve aile ilişkilerinin toplumsal ve siyasal bütünleşmeyi nasıl şekillendirdiğine dair Türk diasporası araştırmalarına katkı sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kuşaklararası Kimlik, Türk-Amerikalılar, İslamofobi, Filtrelenmiş Sosyalleşme, Eleştirel Bilinçli Direniş, İki Kültürlü Kimlik Entegrasyonu (BII).

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Sorumlu yazar: Elif Havva Karataş

Gordon F. Derner School of Psychology, Adelphi University, New York, USA

E-mail: elifkaratas@mail.adelphi.edu

ROR ID: ror.org/025n13r50

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1. Introduction

1.1. The Psychological Journey of Immigration

Immigration is a complex, global process involving the movement of individuals to settle in a new society where they are not native. This shift leads significant cultural and linguistic changes as immigrants experience different level of adaptation, including acculturation, assimilation, and integration to the new society.¹

The immigration experience leads to different psychological outcomes across generations, especially in Turkish Muslim immigrant families. This study explores how identity formation affects first-generation Turkish immigrants compared to their second-generation, American-born children. Drawing on contemporary psychoanalytic theory, migration is seen as a psychologically disruptive process that often creates tension between generations. First-generation immigrants may experience cultural loss and a sense of dislocation, while their children often face identity conflicts and acculturative stress as they navigate between family expectations and mainstream American culture. These generational differences appear in use, religious practices, and cultural values within the household. The study also highlights the unique challenges faced by second-generation Turkish Muslims, who live between collectivist family values and the individualism of American society. This in-between position can create cultural ambivalence and psychological strain as they try to balance loyalty to both their heritage and the surrounding culture. The success of this negotiation is often measured by their ability to achieve high Bicultural Identity Integration (BII), a key focus of this research, which explores how intergenerational differences in coping strategies affect this integration.²

1.2. The Research Gap and Positionality

While extensive research has documented the sociological patterns of immigrant adaptation using quantitative surveys (e.g., Berry's model), there is a significant lack of qualitative, psychoanalytically-informed studies that delve into the intrapsychic conflicts, unconscious defenses, and lived emotional experiences of Turkish-Muslim immigrants in the United States, particularly across generations.

This study fills this qualitative gap by introducing and analyzing specific, generation-driven coping mechanisms. For the first generation, this involves the protective strategy of "Filtered Socialization" to manage perceived threats. For the second generation, the focus is on their proactive response through "Critical Consciousness Resistance." By examining these mechanisms alongside the broader experience of Turkish-Americans and the specific trauma of Islamophobia, this study contributes a deep, context-specific framework to bicultural identity theory. This study gains additional depth from the researcher's dual role as both an academic and a first-generation Turkish-Muslim immigrant parent raising a second-generation child in the United States. Since moving to the United States in 2015 and living in three different states—including Long Island, New York—the author has developed firsthand insight into how Turkish-Muslim families adapt to a new cultural environment. This personal experience offers a nuanced perspective on the challenges of raising children in a society with different cultural norms. In addition, the researcher's involvement in a Turkish Muslim community organization in suburban New York has provided close access to the community being studied. This insider perspective strengthens the ethnographic validity of the study and allows for a deeper understanding of how immigrant families navigate cultural and generational change.

1.3. Contextualizing the Challenge: Turkish-Muslims and Acculturative Stress

International migration is shaped by a complex mix of economic, political, and personal factors. From a psychological standpoint, it involves more than just moving to a new country—it is a deeply transformative process. Key aspects of this experience include: (1) a sense of loss and mourning for one's cultural roots, (2) difficulties in adapting to a new, (3) the challenge of forming an ethnic identity in environments where discrimination or racism may be present, and (4) the way trauma and cultural values are passed down across generations, leading to different adaptation patterns within families. This perspective highlights that immigration is not just a physical relocation, but a profound psychological journey that affects many areas of life.³ Türkiye is a major country of origin for international students studying in the United States. However, the sociopolitical climate after 9/11 has led to a rise in Islamophobia across many Western societies, fueled in part by negative media portrayals

1 Mehmet A. Akinci, "Fransa'daki Türk Göçmenlerinin Etnik ve Dinî Kimlik Algıları," 29-30.

2 Esther Frogel, "Afghan Jews and Their Children"; Phinney, "Ethnic Identity in Adolescents and Adults."

3 Ricardo C. Ainslie, Pratyusha Tummala-Narra, Andrew Harlem, Laura Barbanel, Ri Ruth, "Contemporary Psychoanalytic Views," 664.

of Muslim communities. As a result, Turkish Muslim students abroad often face increased acculturative stress. They must adapt to unfamiliar cultural norms while also trying to maintain their religious identity, often in environments that may feel unwelcoming. These challenges are especially evident in academic settings, where students are expected to balance Islamic values with Western educational expectations, and may encounter discrimination or cultural exclusion. Understanding the generational responses—from the protective strategy of Filtered Socialization to the assertive tactics of Critical Consciousness Resistance—is essential to grasping how they cope with this profound acculturative stress.⁴

1.4. Theoretical Framework: Models of Acculturation and Identity Negotiation

Economic motivations significantly complicate cultural integration for temporary migrants, as exemplified by Turkish international students in the United States.⁵ Their transitory status—defined by fixed academic programs and no intention of permanent settlement—creates structural barriers that inherently limit cultural absorption and discourage deep investment in the host society.⁶ This condition often results in “separation” acculturation strategy, where migrants maintain strong ties to their heritage culture while engaging only selectively with the host society. This separation reflects structural limitations inherent to temporary migration, a finding consistent with studies of Turkish communities in Europe.⁷

While the common narrative attributes socio-cultural distance to low socioeconomic status (SES) and limited host-language skills, this framework is insufficient. Research shows that separation behaviors persist even among high-SES Turkish immigrants, indicating that structural privilege does not automatically lead to assimilation. Instead, psychological variables such as perceived discrimination and identity threat appear to be critical moderators, necessitating intersectional analyses of immigrant adaptation strategies.⁸

