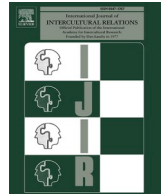




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Identity development of Assyrian/Syriac youth: Narratives of becoming a self

Naif Ergün

Department of Psychology, Mardin Artuklu University, Campus location, Diyarbakir Yolu 5. Km, Faculty of Letters, Artuklu, Mardin, Turkey

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ABSTRACT

This study aims to analyze the narrative identities of a group of Assyrian/Syriac youth, in particular, to investigate the role of their intergenerational narratives on their narrative identities. Accordingly, interviews were conducted with eight male Assyrian/Syriac young people and the families of four of them who lived in Mardin, Turkey. The narratives of each participant were examined through a holistic approach, analyzing their lives in the context of their personal and intergenerational narratives throughout their lifelines. In the analysis, the turning points of individuals are depicted on the figures, and three lifeline figures were mapped. Findings indicated that although the participants lived under similar living conditions and grew up in the same area, they each narrated their identities differently. For example, one participant described his identity as victimic, communion and burden, while another participant described his identity as agentic, communion, and benefit, and yet another narrated his identity as agentic, agency, and benefit. The individual analysis that emerged in the narratives of all participants was discussed in the context of the literature on identity and narrative identity.

“A man is always a teller of tales, he lives surrounded by his stories and the stories of others, he sees everything that happens to him through them; and he tries to live his own life as if he were telling a story”

Jean-Paul Sartre (1969)

“Identity is fluid, always producing itself through the combined processes of being and becoming, belonging and longing to belong” (Yuval-Davis, Akt. Riessman, 2008, p.8). While identity continues to evolve throughout an individual’s life, it becomes particularly important during young or emerging adulthood (Arnett, 2000, 2003, 2015; McAdams, 2001). During adolescence, identity transforms from a developmentally simple phenomenon to a more complex and multifunctional one that presents itself in a holistic and abstract (social, ideological, cultural, individual) form (Erikson, 1968; Hammack, 2008; McAdams, 1989). This transformation expands in emerging adulthood when individuals begin to incorporate their roles and memberships into their identity. It becomes similar to an adult’s identity and represents the culture to which they belong (Arnett, 2000, 2015). Given the importance of emerging adulthood in identity development, this study explores the phenomenon of identity among individuals who are in the emerging adulthood period.

It is essential to explore how the process of identity formation is shaped for individuals. As Riessman (2008) quotes Yuval-Davis, “identity is narratives, stories people tell themselves and others about who they are” (p.8). Since individuals tend to live lives close to these stories while telling their own life stories (Bruner, 1990), the way individuals transfer facts from their past to the present and

E-mail address: naifergun@artuklu.edu.tr.

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interpret their identity reveals identity formation. In other words, studying identity as narrative is useful in showing who these individuals were in their past and how they formed their own identity in the process. To have a consistent and purposeful sense of identity, individuals form an identity by describing the past, present, and future holistically (McAdams, 1989, 2001). These narratives that individuals create throughout their lives form the narrative identity of the individual.

Narrative identity reveals the characteristics of a society, the norms (master narrative), ideology, historical events, personal and collective experiences, and all the cycles of the social system that are shared and dominated by the entire culture (Hammack, 2008). When analyzing identity in a cultural context, the focus is on the family and society (Beyers & Goosens, 2008). These narrative phenomena can be passed between systems or generations. Therefore, narrative identity theorists also study the intergenerational narrative form. This refers to the transfer of elders' own experiences and life stories to the young (Fivush and Marrill (2016)). Therefore, studying identity in narrative form is useful as it provides a holistic expression of all cycles in the identity formation process between the past and the present, which is especially significant in terms of discovering the place of the social, cultural, and ideological implications of each story in each individual narrative (Hammack & Toolish, 2015).

Narrative identity theorists have also explored identities with self-thematic dilemmas: (1) agentic versus victimic identity, (2) agency versus communion narrative (McAdams, Hoffman, Mansfield, & Day, 1996), and (3) the benefit versus the burden perspective (Hammack, 2010b). Pioneers of narrative identity theorists, McAdams et al. (1996), mentioned many individualist attitudes and behaviors (self) in their agency perspective. Therefore, attitudes and behaviors (self) are placed in opposition to communion. The authors argue that the agency concept by foregrounding four factors: self-mastery, status, achievement/responsibility, and empowerment/authorization. In this context, it is stated that individuals can switch back and forth between two situations. Either they actively create their lives by putting their individual preferences into the foreground, or they are shaped by the group to which they belong. Communion self means interactive sharing. While the agentic self in Polkinghorne's (1996) study is primarily based on having a voice in one's own life and being an active agent of one's own life, victimic identity manifests itself in a self-story based on losing control of one's life. Emphasis is placed on the fact that the tendency to become an agentic identity or a victimic identity may be learned and developed in childhood as McAdams (2001) asserted that infants and young children develop unconscious beliefs from the attitudes of their caregivers. This develops a life tone that dominates their life stories based on the outcomes of their attempts to do things in the world (McAdams, 2001). Polkinghorne (1996) adopts this idea from McAdams to clarify that "the life tone of these stories either exudes optimism and hope (agentic) or mistrust and resignation (victimic)" (p.301). While Hammack (2010b) states that when identity is called a burden – which means subjecting to their groups by control and dependence – for young individuals, they are only in the position of carriers of cultural identities and try to repeat the same patterns without thinking. From the point of view of benefits, he argues that individuals' current identity impositions are no longer a factor of pressure and allow them to consider individual and collective benefits. Thus, how individuals form an identity in their narratives of self and identity from the past to the present is revealed through these dilemmas.

In support of narrative identity theorists, Rogers (2018) argues that individual identity is frequently studied in research on the developmental dimension of identity. Yet, social identity formations are rarely included in them. He emphasizes that there should be three research perspectives in interactional identity studies. The first of these is the use of historical development in identity studies. Here, it is emphasized that studies should be conducted by knowing how identity is shaped by the individual's life development and the historical development of society. Second, it is argued that the intergenerational perspective should be included in the studies. Third, it is emphasized that it is necessary to explore how social and political consequences affect identity. This criticism underlines that it is significant to investigate how ideologies, historical events, and political structures in the existing social structure affect the individual. Therefore, it may be more useful to conduct identity studies in the form of narratives to reveal all these phenomena holistically. Considering the criticisms of Rogers (2018), Schachter (2018), and Côté and Levine (1988), I conducted identity studies based on the life narrative of a group of Assyrian/Syriac youth in emerging adulthood. In this case, the identity formation of individuals was examined based on many elements that were revealed in the individuals' narratives.

