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New Multicultural Identities in Europe

Toğuşlu, Erkan , Leman, Johan, Sezgin, İsmail Mesut

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CHAPTER 2

New and Old Identity Patterns of Religious Young Muslims in Germany

Cüneyd Dinç

The purpose of this chapter is to develop a descriptive typology of various identity patterns of young devout post-migrant Muslims in Germany by reviewing the literature about Islam in Germany and evaluating the self-description of various religious groups. It is assumed that, first, the emotional relationship between devout post-migrants and the societies of their (grand)parents and, second, their rejection/acceptance of German society and therefore their readiness/refusal to struggle for the recognition of their religious difference in Germany shape these identity patterns. The diverging characteristics of these two dimensions establish four distinct identity patterns. Two of them – classical associational and religious-ethnic/exclusionist identity – are classical forms of identity, whereas the other two – Neo-Muslims and Neo-Fundamentalists – are new developments. These four identity patterns dominate the self-identity of young devout post-migrants. Thereby we can observe that newer identity patterns differ from classical ones first in the change of the loci of identity constitution. The classical mosque association has assigned this role to more informal associations, with the internet as a main source of identity constitution. In addition, the new identity patterns are influenced by global trends in the Islamic world and local agendas. On the other hand, classical identity patterns are influenced by the agendas of the societies of the parental generation.

Introduction

The last decade has changed the relationship between Islam and German society. Muslims in Germany have abandoned their former invisible backyard praying rooms. Representatives of Islamic interest organizations have started to negotiate with German authorities about Islam's political and legal accommodation, including topics like Islamic education, *halal* meat, the role of the headscarf, the construction of Mosques, etc. (Rosenberger and Sauer 2008). In other words, Islam has become more and more visible in German public life. This 'interpenetration' (Göle 2005) of Islam with European and especially German society within the frame of a new post-secular society (Habermas 2008) has unleashed public discussions about German identity in relation to Islam and Muslims in Germany. Is Islam part of Germany? How much of Islam – as a source and symbol of 'Otherness' – can German society tolerate (Dolezal, Helbling and Hutter 2010)?

On the other hand, these public discussions also forced Muslims in Germany to re-evaluate their relationship with German society and their own identity in that country. The third generation of post-migrant young migrants especially have never shared the migration experience of their parents and are now forced to decide who they are (Mushaben 2008a, 2008b).

Moreover, Islam in the European diaspora has also changed, losing its ties to the traditional structures and authorities, which had the monopoly of interpreting the religious scriptures. This disembeddedness of Islam has developed new forms of Islamic religiosity as a matter of personal choice and individualization (Göle 2006: 126). Thus, new forms of Islamic understandings and interpretations have emerged, forcing devout post-migrant Muslims to choose one of these and combine it with their ethnic or German identity (Nordbuch 2010).

The modest purpose of this chapter is to describe emerging significant new identity patterns of these young devout post-migrant Muslims in Germany by developing a typology of ideal-typical and significant identity patterns, through reviewing and re-evaluating the academic literature about Muslims in Germany. It is assumed that this typology can be constituted along two dimensions: (1) the emotional relationship of these young Muslims with the home countries of their ancestors and (2) their readiness to struggle for the recognition of their religious difference in Germany. Moreover, these two dimensions result in a 2*2 matrix, with four ideal types, which in turn are manifestations of major options for post-migrant identity construction. Though these four identity options are

not the only identity patterns of devout migrants, it is believed that they are the dominant ones within a hybrid identity assemblage of German, Islam and Ethnic identities (Foroutan and Schafer 2009). Therefore, these four ideal types of identity provide us with valuable information about the emergence of new identity patterns of Islamic youth in Germany, and how many global and local trends have an influence on identity constitution.

Considering these points, this chapter consists of two sections. The first discusses the conceptual and theoretical preliminaries, while the second presents the ideal-typical identity patterns on the basis of the considerations of the first section.

The public visibility of Islam and the search by young post-migrants for identity

The relationship between Islam and non-Islam (as the religion of the Others in Europe as well as in Germany) is characterized by the fact that Islam becomes visible by claiming, expressing and performing its religiosity in the European public space, which in turn challenges European secular modernity. This in turn results in the re-evaluation of both German and Muslim identities. European and German societies are forced to ask how far they can absorb and integrate a foreign religion and culture without destroying the foundations of Western existence. On the other hand Muslims in Europe and Germany are asking themselves how they can live their devout lives in a non-Islamic environment. In addition, they are also forced to decide who they are. Are they Muslims, Germans or Turks, Bosnians, Albanians, etc. or all these?