The maintenance of heritage language (HLM) among Turkish immigrant families is shaped by parental acculturation strategies and broader sociopolitical dimensions. Parents' separation-oriented attitudes are often positively associated with supportive language practices, such as emphasizing Turkish use at home, which strengthens children's heritage language proficiency.⁹ This research views HLM less as a purely linguistic phenomenon and more as a barometer of sociopolitical security. HLM cannot be solely explained by economic factors; rather, it requires an analysis that accounts for sociopolitical marginalization and the protective strategies families employ, such as Filtered Socialization, to preserve cultural and religious continuity when linguistic continuity is failing. Furthermore, the sustainability of HLM requires coordinated support from broader institutions, moving the burden away from immigrant households alone.¹⁰

A critical dimension shaping this process is the individualism-collectivism spectrum. Turkish culture, which is collectivistic, emphasizes interdependence, in-group harmony, and familial obligations. In contrast, dominant U.S. culture prioritizes personal autonomy and self-reliance. This cultural dissonance frequently manifests as intergenerational discord within immigrant families, creating stress around issues of autonomy, marriage choices, and caregiving expectations as children adopt more individualistic values.¹¹

Adolescent acculturation involves actively mediating between these bicultural social ecologies. Berry's acculturation framework is highly relevant. However, instead of merely describing the framework's strategies, this study uses it to frame a generational divergence: the first generation's “Filtered Socialization” strategy aligns most closely with a protective form of Separation, which contrasts sharply with the second generation's efforts toward Integration through “Critical Consciousness Resistance.” This highlights the non-static nature of acculturation across the lifespan and the different psychological outcomes these strategies produce.

Acculturation for Turkish immigrants is an ongoing, generational negotiation. This work examines this process to understand how identity is reshaped through cultural exchange, how the transmission of values

4 İlhan Kaya, “Identity Across Generation,” 617-618; Tummala-Narra, “The Relevance of a Psychoanalytic Perspective,” 85.

5 Yelda Bektas, Ayhan Demir and Randall Bowden, “Psychological Adaptation of Turkish Students,” 130.

6 Bektas et al., “Psychological Adaptation of Turkish Students,” 130.

7 Alejandro Portes and Ruben G. Rumbaut, “Introduction: The Second Generation and the Children of Immigrants Longitudinal Study,” 983-999.

8 Maykel Verkuyten and Ali A. Yildiz, “National (Dis)identification,” 1448-1462; Selvi Aksu, “Acculturation Experiences and Personality Characteristics among Turkish Americans,” 29-32; Vedder and Virta, “Language, Ethnic Identity,” 317-37; Güngör, “1.5 ve 2. Nasil Türk Gençlerinin Ailede Dini Sosyalleşmeleri,” 86-119; Phaet, Fleischmann and Hillekens, “Religious Identity,” 32-43.

9 Seyma Inan, Yvette Harris and George Woodbury, “Examining the Role of Parental Acculturation Strategies and Language Attitudes in Shaping Heritage Language Proficiency in Children of Turkish Descent in the United States,” 939-959.

10 Seyma Inan and Yvette Renee Harris, “Beyond the Home: Rethinking Heritage Language Maintenance as a Collective Responsibility,” 1-3.

11 Selvi R. Aksu, “Acculturation Experiences,” 669.

evolves between parents and children, and how families manage conflicting cultural expectations. In doing so, it seeks to advance our theoretical understanding of biculturalism.

1.5. The Central Role of Religious Identity

Current scholarship often overlooks how religious identity intersects with the bicultural formation of immigrant-origin youth. For these populations, faith functions as both a tether to heritage culture and a framework for navigating host-society marginalization.¹² This gap is addressed by research, such as Kaplan's work on second-generation Muslim adolescents, which identifies a "triple identity negotiation" between ethnic heritage, American peer culture, and Islamic values. Youth strategically emphasize different facets of their identity across contexts, a process of religious identity hybridization. For them, faith is not static but dynamic—acting as both a "shield" against marginalization and a "compass" for moral guidance, or an "ontological anchor" that provides transcendent meaning even as cultural practices adapt.¹³

This identity development generates spiritual capital—the benefits derived from shared spiritual practices—which operates through two key mechanisms:

- Affirmation of intrinsic worth: Religious narratives counter marginalization by reinforcing sacred individual value.¹⁴
- Cultural hybridization: Rituals adapt to new contexts (e.g., adjusting Ramadan fasting around school schedules) while preserving core meanings, enabling cultural code-switching.¹⁵

Research confirms that religious involvement provides immigrant-origin youth with critical social support, reduces risky behaviors, and offers access to positive peer groups.¹⁶ However, its impact is complex; while it fosters resilience, rigid religious norms can also conflict with host-society demands.¹⁷

Methodologically, scholars argue for using pre-migration religiosity as a baseline in longitudinal studies to better track how religious identity is reshaped by migration and to identify protective factors against identity erosion.¹⁸

The experience of visible Muslims in Western contexts, such as Baksh's autoethnographic account, highlights significant tensions. As a hijab-wearing professional in Canadian social work, she detailed struggles with:

- Epistemic Duality: Reconciling Islamic knowledge systems (ma'rifah) with secular professional paradigms.
- Intersectional Marginalization: Having her religious identity overshadow other markers like profession or class.
- Institutional Incongruence: Navigating a social justice field that marginalizes her own religious identity.

These individual struggles mirror broader patterns of adaptation among Muslim populations, including religious camouflaging (e.g., situationally removing headscarves) and behavioral avoidance to evade scrutiny. Baksh's reframing of these challenges as transformative sites for critique exemplifies a strategy of reclaiming epistemic agency and exposes systemic Islamophobia.¹⁹

1.6. A Lifespan Perspective on Intergenerational Negotiation

Adaptive strategies, such as behavioral avoidance (e.g., suppressing prayers or dietary practices), are not merely individual acts but collective survival tactics that expose systemic Islamophobia. This reframing of challenges, as Baksh demonstrates, is a form of reclaiming epistemic agency.²⁰ This process is central to religious identity development in adolescence, which often moves from unconscious adherence to critical examination. This aligns with established theory, where youth transition from foreclosed identities (passively adopted from family) to achieved identities (actively chosen through exploration). As Peek notes, this transition is often