Since culture is at the center of identity development and especially narrative identity formation, the society in which the individual lives is significant for creating identity. The cultural codes to which the individual belongs (including being a minority), the family's point of view, master narratives, and ideologies are among the main elements that shape the individual (Hammack, 2008). This developmental trajectory is arguably different for individuals who grow up in different societies and cultures, and accordingly, it is necessary to study the phenomenon of identity in different localities and cultures to reveal these differences. Demir (2007) emphasized that "making correct assessments of youth in a society and discussing what services are appropriate for them is only possible by revealing who the youth in that society is, regardless of the "given" categories" (p.8). Moreover, it has been emphasized that individuals form an identity depending on the people they interact with, especially with their predecessors (Schachter, 2015, 2018). For example, while the decision-making mechanism of an individual raised in a more individualistic culture is more egocentric in that individuals tend to make decisions, the decision-making mechanism of an individual raised in a collectivistic culture is more relationally oriented, so one tends to make decisions by receiving the consent of other close individuals (Kağıtçıbaşı (1996)). Therefore, in this study, the identity development and cultural factors influencing identity were investigated by addressing the identity issue of Assyrian/Syriac youth, who are part of Turkish society and belong to a different ethnic-religious group.

Assyrians/Syriacs are one of the three minority groups living in Mardin, along with Arabs and Kurds, but the population of Assyrians/Syriacs is smaller (Özmen, 2006; Öztemiz, 2007; Keske, 2010). Since they identify themselves as Christian in terms of their faith and use a different language, Assyrians/Syriacs are in a different position than the other two minority groups. The Assyrian/Syriac community speaks Arabic in the center of Mardin and an Aramaic dialect called Turoyo in the Midyat district, but they also speak Turkish and Kurdish to integrate into a larger society (Atto, 2011; Keske, 2010; Özmen, 2017). It is stated that the distribution of the Assyrian/Syriac population in Turkey is about 25,000 (3 out of 10,000 in Turkey and 3 out of 1000 in the Province of Mardin), who

mostly live in the provinces of Mardin, Şırnak, Diyarbakır, Hatay, and İstanbul (Şimşek & Yıldız, 2006).

It is stated that while Assyrians/Syriacs define their identity primarily through their religion and their language comes secondary (Öztemiz, 2012). One reason for this could be that with the collapse of the empires and states they had established in the past, they could transfer their ethno-religious identities to the present by embracing the Christian faith and establishing a spiritual empire (Akyüz, 1999). By building their identities on religion and language, the Assyrian/Syriac people tried to preserve the existence of their culture in an introverted social structure and prevent assimilation by other communities. Furthermore, it has been observed that they try to preserve their closed society structure by not entering into marriage relationships with other societies with whom they interact, and they reflect the identity of being Assyrian/Syriac as "being Christian" and "knowing Assyrian/Syriac" (Öztemiz, 2012). The fact that Assyrians/Syriacs are a minority in their society and experience their minority status based on multiple factors (religious-linguistic and being few in numbers), can alter the identity and self-formation of the Assyrian/Syriac youth. In this context, studying identity and intergenerational form in the narratives of Assyrian/Syriac youth is important to reveal the facts in the identity formation process.

Considering all these facts, it is necessary to examine identity as a whole rather than in parts, to work with a holistic approach to reach insides beyond the developed concepts, to study the identities of individuals with different cultural norms in a society, and to deal with all the experiences that influence the identity phenomenon. The condition of being a minority, how the interacting social environment shapes the self and identity of the individual, how religion and religious factors and ideologies influence the individual and how they interpret the interactions of the individual with those outside their group should be explored. The Assyrian/Syriac is in a dual minority position in its society in terms of religion and ethnicity. Being dual minorities may distinguish their identity narratives from those other minorities group in Turkey. Moreover, they are also a "minority of the minority" since the other groups (Kurds and Arabs who are also ethnic minorities in Turkey) they live with are also minorities in Turkey. However, Kurds and Arabs are the religious majority in the Province of Mardin. This case may also influence the narratives of the Assyrian/Syriac youth. Therefore, the findings of this study will contribute to the identity literature. Finally, Assyrian/Syriac identity has not yet been studied in the field of psychology in Turkey. For this reason, this is the first study to holistically address the Assyrian/Syriac youth identity in Turkey. Based on this information, the role of intergenerational narratives in the identity narratives of Assyrian/Syriac youth was examined.

1. The objective of the study

The main objective of this study is to investigate the role of parents' and family elders' life experiences and autobiographical transfers in the formation of narrative identities of the Assyrian/Syriac youth. Specifically, the narrative method, a qualitative type of research, was used to examine how the young participants expressed their life stories, their experiences with their parents, their feelings and thoughts about these experiences, how these narratives influenced them psychosocially, and how the parents transferred the life experiences they heard from their elders to their children. The main questions addressed in the study are:

1. How do Assyrian/Syriac youth narrate their life experiences?
2. How do the life stories of Assyrian/Syriac youth impact their identities and selves?
3. What are the significant turning points in the lives of Assyrian/Syriac youth?
4. What role do the life stories of the family elders play in the narrative identities of the Assyrian/Syriac youth?

Table 1
Introductory Information about the Participants.

Nickname	Age	Place of Residence	Language spoken at home	Education Level	Meeting Place and Number of Interviews	Age to Move out
Yellow	19	Village	Turoyo	High school	Met at church once with him and once with his family	A short period (6 months) when he was attending secondary school
Orange	19,5	Village	Turoyo	High school	At church, at the café, on the phone. three times.	After primary school
Blue	22	City Center	Arabic	High-school graduate	Met with him three times at a café, his workplace.	Never left
Red	22	Migrate from village to City Center	Turoyo	Undergraduate student	Met with him three times church, at a café, and at his home. Spent a day with him and his family.	After secondary school
Brown	23	Migrate from village to City Center	Turoyo, Kurdish	High school	Met with him three times at his workplace.	After primary school
Navy Blue	23	Migrate from village to City Center	Turoyo	Undergraduate student	Met with him three times at the researcher's office	Lived with his grandparents at the age of 9
Green	24	Village	Kurdish, Turoyo	Undergraduate	Met with him a time at church.	High school
Lilac	25	Village/ Work in a Town center	Turoyo	Undergraduate	Met with him three times at church, at a café, and at his home. Met all his family members	After primary school

2. Method

2.1. Participants

The study used typical case sampling, one of the purposeful sampling types. Purposive sampling requires an in-depth analysis of situations that are thought to be rich in information (Patton, 1987). Typical sampling, on the other hand, is used to identify an average theme related to a situation (Glesne, 2012). Therefore, face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted with eight male Assyrian/Syriac youth (aged 19–26) living in Mardin province. All participants belong to the Syriac Orthodox Church. Only one participant cannot speak the Aramaic dialect (Turoyo), two participants speak two languages, the Aramaic dialect and Kurdish, at home five participants speak the Aramaic dialect at home. Four participants studied or graduated from university and four graduated from high school. One participant lived in the town center, three participants lived in the village, and four participants lived in the city center (see Table 1).