Young third generation Muslims are in a difficult position. As post-migrants they lack the migration experience of their parents and any real physical relationship with the societies of their ancestors (Mushaben 2008a: 509; Foroutan 2010: 11). Moreover, post-migrant Muslims aged between 15 and 29 have experienced different forms of disintegration. First, they are disintegrated on a socio-economic level, i.e. they lack access to educational and occupational opportunities. Second, on a personal level the society in which they live forces them to deal daily with their own identity. German society compels them to decide whether they are loyal to German society or to the original culture of their (grand-) parents (Foroutan and Schäfer 2009: 12-13). Thus, while post-migrant Muslims do not know any other life than that in Germany they realize that they are not really part of German society.

In addition, religion plays a very important role in the lives of these young post-migrants. According to the Bertelsmann Religion monitor 41 per cent of Muslims regard themselves as highly religious, compared with 18 per cent of Germans (Bertelsmann 2008: 13). Comparing the various Muslim generation one can assume an intergenerational stability of religious values, i.e. young Muslims are as religious as their parental generation (Diehl and Koenig 2009). So it is no wonder that especially devout post-migrant Muslims are particularly affected by the public discussions about Islam's role in Germany.

Finally, these young Muslims do not live in the same religious cultural environment as their parental generation. Research on Muslims in Europe demonstrates that religious identity is still for them a focal reference point for identity and political engagement (Bouzar 2001; Jacobsen 1997; Mushaben 2008a). However, third generation Muslims have a stronger personal commitment to personal piety as a matter of personal choice, and hence do not share the traditions and concepts with which their parents grew up (Gale 2009; Mushaben 2008a; Nordbruch 2010; O'Toole and Thileman 2008). Hence, Islam shares with other religions in Europe the experience of disembeddedness, which results in a democratic opening of the interpretation of religious texts to the public at large (Khosrokhavar 1997; Roy 2004; Salvatore 2004; Tietze 2001b). Islam is constructed, reinterpreted and carried into public life through political agency and cultural movements, not through religious institutions. Islam in this European socio-religious environment becomes a kind of social imaginary through which Muslims construct their belonging to Islam (Göle 2006: 124-126). Religious pluralism in Germany and Europe has transformed Islam into a multi-option identity device.

The combination of socio-cultural disintegration experiences and the public discourses about the role of Islam in Germany forces young devout Muslims, who express their "Otherness" in public more than others, to evaluate their relationship with German society and to develop a new identity as Muslim within German society. Two important factors have an influence on this new identity constitution. First of all, the aforementioned heterogenetic, de-traditionalized and de-territorialized nature of Islam in Europe provides different identity options for these young Muslims. These can include a more radical option whereby the young Muslim decides to retire from public life and to associate himself with radical Islamic groups, like the Salafist movement. In contrast, the same young Muslim can decide to fight for his right as a German Muslim to be different within the legal framework of citizenship (Schiffauer 2007: 83).

Finally, he can focus his identity on an imaginary picture of the culture and tradition of his origins but still be more or less involved in German society (Allievi 2005; Foroutan and Schäfer 2009; Mandaville 2009; Roy 2004).

Second, it can be assumed that identity constitution does not happen in an isolated environment, but is a product of socialization within organizations. For many religious Muslims mosque associations and cultural centres are places where cultural identity as a Muslim and also ethnic identity are constituted, shaped and lived (Brettfeld and Wetzels 2007; Frese 2002; Meng 2004; Şen and Sauer 2006). For instance, Şen and Sauer (2006) assume that 23% of all Muslims in Germany are members of such an organization. On the other hand both authors demonstrate that over 40% of Muslims visiting the mosque are not members of those mosque associations.