12 Kaplan, *Psychology of New Muslim Identity*, 47; Phalet et al., "Religious Identity," 37.

13 Kaplan, *Psychology of New Muslim Identity*, 89.

14 David A. Palmer and Michele Wong, "Clarifying the Concept of Spiritual Capital," 8.

15 Mona M. Abo-Zena and Caroline M. Barry, "Religion and Immigrant-Origin Youth," 325.

16 Abo-Zena and Barry, "Religion and Immigrant-Origin Youth," 355.

17 Abo-Zena and Barry, "Religion and Immigrant-Origin Youth," 362.

18 Carola Suárez-Orozco, Soniya Singh, Mona M. Abo-Zena, Duong Du and Robert W. Roeser, "The Role of Religion," 258-265.

19 Karen Phalet, Fenella Fleischmann and Jessie Hillekens, "Religious Identity," 39.

20 Bibi S. Baksh, "Clarity and Confusion," 643-650.

triggered by leaving the parental home for college. This aligns with established theory, where youth transition from foreclosed identities (passively adopted from family) to achieved identities (actively chosen through exploration). As Peek notes, this transition is often triggered by leaving the parental home for college, marking a shift from an “unquestioned” childhood faith to a “chosen” adult belief system.²¹

Akinci's framework helps elucidate these complex negotiations. It contrasts two models:

- The one-dimensional model views ethnic identity on a single continuum, where stronger connection to the heritage culture implies a weaker connection to the dominant society.
- The two-dimensional model treats these identifications as independent, allowing for strong simultaneous attachments to both cultures.

This bidimensional model is particularly valuable for understanding youth who, for example, express strong pride in their Islamic identity while also wishing to participate in American cultural traditions. This challenges traditional assimilation paradigms and reflects a more complex reality.²² These adolescent struggles mirror patterns observed in older populations. Research on international graduate students highlights how they navigate stress by maintaining religious and cultural ties to their countries of origin. They face multifaceted challenges, including financial strain, visa uncertainties, academic adjustments, and isolation.²³

Notably, Muslim international students frequently underutilize mental health services, a pattern reflecting the persistent stigma surrounding mental health in many Muslim-majority societies. This underscores how religious identity and heritage values shape perceptions of psychological distress, a challenge that persists from adolescence into adulthood.²⁴

This intergenerational continuity reveals religion's dual role as both a protective factor (providing community and support) and a potential stressor (a source of internal and familial conflict). These findings underscore the need for culturally competent interventions that address the complex, non-linear identity negotiations of immigrant youth and the unique challenges faced by their families across the lifespan.²⁵

Striking parallels exist between the identity formation of adolescents and the acculturation experiences of adults. Just as international graduate students rely on religious and cultural ties as anchors, younger immigrants like Ayse navigate similar tensions between preservation and adaptation. Her expressed pride in Islamic traditions alongside frustration with their constraints (“I feel mad but I have to do it”) exemplifies this complex negotiation. Furthermore, her experiences with peers who misunderstand her faith (“they get mixed up”) mirror the broader societal challenges documented in adult populations, suggesting these patterns of marginalization and negotiation persist across developmental stages.

1.7. Alignment of Sub-Questions and Key Findings

The four sub-questions are designed to move systematically from broad cultural maintenance to specific societal and familial challenges. This structure ensures that the analytical path is directly mapped to the rich qualitative data gathered:

- S.Q. 1 (Cultural Maintenance & Adaptation): This question, focusing on strategies for maintaining Turkish culture and Islamic practices, directly informed the analysis of parental strategies, yielding the concept of “filtered socialization” and revealing attempts at maintaining “heritage language dominance.”
- S.Q. 2 (Negotiation of Identity & Belonging): This question, concerning the definition of belonging and identity congruence (Turkish, American, Muslim-American), formed the analytical core of the discussion, providing the foundation for interpreting the second generation's proactive measures as “acts of citizenship and claim-making.”
- S.Q. 3 (Navigating Societal Challenges): Focusing on the perception and experience of Islamophobia, this sub-question yielded the study's most critical findings: the first generation's reliance on “self-regulatory

21 Lori Peek, “Becoming Muslim,” 215-242.

22 Akinci, “Fransa'daki Türk Göçmenlerinin Etnik ve Dinî Kimlik Algıları,” 29-30; Phinney, “Ethnic Identity,” 499-514; cited in Phalet et al., “Religious Identity,” 35.

23 Peek, “Becoming Muslim,” 215-242.

24 Berry and Sam, “Acculturation and Adaptation,” 291; Abo-Zena and Barry, “Religion and Immigrant-Origin Youth,” 355; Peek, “Becoming Muslim,” 215-242.

25 Pratyusha Tummala-Nara and M. Claudius, “Qualitative Examination,” 134.

behaviors”and the documentation of the generational shift from the concept of a “hidden injury” to a “public claim.”

- S.Q. 4 (Intergenerational Dynamics & Transmission): By targeting the points of conflict regarding values and expectations (marriage, education), this question directly addressed the intergenerational tension and dissonance, illustrating where parental protection clashes with youth assertion.

2. Methodology

2.1. Participants

This study employs a qualitative research design to examine acculturation experiences among Turkish American families, with a specific focus on the intergenerational dynamics between first-generation immigrant parents and their American-born children. The participant sample consists of four parent-child dyads (N=8 total participants), comprising:

- First-generation parents (born in Türkiye), ranging in age from 32 to 44 years.
- Second-generation children (born in the United States), aged 10 to 15 years.

2.2. Recruitment Procedures

Primary recruitment was conducted via a strategic purposive sampling method facilitated by an established community partnership with the Turkish-American Religious Foundation (Diyanet Mosque) in New York. Formal institutional approval for the research was obtained from the mosque administration (the gatekeepers) prior to any participant contact.

To initiate recruitment, the researcher utilized an ethical, passive approach: A detailed flyer outlining the study’s purpose, participant criteria, and the researcher’s contact information (email and phone number) was posted within the mosque center. Interested families, comprising both parents (first generation) and children (second generation) who were students in the religious instruction programs, proactively contacted the researcher to express interest.

The resulting sample of four families was therefore largely self-selected. After the initial families were contacted, a modified form of convenience and snowball sampling was employed to complete the required number. Crucially, the researcher’s prolonged, voluntary role as a teacher at the center established an “insider” positionality, which was essential for building the necessary trust and rapport to access deeply sensitive, intergenerational data concerning issues of Islamophobia, trauma, and identity negotiation.

All participants were provided with a detailed information sheet and signed separate consent/assent forms prior to their participation. The recruitment aimed for a small, focused sample to prioritize in-depth data collection and ensure the homogeneity necessary for a robust comparative analysis of intergenerational dynamics within this specific, organizationally-affiliated Turkish-American community.