3. Study procedure

First, the semi-structured questions used in the study were evaluated by two experts. Before conducting the study, ethical approval was obtained from the Ethics Committee of Istanbul University (No: 2018/184–35980450–663.05-). A pilot study was conducted to evaluate the effectiveness of the study questions. In this regard, interviews were conducted with two Assyrian/Syriac youth. There were no problems in understanding the questions and it was assumed that the questions were suitable for the study. The data of the study were collected voluntarily. During the interview, an atmosphere of trust was established at first and then, data questions were asked, and finally, the interview was recorded and handwritten. During these meetings, interviews were held with the parents of four Assyrian/Syriac youth, and villages where these young people lived were visited. As a pilot study, interviews were conducted with two participants (Blue and Navy) from this study group. More than one interview was conducted with six participants. These interviews took place at different times and lasted at least half an hour - at most an hour and a half. A full day was also spent with some participants (see Table 1). All interviews were held between 15.02.2019 and 25.12.2019. While the holistic research analysis was conducted, the lifelines of the participants were sent to them. Participants were asked to evaluate their own lifelines and indicate if any errors or additions were needed. All of the participants confirmed their lifelines and even expressed their satisfaction. A holistically analyzed interview was presented to the jury members in the dissertation monitoring committee, and after receiving positive feedback, all analyzes were carried out accordingly. In addition, the findings of the study were discussed with an Assyrian/Syriac academic. The academic to whom the findings were presented expressed satisfaction with the research findings and provided examples from his life that support the analysis of the study.

4. Data collection

According to Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998), it is necessary to analyze the form and content of the studies to be examined holistically. Therefore, interview questions should be designed to reveal this point of view. To this end, two different data collection methods were used in this study. First, semi-structured open-ended interview questions were prepared in line with the purpose of the research with a holistic perspective. Second, observations were made by the researcher during and after the interview in the setting where the participant was born and raised. Data collection with a holistic perspective is based on individuals' narratives. Therefore, I began with a basic question to obtain the life stories of all participants. While listening to the participants' life stories, probe questions were asked to better understand the stories.

Some of the sample questions directed to adolescents were: "Can you tell your own life story in as much detail as possible, starting from the earliest times you can remember, until today?". Also, questions such as "What are the happiest situations in your life story, the points that make you most unhappy, and the situations that you describe as turning points for you?" and "Can you share what you remember from the family stories and life stories shared by your parents or other family elders? How did these stories affect you?" were also asked. Some of the sample questions directed to the parents of the adolescents were: "Which parts of your life story do you tell your children and how do you think the life stories you tell affect their lives?", "What kind of stories do you share with your children about your own youth and childhood years, and what are the similarities and differences with your children's life stories?", and "What kinds of stories do you have from your own parents in your life story that you are telling? How do you tell these stories to them?".

5. Data analysis

Researchers generally decide which method to use in their studies according to the purpose and question of the research. Lieblich et al. (1998) appear to carry out the analysis and interpretation of narrative data within the framework of four matrices: Holistic-Content, Holistic-Form, Categorical-Content, and Categorical-Form. In these forms of analysis, the Holistic-Form and Holistic-Content analysis are carried out by looking at the originality of each individual's own life and focusing on the transformations within himself. Although narrative analysis is categorized in this way, in reality, a narrative can be studied in all its aspects (Lieblich et al., 1998). In the context of this study, the analysis was based in holistic perspective.

Hammack (2008) emphasized the significance of a holistic analysis due to the intertwining of the culture's master narratives with the individual narratives, which may be more dominant in collective societies as opposed to individualistic societies. Therefore, from a holistic point of view, Assyrian/Syriac youth are likely to be influenced by the master narratives, family stories, and culture. The study

examined place of intergenerational narratives in the individuals' self-narratives. While addressing intergenerational narratives, the study delved deeper by examining whether there is a cultural form or a master narrative in the narrative identities of individuals. Therefore, it is more appropriate for this study to look at each participant's life story in-depth and as a whole working with an interpretive perspective. In this regard, the analysis method used in this study was examined as holistic content and holistic form.

With research questions in mind, the holistic-form analysis of an individual sought to draw attention to the breaking points and important moments in the individual's life in order to create the participant's lifeline. This lifeline was created by drawing attention to how the individual interprets their life from the moment they tell their first story to the time they do the interview. In the beginning, by holistic form analysis, I read and listened to each participant's life story several times and placed the events of each participant's narrative in order. Then, I drew a lifeline and placed the critical moment on the line. The important moment/event contained turning points that influence their narrative and life (see Red, Lilac, and Orange lifeline). In the second part of the holistic analysis, a holistic-content analysis was conducted. The form was also included in this analysis by underlining important phrases and emphasis. In the holistic content analysis, I read each participant's story multiple times and tried to figure out the meaning of the stories that holistically represented their identities. I analyzed their story in terms of the meaning of the events, why they told this story, and how the stories influenced their lives. The holistic content analysis in this study included underlining significant words of the participants (e.g., "they" and "us"), a cause and effect narrative that identified the reason for events and the influence of events (e.g., how their past events influenced their identity), thematic coherence that included each event that gradually determined their lives (e.g., connecting the events to their life), and whether the stories in their experiences or intergenerational narratives influenced their identities (e.g., how their families narrative changed their identities) (see Red, Lilac and Orange narrative description).

The study presented the narratives of three participants. These three examples (life stories of Red, Lilac, and Orange) were selected for three reasons. First, the selected participants selected as examples grew up under similar circumstances; for example, Red and Orange grew up in same village, three of them belonged to the same church, they studied in the same city and monastery, and most importantly they provided highly rich data (I interviewed them several times). Second, each of the three participants addressed three different combinations of identity patterns (victimic vs. agentic identity, communion vs. agency, and burden vs. benefit). Third, they are the best examples of the three combinations of identity patterns.

6. Findings and discussion

"They say our stories are our destiny. They say everyone's story is written, and I think your luck is directly proportional to your family. ... There are similarities, of course, because you are his daughter or son."

(A participant in the study)

The narrative of each Assyrian/Syriac youth offers unique information in its entirety. Therefore, the data obtained from each participant were analyzed individually and holistically. Three of these analyzes are presented as examples. In this study, the data were argued and presented what the turning points (an event that changed participants' lives) are and what elements are emphasized in the narratives by looking at both what is told as content and how it is expressed in the form (in terms of language and order). In addition, the life stories were discussed comparatively within the framework of narrative identity literature, and the final three stories were presented within the framework of the categories in identity formation.

6.1. The narrative of Red: "I am proud to be Assyrian/Syriac."

I always spoke Syriac in the village. I tried to learn Kurdish. There were some good ones too. Others were cautious because my name was different. I was called "Fillah" (Kurdish name given to Christians). They probably see it that way because being Syriac or Christian is a demeaning, humiliating thing. Because they know so. ...I did not experience any major issues, but for example, there was a student from a higher class that harassed and bothered me. He was always teasing me. ... I was actually a person like, I could not accept myself and I was doing my best. Sometimes, I would complaint to the teacher, and he was interfering with them. When they did so, I became more attached to my own culture and belief, rather than starting to "act like them and be close to them".