Since the events of 9/11 research about Muslims has also increased in German social sciences.¹ While in the beginning security related questions about the relationship between Islam and terrorism dominated the research, this was supplemented in the second half of the first decade of this century by a research about different areas of Islam and Muslims, like Islamic organizations and their members (Meng 2004; Schiffauer 2004a, 2004b, 2005; Tietze 2001a), on religiosity, religious praxis and the importance of religion in the everyday life of Muslims, especially on diverse sub populations like young Muslims (Heckmann et al. 2000; Heitmeyer, Müller and Schröder 1997; Worbs and Heckmann 2003), young Muslim women (Boos-Nünning and Karakasoglu 2005a, 2005b, 2006; Karakasoglu-Aydin 2000; Nökel 2002) or young Muslim men (Frese 2002). In addition, this qualitative research was supplemented by some quantitative studies about life worlds of Muslims in Germany, undertaken by public and private bodies (Albert 2010; Bertelsmann 2008; Brettfeld and Wetzfeld 2007; Goldberg and Sauer 2003, 2004; Haug et al. 2009; Şen and Sauer 2006; Wipermann and Flaig 2009).

On the other hand, some social scientists like Kiefer (2010) or von Wensierski and Lübcke (2006, 2010) undertaking research about Muslims in Germany with a more descriptive focus have started trying to categorize the various manifestations of Muslim life and identity in Germany by developing typologies. For instance Michael Kiefer developed a category where he differentiated between (1) non-religious young Muslims, (2) fundamental, i.e. very strongly oriented on religious traditional norms, (3) nationalistic – Islamic, and finally (4) activist-islamistic identity patterns. Focusing on various interviews with young Muslims about their lives, von Wensierski and Lübcke discovered (1) an

Islamic biography, with a focus on the Islamic religious lifestyle, (2) a secular and non-religious biography, (3) a pragmatic Muslim biography, with a strong focus on tradition, (4) a subcultural Muslim biography, focusing on a more hedonistic artistic lifestyle, and finally (5) a criminal Muslim biography, characterized by strong disintegration and criminal experiences.

While these descriptive categorization attempts are important in order to present a more detailed picture of young Muslims, the efforts to categorize all young Muslims by using one single typology has some flaws. First of all, the disintegration experiences between religious or devout and non-religious young Muslims are not the same. For example, non-religious Muslims, not demonstrating their religiosity – their ‘Otherness’ – in public, are not confronted with forms of exclusion by public discourses about the role of Islam in Germany. Second, the identities of young Muslims are diverse. A single categorization of devout Muslims in only Islamic or traditional categories is not able to display these variations. Finally, religious identity patterns are not static, but fluid. Their constitution is influenced not only by local, but also by global trends and social movements like *Pop Islam* or the *Muslim Brotherhood* (Gerlach 2006).

Considering all these points a stronger focus on identity patterns of only devout religious post-migrant Muslims will be more fruitful and valuable for academic research. Three points must thus be taken into consideration. First, such a categorization of identity patterns of young devout Muslims must reflect the heterogeneity of various Islamic religious ways of life in Germany. Second, it must also consider the various identity options for them, which are in turn forms of self-reflection towards two important points: (1) their own mental relationship with German society and (2) their religious and ethnic background. Finally, it must be realized that Islamic religious identity is shaped by the existence of religious organizations in Germany, i.e. people constitute and share their identity in relation and day to day interaction with similar people.

Taking these three points into consideration, this chapter will develop a typology of young Muslim identity patterns. Therefore, the article first will re-evaluate and review the aforementioned existing and fragmented academic literature about young Muslims in Germany. The focus of this secondary analysis is on the (self-) description of young Muslims’ identity. The results of this secondary analysis are used to construct a typology which integrates all these separate descriptions of young Muslims in general, and Muslim subgroups in particular, into a broader descriptive framework, i.e. the typology of identity patterns. In this vein, this typology is developed round two dimensions. The first asks how much

young Muslims connect their own Islamic identity with the culture or ethnic background of their parents. We can assume that this can have two forms: first, the religious identity of young devout Muslims can be territorialized, i.e. their religious identity is connected with the ethnic or traditional background of their parents. These people are living and constituting their identity within a distinct transnational space, where the locus of activity is the traditional mosque. Identity and socio-political activities are focused on agendas, institutions, organizations, etc. which transcend national borders and lie outside Germany (Bowen 2004; Mandaville 2007, 2009). In the majority of cases, answers to religious questions, religious agendas and targets are formulated outside Germany. One example is the national ethnic mosque associations in Germany, like *DİTİB*, *VİKZ*, *IGMG*. Muslims and especially young Muslim people who are active in these organizations formulate their identity within these structures and have a strong connection to the agendas of the parental organization abroad.