The findings of this study are not statistically generalizable to the entire Muslim-American population. Instead, the goal is to establish analytic transferability. The data’s richness allowed for the generation of sophisticated theoretical insights (e.g., “filtered socialization” and “critical consciousness resistance”) that can function as a proof of concept. These concepts hold high transferability to similar sociocultural contexts, such as other organizationally-anchored Turkish diaspora communities globally (e.g., in Europe) or other tightly-knit Muslim immigrant groups facing heightened surveillance. The insights provide a foundational framework for future comparative studies with more diverse Muslim populations.

2.3. Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected via semi-structured interviews conducted on a secure Zoom platform as a pandemic-related adaptation.

2.3.1. Interview Mechanics and Protocol

Duration and Format: Interviews averaged approximately 45 minutes and were conducted in separate sessions for parents and children, with built-in breaks as needed.

Linguistic Protocol: A bilingual interview protocol was employed to accommodate participants' preferences, aligning with research on language shift. Of the eight participants, five elected to conduct interviews in English (two parents, three children) and three preferred Turkish (two parents, one child).

2.4. Consent and Positionality

Informed Consent Process: Interested parties initiated contact with the Principal Investigator (PI). The PI then conducted a comprehensive disclosure covering research objectives, procedures, and the COVID-19 adaptation using Zoom. Voluntary participation and the right to withdraw were emphasized.

Researcher Qualifications and Positionality: The investigator possesses specialized training in cross-cultural research methodologies and trauma-informed interviewing techniques. Substantial practical experience working with this community informs the approach to data collection and analysis, proving crucial for building rapport and ensuring cultural sensitivity.

2.4.1. Ethical and Data Management Considerations

To ensure the ethical treatment of all participants, multiple stringent protections were implemented throughout the research process. The study received full approval from the University's Institutional Review Board (IRB) prior to commencement.

- **Confidentiality:** All audio recordings were transcribed and de-identified using pseudonyms immediately following collection to protect identities.
- **Data Security:** Electronic data were stored exclusively on encrypted USB drives and saved to a password-protected computer. Physical documents were stored in a locked filing cabinet. These measures were critical given the study's focus on a small, close-knit community, where the risk of deductive disclosure was heightened.

2.5. Data Analysis Procedures

The qualitative data analysis was conducted using a rigorous, systematic method based on Braun and Clarke's six-phase approach to Reflexive Thematic Analysis (RTA). This method was selected for its flexibility and ability to generate rich, descriptive, and theoretically grounded themes from the complex and sensitive interview data. The process followed these distinct phases:

a) **Familiarization with the Data:** The Principal Investigator (PI) first transcribed all audio recordings verbatim, ensuring accuracy and fluency in both English and Turkish transcripts. The PI then read and re-read all transcripts while listening to the audio, using memo writing to note initial impressions and potential codes related to the research questions.

b) **Generating Initial Codes (Inductive and Deductive Approach):** Using the qualitative data analysis software NVivo, initial codes were generated across the entire dataset. This crucial phase employed a hybrid coding approach that combined both inductive and deductive methods:

-**Inductive Coding (Data-Driven):** The majority of codes were generated inductively. This process involved segmenting the text and creating codes based purely on the participants' specific language and meaning (e.g., in vivo codes like "feel mad but have to do it," "don't talk about politics at school"). This approach allowed for the discovery of emergent, context-specific concepts like "ritual dissonance" and the foundational elements of "filtered socialization" that were not predefined by the literature.

-**Deductive Coding (Theory-Driven):** A smaller set of codes was applied deductively, guided by the established theoretical framework and the research questions. Codes such as "Acculturation Strategy: Separation," "Bicultural Identity Integration," and "Perceived Discrimination" were used to systematically tag relevant segments, ensuring the data could be mapped back to the existing scholarship (e.g., Berry's framework).

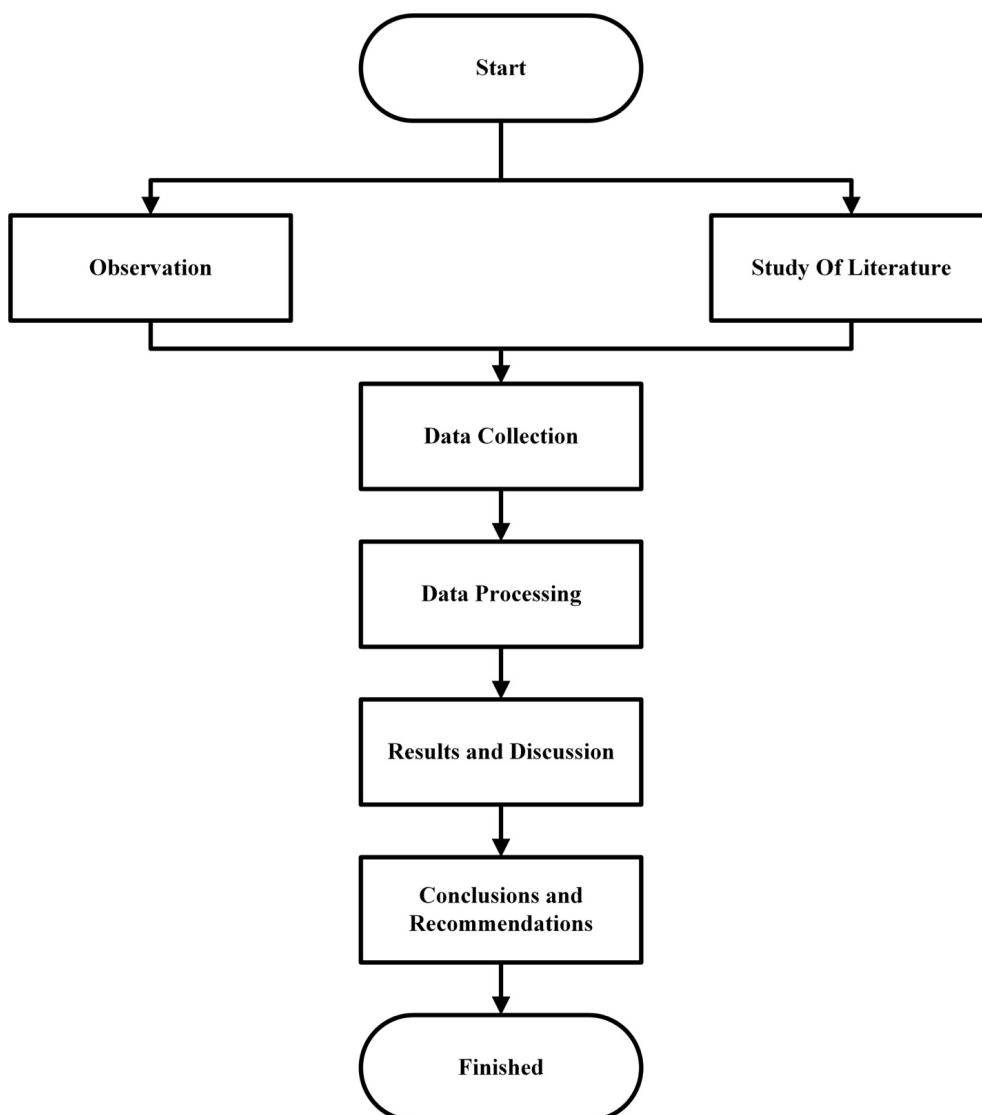
c) **Searching for Themes and Theme Construction:** Codes (both inductive and deductive) were collated and grouped into potential themes and sub-themes. The research team rigorously mapped the relationships between codes to identify consistent, underlying patterns of meaning. For instance, the combination of inductive codes like "not talking about it outside" and "only Turkish friends" with the deductive code "Acculturation Strategy: Separation" was synthesized into the higher-level, defined theme of "Filtered Socialization." Similarly, the