(Fig. 1) Red is a 22-year-old male with an associate degree (he transferred to a four-year department at collage after this analysis). He stated that they generally speak Turoyo at home and in the village. He can speak Turkish in addition to the Aramaic dialect. The interview was conducted in Turkish. He began to tell his life story starting from his childhood. He did not present much detailed information about that time. After telling his life story in general, more detailed information was obtained through some questions. He spent the first 13 years of his life in a village in Mardin. Everyone living in the village are Assyrians/Syriacs. Therefore, he could only speak Turoyo until he starts school. When he reached school age, he attended both the school and the church of the village, in his words, the "madrasa," to receive religious and language education. At the age of 14, when he was in the eighth grade, he went to the monastery of his own accord. After that age, he spent all his life in monasteries. He built his life story on being Assyrian/Syriac and Christian. Most of these memories contained the exclusion, disapproval of being Assyrian/Syriac, and the troubles of being a minority.

The Narrative of Red: “I am proud to be Assyrian/Syriac.”¹

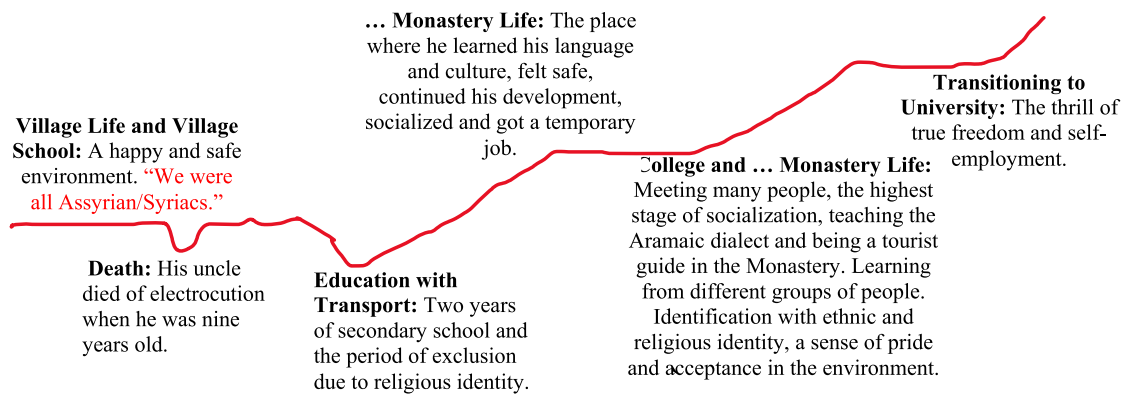


Fig. 1. Red's Lifeline¹. NOTE: Red described his childhood years as a happy and safe environment. The figure depicts that the story began with happiness and the lifeline in the early age continued with a straight line. On the other hand, witnessing death and being away from the family due to education with transport is considered unfortunate and it is apparent that there are negative turning points in his life adventure. In addition, it is observed that there are developmental turning points in the formation of religious-ethnic identity that begins in the monastery and that this is a lifeline that is constantly positive with autonomy.

Most of these negative narratives consisted of master narratives, stories that he had heard from his elders, and very few from his own life experiences. This fact led him to create an ethnoreligious narrative by establishing a high degree of association with his Assyrian/Syriac-Christian status. These narratives significantly affected his relationships with those outside his own group. On the other hand, due to the duties he undertook on in the monastery, he built an intense relationship with his own ethnoreligious identity and turned it into an identity narrative. Thanks to these tasks, his social network expanded, and he built positive relationships with people who did not belong to his own group. Thus, he created experiences for himself by detaching from the influence of the master narrative and adult narratives. However, he can still mention that he has trust issues with the outgroup. Red completed his life narrative by saying, "Actually, my teacher, people do not change themselves, but people do want to change others" with this sentence, Red concluded that he has changed as a result of his interactions.

While Red became more identified with his ethnic and religious group through the stories he heard from his elders, this situation also enabled him to express his identity from an ethnoreligious perspective. He stated that although he established relationships with people outside his own group, most of which seems as a positive network of relationships, he experienced trust issues with the outgroup due to the influence of past narratives. At the same time, thanks to his own ethnoreligious benefits, he received an education, earned money, expanded his social network, and developed self-confidence. In this context, it was observed that the narratives of the previous generation enabled him to identify with his own group more strongly, and what he gained from his own group reinforced his attachment to the ingroup. Thanks to his positive experiences in religious institutions (monasteries) at an early age, his affiliation with the ingroup increased. It was determined that the early departure from home and his experiences at the monastery were the achievements of Red's own experiential process.

Hammack (2008, 2010a) expresses identity as individual narratives formed in the spiral of social and societal facts phenomena. When Red's narrative identity is analyzed holistically, it is determined that he conveys his identity primarily within the framework of social identity. This seems to cause Red to base his identity and personal relationships on the logic of intergroup conflict by identifying more with the group (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). In his narrative of identifying with being Assyrian/Syriac, many characteristics such as individual goals, achievements, acceptance, way of expressing oneself, working and earning money, feeling excluded, learning to persevere, determination to work, autonomy, socialization, interaction with the opposite sex, ability to reveal oneself, forming of a sense of acceptance emerged as a result of his achievements during his time in the monastery. These were shaped within the cultural context. Being a Christian in a predominantly Muslim society created negative emotional states such as the sense of exclusion, sense of being a part of a minority, a sense of insecurity towards the Muslim group, and a desire to integrate into one's own group. These negative emotions were triggered by intergenerational narratives, historical and cultural events, master narratives, and sometimes his own negative experiences.

While McLean and Syed (2015b) express the five principles of master narratives, they emphasized that the first principle, namely the utility principle, states how individuals understand the groups they belong to in society and how they position themselves there. Accordingly, it was emphasized that individuals use the principle of utility while forming historical events, values, goals, social rules, and group identity. In this sense, intergenerational narratives and the master narrative have a significant place in Red's life and he interprets his master narratives through this principle. Significant inputs were made in forming identity based on his experiences (for

¹ Relevant excerpts from the three narratives are attached. All of the quotations in the appendix are in Turkish.

example, it was observed that he stepped out of the main narrative and cultural context by expressing that he tried to have a romantic relationship outside of his own group) with the influence of past social events, the master narratives, the intergenerational narratives, and experiences he had in the monastery (the fact that he felt obligated to marry someone from his own group despite the fact that he was in a relationship with someone outside of his group). He stated that it is almost impossible to marry a Muslim, which shows that he identifies with the main narrative and cultural context.