Second, the religious identities of young devout Muslims can be de-territorialized, i.e. their religious identity can be totally cut off from the traditional and ethnical background of their parents and grandparents. These people are living in a more trans-local space of identity constituting, i.e. they share similar ideas about Islam and follow trends in the Islamic world, but act more according to local issues (Gerlach 2006: 11; Mushaben 2008a: 513). They develop their own agendas which deal with their own situation in Germany as post-migrants, whether in a more radical or in a more moderate way. What is important is that these Muslims focus more on the idea of Muslim identity than on ethnic identity. They are Muslims in Germany and not just Turkish, Albanian, Arab Muslims in Germany. In many cases they are not active members of traditional Mosque organizations, but establish new forms of organizations, less hierarchical and open to all Muslims. The internet plays a very important role as a virtual sphere for information seeking, where they can gather and discuss with like-minded people (Mushaben 2008a: 516).

The second dimension of the typology asks about the readiness of young Muslims to struggle for the recognition of Muslims within German society. Devout Muslims can opt to struggle for the right to be different, believing that their future is in Germany and no longer in the traditional society of their parents. For them Islam must become an accepted way of life in Germany (Schiffauer 2007: 16). As Muslim citizens in Germany these young men and women try to find a dialogue with other non-Muslim groups and try to explain their way of life to them. For instance, the 'Open Mosque Day' on which traditional mosque

associations open their doors to the public is such way of building trust among non-Muslims.

Contrary to this option young Muslims can decide to reject such struggle for recognition. They can believe that the non-Muslim majority will never accept their way of life, and decide to retreat from German public life, regarding German society as wicked and corrupt. Thus, they will start to create their own living space, where they are safe from the 'infidels' and 'temptations' outside their world, living their own understanding of Islam (Nordbruch 2010: 37).

A typology of identity patterns of young devout Muslims in Germany

The aforementioned theoretical and conceptual preliminaries in the second section are the basis for constructing a typology of significant ideal-typical identity patterns of young devout Muslims in Germany. In this perspective, the chapter assumes that these identity patterns represent significant options of identity construction of devout post-migrant Muslims, who evaluate their own identity within the context of public discourses in Germany about the role of Islam. Figure 1 presents this typology in a 2*2 matrix constituted round the two dimensions of the territoriality/de-territoriality of Islam versus the acceptance/rejection of German society.

The first identity pattern is the *neo-fundamentalist identity*, which is organized within the Salafi movement or older organizations like *Cemat ul Tebliğ* (Roy 2004: 232). The major characteristics of this identity pattern are that they declare the western way of life to be decadent and corrupt and therefore try to protect themselves from its influence. Moreover, they also consciously demonstrate their Otherness by following a radical interpretation of Islamic rules, like strict diet rules, dress codes, and strict gender segregation. In addition, they will isolate themselves from other Muslims, accusing them of being corrupted by the western way of life. For them, the Islamic Umma is the best of all worlds (Nordbruch 2012: 46). Thus, most young Muslims identifying themselves as Neo-Fundamentalists gather together with like-minded peers and live in an isolated parallel society (Abou-Taam 2012). Due to the fact that these groups have very few separate mosques in Germany, the locus of identity constitution is the internet. Here distinct websites are sources of identity construction, for instance www.einladungzumparadies.de.

	de-territoriality of Islam	Territoriality of Islam
Rejection of German society	Neo-Fundamentalists	Religious/ethnic exclusivist
Acceptance of German society	Neo-Muslims	Classical mosque associational

Figure 1 - Identity patterns of devout post migrants Muslims in Germany

(*Invitation to Paradise*), where they can watch the sermons of German-speaking Imams (Ekkehard 2010; El-Tahawy 2008). Groups like the Salafi are especially able to give young Muslims a voice of protest and provide them with easy answers, for they have experienced cultural and structural exclusion by German society. On the other hand, *Neo-Fundamentalist* Muslims are also not interested in the issues and agendas in these societies (Roy 2004: 243-244). They do not see themselves as Turks, Arabs, etc. but as Muslims in Germany who speak German with each other. While they connect their own local situation in Germany with the global situation in Iraq and Afghanistan, their actual focus is still Germany, aiming for the total conversion of German society by missionary work (Abou-Taam 2012; Nordbruch 2010: 32).