second generation’s inductive codes related to “speaking up” and “correcting misinfo” led to the development of the theme “Critical Consciousness Resistance.”

d) Reviewing Potential Themes: The PI reviewed the themes against the original dataset to ensure the themes accurately reflected the data and that the themes were distinct and coherent. This led to the final refinement and naming of the core theoretical concepts.

e) Defining and Naming Themes: Clear and concise definitions and names were created for each final theme, clearly outlining the "story" each theme tells in relation to the primary research question. All core findings presented in the results chapter (e.g., Ritual Dissonance, Hidden Injury, Public Claim-Making) emerged from this phase.

f) Producing the Report: The final phase involved linking the defined themes back to the research questions and the broader literature to construct the analytical narrative, ensuring the themes were supported by compelling and de-identified participant quotes.



2.5.1. Trustworthiness and Rigor

In line with best practices for qualitative research, the study employed Guba’s criteria²⁶ to establish trustworthiness in place of the quantitative standards of reliability and validity.

26 Egon G. Guba, “Criteria for Assessing the Trustworthiness of Naturalistic Inquiries,” 75–91.

Credibility (Internal Validity): Credibility was established through two key techniques: 1. Prolonged Engagement: The researcher's insider positionality and prolonged, voluntary engagement as a community member over two years prior to the study was essential for building deep trust and rapport, which allowed participants to share sensitive information honestly. 2. Member Checking: Key findings and interpretations, particularly the definitions of "Filtered Socialization" and "Critical Consciousness Resistance," were presented back to a sub-sample of participants for their feedback, ensuring the researchers' interpretations aligned with the participants' experiences.

Dependability (Reliability): A clear audit trail was maintained. All raw data (audio files, original transcripts), coding decisions, and analytical memos were meticulously documented and preserved, providing a transparent record of the research process that can be examined by an external auditor. The meticulous documentation of the hybrid coding process (Inductive/Deductive) further enhances dependability. **Confirmability (Objectivity):** The PI maintained a reflexive journal throughout the research process. This journal documented the researcher's subjective biases, prior assumptions, and evolving interpretations to ensure the findings were grounded in the data rather than the researcher's personal beliefs. An external peer (a doctoral colleague unfamiliar with the project) reviewed the coding structure and theme generation to confirm logical flow from data to conclusions.

Transferability (External Validity): As noted previously, statistical generalizability was not the goal. Instead, analytic transferability was established by providing a "thick description" of the setting, participants, and theoretical concepts. This detailed context allows readers to determine the applicability of the findings (e.g., the strategic divergence framework) to other similar close-knit, organizationally-anchored diaspora communities facing political marginalization.

3. Findings

Theme 1: Navigating Bicultural Identities Through Language and Cultural Practices

Language emerged as a significant marker of generational difference and cultural identity. First-generation parents predominantly maintained Turkish as their primary language of emotional and religious expression. Ayla (36) explained, "Turkish is our heart language - we use it for prayers and family conversations," while Arzu (48) noted, "I can express my deepest feelings only in Turkish." In contrast, second-generation children showed a clear preference for English, with several reporting limited Turkish proficiency. Ayse (10) confessed, "I understand Turkish but answer in English," and Ajda (13) added, "Sometimes I struggle to find the right Turkish words with my grandparents."

This linguistic divide correlated with identity construction. Parents consistently identified with hyphenated identities such as "Turkish-Muslim" (Ayla, 36) or "Turkish-Muslim-American" (Arzu, 48), while their children expressed more fluid self-concepts. Asli (12) described herself as "Turkish in culture, American in lifestyle," and Arda (13) quantified his identity as "65% Turkish, 35% American." The exceptional case was Ali (46), who prioritized his religious identity above national affiliation, stating, "I am Muslim first, then Turkish."

"Cultural practices revealed similar patterns of negotiation. Parents maintained traditional customs including shoe removal at home, elaborate hospitality rituals, and regular communication with relatives in Türkiye. Asya (40) described her culinary approach: "My kitchen is 60% Turkish... but we love avocado and sushi too." Children selectively adopted American practices while preserving elements of Turkish culture. Asli (12) explained, "I enjoy Halloween costumes but don't celebrate Christmas," illustrating this negotiated biculturalism.

Theme 2: Religious Identity as Both Anchor and Source of Tension

Religious identity served as a foundational element for first-generation parents but was subject to reinterpretation by their children. Parents emphasized Islam as a moral compass and non-negotiable aspect of identity. Ayla (36) stated categorically, "If you're not religious, you'll ruin Turkish identity and family life." Arzu (48) took a more pedagogical approach: "I explain halal food rules to Americans - it's about representing Islam correctly."

"Second-generation participants acknowledged religion's importance but demonstrated more individualized approaches. Ayse (10) expressed ambivalence about visible religious symbols: "I feel mad when Mom makes me wear hijab... but I know it's important." Arda (13) represented an exception among his peers, identifying as

“the most religious” in his social circle while critically engaging with American materialism: “America is cruel - lose your job, lose your home.”