While interpreting many events in his life, Red linked them to the traumatic events experienced by Christians. For example, [McLean and Syed, 2015b](#) stated that the master narrative is everywhere. These words appeared in all parts of Red's life story through the tragic historical event named Seyfo.² This case matches [McLean and Syed's \(2015b\)](#) ubiquity as one of the concepts of master narrative. He even interpreted the narratives of his individual life by sticking to the perspective of the group to which he belonged. He interpreted his identity from the perspective of social identity, as can be seen in many examples such as saying that it is very difficult to marry a non-Christian. He admitted this and expressed as "these situations happened in the past and we are still living" after a negative event, distinguishing the interviewer from time to time by saying "you/all of you" and using the term "they" for Muslims and "we" for Christians. In the last part of his narrative, he made some criticisms of the society he lived in. These criticisms were made because of an event that took place very recently. Afterward, it was observed that Red continued to conform to the dynamics of the group to which he belonged. However, by confirming to these dynamics, he was not completely submissive, but rather an actor. In this regard, his life narrative was found to focus on community/interactional participation while building on an agentic self. In his criticisms, even if only a little, Red retold the cultural context, softened the effects of the master narrative and recreated the compulsory nature of the master narratives. By this way, he changed his story and created it in a new form. It was found that all of the principles of the master narrative principles stated by [McLean and Syed \(2015b\)](#) were present in Red's narrative. In his narrative, Red consistently narrated his life. He was able to integrate all the facts. He was able to demonstrate factors such as thematic consistency, global thematic consistency, causal consistency, and global consistency in his narratives ([Habermas & de Silveira, 2008; Reese et al., 2017](#)).

6.2. Lilac's narrative: "If you have money, you are strong."

In this period, in such a time, when everything is built on money, it may not be pleasant, but I attribute these good days to money, to the financial situation, to these conditions... I have always said, "I want to be like my grandfather, not like my father". If I am here now – just like my father – thanks to my grandfather. My grandfather was in Istanbul in the beginning, he had a jewelry shop there. One day he goes to the doctor, and the doctor says, "You need some fresh air". My grandfather is also from here, and he said, "In that case, let me go back to my hometown." In addition, my grandfather had cars that nobody else had back in the 80 s, he even had a driver. ... The man was a Christian, but he was also a man who helped the mosque, he was that kind of a person. One day, he is sitting with the imam, the imam says, "Our mosque does not have a basement," and he immediately made a call to get money for the mosque the next day. He was such a man... If we are in this situation and people are looking at us this way, we owe it to him. That is why I love him so much.

([Fig. 2](#)) Lilac is a 25-year-old male university graduate currently working in a private institution. He started his life story with his childhood. He stated that they generally speak Turoyo at home and in his village. He can speak Turkish in addition to the Aramaic dialect. The interview was conducted in Turkish. After presenting his life story in general briefly, he provided detailed information thanks to the questions of the researcher. It was determined that he went through four phases in his life. These were: his life in the village, the phase when he attended the high school commuting from the village to the district center, the phase when he started university, and finally, the current phase; his professional life. His first memories started with going to the neighbor's house to watch TV when he was 4–5 years old. Later, he mentioned the high school phase when he discovered his grandfather's daily life, his experiences in the monastery, the loss of his grandparents, and figuring out many new things about himself. After high school, the two-year period of university preparation began. There was no expression of this phase and there was loss and uncertainty. Later comes the phase in his life when he studies at a university, a time in which he discovers himself. This is the phase when power of money started having an impact on his life. Finally, there comes a period in his life when he begins to do his own work and he end his narrative. It was observed that his narratives changed greatly between these phases. For example, he enthusiastically described his transition to university after his high school years, when he was more passive and accepted the influence of his grandfather and the monastery. It was noteworthy that he spoke more confidently when describing his time at the university. He deemed himself worthy of the material expenditures that he would waste and squander during that time. He defined the period after university as the phase when he did not spend much and started saving money. This last phase is also a phase in which he adopts the logic: "My father was like this, so I will be like this."

Lilac generally focuses on happy moments in his life narrative and frequently comments on them. On the other hand, he avoided talking about these difficult moments, either not talking about the stressing and unpleasant memories or mentioning them very little and focusing more on the flow of life. This kind of approach is apparent in all of Lilac's narratives. He recounted his deep narratives that could be associated with unhappiness by emphasizing the emotions he experienced when leaving the places where he was happy. Economic status and money played an important role in Lilac's narrative. Throughout the narrative, it was particularly evident that he portrait money as the provider of many of his possessions. Another significant point was the clear connection between the grandparent-

² It means slaying wity sword by Ottoman soldiers and local tribes. It is a nomenclature for the massacre that the Assyrian/Syriac community experienced in the tragic event they experienced in the last quarter of the Ottoman Empire.

Lilac's Narrative: Being happy "If you have money, you are strong."

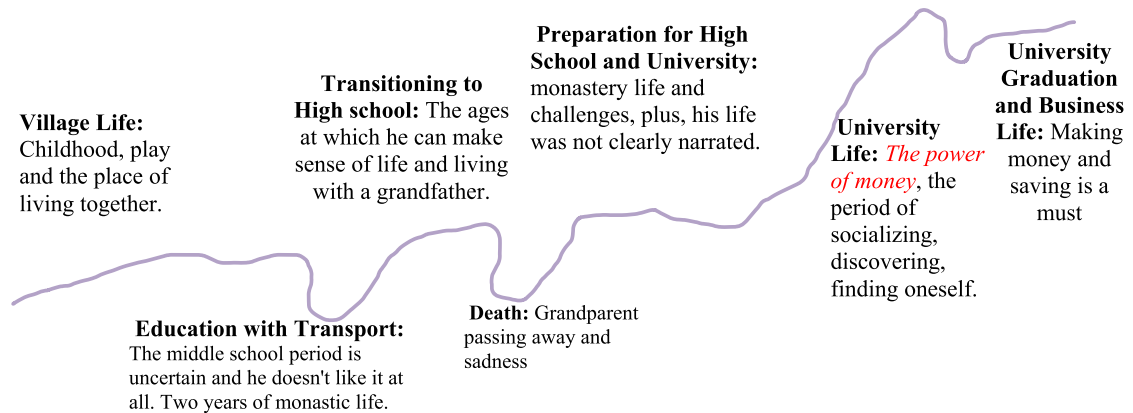


Fig. 2. Lilac's narrative: "If you have money, you are strong. NOTE: It was observed that Lilac does not give a static account of his childhood, telling a story in which positive and negative situations occur at simultaneously. It was noted that he experienced significant turning points in his life up to high school. While he had negative breaks in his education during high school years and experienced the death of someone close to him, positive developments in his life increased with his university education. However, with the end of university, negative developments began to take place again in his life.

father-mother's narratives and the current narrative in intergenerational narratives. In the intergenerational narratives, the social status of them is created by economic power and the emotional pleasure it provides and his self-confidence are observed clearly. In his intergenerational narratives, he primarily focused on characteristics similar to his grandfather, mother, and father. From his mother, he learned frugality, from his father, he learned about how one should not get something illegally and how one should be, and from his father he learned about being generous and helping everyone, and from all his elder family members, he learned the significance of making money and economic status as a typical attitude.