The second identity pattern is the *religious-ethnic exclusionist* identity. Like neo-fundamentalist Muslims these react to exclusion experiences in German society by retreating from it. But, unlike the neo-fundamentalists, they express this not by an obviously religious way of life, but by a strong focus on the imagined ethnic and/or religious traditional society of their (grand-)parents. So they strongly focus on issues and agendas of those societies and are ready to defend the interests and 'honour' of them, despite the fact that they have little physical connection to those countries (Nordbruch 2012: 44). Unlike the neo-fundamentalists, they have no interest in converting German society into an Islamic one. One can describe their relationship with German society as one of indifference. They are Turks, Kurds, Arabs, Albanians, etc. living in Germany, with Islam as an important source of cultural identity (Bozay 2005; Nordbruch 2010). In the majority of cases these young Muslims are getting together in various ethno-religious mosque associations, like that of the Turkish nationalist

Grey Wolves and the Islamic nationalist *Nizam-I Alem* movement, which all have organic relationships with their political parental organizations in Turkey. While neo-fundamentalists' loci of identity construction are websites in German, the loci of the religious-ethnic are the mosques, where imams and other ideologists explain the world in the language of their parents.

The third identity pattern is the so-called *Pop-Islamic or Neo-Muslim* identity. These young Muslims understand that they have no real relationship with the traditional societies of their parents, and hence identify themselves as German Muslims. They see their future as being in Germany and want to participate in German society as German citizens. For them Islam is an expression of their demand for recognition, a desire for participation with equal rights within the structures of state and society. The Quran serves as life guidance, as a way of coping with disintegration stress. Thus they want to integrate a more conservative understanding of Islam into German society (Gerlach 2006: 11; Mushaben 2008a: 513). While these young Muslims try to follow religious rules, they do not want to be excluded due to their outlook. Therefore they try to present themselves as trendy and fashion-conscious Muslims, purchasing stylish Islamic fashion from internet shops like *Styleislam*. In addition they follow a more individualistic way of learning their religion. While the sources of their religion can be conservative, they try to interpret it on their own and to find ways to live life as Muslim German Citizens (Gerlach 2006: 73; Mushaben 2008: 513). Unlike the Neo-Fundamentalists they do not aim to convert German society to Islam. The locus of identity constitution of Neo-Muslims is not the mosque, but self-established associations like MJD. In addition, the internet and special websites and forums like *Myumma*, *Wymoo* etc. play an important role in the constitution of this post-Islamic identity. Sometimes global organizations and ideas like *Lifemakers* can inspire these young Muslims, but they have no real connection with these organizations. Mostly they try to adapt these ideas in the German environment.

Finally, the classic associational Islamic identity is the last identity pattern, which can be found in the various traditional mosque associations, like *DITIB*, *IGMG*, *VIKZ* etc. and their youth organizations. This identity is characterized first by strong ties with the societies of their parental generation. In many cases these classical mosque associations have strong ties with parental organizations in those countries, i.e. agendas and issues in those societies are the focus of these Muslims. Nonetheless these young people have strong ties with German society, and especially with the city in which they live; where the local mosque is regarded as a vital part of urban Muslim life. They have a positive attitude towards German

society, due to the fact that they see their future in Germany (Meng 2004: 122). Henceforth, they react to social exclusion by German society with a more self-confident expression of their claim to be Muslims in Germany, in a similar way to Neo Muslims. Nonetheless, for these youths the mosque is the central focus of identity constitution. Unlike *Neo-Muslims* they do not demonstrate a more individualistic expression of their religiosity. Their religious but also cultural identity is forged by the classical sermons of local imams, who are not from Germany. Many of these young Muslims were introduced to the associational life by their parents. Nonetheless there is still an intergenerational conflict between the older generations and the young members about the function and role of these associations in Germany. While the later see their future in Germany and want to use their organization to articulate their interests, the former have a stronger connection to their home country. In addition, young Muslims expect from their associations that the associations will participate more in social life and not limit their activities to the realm of religion (Frese 2002: 289). Nonetheless, in an association like, for example, IGMG or VIKZ, both generations are bound together by the issues and agendas of their parental organization, and here the younger Members will tolerate and accept the will of the older ones. Thus they differ again from their *Neo-Muslim* counterparts, with whom they share many similarities, at least about their ideas of their future in Germany (Klausen 2006; Schiffauer 2004, 2006, 2010). So the identity of these young Muslims oscillates between their traditional expressions of Islam, which they develop within associational life and their readiness to live in Germany.