Experiences with Islamophobia further shaped religious expression across generations. Parents reported overt discrimination, with Arzu (48) recalling, “My hand trembled when I was accused of stealing because of my hijab.” Ali (46) described self-limiting behaviors: “After 9/11, I don’t prefer to pray in public.” Children encountered more subtle exclusion, with Ajda (13) noting, “My teachers never include Islam in world religion lessons,” and Ayse (10) observing, “My friends get mixed up about what Muslims believe.”

Theme 3: Generational Negotiation of Belonging and Future

Distinct perspectives on belonging and future aspirations emerged between generations. First-generation parents maintained strong emotional ties to Türkiye while acknowledging practical reasons for remaining in the United States. Ali (46) expressed this duality: “I miss my extended family but won’t return permanently due to politics.” Economic and educational opportunities dominated settlement decisions, with Asya (40) noting, “Harvard is the best university in the world,” and Ali (46) explaining, “I stayed for economic opportunities after my master’s.” Second-generation participants expressed stronger attachment to their American context while maintaining some connection to Turkish heritage. Ajda (13) captured this perspective: “I say I’m Turkish first... but sometimes I wish I could act like my American friends.” Arda (13) offered a critical perspective on both societies: “Türkiye feels like vacation, but America has better systems.”

Intermarriage emerged as a particularly contentious issue revealing generational values. Parents expressed strong reservations about interfaith marriage, with Ayla (36) stating, “I’d accept cultural differences but not interfaith marriage.” Children demonstrated more openness to intercultural relationships, reflecting a shift toward individual choice rather than collective cultural preservation.

In summary, these three themes—bicultural identity negotiation, the dual role of religious identity, and generational perspectives on belonging—characterize the acculturation experiences of the participating families

4. Discussion: Navigating Faith and Identity Across Generations

The central finding of this research is the profound generational divergence in how Turkish Muslim families negotiate identity, faith, and external societal pressure. While the first generation viewed Islam as a central, stabilizing force essential for cultural maintenance, their response to perceived Islamophobia was one of protective withdrawal, characterized by “self-regulatory behaviors” and the familial practice of “filtered socialization.” In sharp contrast, the second-generation youth demonstrated a shift toward active engagement. Negotiating a complex American identity and a more personal faith, their acculturation strategies focused on “critical consciousness resistance” and “public claim-making.” This negotiation process confirms the expected trend of religious adaptability in second-generation communities while demonstrating a unique, proactive political assertion against systemic barriers.

It is first critical to acknowledge the methodological necessity of avoiding homogenizing narratives regarding the first generation. Their qualitative accounts revealed significant inter-individual variability in acculturation trajectories, supporting Portes and Rumbaut’s assertion²⁷ that migration is fundamentally shaped by premigration capital and postmigration context. The participants’ migration catalysts, for instance, bifurcated sharply between educational advancement (two participants, aligning with findings on academic migrants) and marriage (two participants).²⁸ This diversity underscores Berry’s distinction between voluntary and contextual migration stressors,²⁹ suggesting differences in initial acculturation pathways. Despite these varied starting points, a crucial analytical convergence emerged: for all participants, religion became the pivotal resource for navigating their new lives. This shared reliance on faith, irrespective of migratory origin, makes its role in subsequent strategies—such as cultural maintenance and filtered socialization—even more noteworthy in the intergenerational analysis.

4.1. A Generational Divide in Religious Practice

The analysis of S.Q. 1 reveals a clear and functional generational divide in religious identity. First-generation immigrants typically view Islam as a central, stabilizing force essential for cultural maintenance and cohesion,

27 Portes and Rumbaut, “Introduction,” 987.

28 Tummala-Narra and Claudius, “Qualitative Examination,” 132–147.

29 Berry, “Acculturation and Adaptation,” 291.

a finding supported by research showing that 78% of first-generation Turkish immigrants consider mosque attendance essential to their identity.³⁰ This reliance reflects a “defensive religiosity,” where faith acts as a protective shield against pressure to fully assimilate.³¹ Crucially, this defensive posture directly supports the parental strategies of “filtered socialization,” where religious settings are prioritized to control the social environment and preserve traditions.

In sharp contrast, second-generation youth demonstrate a move toward “selective acculturation,” transforming faith rather than abandoning it.³² While traditional public practices may decrease (only 34% of children consider mosque attendance essential³³, and 41% maintain their parents’ level of observance)³⁴, this is not secularization. Instead, 89% of these youth still maintain ethical frameworks rooted in Islamic values, integrating traditions into a bicultural identity.³⁵ This process shifts their spiritual identity away from public performance and toward an internalized moral compass—a “cultural Islam.”³⁶ This individualization of faith directly facilitates the subsequent development of “critical consciousness resistance,” providing a private, ethical foundation for their public political claims.

This divergence is rooted in the fundamental acculturation tasks each generation faces, where the first generation confronts the “heritage-culture retention conflict”³⁷ while the second generation navigates “differential acculturation” between familial collectivism and American individualism.³⁸ Consequently, traditional metrics of religiosity (e.g., mosque attendance) are insufficient for measuring the religious lives of second-generation immigrants.³⁹ This challenges assimilationist narratives and supports a complex model of religious persistence through adaptive practice.⁴⁰

This adaptive process is further complicated by the challenge of maintaining heritage language dominance. Language preference emerges as a critical mediator of cultural identity, illustrating the nuanced, individual-level strategies that underlie acculturation. The following cross-family comparative analysis highlights the struggle to maintain Turkish fluency against the backdrop of American social integration:

4.2. Cross-Family Comparative Analysis (8 Participants, 4 Families)

The table reveals distinct generational and gendered patterns in language use and self-identification among Turkish Muslim immigrants. While five individuals including two parents and three children preferred to speak English during the interviews, three individuals including one child, and two parents preferred to speak Turkish. First-generation parents (Ali, Ayla, Arzu, Asya) predominantly privilege Turkish for emotional expression and religious identity, with only one father (Ali) adopting English pragmatically as a bilingual. In contrast, second-generation children exhibit linguistic acculturation gradients: while Arda (13M) maintains confident bilingualism and stronger Turkish affiliation (“65% Turkish”), his peers (Ajda, Ayse, Asli) demonstrate English dominance with weakening Turkish fluency, correlating with hybrid identities like “50/50 but prefers US.” Notably, mothers articulate identity through cultural-religious lenses (“Turkish-Muslim-American”), whereas children reference lifestyle bifurcation (“Turkish in culture, American in lifestyle”). The sole father (Ali) uniquely prioritizes religious over ethnic identity (“Muslim > Turkish”), suggesting gendered dimensions in acculturation. These patterns align with differential bilingualism theories, where heritage language retention diminishes across generations except when reinforced by family communication practices (Arda’s Turkish proficiency) or religious socialization (mothers’ identity framing). The data underscore how linguistic competence mediates cultural identification, with weaker Turkish skills predicting more Americanized self-concepts among youth. This resultant fragmentation in linguistic competence and cultural narrative transmission forms a subtle