Lilac conveyed a narrative centered on the formation of an individual identity. In his narratives, Lilac combined family experiences with personal experiences rather than master narratives. An example of this is the theme of "the significance of money." He centered his interpretations by making a connection between the life of his family and his own life. This is because while individuals create their identities, they take role models from the previous generations (Zaman & Fivush, 2011). He described the experiences that played a role in the creation of his own happiness in all the cycles in the family. Although Lilac suffered significant losses in his life, he did not express these losses as unhappiness. Lilac mostly experienced unhappiness when he had to leave happy places and environments. He did not dwell much on historically traumatic events and master narratives. This showed that Lilac used selective memories more in his narrative identity. This also showed that Lilac tends to be an individual and an actor in his own life. Polkinghorne (1996) and McAdams et al. (1996) emphasized that agentic identity is more dominant when individuals are actors in their own lives. This was what was predominant in Lilac's narratives.

While describing their life experiences, people live very close to these narratives (Bruner, 1990; McAdams, 2001). In this regard, Lilac emphasized the benefits of the economic cycle in his intergenerational narratives and attributed the fact that his family is "a well-loved family" thanks to their good financial standing. Therefore, he believed that everyone in the inner or outer group respected and valued when the economic conditions are good. In both his childhood memories and his college narratives, he emphasized the significance of the economy and drew a narrative that emphasized the positive cycles of the economy. He also attributed his experiences with the opposite sex to his economic conditions. Considering these points, Lilac expressed an individual life narrative by foregrounding selective experiences in the formation of individual identity in his intergenerational and self-narratives. Compared to Arnett's (2002; 2015) development of identity from globalization perspective, Lilac may have attempted to make the effects of globalization more visible in the process of identity by reducing the level of identification with his own group in his narrative identity. Finally, he used a high level of coherence in his life narrative. He placed the characteristics of mother, father, and grandparents in the flow of life. He described his life by constructing the cause-effect relationship between the situations. In this regard, he provided factors such as thematic consistency, global thematic consistency, causal consistency, and global consistency (Habermas & de Silveira, 2008; Reese et al., 2017).

7. The narrative of Orange: "A standard life between the village and the monastery"

I just wanted to go, I went, the first days were very difficult for me... For example, in the first days I was always crying. I was coming in for the holidays and when I returned, I was crying again. After that, I got used to it... It is not easy. When you think about it, it is really hard to be away from your family. ... Once we are there, we cannot get out easily. If we go out, this situation will not be liked by others. They say, "If you are going to come back, why leave in the first place?" They are right too. That is right. We endure that.

...When I was in high school, all my friends urged me to become a Muslim. They even cursed me sometimes. I did not utter a word because I was alone. I do not know what would have happened if I had not been alone. I was not saying anything to them. Everyone has their own belief. Everyone believes in what is true. That's what I thought too. My parents and grandparents have experienced the same thing in the past... Also, sir, we Assyrians/Syriac have always been oppressed throughout history. We have always been oppressed. I do not blame anyone much, we have always been oppressed throughout history.

(Fig. 3) Orange is a 19.5-year-old male who graduated from high school and currently teaches Turoyo (an Aramaic dialect) in a church. He has six siblings and his household consists of eight people. He is the second child of the family. He stated that they generally speak Turoyo at home and in the village where he lives. He can speak Turkish in addition to the Aramaic dialect. The interview was conducted in Turkish. Orange lived only in two places throughout his life: in the village and the monastery. He explained that he does not remember much from his childhood. He stated that he generally forgets most things and cannot remember what happened when. While describing his life, he mentioned an event that experienced in the village as his first memory. Although he said he was 4–5 years old when it happened, he could not recall it clearly. The second important expression of his childhood is the narrative of being constantly injured. After graduating from primary school, Orange went to the ... monastery and lived there for seven years. He stated that he went to the monastery voluntarily, but although he wanted to leave very quickly, he was not able to. He stated that you cannot leave a monastery once you start attending as it is not approved of. It was observed that he was very offended and sad when he described the period he wanted to leave the monastery. He stated that he cried all the time at that time. While living in the monastery, Orange completed both his religious-linguistic-cultural education in the monastery and he completed his secondary and high school education in the public school. As is evident from Orange's life, he was not the agent/actor of his own life. Rather, he sought to fulfill the roles assigned to him by society. In this sense, it can be said that Orange does not have an agentic identity.

He stated that the narratives of the previous generation influenced his limited interaction with his family. While the dominant person in these narratives was the mother, it was noted that there were few, if any, narratives from the father and grandfather. Another important narrative consisted of the stories about the past when the adults gathered to have a talk in the village. Among these narratives, the one he remembered most clearly and had the greatest impact was the narrative of his mother. Although his mother's narratives mostly included difficult experiences in the past, the funny memories of his mother were also told in his own family. Orange explained that he did not know much about the significance of these narratives in his current life. However, as he recited these narratives, he cried, grieved, and became upset from time to time while remembering what had happened. These narratives made Orange more sensitive not only to what he was experiencing in his current life, but also to his mother. Another important finding of the intergenerational narratives was that difficult experiences in the family narratives created a stronger perception by integrating them into the master narratives. While conveying the family narratives, Orange defined his current life with the main narrative and historical events. While conveying the family narratives, Orange defined his current life through the main narrative and historical events with discourse such as "We Assyrians/Syriacs have always been oppressed throughout history." This shows that Orange addresses this issue in a broader sense. While talking about the past experiences of adults, Orange was grateful for what he has now and considers himself lucky as he has opportunities. Finally, in the narratives that contained the religious pattern, Orange connected more with religion, created a perception in which his religion was more sacred than others, and strengthened his belief in the mystical effects of religious elders. This allowed Orange to identify more with his own religion. Orange literally experiences his story as victimic life. It can be asserted that the predominant sense of victimization in the individual's life and the constant feeling of it later in life, led the individual to construct their own identity on the victimic identity (Polkinghorne, 1996).