Discussion

This chapter presents the *neo-fundamentalist*, the *religious-ethnic exclusivist*, *neo-Muslim* and finally the *classic associational* identity as ideal-types of identity of devout post-migrant Muslims. Hence, these four identity patterns can provide us with some important insights into how globalization can affect identity constituting. First, it is obvious that two of these identity patterns – Neo-Fundamentalists and Neo-Muslims – have emerged in recent years. Moreover they are products of global trends within the Islamic World. The emergence of these two patterns is a different answer to the conflict between the West and Islam, societal discussion about the role of Islam in Germany being one battlefield of this discursive conflict. In addition, these new identity patterns show us that

young Muslims are trying to find new forms of socialization in which the internet plays an important role. Even the youth organizations of the classical mosque associations are forced to open their own internet portals and forums, such as www.waymo.de which belongs to the *Central Council of Muslims in Germany*, at the demand of their younger members. In this sense, young Muslims do not differ very much from other non-Muslim digital natives who interact with digital technology in Germany for whom the internet is a major source of identity construction. Last but not least, we can discover that the lingua franca of all these young Muslims is German, regardless of whether they identify themselves as German Muslims or Muslims in Germany.

Second, the chapter demonstrates that these identity patterns and their organizational representations are manifestations of a *glocalization* process of Islam in Germany (Robertson 1992). In this vein, all these identity patterns can be characterized first by an amalgamation of local (German) and more global/universal (Islam) cultures, ideas and issues. Young Muslims in Germany are trying to adapt their self-selected identity patterns, which serve as global Islamic guiding principles for their everyday lives, in their own societal environment. Even the radical *Salafi* in Germany who wants to 'save' the Islamic world from infidels still has his roots and is socialized in Germany. Thus, even if he visits Islamic countries he is still more 'German' than a native Turk, Palestinian or Pakistani in Turkey, Palestine and Pakistan. In addition, access to the internet and to satellite TV, as new sources of identity constructing, of post-migrant Muslims has especially enriched this *glocalization* process. Consequently, the territorial religious identity of the (grand-) parental generation has been emphasized by a more glocal and de-territorialized religious identity of post-migrants. In this vein, the four identity patterns are evolving within a *glocal* nexus of cultural amalgamation and trans-local belonging.

Third, young devout Muslims in Germany are forced to configure various global and local identities (ethnic, religious, national-state) into a new identity. Thus, it is safe to say that they share the same fate of being in a state of 'in betweenness' as Polish Tatars, who will be discussed in *Katarzyna Warmińska's* chapter in this book. As with the Polish Tatars, the identity of Muslims in Germany evolves within the nexus of their being Muslims, Turks/Arabs/Bosnians etc. and German citizens. However, the differences between the two cases are the various discursive strategies of identity configuration. While the Polish Tatars are trying to establish a link between their 600-year historical past as 'native' Poles with a different religion and the idea of Polishness, Muslims in Germany are developing different

strategies of identity configuration, which can range from the total rejection of being German to the claim to be Muslim German citizens. The fact that Muslims have more identity configurations indicates that Muslims in Germany have more options than Polish Tatars. Moreover, the emergence of various strategy options depends on the country context. Muslims in Germany are a big heterogeneous and exogenous minority compared with the small homogenous and endogamous minority of Polish Tatars. On the other hand ideas of being a German and being a Pole can be different. Muslims in Germany are aware that they will never be part of the German nation because they are newcomers and are still alien to the German cultural nation. The Polish Tatars on the other hand have adopted Polish traditions and share the similar identity of Polishness with other Poles. All these are aspects which affect the number of strategy options for identity formation.