30 Özcan Güngör, “1.5 ve 2. Nesil Türk Göçmerinin Ailede Dini Sosyalleşmeleri,” 97; Peek, “Becoming Muslim,” 221; Wahiba Abu-Ras and Soleman Abu-Bader, “The impact of the September 11,” 225.

31 Verkuyten and Yildiz, “National (Dis)identification and Ethnic and Religious Identity,” 1451; Phinney, “Ethnic Identity,” 301; Chaudhury and Miller “Religious Identity,” 397.

32 Abo-Zena and Barry, “Religion and Immigrant-Origin Youth,” 362.

33 Phinney, “Ethnic Identity,” 508.

34 Benet-Martínez and Haritatos, “Bicultural Identity Integration,” 1035.

35 Suárez-Orozco et al., “*The Role of Religion*,” 270.

36 Verkuyten and Yildiz, “National (Dis)identification,” 1454.

37 Abo-Zena and Barry, “Religion and Immigrant-Origin Youth,” 353.

38 Berry, “Acculturation and Adaptation,” 298.

39 Suárez-Orozco et al., “*The Role of Religion*,” 112.

40 Suárez-Orozco et al., “*The Role of Religion*,” 267.

but foundational barrier, which, when combined with external Islamophobia, inevitably escalates into the intergenerational tension and dissonance examined in the subsequent sections.

Table 1. Language & Acculturation Strategies

Role	Name	Preferred Language	Linguistic Identity	Self-Identified Identity
Father	Ali (46)	English	Pragmatic bilingual	“Muslim > Turkish”
Daughter	Ajda (12)	English	“Turkish-first” but weak fluency	“Turkish but American-born”
Mother	Ayla (36)	Turkish	Turkish-dominant	“Turkish-Muslim”
Daughter	Ayse (11)	English	Struggles with Turkish	“50/50 but prefers US”
Mother	Arzu (48)	Turkish	Turkish for emotional narratives	“Turkish-Muslim-American”
Daughter	Asli (12)	English	Bicultural but linguistically weak	“Turkish in culture, American in lifestyle”
Mother	Asya (40)	English	Balanced bilingual	“American citizen, Turkish heart”
Son	Arda (13)	Turkish	Confident bilingual	“65% Turkish, 35% American”

4.3. Differing Experiences with and Responses to Islamophobia

The study revealed stark generational differences in how participants experienced Islamophobia (S.Q. 3) and the coping mechanisms they employed. First-generation adults, whose lives were profoundly shaped by the post-9/11 era, prioritized protective withdrawal and minimization of public visibility. Ali (46M), for instance, described a conscious retreat from public religious practice: “I could pray anywhere before 9/11... Now I don’t prefer to pray in public.” This avoidance aligns with what scholars’ term “self-regulatory behaviors” documented among Muslim men in response to heightened surveillance.⁴¹ Similarly, Arzu (48F) experiences racial profiling in a store (“My hands trembled”) and her subsequent decision to file a formal complaint reflects a critical, thought reactive, survival strategy that highlighting how Muslim women often gendered targetin og Muslim woman.⁴²

The primary response mechanism for the first generation to mitigate this external threat was “filtered socialization.” This strategy, exemplified by Ayla and Arzu, involved consciously avoiding discussions of Islamophobia with their children and prioritizing highly controlled, co-ethnic environments to shield the youth from stress and trauma associated with anti-Muslim bias. This protective measure is directly linked to the development of self-regulatory behaviors, seeking to reduce the need for public confrontation by reducing public exposure.

In contrast, the second-generation youth primarily encountered in intuitional and social settings, leading to more assertive responses. Ajda (13) challenged the “curriculum erasure” of Islam in her classes, noting that teachers would “breeze past Islam... use notes on exams.” Her subsequent response—peer education—directly confronts this “institutional othering”.⁴³ Similarly, Ayse (10) navigated microaggressions, such as a friend asking, “what type of God?” by adopting a strategy of selective disclosure to manage social interaction.

These distinct coping mechanisms—from protective withdrawal to proactive engagement—reflect a profound evolutionary shift in response to post-9/11 Islamophobia.⁴⁴ The first generation’s reliance on self-regulatory behaviors and the accompanying filtered socialization (discussed in 1.3) reflects a protective posture born of trauma and a desire to minimize visibility, which sociologically aligns with a “hidden injury” response. Conversely, the second generation youth, asserting their birth right as American and leveraging their fluency in intuitional language, exhibit a move toward critical consciousness resistance and public claim making.⁴⁵ This

41 Abu-Ras and Abu-Bader, “The impact of the September 11,” 225.

42 Anna C. Korteweg and Gokce Yurdakul, “Islam, Gender, and Immigrant Integration,” 230.

43 Pia Rebello Britto, “Who am I?,” 855.

44 Kaplan, *Psychology of New Muslim Identity*, 156.

45 Sadia R. Chaudhury and Lisa Miller “Religious Identity Formation,” 402.

transition underscores not merely a difference in personal strategy, but a significant change in the nature of engagement: moving from the avoidance of an external threat to the direct challenge of systemic barriers.

4.4. Navigating Identity in the Family Sphere: Ritual Dissonance and Reactive Positioning

The negotiation of identity (S.Q. 2 and S.Q. 4) played out not only in public against discrimination but also within the private sphere of the family, where desires for cultural participation often clashed with parental expectations.⁴⁶ This tension is the direct result of the first-generation youths' experiences of what Güngör terms "ritual dissonance."⁴⁷ While their first-generation's filtered socialization strategy, which attempts to shield children from external conflict but inadvertently creates internal family conflict. This conflict was vividly illustrated in the second-generation youths' experiences of what Gungor terms ritual obedience.⁴⁸ While their first. Generation parents reported minimal perceived conflict between cultures—a finding consistent with Hicherman's concept of selective acculturation where immigrants strategically engage with the dominant culture while preserving core identities—their children navigated a more complex landscape.⁴⁹ Ayse and Ajda expressed the tension of seeing their non-Muslim friends engage in practices like eating non-halal food or celebrating Christmas. Their desire for communal belonging, even in secular or religious rituals foreign to their heritage, is common in second-generation identity exploration.