It was noted that the consistency in Orange's life narrative was not high. Orange's biological age may also affect this. Being 19.5 years old and not being able to remember his memories very well, may have made it difficult for him to establish cause-effect relationships between events. Nevertheless, he was able to describe many experiences in his life. On the axis of his narratives, many cycles such as identification with his own group, the influence of the main narratives, and the influence of his mother in the

The Narrative of Orange: "A standard life between the village and the monastery"

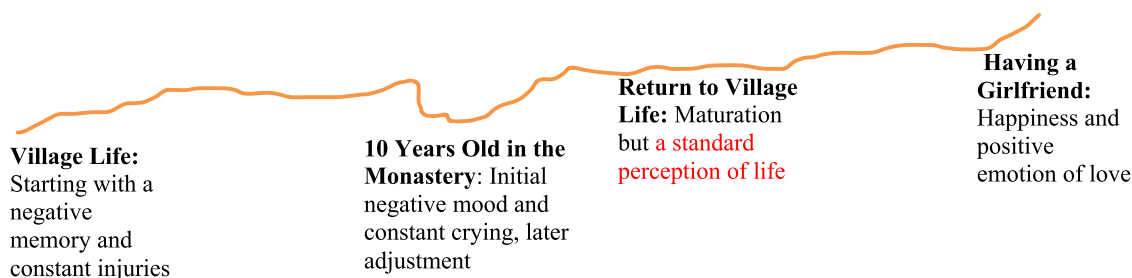


Fig. 3. Orange's Lifeline. NOTE: Orange began his life story with negativity and built it on static and negative memories throughout almost his entire life narrative. At the beginning of his monastic life, he conveyed more negative life narratives. After completing his monastic training, he continued to convey a standard life narrative and indicated that there was no significant change, although there was relief in his life narrative. He described as a positive turning point, the emotional relationship he had increased his lifeline.

intergenerational narratives were described. He narrated his life story by emphasizing the economic context, individuality, cultural, intergenerational, and master narratives. These factors were the desire to open a business with Syriac individuals or one of his family members, the exclusion by the outgroup because of his religion, the association of the feeling of exclusion with being Syriac which is inferred from family narratives and also the attitudes of the other students towards him in school years, and the effects of religious myths.

However, although there was a cause-effect relationship in most of these narratives, there was no attempt to relate them to his current life. Therefore, it can be claimed that Orange has not yet formed a narrative identity. Habermas and Reese (2015) stated that individuals in emerging adulthood can structure their life story or create a narrative identity. In fact, in this context, Orange was able to construct a narrative, but not a coherent and cause-effect based narrative identity. His narrative identity cannot provide the factors such as thematic consistency, global thematic consistency, causal consistency, and global consistency (Habermas & de Silveira, 2008; Reese et al., 2017).

8. Comparing narratives in terms of their identities and selves

The similarities and differences in the life narratives of the three participants mentioned above were comparatively examined in the context of identity narratives. Individuals live close to the stories they tell (Bruner, 1990). Therefore, Red, Lilac, and Orange told different life stories despite coming from nearly the same living conditions. All three participants have the following commonalities: a) they grew up in a rural setting, b) they live in an environment where Assyrian/Syriac is spoken extensively, c) the socioeconomic level of Orange's and Red's families is low and the socioeconomic level of Lilac's family is medium, d) all three of them left home at an early age and started their monastic life, e) they regretted when they started the monastery and described leaving the village unhappy while starting secondary school. Despite these similarities, it was found that they formed different identities in their lives because they interpreted the process differently and attributed different meanings to the contributions of life in the process. These three narratives are discussed at the center of the identity dilemmas, which are considered within the scope of narrative identity. The narratives were handled and analyzed with the agentic versus victimic self (Polkinghorne, 1996), agency versus communion self (McAdams et al. 1996), and finally, with the benefit perspective versus the burden of identity (Hammack, 2010b).

According to Red's narrative, he spent most of his life in a monastery. Therefore, the influence of religion and monasticism on his life was evident. He continued to live in the monastery until the interview. He got a job at the monastery. This situation caused Red to form an identity within the framework of religion and monasticism. He developed a more collective identity and entered into an identity formation around the Assyrian/Syriac identity. He carried religious symbols on himself and attempted to explain his beliefs and ethnic structure many times. Naturally, there were some factors that brought about this situation. Many factors can be listed, such as studying in a monastery, the fact that he was earning money in the monastery, that his older brother was receiving higher education in theology abroad, and a higher identification with the group.

Thus, in the dilemma described by McAdams et al. (1996), Red was forming an interactive identity based on the community setting. However, this dilemma was not clearly separated here. Although it was a narrative focused on interaction and sharing, agentic identity and individual preferences were prominent at every stage of his narrative. He adapted to his environment. He tried to be patient in order to achieve his goal. He was able to control himself and thus attained a status in the monastery. When he enrolled in a university outside the city, he began to re-define his identity. In this context, Red combined communion identity in a collective culture with the agency identity. In this situation, the agentic in Polkinghorne (1996)'s the dilemma of agentic identity versus victimic identity is fully expressed. He is capable of making and striving for his own decisions, and actively using the current conditions for the purposes he has set for his future. Finally, in the identity narratives from the point of view of burden and benefit expressed by Hammack (2010b), Red emphasizes collective identity to free oneself from social change and oppression. For young individuals from a low socioeconomic level, identity is used as a tool for change and development, considering identity as an advantage (Hammack, 2010b). Therefore, Red used social identity as a benefit to get advantages.

On the other hand, the narrative of Orange, who is from the same village and social structure as Red, is very much different from Red's. He does not identify himself as an agentic identity but rather a victimic identity. While describing a victimic self in his narratives, Polkinghorne (1996) states that the individual cannot be an actor in his own life given the circumstances. In fact, he asserts that individuals are shaped by what is imposed by society and the environment and becomes a victim of these societies. Contrary to the narrative in which Red states that he attended the monastery on his own accord, Orange stated that he wanted to go to the monastery as well since those around him went to the monastery at an early age. In fact, he could not leave the monastery although over time monastic life became an ordeal as he could not take responsibility for making his own decision. He stated "I could not leave because I will face troubles when I came back." However, interviews indicate that some participants started their monastic life and left it after finding a reason because they were not happy. In his case, Orange continued his monastic life without being in control. However, he did not stay in the monastery as he finished his high school education and immediately returned home. During the time he began his life in the village, the control of others continued, and he resumed his life by agreeing to what he was given. As a matter of fact, Orange expressed a quieter narrative that cared about social interaction and focused on the demands of the society he was in. Likewise, there was a communion self in Orange's narrative as suggested by McAdams et al. (1996). It was determined that he was not active in any instance and made decisions with the perspective and interactions of the society he was in. Orange's narrative of victimic life and communion self was dominantly observed in the narrative about his early childhood. While describing his uncle's expulsion from the village, he associated his mother's sadness and constant crying with the constant oppression of the Assyrian/Syriac. By making this association, he emphasized the feeling that the narrative of his life is and cannot be under his control. He expressed a historical event by transferring it to his mother's life and then to his present life. This showed that Orange was not able to take a stance against anything

than living what was presented to him. Finally, considering the question of whether identity is a burden or an advantage, the way of living in Orange's social identity is primarily a burden. His identity was not described as a tool for social change, but rather as a mostly lived and repetitive cycle (Hammack, 2010b). In this regard, it can be said that although Orange had a low socioeconomic level, he perceived his identity as a burden.