On the other hand, it becomes obvious that in a post-secular society not only does religion re-emerge in the public sphere, but it must also learn to coexist with other religious interpretations. In the case of Germany not only must Christianity find a way of coexisting with Islam, but traditional Islam must also accept the existence of new forms of religious interpretations of Islam which are trying to shape the identity of young Muslims in Germany. Thus, Islam in Germany, as in other parts of Europe, also experiences a form of de-traditionalization, due to more democratic access to religious sculptures (Göle 2005, 2006; Roy 2004). For instance, *Goedroen Juchtman* in her chapter in this book about Turkish children in Flanders will demonstrate that migrants have more than one source of identity. Turkish children in Flanders circulate between the Muslim environment of their home and the secular/catholic environment of their school. Thus, they adopt new acculturation attitudes towards the non-Muslim culture and try to configure it with their Muslim identity, developing new forms of multicultural identities. Consequently, Islam in Germany is also becoming 'post-secular', losing its monopoly on lifestyle guidance, which results in the emergence of myriads of Islamic lifestyles and multicultural identities.

Finally, the case of young devout Muslims and the de-traditionalization of Islam demonstrate that post-migration societies like Germany experience a constant flux of re-shaping and re-configuring of identities, and especially ideas of citizenship and multiculturalism. As a consequence, the hybrid and glocal nature of Muslim identity challenges ideas of a binary and essentialist belonging to a society (Native/Other) and of citizenship (German/Migrant). Moreover, it becomes clear how secular and religious sources differently influence the identity constructing of young migrants. Thus, if we try to answer *Johan Leman's*,

Erkan Toğuşlu's and *İsmail Mesut Sezgin's* question in the introductory chapter about the future of multiculturalism, our chapter suggests the idea that host societies in Europe must consider the pluralist character of migrant identity and must open their public spheres to a new traffic of ideas and identities, which also include religious ones.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the public emergence of Islam in Germany and Muslims' claim to recognition are accompanied by passionate discussions about the role of Islam in Germany. In most cases these discussions are perceived by young devout Muslims as a form of cultural exclusion. At the same time as going through other forms of structural, occupational and educational disintegration experiences, young post-migrant Muslims in Germany are forced to re-evaluate their identity as Muslims in Germany. Moreover, this chapter has revealed that these people have different identity options, which in turn are manifested in four distinct ideal-typical identity patterns. These are constructed along the lines of the readiness of these Muslim post-migrants to struggle for recognition and their emotional relationship with the countries of their parental generation. Thus this chapter has presented the *neo-fundamentalist*, the *religious-ethnic exclusivist*, *neo-Muslim* and finally the *classic associational* identity as ideal-types of the identity of devout post-migrant Muslims.

However, we speak of ideal-types as heuristic tools, which only mirror an idealistic picture of reality. It is obvious that young devout Muslims are not represented just by only one of these four ideal-types. In fact young Muslim identities can have a plethora of shades of identity, which is manifested in their everyday life. For instance, while it was said that Neo-Muslims' locus of identity is the internet and self-established associations, it is obvious that they also visit local mosques, which belong to one of the classical mosque associations. In addition, these young Muslims can have their first introduction to religion in such a Mosque, but then can decide to be more active in a more neo-Muslim association. These ideal-types can be regarded as master identity patterns, which constitute the major part of the more hybrid identity of young Muslims.

In conclusion, we can say that the chapter has demonstrated that there is no one-dimensional picture of religious young Muslims. Nonetheless the chapter's limit is its focus on only devout Muslims in Germany, which has a distinct

composition of ethnical background (Turkey, Balkan) with a distinct form of religious tradition (Sunni Islam), while other countries in Europe have other types of Muslim populations. Further research should try to find a more comparative approach and to develop a picture of identity patterns in Europe. Moreover future research must also compare forms of identity constitution and construction between devout religious and non-religious Muslims in Germany and Europe. In this vein we can develop more elaborate identity patterns and typologies. Another important point is the fact that the internet, and especially virtual communities, is the new loci of identity constitution. While there are valuable contributions which analyse the relationship between virtual communities as sources of identity formation (Alonso and Oiarzabal 2010; Everett 2009), further research can focus on new elements of virtual communities like blogs, twitter and Facebook. Qualitative online fieldwork can provide us with new empirical data to analyse and understand the discursive differences between the various identity patterns. Despite its aforementioned limits, it is hoped that this chapter was able to provide some valuable jumping off points for further research about the life of young Muslims in Europe.

Note

- 1 For a broad overview of the state of research see Brettfeld, Wetzels (2007). For a critical evaluation see Tezcan (2003); Allievi (2005); Dinç (2011).

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