This generational gap in cultural perception is starkly quantified in Güngör's finding that 78% of Turkish-American parents prohibit Christmas observance versus 43% of teens who desire participation. However, this process is not linear nor uniform.⁵⁰ Arda's (13M) experience provided a crucial counterpoint. His conscious rejection of Halloween traditions ("wearing costumes and collecting candies") exemplifies what Benet-Martínez & Haritatos term "reactive identity positioning,"⁵¹ where minority youth consciously resist dominant cultural practices to assert ethnic authenticity. As the sole male participant in this cohort, his response echoes Güler's findings on Turkish-German boys' performative cultural resistance, suggesting that gender may play a critical role in how second-generation youth navigate assimilation pressures. These contrasting responses within the same generation highlight the intra-group diversity of identity formation processes and caution against homogenizing the second-generation experience. These complex negotiations within the family microsystem directly shape the broader bicultural identity strategies employed by each generation.

The first-generation adults' approach, marked by "ritual pragmatism" and "defensive ethnicity" (maintaining separate identities), suggests a low Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) profile. This is consistent with Bronfenbrenner's ecological model, where macrosystemic cultural differences created palpable exosystemic stress, requiring the separation of home and public identities.⁵² In stark contrast, their second-generation children, through their acts of ritual dissonance and reactive positioning, are actively working toward a more integrated, high-BII profile, attempting to merge American individualistic norms with Turkish-Islamic collectivist values. Herein lies a crucial clinical and social implication: the "protective silence" created by parental "filtered socialization" can inadvertently isolate youth, leaving them to process complex experiences of racism and identity conflict without guided support. This creates a dual burden: navigating the external stress of Islamophobia and managing the internal family dynamics that avoid addressing it. Interventions must therefore be multi-tiered, addressing both the societal sources of discrimination and facilitating intergenerational dialogue within families to transform this silence into a source of shared resilience.

5. Conclusion: Weaving a New Life Between Two Worlds

This study explored how Turkish Muslim immigrants in America negotiate their identities across generations. The results show that adaptation is not simply about assimilating into American society. Instead, it involves a complex and sometimes conflicting process shaped by how first- and second-generation immigrants respond to social and cultural challenges in different ways.

46 Jealn S. Phinney, "Ethnic Identity," 507.

47 Güngör, "1.5 ve 2. Nesil Türk Göçmerinin Ailede Dini Sosyalleşmeleri," 112.

48 Güngör, "1.5 ve 2. Nesil Türk Göçmerinin Ailede Dini Sosyalleşmeleri," 112.

49 Charles Hirschman, "The Role of Religion," 1215.

50 Benet-Martínez and Haritatos "Bicultural Identity Integration," 1023.

51 Kaplan, Psychology of New Muslim Identity, 1212.

52 Urie Bronfenbrenner, "BioEcological Models," 39-41.

The study identified three core conceptual distinctions that map onto the two generations' primary acculturation goals: Divergence in Religious Adaptation (S.Q. 1): The first generation employs "filtered socialization" and "defensive religiosity" to secure cultural maintenance and communal cohesion. The second generation counters this by developing a "cultural Islam," engaging in "selective acculturation" that shifts faith from a public, communal ritual to an internalized ethical compass. This is further evidenced by a loss of heritage language dominance among most youth, signaling a deeper acculturation in cultural competence than in religious adherence. Divergence in External Resistance (S.Q. 3): Facing macro-level threats like Islamophobia, the first generation relies on "self-regulatory behaviors" (e.g., public withdrawal) in a posture akin to a "hidden injury" response. Conversely, the second generation employs "critical consciousness resistance" and "public claim-making" (e.g., confronting institutional erasure), signaling a transition to directly challenging systemic barriers. The Nexus of Conflict (S.Q. 2 & S.Q. 4): The tension between these strategies manifests sharply in the family sphere. Parental "filtered socialization"—intended to protect—inadvertently produces "ritual dissonance" and "reactive identity positioning" in the youth. This forces the second generation to pursue a high Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) profile, attempting to merge the separate worlds maintained by their parents.

These findings underscore a crucial practical implication: the dual burden on the youth—managing external discrimination and internal family dynamics—demands multi-tiered intervention.

Clinical: Therapists must move beyond general cultural sensitivity to address the specific conflict arising from "filtered socialization" and the resulting "protective silence." Interventions should facilitate intergenerational dialogue, allowing parents to transform protective silence into shared resilience.

Policy & Education: The rapid decline of heritage language dominance necessitates policy support for linguistic retention programs. Furthermore, institutional settings (schools) must be addressed to mitigate "institutional othering" that triggers youth-led critical consciousness resistance.

6. Limitations and Future Directions

A primary limitation of this study stems from its sampling methodology, which focused on a mosque-affiliated community in New York. This may disproportionately reflect the perspectives of more religiously observant families and limits generalizability. Future research should employ a more diverse recruitment strategy, ideally including a comparative study between mosque-affiliated and secular families to better understand the role of religious engagement across the full spectrum of the diaspora. Most valuable would be a longitudinal study tracking the development of Bicultural Identity Integration as the youth transition into adulthood, allowing for a deeper

Understanding of how inherited faith becomes autonomous choice.

In conclusion, the journey of the Turkish Muslim immigrant family is defined by complex, yet powerful, acts of adaptation. The divergence in generational strategies is not a sign of cultural loss, but rather an evolving mechanism of resilience forged in dissonance, weaving a cohesive identity from the dual threads of heritage and host culture.

Çıkar Çatışması / Conflict of Interest

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YZ Kullanım Beyanı / Declaration of AI use

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Etik Kurul Onayı / Ethics Committee Approval:

Bu çalışma için etik kurul onayı, 01.12.2020 tarihinde Adelphi Üniversitesi Kurumsal İnceleme Kurulu'ndan (Institutional Review Board-IRB) alınmıştır. / Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Adelphi University on December 1, 2020.

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