Unlike the life narratives of Red and Orange, Lilac did not perceive his life through religion and ethnicity. He presented a narrative in which he cared about his religion but did not make it the focus of his life. Although he stated that he is an Assyrian/Syriac, he only expressed this when he felt it was necessary. Despite the influence of the collective culture in his narratives, he again focused on the economy in his individual life and his contact with the members of the inner and outer groups. In fact, he has a lot of interaction with people outside of his group members. Identity formation agency is dominant in Lilac's narrative. Lilac's agency exactly coincides with the agency and agentive suggested by both McAdams et al. (1996) and Polkinghorne (1996). For example, he began his monastic education and wanted to take care of his grandparents because he was not happy there, so he left the monastery. Despite the death of his grandparents, he did not stay in the monastery and completed his high school alone. On the other hand, he also used the beneficial aspects of religion for himself by expressing, "I travel on weekends, religion orders me not to work on Sunday." After all, McAdams et al. (1996) stated that the identity of the agency is mostly found in Machiavellian personalities. In this sense, it was determined that Lilac puts his interests at the forefront of his life. In addition, he puts his identity in the foreground, and when it is necessary, he benefits from the collective structure at the maximum level. By receiving all the support of his family and society, he did not experience identity as a burden under any circumstances, but rather as an advantage (Hammack, 2010b). The benefit here is perhaps due to nature of Lilac, which centers on individual benefit.

9. Dating, romantic relationships and work-life

Young people in the emerging adult period typically leave home for education, start making decisions on their own, and seek to experience the opportunities that are suitable for them in their business and romantic relationships (Arnett, 2015). This was not entirely true for Assyrian/Syriac youth. First of all, it was observed that leaving home early age was for educational purposes and not for work. Second, there was relational identity development due to the collective cultural structure, and decision-making on their own was not like individuals raised in an individual culture (Kağıtçıbaşı (1996)). On the other hand, their attitude towards the opposite sex in the context of identity was also controlled by society. In particular, they cannot decide to get married on their own. They have to marry someone who is acceptable to their family and community.

When the behaviors in the professional world were examined, there were differences in the three stories described above. While Orange's future business dream includes typical jobs in the Assyrian/Syriac community (silversmithing, winemaking, and being a tradesman, etc. see Sari, 2011), Lilac graduated from university and has a white-collar job, which is different from the others in his community. On the other hand, Red's business dream was different. He previously stayed at the monastery to earn money until now and worked there as a tourist guide from time to time, and recently he has become an Assyrian/Syriac teacher. But he listed his goals for higher education by enrolling in a university and going abroad. Even in such a situation, while Orange, unlike the other two participants, tried to live his identity by imitating the social identity as it is and behaving accordingly, Red and Lilac experience identity as an agentive in an active actor and use their identity as a means of change.

Finally, all three participants experienced difficulty with identity. It was noted that everyone knows each other and are not free to live their sexual identities due to the collective structure of the society in which they live and also due to being a member of minority (both in population and cultural context). They interact with the opposite sex as much as their own culture allows. They have tried to adapt to this rule when they were in their own society because having a relationship with the opposite sex is not approved among Assyrians/Syriacs. It can be said that they have communion identity in their interactions with the opposite sex when they were in their own society. However, it was only Orange who experienced the victimization here. This is because Orange fully complies with what the community wants, while Red and Lilac seem to interact with the opposite sex as soon as they step out of their environment. Thus, while Red and Lilac were based on collectivity in their own society, they experienced the context of agency when they went out of the city. On the other hand, the participants face difficulties in individualization because they live in a rural region, where the collective structure is strong, and due to the high recognition of being in the minority. Unconventional acts can lead to exclusion and give rise to gossip. For example, Orange stated that he had a girlfriend, but he did not want anyone to know as he was afraid of gossip. This situation confirms Cohen's (1986) emphasis that collectivist behavior rather than individuality is dominant in rural areas due to the influence of the social structure, and Jones (1999) emphasizes that unconventional behaviors can be criticized and attempts are made to limit them through gossip.

10. Limitations and suggestions

The narrative identity of the Assyrian/Syriac is limited to those living in the Mardin region. In this context, perhaps examining the narrative identities of Assyrian/Syriac youth living in other parts of Turkey, particularly in big cities such as Istanbul, could perhaps contribute to the findings. As a matter of fact, when the Assyrian/Syriac population in Turkey is examined, 2000–3000 Assyrian/Syriacs live in the Mardin region (when comparing the Assyrian/Syriac population to Mardin population, 3 out of 1000 Assyrians/Syriacs live in the Province of Mardin), while over 20 thousand Assyrians/Syriacs live in Istanbul (Thomsen, 2007). Therefore, it is recommended to work with Assyrian/Syriac youth living in the metropolitan cities of Turkey because the environment and the conditions of living in a metropolitan city can differentiate the narrative.

Since Assyrian/Syriac society is a closed and collective culture, it is difficult to reach female participants (Şimşek & Yıldız, 2006). In

addition, a male researcher working with a female Assyrian/Syriac participant may be perceived negatively due to cultural factors. Therefore, female participants could not be reached in this study. However, it is also significant to examine how the role of inter-generational transfers creates a context for the identity and self-formation of Assyrian/Syriac female participants. Although the fact that the group interaction in some villages is in Kurdish is an advantage because the researcher knows Kurdish, the fact that the interaction in the rituals and some of the conversations in the village and in houses were in Assyrian/Syriac made it hard to collect data holistically. Therefore, it is of great importance for researchers to organize their studies with a good understanding of the concept of language.

When working with Assyrian/Syriac youth, it is important to narrow down the subject of identity in order to obtain in-depth information. For example, specific topics such as the narrative of religion and religious myths and the role of these myths in their narrative identity, the way young people interpret historical events today and their reflections on the context of social interaction, and the differences between the personal narratives of Assyrian/Syriac youth living in the city and in the village can be explored.

Working with the narrative identity of Assyrian/Syriac youth living in different countries can be significant for observing and analyzing the place of the master narrative, cultural influences, and historical events in personal narratives. Therefore, studying the narrative identities of the second and third generation of the Assyrian/Syriac group who migrated from Turkey and settled in the West can be very important for analyzing the context of history, culture, and master narrative.

11. Conclusion

The conclusion of this study is that intergenerational narratives, master narratives, and the effects of social, historical, and cultural events were evident in the narratives of three Assyrian/Syriac young men with the same living conditions. However, the identity formation of all three participants differed from each other. Red presented narratives based on agency, communion, and benefit; Lilac presented narratives based on agency and benefit, and Orange presented narratives on victimic identity, communion, and burden. While Lilac focused on a more individual narrative among these three narratives, Red, on the other hand, cared to carry the values of his group on and integrated them into his individual identity. Orange, on the other hand, presented a fully communion narrative identity. While Red and Lilac presented a more coherent narrative due to their developmental characteristics, Orange did not present a coherent narrative due to his younger age. In all three narratives it is evident that identity formation becomes more consistent with age. As seen in all three narratives, Assyrian/Syriac youth have difficulty having romantic relationships because they live in a closed society. While only Orange tried to follow this at many stages of his life, the other two participants did not consider this social rule into when they were out of their group.

Acknowledgment

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Appendix A. Supporting information

Supplementary data associated with this article can be found in the online version at [doi:10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.08.005](https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2022.08.005).

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